

REPORT
THE SEVENTH
INDIAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT

NAGPUR,

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

1891.

SOME OF ENGLAND'S PLEDGES TO INDIA.

Act of Parliament of 1833.

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

Her Majesty's Proclamation in 1858.

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

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

Lord Northbrook on Indian Affairs.

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

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

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

Lord Ripon in the Viceregal Legislative Council.

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

Lord Dufferin's Speech on the occasion of Her Majesty's Jubilee in 1887.

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

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

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

REPORT
OF
THE SEVENTH
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1891.

In Loving Remembrance

- OF -

PUNDIT AJOODHIANATH,

VAKIL OF THE HIGH COURT, ALLAHABAD,

MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES DURING THE
YEARS 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890,

FELLOW OF BOTH THE CALCUTTA AND ALLAHABAD UNIVERSITIES,

AND

Joint General Secretary of the Indian National Congress.

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

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

Dryden.

TRIBUTES TO HIS MEMORY.

SIR JOHN EDGE, the CHIEF JUSTICE of the Allahabad High Court, said :-

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

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

At one of the largest public meetings ever held at ALLAHABAD it was resolved that—

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

At a great public meeting at MADRAS it was resolved—

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

Again at NAGPORE it was—

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

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

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

At a public meeting at LACORE it was resolved—

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

Speech of the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University—

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

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

Aitchy.	Balesar.	Batliangah.	Lucknow.	Nasik.	Trichengole.
Alwarhanger.	Bharat.	Bilchhat.	Meerut.	Ongek.	Triplicane.
Amrit.	Bharatgar.	Farukpore.	Multan.	Palgat.	Uttampur.
Banart.	Bhatnagar.	Fatehghat.	Muzafferpore.	Poon.	Vizagapatam.
Barrackpore.	Chandernagar.	Guntur.	Muzafferpore.	Rajmandla.	Warah.
Bhawal.	Chandernagar.	Gondy.	Muzafferpore.	Sholapur.	And many other
Bombay.	Chandernagar.	Gandhin.	Muzafferpore.	Saltanapur.	places.
Calcutta.	Chandernagar.	Howrah.	Muzafferpore.	Srinagar.	
Canjiv.	Chandernagar.	Imphal.	Muzafferpore.	Srinagar.	
Dacca.	Chandernagar.	Jalpur.	Muzafferpore.	Tanjore.	
Deccan.	Chandernagar.				

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SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

SEVENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

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

RESOLUTION I.

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

EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS :

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

ORDINARY MEMBERS :

Messrs. Sufendranath Bannerjee.
Viraraghava Chariat.
Hafiz Abdul Raheem.
Gangapersad Varma.
Pringle Kennedy.
Guruprasad Sen.
D. E. Watcha.
M. B. Namjoshi.
Hamid Ali Khan.
Vishnu Moreshwar Bhide.

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

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

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

That this unhappy condition of affairs is largely due to—

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

That hence it has become imperatively necessary—

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

that measures be at once taken to give, as was promised by the British Government thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the Land Revenue demand and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which, under the existing system of temporary settlements, in recent times often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to 10 and 12 years, is found to be impossible; and to establish agricultural banks.

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

RESOLUTION IV.

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

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

- (b) by establishing Military Colleges in India, whercat natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as *commissioned or non-commissioned* officers (according to capacity and qualifications) of the Indian army ;
- (c) by organising, throughout the more warlike races of the Empire, a system of militia service ; and
- (d) by authorizing and stimulating a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

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

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

RESOLUTION VII.

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

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

portions of the community, and less addicted to military pretensions, than the majority of the existing Deputy Inspectors General, Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents, of Police.

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

Read the following telegram from General Booth:—

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

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

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

RESOLUTION X.

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

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

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

RESOLUTION XI.

Resolved—That having regard to the very serious discontent created, especially in Peninsular India, by the practical administration of the Forest 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 members of the British Congress Committee, for the services rendered by them to India during the past year, and respectfully urges them to widen henceforth the sphere of their usefulness, by interesting themselves, not only in those questions dealt with by the Congress here, but in all Indian matters submitted to them, and properly vouched for, in which any principle accepted by the Congress is involved.

RESOLUTION XIII.

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

RESOLUTION XIV.

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

RESOLUTION XV.

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

RESOLUTION XVI.

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

RESOLUTION XVII.

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

RESOLUTION XVIII.

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

P. ANANDA CHARLU,

President of the Seventh Indian National Congress.

DETAILED
REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SEVENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
HELD AT
NAGPORE,
ON THE 28th, 29th, & 30th DECEMBER, 1891.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

1st Day.

FOR THE SITTINGS of the SEVENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, a most beautiful Pavilion had been erected in the Lall Bagh, close to the Nagpore Railway Station. The Pavilion was small, only 180 by 120 feet, and since many passages and a central open space had to be left, it only afforded room for just 4,000 chairs, but it was certainly the best proportioned and most elegantly finished and decorated that the Congress has thus far enjoyed.

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

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

MR. C. NARAIN SWAMI NAYADU (*Nagpore, No. 432, in list*) rose and said:—

Chairman
of
Reception
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SISTER AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—As Chairman of the Nagpore Reception Committee (an honor which I fear I have but ill-deserved), the most pleasant duty of welcoming you all to our Seventh Indian National Congress devolves upon me. The word “seven” awakens in me a strange sensation. It has a mysterious meaning. It has ever been considered by the best and wisest men of all ages as an auspicious number, carrying with it virtues of a peculiar character. It is a most auspicious sign, indeed, that the Congress, after its hard-fought battles on India's coasts, at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, has at last been attracted by our *Arya Varta*, our mother country, to the very centre of the Empire, from whence I fully trust it will, by the grace of Providence, so develop and spread its vivifying life-giving influence, as to leave no corner of this great Empire uncheered by the gospel of good hope, that it bears to all India's children. (*Cheers*). May it be from Nagpur as a centre that our proposed mission issues to England, to impress upon our enlightened and ever-well-wishing Aryan brothers there, the necessity of enfranchising us, redressing our just grievances, and bringing us to the same level as themselves, as they have nobly pledged themselves before God and man to do. May it be from Nagpur, I say, as a centre, that this grand mission may start. (*Cheers*).

Ours is a humble province, a small city; our resources are very limited, and education here has, as yet, made no such great progress as in those parts of the country, which for far longer periods have enjoyed the privilege of British rule. But though we cannot for a moment pretend to vie with the splendid receptions accorded to you in the grander capitals of this great empire, we can at least honestly assure you—and I do so from the bottom of my heart—that in no other place have the people been more truly rejoiced at your presence, or more earnestly anxious to do all their little possible to make you welcome, happy and comfortable. (*Cheers*). Welcome, dear friends, welcome, welcome a thousand times! Forgive any shortcomings in our arrangements, and believe us that never were prouder or happier hosts, never guests that their hosts desired more to honor; that poor and humble as we are, our whole hearts are with you, our fellow-countrymen, and with the great cause which unites this day all India in one close brotherhood, seeking by all honorable and open means the good of our dear mother country, and all her countless millions of children. (*Loud cheers*).

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At the very outset I desire, with your permission, to strike what I conceive to be the keynotes of this great, and, as many now feel, sacred movement. Loyalty to the British Crown, love of the British people to whose advent, here, India owes its rebirth, a thorough and ungrudging appreciation of the excellence of the intentions of our Government in India, and a fixed desire and firm resolve to bring about, by loyal and constitutional means, such administrative reforms as shall permit of those good intentions, bearing still better fruit for India's people, than they have hitherto yielded. (*Cheers*).

Despite what some few people still seem to fancy, we are neither so inconsiderate nor so ungrateful as not to recognize fully and be deeply grateful for those good things that, under God's dispensing providence, have accrued to us through and by means of British Rule. But we clearly see that this Rule is still in many respects capable of improvement, and that year, by year, as time rolls on and the population increases and the natural and necessary consequences of widespread education evolve on a larger and ever larger scale, the necessity for that improvement becomes more and more urgent. Loyal and loving subjects of Great Britain as we are, desirous of the everlasting union of England and India, we know—let outsiders misjudge us as they may—that we can render no greater service to either country than by openly protesting against what we consider unsuitable and defective in the existing administration, and by insisting, by all proper and legitimate means, on those changes in this administration, which we, as children of the soil, and as knowing our own country and our countrymen in many respects better than our Rulers, see and feel to be a necessity of the times.

It is a great help and encouragement to us, after the unmerited abuse to which we were subjected in earlier years, to find that many of the ablest and greatest men, both in England and India, now commence to realize the great service that the Congress is performing, and to lend an ear to its counsels.

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

Thus encouraged, and true to our first principles, true to England, true to our beloved country and our countrymen, let us persevere in the good work. One obstacle,—the cruel misconception, and, must I say it, the still more cruel misrepresentation of our aims and objects to which we were subjected,—has been practically overcome, but many others still remain. We have to get the rank and file of the European official community, as well as those of the higher ranks, not merely to tolerate us as harmless, well-intentioned enthusiasts, but to realize that we are earnest, practical men, who do really know our country and our countrymen, their wants and their aspirations, in many respects better than even the ablest amongst themselves. We have got to get them, in a word, to work along with us, realizing our capacities and usefulness, while we, on our part, cordially acknowledge their superiority in many points. We have got to bring home our exact position, the inequitable disabilities we labor under, our many grievances, the miserable condition of fully one-sixth of our poor population, to the British electorate, and through them bring such pressure to bear on the overworked British House of Commons as will lead it to take up the legislation needful to permit the authorities here to effect the reforms we pray for. We have got to educate, each in our own province, district and town, those of our fellows, who, as yet have failed to realize the purpose and true significance of our movement. We have to get the whole country solid behind us, and this we can do, and with God's help will do. (*Loud cheers*.) Lastly, remembering what our friend and General Secretary, India's "Grand old man," is never weary of telling us,

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ris., that in the long run every nation ever gets exactly as good a Government as it deserves, let us set our own houses in order, and make sure that we do really and truly deserve a better Government, in many respects, than is now ours; let us aim at higher and nobler things than those which at present too absorbingly occupy most of us; let us prove ourselves worthy, not only of a better Government, but of the great land that has borne us, and the illustrious ancestors from whom we have descended. (*Loud cheers*). But I occupy too much of your time (*no, no; go on, go on*), and I must, without further preface, now call upon you to elect your President. (*Cheers*.)

Before you proceed to discharge this duty, however, there is one point which has escaped me, and to which I am bound to give every prominence, and that is the friendly and sympathetic attitude of our official chiefs here and in Berar. As to Berar I dare say my friend Rao Saheb Deo Rao Vinayek will have some mention to make of the kindly sympathy which Colonel Kenneth Mackenzie, the Commissioner of those Provinces, has ever displayed towards the Indian community and their aspirations. Here, I as a Central Provinces man, am chiefly concerned in acknowledging, publicly and gratefully, the liberal manner in which our respected Chief Commissioner, Mr. A. P. Macdonell, has dealt with the Congress question. Here in the Central Provinces we have had no official opposition to encounter. Our officials as a body are, it seems to me, certainly more in sympathy and touch with us Indians here than, if we are to believe half we hear, the officials in many other parts of the country seem to be. As regards the Congress, Mr. Macdonell has most unreservedly declared, both in words and in writing, that, so far as he was concerned, every official who wished it was at full liberty to attend the Congress as a visitor, and that all might rest assured that he should think no worse and no better of any officer because he did or did not attend the Congress; it was a matter to be left entirely to their own discretion and in which they might just please themselves. To me in conversation he fully endorsed Lord Lansdowne's famous letter, which set forth that the Congress was a perfectly legitimate movement, and that the Congress party are analogous to the Liberal party in England, and he added: "Of course you Indian gentlemen, who think as you do, have a perfect right to agitate in a constitutional manner for those concessions to which you consider yourselves entitled." (*Cheers*.)

Gentlemen, if all the rulers and officials in India resembled the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, and his officers, India would not now need, and would never have needed, a National Congress. But, alas! they constitute exceptions and not the rule, and we are bound all of us to acknowledge in the most public manner such liberality and manly freedom from bureaucratic prejudice, and therefore before I go further I will ask you to give three cheers for Mr. A. P. Macdonell and the officers of the Central Provinces Commission. (*Loud and continued cheers*.)

And now this duty discharged, let me once more ask you to proceed to elect your President.

Election of
a
President.

Pundit
Ajoodhia
Nath
proposes
Row Saheb
P. Ananda
Charlu.

PUNDIT AJOODHIA NATH (*Allahabad, No. 74, in list*)—MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW DELEGATES,—It is my privilege to ask you to elect Rai Bahadur Ananda Charlu as your President. (*Cheers*.) He is a leading Pleader in the Madras High Court and a leading citizen of Madras. He is a member of that small but illustrious band which originally founded the Congress at Bombay, and ever since then he has firmly stood by it. Whether Government officers declared themselves in favor of or against the movement, he has always openly proclaimed his adherence to the noble cause. He has not missed a single session of the Congress, and he has always taken a very deep interest in the movement. (*Cheers*.)

Mr.
Pherozshah
Mehta
seconds.

MR. PHEROZSHAH M. MEHTA (*Bombay, No. 256, in list*)—MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution which has just been placed before you by the Honorable Pundit Ajoodhia Nath. I have no doubt that the delegates present would have rejoiced if the Honorable Pundit himself had been voted to the chair this year. (*Cheers*.) But we know that he is as modest and unselfish as he is public-spirited, patriotic and energetic. But while we should have been glad to see the Pundit in the chair, we are equally glad to hail, as President this year, a representative from that presidency which has done so much for the Congress. I have no doubt, gentlemen, that you will confirm the appointment of Mr. Ananda Charlu as President of the Congress with the most perfect unanimity. (*Cheers*.)

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

Row Saheb
P. Ananda
Charlu
declared
duly elect-
ed.

MR. C. NARAIN SWAMI NAYADU (*Madras, No. 432, in list*)—I now declare our friend Row Saheb P. Ananda Charlu, Bahadur, to have been duly elected President of this Seventh Indian National Congress, and on your behalf I invite him to take the Presidential Chair.

ROW SAHIB P. ANANDA CHARLU (*Madras, No. 762, in list*), then took his seat and, again rising, said :—

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FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS.—I thank you most warmly for making me take the Presidential Chair on this occasion. That chair has narrowly missed a far higher honor than I can do to it, owing to two unforeseen occurrences. One of these occurrences is that the Hon'ble Pundit Ajoodhia Nath is unfortunately, for both you and me, not a Madrassee. Were it not that he generously abdicated the dignity in favour of Madras, I should gladly have avoided the danger of accepting a situation that would draw me into comparison with that unselfish, whole-hearted, intrepid, and outspoken apostle of this great national movement, (*Cheers*). But in this world of imperfections and of complex considerations, duty does not always fall on the fittest shoulders, and there is the additional reason that the unanimous mandate of the country compels my obedience.

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

These personal considerations remind me of the loss—the irreparable loss—which the Congress has sustained, since its last sitting, by the lamented death of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh. He was the redoubtable champion who brought, within the domain of practical politics, one of the foremost subjects in the Congress programme. Till Mr. Bradlaugh, who may, without exaggeration, be described as an embodiment of universal benevolence, befriended our cause with his characteristic unselfishness, all our pathetic appeals for a forward step, in the direction of reforming our Legislative Councils, remained a veritable cry in the wilderness; and the fact that, upon his death, even Lord Cross's halting measure was dropped, puts this beyond all doubt.

It is a matter for deep sorrow that Mr. Charles Bradlaugh's useful career was cut short before he could redeem even his guarded promise to us, that he hoped to carve and shape a step or two in the up-hill work that lay in front of us—a work of such magnitude and importance as to make him weigh most scrupulously the words he used. There is little prospect of any one man proving to us the tower of strength that he unquestionably was, during the short time that we had the benefit of his lively sympathy and unremitting effort. We have indeed been slow to erect a memorial suited to his great merits and his unpurchased services in our cause; and our unfriendly critics have not been slow to make capital out of this seeming apathy. In the Presidency from which I come, famine and its attendant evils are, within my personal knowledge, chiefly answerable for this seeming remissness in the fulfilment of our duty—a duty which, as we view it, consists in a recognition of the work of that unflinching advocate of the people's rights, not merely by the monied few, but also by that far larger class to which he belonged, and of which he was proud to declare that he reckoned himself as one. Our monsoons, gentlemen, have begun to give signs of improvement, though after a very long delay. May this improved state of things bring in thousands of small contributions which, tiny like the raindrops individually, may in the aggregate fill to overflowing the coffers of the many Bradlaugh Committees in the land. I have little doubt that this earnest appeal will meet with a ready, wide and adequate response before many months are over.

I shall next invite you, brethren, to join me in paying a similar loving, though mournful, tribute to the memories of two distinguished men who had figured as the Chairmen of Congress Reception Committees, and of whom death has robbed us since our last session—Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, K.C.S.I., and Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, the latter of whom is, I think,

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

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better described and wider known under that title, which is a tribute to his profound scholarship and varied learning, than by the distinctions of Rai Bahadur and of Rajah—distinctions which came to him too late to add any lustre to his already brilliant fame. Our sincere gratitude is due to them for the eloquent exposition of the views of the Congress Party which their speeches as Chairmen embodied, and for the prominent part they took in the sittings of the Congress which they so heartily ushered in.

One more sincere friend of India, happily living and breathing in our midst and meriting our warmest acknowledgment, remains yet to be named—our General Secretary, Mr. A. O. Hume. (*Cheers*). Through good report and through evil report, and at the sacrifice of health, money, well-earned ease, and peace of mind, he has steadily and earnestly adhered to his labour of love in the progressive interests of the people of this country, and he has thus earned, not only our love and gratitude, but I hope also the love and gratitude of our children and children's children. (*Loud cheers.*)

He has recently given us warning that he contemplates an early retirement from his Indian field of labour—a retirement which involves the resignation of his office as the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress. This, we must confess, has come upon us as a surprise, though we had no business to be unprepared for it. This unpreparedness is, in the main, traceable to the habits generated in us by the monopolising character of British Indian rule which, taking upon itself all the solitudes and almost all the responsibilities of the administration of the country, has given but little occasion for the development in us of the capacities and aptitudes necessary for facing with confidence a sudden emergency. If this were the second or third Session of the Congress, I should despond and shudder at the inevitable consequences. But thanks to his indefatigable exertions and his prophetic sagacity, he has coupled his warning with the inspiring assurance that one great work of the Congress has been accomplished; that its programme has been built up and promulgated; that the present seventh session is needed, ~~not so much to discuss new subjects, as to put the seal on all that its predecessors had done~~; and that it completes one distinct stage of our progress.

These are, without doubt, noble and encouraging words, and every syllable of them deserves our earnest attention. Let us look back on our career. What was our task at starting? In the words of our General Secretary, "a great work had to be done—we had to clear our own ideas and then make them clear to our opponents;—to thresh out by persistent discussion the wheat of our aspirations from the great body of chaff that must, in the very nature of things, have accompanied it. We had to find out exactly what those reforms were, which the country, as a whole, most desired; we had to evolve and formulate a clear and succinct programme—to erect a standard around which, now and for all time, until that programme is realized, all reformers and well-wishers of India could gather; and we had to place that programme on record in such a form that neither foreign autocrats nor domestic traitors could efface its pregnant lines," or read into those lines a meaning that they were not intended to convey.

Now, let us note how we were a mere handful, numbering less than four score when we started on our national mission; how at that moment it was little more than an untried, though cherished, idea that we should strive to mitigate, if not to eradicate, race-prejudices, to disarm creed-antipathies, and to remove provincial jealousies; and how, by that achievement as a means towards an end, we wished to develop and consolidate sentiments of national unity. Let us next note that, when under the impulse then given to our renovated national instincts, we met next year in Calcutta, that ripe scholar and sober antiquarian Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra declared that he saw in the assembly before him the commencement of the realization of the dream of his life, *viz.*, to witness the scattered units of his race come together, coalesce, and stand welded into one nation. Then came our session in Madras, and there we succeeded in blotting out the stigma that one part of our country was "benighted," and we exhibited the spectacle of a gathering, more considerable in numbers, more representative in composition, more adequate in the proportion of the Mubammadan contingent, more cordial in feeling, more in unison with the name of *this* institution, wider in basis and altogether a nearer approximation than had till then been attained to the conception of a nationality in that sense in which alone that word has a meaning in political parlance. On the impregnable basis which that gathering illustrated, the subsequent sessions of the Congress were constituted, and our success has been great and signal.

To detract from the worth and significance of the well-knit, ever-expanding phalanx known as the Indian National Congress, a desultory controversy was raised round the word *nationality*,—a controversy at once learned and unlearned, ingenious and stupid, etymological and ethnological. Now a common religion was put forward as the differentia; now a common

language; now a proved or provable common extraction; and now the presence of the privileges of commensality and inter-conjugal kinship. These ill-considered and ill-intentioned hypotheses have, one and all, fallen to the ground, and no wonder: for the evident circumstance was lost sight of, that words might have divers acceptations—each most appropriate for one purpose, and, in a like degree, inappropriate for other purposes. In my view the word "nationality" should be taken to have the same meaning as the Sanscrit *Prajah*, which is the correlative of the term *Rajah*—the ruling power. Though, like the term *Prajah*, it may have various significations, it has but one obvious, unmistakable meaning in political language, viz., the aggregate of those that are (to adapt and adopt the words of a writer in the *National Review*)—"citizens of one country, subordinate to one power, subject to one supreme Legislature, taxed by one authority, influenced, for weal or woe, by one system of administration, urged by like impulses to secure like rights and to be relieved of like burdens." It is in reality a potential class. In the first place it has for its central stock—like the trunk of a tree—the people who have for ages and generations settled and domiciled in a country, with more or less ethnic identity at bottom and more or less unified by being continually subjected to identical environments and to the inevitable process of assimilation. In the next place it gets added to, from time to time, by the accession of other peoples—like scions engrafted on the central stem, or like creepers attaching thereto—who settle in the country in a like manner, and come under the many unifying influences already referred to, though still exhibiting marks of separateness and distinctness. Affirm this standard, and you have an Indian nation. Deny it, and you have a nation *nowhere* on the face of the earth. (*Chevre.*)

A common language, a common religion, inter-dining, and inter-marriage are, without doubt, potent auxiliaries. These help, no doubt, by affording facilities for co-operation and by rendering easy the attainment of common objects. But, for all that, they are (at best) inseparable accidents, and it betrays a grievous obliquity of judgment to esteem them as constituting the very essence of what is understood by the term *nation*. We began, proceeded, and have persevered up to this day on the tacit assumption that such is the correct doctrine, and let us continue to exert ourselves on that principle at least as a working definition; because, by pursuing such a course, and within the short period of seven years, we have accomplished *the great and palpable fact* that the Hindu and Mahomedan populations of this country—long separated from one another—long divided by parochial differences—long kept apart and estranged from one another by sectional and sectarian jealousies—have at last recognised one another as members of a single brotherhood, despite the many differences that still linger. This is a magnificent product of the Congress as a mighty nationaliser. The part it has already played in this direction is, indeed, glorious, and I am sure you will not charge me with holding Utopian views. If, on the basis of what has been achieved and in view to the vital interests involved, I venture to predict that, through the agency of the Congress, far more intimate relations and far closer forms of kinship are in store for us in the not-remote future.

If this, brethren, is the subjective benefit, we, as the members of the Congress, have secured; what have we to show as its objective results? I need not accumulate facts to make this clear. Let us first recall to our minds that, when we met at Bombay in the first year of our existence, we were referred to by the then head of the Indian Government only as an influential and intelligent body. Let us next remember that, when last year we assembled in the capital of this Empire, the present head of the Indian Government stamped and labelled us as an *established constitutional party*, carrying on a *legitimate work with legitimate instruments and according to acknowledged methods*. This is much for an Indian Viceroy to accept, though it is open to doubt whether we have received *all* our due, and whether we do not, correctly speaking, correspond to a more numerous, more influential, and more favoured party in England. Not only was there this change of opinion about ourselves, but there has been a distinct step taken by the authorities on the lines we had chalked out for reform. What was Lord Cross's India Bill but a confirmation of our views and a response—though a faltering response—to our chorus-voice. May we not also justly take credit for the labors (such as they were) of the Public Service Commission and the consequent raising of age for candidates to the Indian Covenanted Service, the inauguration of the policy of a larger recruitment of the Uncovenanted Service from the natives of this country, the creation of a Legislative Council for the N. W. Provinces, and a *marked improvement* in the class or quality of members selected for all the Legislative Councils in the country ever since. These are unmistakable evidences of our objective achievements, and I think, gentlemen, they are such as we may well be proud of.

But, notwithstanding all these grounds for congratulating ourselves, the lamentable fact remains that, in regard to our higher claims, little beyond lip-concession in this country and a

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half-hearted and halting measure (now shelved) in the imperial metropolis, has as yet fallen to our lot. We may work ever so long in this country, the prospect does not seem to brighten; and the real cause may chiefly be that "the Government in India has no power; the Council in London has no power; the House of Commons has the power, but it refuses or neglects to exercise it," as Mr. Yule asserted from his place as the President of our session at Allahabad.

There is no doubt that Mr. Yule's last disjunctive sentence means more than he wished to convey. Nor did he intend all that is signified by his statement that six hundred and fifty odd members, who are bound to be the guardians and protectors of India's rights and liberties, "have thrown the great and solemn trust of an inscrutable Providence back upon the hands of Providence to be looked after as Providence itself thought best." Mr. Yule himself made this clear when he virtually told us, almost immediately after, that the members of the House of Commons had not time enough and information enough on the questions that came up before them, to be able to judge rightly.

What then is the remedy? On whom is it incumbent to seek and secure the remedy? The answer has been given, that the remedy lies in instructing the British public and in raising their level of information regarding Indian affairs to the standard of usefulness. The further answer has been given, that the duty of seeking and securing that remedy lies primarily on ourselves, secondarily on the British voting and thought-leading public, and finally on their accredited representatives who constitute the House of Commons. In partial discharge of these duties, we have maintained the British Congress Committee, composed of earnest and generous souls, working gratuitously for us, with a talented Secretary in Mr. Digby, whose well-informed, timely and earnest efforts in our behalf are the admiration of our friends and a thorn in the ribs of those of our foes, who endeavour to gain a point by deluding an uninstructed public with false and ill-founded representations. No words of mine are necessary to bring home to you the fact that a more capable, self-denying, and benevolent body of men never put their shoulders to a philanthropic work in our interests, and that a larger measure of success was never achieved than was accomplished by them, with their circumscribed opportunities and with many other demands on their time and attention. There are abundant signs that their numbers will increase, and that the sphere of their influence and usefulness will widen, provided we do, as I shall presently show, what is expected of us. A second agency which has come into being, and which is entirely due to British generosity, is the Indian party formed in the House of Commons itself. Mr. Charles Bradlaugh was its brilliant centre-piece, and since death filched that priceless jewel from us, the setting has remained with the socket still to be filled it. Here, again, it depends on ourselves whether that gap is to be inadequately filled, and that body is to receive, in the requisite measure, accession of strength in numbers and influence; or whether we are to be thrown back a quarter of a century, and find ourselves in the pre-Bradlaugh, pre-Congress, and pre-Ripon days of apathy, obscurity and inert resignation (*No; no*).

The anxious and well-considered advice of the British Congress Committee, and the mature opinion of the members of the Parliamentary Indian party, concur in urging us to change the *venue*—to transfer our operations to London itself. Members of our body, who have already rendered yeoman's service in England as our delegates before the British public, are of the same mind. Any doubt that may still linger must be dispelled by the fact that, although Lord Dufferin, as the head of the Indian Government, urged the wisdom and desirability of adopting some form of the elective principle in the constitution of our Legislative Councils, his recommendation, based—be it noted—on his personal grasp of local conditions, has been burked; and that even the make-shift of a limping substitute for it, in the shape of Lord Cross's India Bill, has been shelved and pigeon-holed no one knows for how long, no one can tell with what motives. In the face of such a fate having overtaken the suggestions of the most cautious, diplomatic and wary Viceroy we have had, can we expect that either the present Viceroy, albeit he has put his seal of approval on us as a constitutional party, or any of his successors, will so far discount their *self-respect* as to court a similar summary and unceremonious treatment of their proposals? It seems to me that the cumulative force of all these considerations points unmistakably to the absolute necessity of translating ourselves to London with the Congress banner over our heads, emblazoned with the figure of the Union Jack, as much for indicating our aims and objects as for fanning away from the delegates, assembled under its shade, all the noxious exhalations from those foul mouths which impute to us seditious intentions and anti-English proclivities,—as if, forsooth, the leaders of the Congress, who are the outcome of the British rule, and whose very existence depends on the maintenance of the British power in India, could be so irrational as to adopt the suicidal policy of lopping off the very branch on which they stand.

This momentous step of holding a meeting in London we can neither avoid nor postpone; and I entreat you to revolve it earnestly in your minds, and to resolve right man-

fully to do what you finally find to be your plain duty. In regard to this step, I do not say that there are not serious difficulties to overcome. One great barrier—the dread of social ostracism—is not to be got rid of by mere rhetorical outbursts. The question deserves our most serious consideration.

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It has to be soberly and dispassionately noted whether the restrictions as to the countries we could visit were not more stringent by far in the earliest times than ever after; whether many regions, originally tabooed in express terms in the Smritis, were not in later days tacitly taken out of the category of forbidden land for an Aryan to enter; whether, in so far as a sea voyage is concerned, a distinction has not been drawn between the north and the south of India on the ground of custom; and whether, where the custom had existed, it was not allowed to be unobjectionable and perfectly compatible with being within the pale of Hinduism; and whether, lastly, and above all, there is not ground for the conclusion that the stringency of the rules in the Smritis has been authoritatively declared to admit of relaxation in so far as the Grihastha is concerned, though not in the case of those who, vowing to consecrate themselves to a life of piety, practically release themselves from social and political duties and obligations, and are *therefore* denied the immunities held out to those who labour *for* and *in* such society.

If we decide in the affirmative, infinite will be our credit. If in so deciding it, we are forsaken by our kith and kin, it will still be considerably to our credit that we have made a heroic sacrifice for the sake of our country and in the interests of those very kith and kin who may be so cruel as to cast us off. But such social persecution and banishment cannot continue for ever. Our cause is so just and righteous, our principles and methods of action so loyal and upright, our opportunities of doing good so many and varied, that in the long run even our worst enemies will learn to find in us their best friends, and such of our kinsmen as estrange themselves from us will, I believe, gladly associate with us again and restore to us the social privileges that they temporarily withhold from us. Such is my belief, judging from precedents, in other, yet analogous, departures. But if the worst should happen, there is already the beginning of a Congress-caste fundamentally based on Hinduism and substantially in accord with its dictates, and such a visitation as a determined social banishment lasting for any length of time would only tend to cement that caste more closely together and to greater purpose. Thus would it be possible to form the nucleus of a daily multiplying and expansive fraternity, and it would soon be seen at large that by social union with it there is much to gain in matters mundane and little to lose in interests truly spiritual.

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

Whatever may be our decision as to the duty of sending a gallant contingent to London to make up the Session of the Congress there, it is undoubtedly imperative on us to penetrate to the masses here more than hitherto, and deeply imbue them with the spirit of the Congress which is only another name for national sentiment. (*Cheers.*) The impression is still prevalent that as yet the effect of our efforts in this direction has been

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only slight, and we have done little more than to scratch the outer skin and to awaken the spasmodic enthusiasm of our unanglicised brethren. Let us approach them, with all the energy and fervour that we have hitherto brought to the Congress platform, but which energy and fervour—so far as the Indian field is concerned—will not, on the present scale, be necessary for that purpose in future, quite apart from the question whether we should close our Congress labours in India for a time.

Whether we resolve to rest on our oars or not, it becomes our bounden duty all the same to go more amid the masses and to saturate their minds with the aspirations of a united nationality. There is another *very solid reason* for such effort. It involves the fulfilment of a trust; for, constituting the upper strata of the Indian society, we have first caught the light of the enlightened West—as mountain tops catch the first glimpses of the rising sun. But, unlike those glimpses, that light will not descend to the lower strata of our society, unless we actively transmit it from a sense of duty and a sense of honor.

Let us impart to our people, as we are in righteousness bound to do, our conviction that they should cease to look upon the British rule as the rule of a foreign people. We should ask them to look upon our British rulers as filling a gap that has existed in our national economy—as taking the place once held by the Kshatria, and as being therefore part and parcel of the traditional administrative mechanism of the land.

Let us not heed the sinister cry that we shall thereby drag the people of this country into discussing politics—into paths they are supposed never before to have trodden. For our part, we shall only act up to the undoubted right involved in the fact that we are England's subjects; and, as regards our countrymen at large, they will only be brought back to those privileges, which—unquestioned by authority and with the full knowledge of authority—our ancestors are recorded to have enjoyed in their Samsth, Sabhas and Ootwaras, in the days treated of in that grand old epic—the Mahabharata.

Gentlemen, I am deeply thankful to you for the patient and indulgent attention you have accorded to me. Our British rulers have indeed withheld from us the privilege of demonstrating our love and loyalty towards our Sovereign Lady, the Empress Queen, by fighting her battles as volunteers under the British flag; but we have still some consolation left in the fact that "peace hath her victories no less renowned than those of war." The Congress platform is the field on which such bloodless triumphs are to be won, and though as yet we have had but a small measure of success, there is ground for hope in what the poet sings,—

"For freedom's battle once begun,

Though baffled off, is ever won."

We, as the pioneers of the movement, may attain little more than the satisfaction of upholding what is right and protesting against what is wrong; but succeeding generations will reap the fruit of our labours, and will cherish with fond remembrance the names of those who had the courage and the humanity, the singleness of purpose and the self-sacrificing devotion to duty, to work for the benefit of posterity, in spite of calumny and persecution and great personal loss. Men, such as these, may attain no titles of distinction from Government, but they are "nobles by the right of an earlier creation." They may fail to win honour from their contemporaries as the truest apostles, but they are "priests by the imposition of a mightier hand;" and, when their life's work is done, they will have that highest of all earthly rewards,—the sense of having left their country better than they had found it,—the glory of having built up into a united and compact nation the divers races and classes of the Indian population, and the satisfaction of having led a people, sunk in political and social torpor, to think and act for themselves, and strive to work out their own wellbeing by constitutional and righteous methods. (*Loud and continued cheers*).

And now, gentlemen, I have to request you to elect your Subjects Committee.

The delegates representing each of the Congress Circles then handed in slips bearing the names of those delegates chosen by them to represent their circle on the Subjects Committee —

Election
of the
Subjects
Committee.

The General Secretary then read out the names of the gentlemen thus elected, which were as follow:—

CALCUTTA CIRCLE.

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------|-------------|
| 1. | J. GHOSAL, ESQ. | (Calcutta.) |
| 2. | PANDIT PRAN NATH SARASVATI | (do.) |
| 3. | REVD. C. N. BANERJI | (do.) |
| 4. | BABU KALI CHARAN BANERJI | (do.) |
| 5. | " SURENDRA NATH BANERJI | (do.) |
| 6. | " BHUPENDRA NATH BOSE | (do.) |

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CALCUTTA CIRCLE. —(contd.)	7.	BABU HERAMBO CHANDRA MOITRO	(Calcutta.)	
	8.	" PREGO NATH GHOSE	{ do. }	
	9.	" JAGADISH CHANDER LAHIRI	{ do. }	
	10.	" PULIN BIHARI SIRCAR	{ do. }	
	11.	RAI JOTENDRO NATH CHOWDHRY	(24 Pergunnahs.)	
	12.	BABU AKSEAY CHARAN DASS	(Howrah.)	
	13.	" JADU NATH CHATTERJEE	(Nuddeah.)	
	14.	" BISWAMBHUR ROY	{ do. }	
	15.	" JAGADISH MUKERJEE	{ do. }	
	16.	" BASANTA KUMAR BOSE	{ Jessore. }	
	17.	" TRAILOKHYA NATH PAL	{ Midnapur. }	
	18.	RAJAH SRINARAYAN PAL	{ do. }	
	19.	BABU JADU BHUSHON MAZOONDAR	{ Kholna. }	
	DACCA CIRCLE.	1.	BABU DHIRENDRA NATH KASTAGIR	(Chittagong.)
		2.	" PROSONNO KUMAR BOSE	{ Mymensing. }
		3.	DR. M. M. BOSE	{ do. }
		4.	BABU HARA KANTA SEN	{ Burrisal. }
	RAJSHAHYE CIRCLE.	1.	BABU JADUB LAL ROY	{ Bogra. }
		2.	" MADHUB CHUNDER CHATTERJEE	{ Dinajpore. }
3.		" MOHINI MOHAN CHUCKERBUTTY	{ Pubna. }	
4.		" MOHINI MOHUN LAHIRI	{ do. }	
5.		" MUKUND MOHUN MOITRO	{ Rajshahye. }	
BHAGALPUR CIRCLE.	1.	BABU PARBUTTI CHARAN DASS	(Bhagalpur.)	
GHOTA NAGPUR CIRCLE.	1.	BABU JAGAT PAL SAHOY	(Hazaribagh.)	
BEHAR CIRCLE.	1.	BABU GURU PERSHAD SEN	(Bankipur.)	
	2.	" SALIGRAM SINGH	{ do. }	
	3.	MOUVIE ABDUL HAMID	{ do. }	
	4.	MR. PRINGLE KENNEDY	(Mozufferpur.)	
N. W. P. CIRCLE.	1.	MUNSHI KASHI PRASAD	(Allahabad.)	
	2.	PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA	{ do. }	
	3.	" MOTI LAL NEHRU	{ do. }	
	4.	BABU CHARU CHANDAR MITTER	{ do. }	
	5.	PANDIT BALDEO RAM DAVE	{ do. }	
	6.	BABU KALIPROSSONO KAVIYA BISHARAD	{ do. }	
	7.	MUNSHI SADRUDDIN	{ do. }	
	8.	PANDIT PRITHINATH	(Cawnpur.)	
	9.	HAFIZ ABDUR RAHIM	(Aligarh.)	
	10.	PANDIT JWALA DUTT JOSHI	(Almora.)	
OUDE CIRCLE.	1.	BABU BUNSHILAL SINGH	(Lucknow.)	
	2.	REVD. R. C. BOSE	{ do. }	
	3.	BABU B. M. ROY	{ do. }	
	4.	PANDIT SEYAM LAL MASLADAN	{ do. }	
	5.	MUNSHI GUNGA PERSHAD VARMA	{ do. }	
PUNJAB CIRCLE.	1.	LALA MURLIDHAR	(Umballa.)	
	2.	BABA NARAYAN SINGH	(Amritsar.)	
	3.	SODHI NUND KUMAR SINGH	{ do. }	
	4.	CAPTAIN A. BANON	(Lahore.)	
SCINDE CIRCLE.	1.	MR. SHEWAKRAM AWATRAI	(Kurrachee.)	
SURAT CIRCLE.	1.	MR. HARDEORAM NANABHAI HARIDASS	(Surat.)	
SHOLAPUR CIRCLE.	1.	MR. G. K. GOKHALE	(Sholapur.)	
	2.	" P. L. NAGPURKAR	{ do. }	
BELGAUM CIRCLE.	1.	MR. M. B. NANJOSHI	(Belgaum.)	
	2.	" D. S. R. BHATE	{ do. }	

1st Day. Election of the Subjects Committee.	BHUSAWAL CIRCLE.	1. MR. VITHUL GOVIND DASTANE	(Bhusawal.)
		2. " SAKHARAM GANESH	(do.)
	NUGGER CIRCLE.	1. MR. SADASHIV V. JOG	(Ahmednagar.)
		2. " SHAKKAR VINAYEK VABLE	(do.)
	DECCAN CIRCLE.	1. RAO BAHADUR VISHNU MORESHVAR BHIDE	(Poona.)
		2. " " GOBIND RAMCHANDRA GARUD	(do.)
		3. RAO SAHEB PANDURANG RAMCHANDRA KARANDIKAR	(do.)
		4. MR. PUNDLIK NARAYAN	(do.)
	BOMBAY CIRCLE.	1. MR. DINSHAW EDULJEE WAOHA	(Bombay.)
		2. " DAJI ADAJI KHARE	(do.)
		3. " G. R. KIBLOSAR	(do.)
	BERAR CIRCLE.	1. MR. RUNGNATH N. MUDHOLKAR	(Amraoti.)
		2. " G. S. KHAPARDE	(Ellichpur.)
		3. RAO SAHEB DEORAO VINAYEK	(Akola.)
CENTRAL PROVINCES (including Nagpur and Jabalpur Circles.)	1. MR. BHAGIRATH PESHAD	(Nagpur.)	
	2. BABU BIPIN KRISHNA BOSE	(do.)	
	3. MR. LUXMON GOVIND DURASKAR	(Arvi.)	
	4. " BAPURAO DADA	(Nagpur.)	
	5. " GOPALRAO HARI BHIDE	(do.)	
	6. RAO SAHEB CHITNAVIS	(do.)	
	7. MR. GANPATRAO GHATATE	(do.)	
	8. " SADASEO RAO PATWARDHAN	(Harda.)	
	9. " ALFRED NUNDY	(Jabalpur.)	
MADRAS CIRCLE.	1. MR. M. VIRARAGHAYA CHARIAH	(Madras.)	
	2. " VIRASWAMI IYER	(Salem.)	
	3. " M. KRISHNA CHARI	(Madras.)	
	4. " RANGA CHARI	(do.)	
	5. " J. M. NALASWAMI PILLAI	(Madura.)	
	6. " K. APPIAH DIKSHITULU	(Guntur.)	
	7. " PAUL PETER PILLAI	(Madras.)	
	8. " P. KESAVA PILLAI	(Gooty.)	
	9. " K. VENKAT RAO	(Bellary.)	
	10. " K. VENKATA CHARIAR	(Salem.)	
	11. " N. SUBAROW PUNTULU	(Coconada.)	
	12. " P. RAMA CHANDRA PILLAI	(Secunderabad.)	
	13. HON. C. SANKARA NAIR	(Calicut.)	
	14. RAI BAHADUR SABAPATHI MUDLIAR	(Bellary.)	
EX-OFFICIO.	1. RAI BAHADUR P. ANANDA CHARLU	(President and Standing Coun- sel, Madras.)	
	2. MR. C. NARAIN SWAMI NATUDU	(Chairman, Recep- tion Committee, Nagpore.)	
	3. MR. PHEROZSHAH M. MEHTA	(Standing Coun- sel, Bombay.)	
	4. MR. W. C. BONNERJEE	(Standing Coun- sel, Calcutta.)	
	5. MR. A. O. HUME, C. B.	(General Secre- tary, Punjab.)	
	6. HON. PANDIT AJUDHIANATH	(Joint General Secretary, Alla- habad.)	

MR. MULLICK (*Calcutta, No. 34, in list*)—I should like to ask by what process the names of the Bengal delegates, or rather the names of the Committee from Bengal, have been arrived at.

MR. SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 11, in list*)—My friend may not know what has happened. There was a meeting of all the Bengal delegates.

MR. MULLICK.—I am a Bengal delegate. I was not there.

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Election
of the
Subjects
Committee.

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

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

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

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

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

MR. SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 11, in list*)—SISTER AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—I am called upon to move the following resolution, which, although a formal one, is one of the very gravest importance :—

Res. I.
Appointment
of a
Sub-Com-
mittee to
report on
the expedi-
ency of
temporarily
disconti-
nuing the
Annual
Meetings
of the Con-
gress in
India.

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

Ex-Officio Members—

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

Ordinary Members—

- Messrs. Surendranath Banerjee.
- Viraraghava Chariar.
- Hafiz Abdul Raheem.
- Gangapersad Varna.
- Pringle Kennedy.
- Guruprasad Sen.
- D. E. Watcha.
- M. B. Nam Joshi.
- Hamid Ali Khan.
- Vishnu Moreswar Bhide.
- Murlidhar.
- Mudholkar.
- Deo Rao Vinayek.
- Gopal Rao Bhide.
- Bipin Krishna Bose.
- Dajee Abajee Khare.
- Madana Mohan Malaviya.
- Saligram Singh.
- Sankara Nair.

To all outward appearance this is nothing more than a formal resolution, but the question which this Committee will be called upon to discuss is a question of the most vital

1st Day.

Res. 1.
Appointment of a
Sub-Committee to
report on the expedi-
ency of temporarily
discontinuing the
Annual Meetings
of the Congress in
India.

importance as far as this Congress is concerned. "To be or not to be," that is the question, which this Committee will be called upon to decide. Shall the Congress exist as it has existed in the past, or shall it pronounce its doom? That is the important, the vital, the pregnant question with which this Committee is charged. I do not wish to anticipate its verdict. Being on the Committee it would not be right for me to do so. But there are one or two considerations occurring to me at the present moment, which it is as well that I should bring before this meeting. Gentlemen, the spirit in which your opponents deal with any question which you take up is always one useful guide to the manner in which you should treat it. It has, as you know, been suggested that we should not hold any more Annual Congresses until after the British Session. And what is the result? There is jubilation in the camp of the enemy. They say it is the beginning of the end. They say that you are about to abandon the Congress. The beginning of the end? The beginning rather of a new departure which I hope and trust will be memorable in our annals. Abandon the Congress? Much rather abandon life and all that we hold most dear. (*Loud cheers*). Abandon the Congress, the standard round which we have fought for the last eight years, the standard which we trust one day to carry proudly before us to victory? (*Cheers*) Abandon the Congress? No! We will do nothing of the kind. (*Cheers*). We mean to stick to the Congress. (*Cheers*). We mean to hold to it from year's end to year's end, until we have won for ourselves those rights and privileges to which (as natural born subjects of Her Majesty) we are indefeasibly entitled. (*Cheers*). But, gentlemen, let us look for a moment at the other side of the question. We must not blink the matter. It is necessary to consider it in all its bearings. The financial aspect of the question is not to be overlooked. And when I refer to the financial aspect of the question I do so with assurance and confidence. I remember the days of the Bombay Congress. I remember our meeting one afternoon when I had the honour of making an appeal to you for the purpose of aiding the Congress with your funds, and you subscribed on the spot nearly sixty thousand rupees (*more*). Am I to understand that that enthusiasm has flagged, that that devotion has become weak, that the men of 1891 are not the men of 1889? (*No, no!*) I hope not. You are still the same! I am sure of it. Therefore I feel confident that if there is any difficulty with regard to this financial question the matter has only to be laid before you in order to evoke from you that enthusiastic response which you are accustomed to give when questions relating to your purse and connected with acts of self-sacrifice are brought before you. I have said that I do not wish to anticipate the verdict of this Committee. I am confident that it will discuss the question in all its bearings. We desire that the Congress should meet in London. I know nothing of greater importance. It means the culmination of our cherished hopes and aspirations. The Congress *must* be held in London. But if you desire this, it is necessary that we should keep up the fire, and maintain the national enthusiasm by continuing to hold the Congress sittings here. Therefore, having regard to all these considerations, but without attempting to anticipate the verdict of the Committee, I hope you will decide by an unanimous vote, by an emphatic and eloquent vote, by a vote which will carry with it a splendid money gift, to go on holding our Congresses in India, and that for the very same reasons that have decided you to hold the Congress in London, namely as essential steps to the realization of those national hopes and aspirations which we tenderly cherish, and the fruition of which we look forward to bequeathing as a priceless legacy to future generations of our beloved but now suffering country. (*Loud cheers.*)

SHRINIBHAI PRANNATH SARASWATI (*Calcutta, No. 15, in list*)—I should have thought that it was a work of supererogation for any one to second a resolution so ably and eloquently proposed for our acceptance. I do it more as a matter of form than of necessity, and I am sure that you will unanimously accept the resolution. The subject is one of great importance, involving the consideration of many details; and it is therefore only right and proper that a small and able Committee should sit to investigate the matter in all its bearings and to present to us a report which, by the weight of the names attached to it, will command unanimous acceptance.

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

THE PRESIDENT.—Before you leave I have the pleasure of inviting you, on behalf of the Reception Committee, to an evening party in this Pavilion, and trust that you will give us the honor of your presence at 9 o'clock.

Adjournment of the Assembly.

The Congress then adjourned until next day at 11.15 A.M. The Subjects Committee assembled and sat until 8.30 P.M.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Tuesday, December 29th, 1891.

THE Congress reassembled at 11-15 A.M.

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

2nd Day.

Cheers for Mr. Gladstone on his commencement of his 83rd year.

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

THE PRESIDENT.—I will now call upon Mr. Bannerjee to move the 2nd Resolution.

MR. SURENDRA NATH BANNERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 11, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, SISTER AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—I rise to move the following resolution:—

Res. II.
Reform of the Legislative Councils.

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

In moving this resolution you will permit me to observe that our present gathering is one of peculiar solemnity. Ordinarily speaking the meetings of the National Congress are sufficiently solemn. There is a dignity, a majesty about our proceedings which may be said to lie beyond what can attend gatherings convened at the fiat of official authority. It is no king, no priest nor prophet, who has brought us here on this occasion, unless it be that we have hied from the most distant parts of the empire in obedience to the summons of our illustrious friend behind me, the prophet of our race (*cheers*), who, emulating the sacrifice and the devotion of the *Rishis* of olden times, has consecrated the evening of his life to the service of the land of his adoption. (*Cheers*). Oh, no! We have come here under the irresistible pressure of an overwhelming impulse. It is the Spirit of patriotism that moves us and animates our being: it is this Spirit which is the presiding divinity of this place. Solemn, then, as our ordinary gatherings are, the circumstances of this meeting enhance its solemnity. We have met to confirm and ratify, by our seal and sanction, our deliberations in the past. Looking back to the past, we may well review it with hope and enthusiasm. I will not tread upon the ground which was so eloquently touched last night in that admirable discourse from the chair to which we listened with so much respect and attention. Nor will I seek to spoil the effect of that eloquence by expressing in language, less powerful than his, the toil-won achievements of this great national gathering. But this I will say without fear of challenge or contradiction, that there never has been a question taken up by this national gathering which we have not brought nearer to solution. Take, for instance, the question of the police. You took it up and discussed it, and recorded resolutions regarding it, and that is the question which is now being earnestly discussed and considered by the different Governments. You took up the question of the excise system, and the out-stills have been abolished throughout the districts of Bengal, with an exception here and there, while in the Madras Presidency the liquor shops have been closed by thousands. (*Cheers*.) You took up the question of the income-tax; and at the present moment I have reason to believe that the Government is considering the feasibility of raising the minimum of taxable income from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. (*Cheers*).

You advocated the creation of councils for the N. W. Provinces and the Panjab. The N. W. Provinces have got their council, and that for the Panjab is being actively discussed. You pleaded for justice to the Indians in the matter of the public service, and they gave us, if nothing else, the Public Service Commission, and raised the age for the admission of candidates. You insisted on the separation of the judicial and executive functions, Lord Dufferin admitted that, in this matter, yours were counsels of perfection, and now I learn that in Madras, by next April, that separation will have become an accomplished fact. (*Loud cheers*). Then, again, you gave voice to the voiceless, heralded forth the cries of the poor by insisting upon the reduction of the salt duty. And what did the Viceroy of India say on the occasion of the

2nd Day.

Res. II.
Reform of
the Legis-
lative
Councils.

St. Andrew's Dinner, held about a fortnight ago? He said that if the financial position of the Government of India ever made it possible to consider the question of a reduction of taxes, the salt duties would be the first to be thought of. (*Cheers*). And, lastly, you took up the question, the question of all questions, which lies at the base of the Congress platform, the question of representative Government, and you have brought it within the range of practical politics. (*Cheers*.) When you took up that question seven or eight years ago, you were greeted with a burst of derisive laughter and scorn. That scorn and that laughter have now given place to respectful attention and recognition, and Lord Dufferin, no friend of the Congress movement, thought it necessary, pressed by circumstances over which he had no control, to recommend a reform of the Councils somewhat upon the lines indicated by the Congress. He recommended the reconstitution of the provincial councils upon an elective basis, and further, the expansion of the functions of the Legislative Councils, and, what is still more extraordinary, a Tory Government, with its re-actionary policy, with its traditions about the black-man, with its avowed policy (at least on the part of one responsible minister) to discourage talent and to encourage mediocrity. Such a Government has felt itself constrained to introduce a Bill with a view of giving effect to one portion of this reform. I think, gentlemen, looking at all this, that we have reason to be proud of what we have achieved. What is the position of the question at the present moment? It is as well that you should take a review of the situation. I think it may safely be said that the question has advanced by leagues! Circumstances have occurred, and evidence can be adduced within the last few months in support of the contention of the Congress leaders. Last Wednesday the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal issued a resolution on the working of the municipalities in Bengal, in which he distinctly declared that he was on the whole well satisfied with the working of the Bengal municipalities. (*Cheers*.) Sir Charles Eliot is no respecter of persons or of institutions; he does not share in any of those sentiments which may be said to be peculiar to the Congress party; he is a matter-of-fact, business-like politician; and that is the opinion which he has placed on record. But that is not all. This is the opinion not only of Sir Charles Eliot but of a succession of Bengal Governors. Sir Ashley Eden, Sir Rivers Thomson, Sir Stewart Bayley have all expressed their deliberate opinion to the effect that the general results of local self-government have been satisfactory throughout Bengal. And I presume that similar testimony would be forthcoming from the other provinces. What then does all this imply? If it implies anything, it implies this: We go and tell the Government you have conferred upon us the boon of local self-government, you have tried us by conferring that privilege upon us, and you have found that we have been eminently successful in regard to that matter: therefore we claim, on the basis of our past achievements, that the principle should be extended to the wider concerns of the province and of the empire. (*Cheers*.) But that is not all. Take the case of the Mysore representative assembly. That assembly was not the creation of agitation; it was the product of the spontaneous beneficence of a far-seeing statesman whose memory ought to be cherished by the people of Southern India, C. Runga Charlu (*cheers*), and the labours of that assembly have been so singularly successful that the present Dewan, not the author of the original scheme but its watchful guardian, has found it necessary to reconstitute the present legislative assembly upon a partially representative and elective basis. It has been reserved—I say it with regret, but the fact must be stated—for a native State, supposed to be, in regard to culture, intelligence and the arts of progressive Government, behind Her Majesty's own dominions, to set an example to the British Government which that Government may do well to imitate. But, gentlemen, the most hopeful feature of the position lies in the attitude of the liberal party in England with regard to our progress. You are probably noting the tide of circumstances in England in connection with the Bill. The Government is playing a sort of hide-and-seek game in connection with the Bill. It introduces the Bill in the beginning of the year, it drops it towards the end of the year; and this process has been going on during the last two or three years. Can you solve the enigma? I think I can, at any rate, help you to a solution. In 1890 we had a conference (Mr. Hume and Mr. Mudholkar were there, and two or three others) with Mr. Gladstone, who gave us a sort of promise that he would speak in favour of Mr. Bradlaugh's amendment in support of the recognition of the elective element in the constitution of the Councils. The Government was alarmed; and well it might be. The fear has never since left them. They introduce the Bill as a matter of form, and drop it as a matter of necessity. (*Laughter and cheers*). That seems to be the explanation of the riddle. It is said in the resolution that, unless the people of this country, through their duly elected representatives, are allowed a substantial voice in the task of legislation, the country cannot be well or properly governed. Is the country well governed at the present moment? That is a very serious question. I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that it is not well governed. I mean no sort of reflection upon the official classes. There are very many honorable men amongst them, especially among the officials of this province, who are doing their very best in the arduous situations in which they find themselves. It is not the men who are to blame; it is the system; it is the bureaucracy, the autocratic despotism that has been established, that must be arraigned before the bar of public opinion in India and throughout the

civilized world. To my mind it is a matter of astonishment that the system has been so successful as it has been. The reason is that it contains the leaven of popular institutions. It is a despotism tempered by a free press and by the right of public meeting. It is because of this element of popular institutions that the Government has been so far successful. But I say again the country is not properly governed. Finances form the backbone of an administration. John Bright, in one of his memorable speeches about India, said: "Tell me the financial position of a Government, and I will tell you all about the condition of the people, their prospects and their happiness." What is the financial position of the Government of India? It may be briefly summed up. It is a position of ever-recurring deficits diversified by ever-increasing debt. Do you call that a properly governed country? I say, no! Famines are of constant occurrence; and millions of lives are lost every few years through starvation. Sir William Hunter said a dozen years ago that forty millions of our people live on one meal a day; he would have alas! to raise the figure considerably now. The other day, when a great province was suffering from scarcity, and afflictions of a serious nature were impending, a provincial governor was indulging in a little devil-dancing in a summer retreat on the hills. Do you call that proper Government, righteous efficient Government? *I do not!* If you do, your conception of things and mine greatly differ, but I know well that *that is not* the conception of Congress men. The resolution also states that the people of this country cannot remain satisfied or contented unless, in the task of legislation, the assistance of properly elected men is secured by the Government. England has educated us, and has awakened in our minds ambitions which she is bound to satisfy. England has given us a free press, and has conferred upon us the inestimable boon of local self-government; she has placed in our midst the marvels of Western civilization; she has given us information and knowledge; she has stimulated the intellect and ennobled the character; and we should be less than human if, having lived under these influences, we were not fired with the lofty desire to transplant into our country some at least of those institutions which have contributed to uprear the fabric of English renown and greatness. (*Cheers*) Millions of money have been spent upon frontier defences, and God knows how many more millions will be spent upon those defences. But it seems to me amazing that the Government of the country should neglect to avail itself of those resources which lie near at hand, and which, if properly utilized, would afford the best safeguard against a Russian invasion. Could they by a process of justice and conciliation win the love and the enthusiastic gratitude of the people of India, that would be a barrier which would hurl back the multitudinous hordes of the Czar. But the policy of the Government is not a policy of conciliation I am sorry to say. At times it is an irritating policy. Take the case of the volunteers. We are excluded from enrolment as volunteers. Armenians, Negroes, West African mulattos, and nondescripts of humanity who infest the back slums of Calcutta—these are all eligible as volunteers, these are our martial heroes, these are the defenders of our hearths and homes. These are invidious distinctions; and I am sure that they must disappear before the irresistible might of constitutional agitation. They are opposed to the spirit of British law; they are opposed to the spirit of that law which is higher than all human laws, the law of nature, which is engraved on the hearts and consciences of the people of this country. Gentlemen, you are on the right track. Wisely have you resolved to hold a session of the Congress in London. If you care for the political amelioration of your people, if you care to win for them the inestimable boon of representative institutions, you cannot do better. England is the home of representative Government, the sanctuary of the free and brave. The history of England is, in the eloquent words of Mr. Gladstone, the history of the growth of representative institutions, a consecrated possession that in the counsels of Providence has been entrusted to the care and guardianship of the English people. To a people with such traditions and such instincts an appeal from the only great dependency where representative institutions do not exist can but elicit one reply; and that reply will be in conformity with their noble traditions and in keeping with your legitimate aspirations. God grant that you may have strength of purpose to persevere in the effort to hold a session of Congress in London! God grant that you may overcome the obstacles, and they are legion, which lie in your path! God grant that you may be in a position to redeem the solemn word of honor which you have given in the eyes of the civilized world? Yes, your honor is pledged. You have entered into a solemn league and covenant before the eyes of man and God to hold a Congress in London. You may argue, you may philosophize, you may sophisticate; you cannot get out of your position, you cannot wriggle out of it. There you stand; your credit, your name, your reputation, the future of your country, the glory of your race, the possibilities of your advancement, are all staked upon the redemption of that solemn promise. I am sure you will rise to the height of the occasion. I have no misgivings, no doubts, I am sure the Congress will be held in London; and when that is done you will not only have taken the most effective step towards the accomplishment of those aspirations which you have cherished for generations, but your Congress, political in its character, in its scope and in its tendencies, will have paved the way for the solution of a great social question which, in all its bearings upon distant posterity, will bring messages of unspeakable benefit and happiness to this country. (*Loud cheers*).

2nd Day.

Res. II.
Reform of
the Legis-
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2nd Day.

Res. II.
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REV. R. C. BOSE (*Lucknow, No 126, in list*)—Coming, as I do, immediately after the most popular orator in India, I labour under peculiar disadvantages, and I am tempted to set forth my own unworthiness in a long preamble. But I resist the temptation and begin the business. In an able article which recently appeared in a well-known religious periodical an objection to the attitude of the Congress, which may be set aside as old, is reproduced, and an assertion made which cannot but strike us as very strange indeed. Some of the evils by which our social life is disfigured, and which peremptorily demand rectification, are dwelt upon in the article under notice, and it is triumphantly affirmed that we are wasting our time and attention in striving to form “the tail of the legislative council” rather than in removing evils which are admittedly demoralizing. It is an indisputable fact that by far the majority of those who would see our attention concentrated on social questions are animated by a very unworthy motive. They do not care a straw for the removal of our social maladies, and their aim, obviously, is to create a diversion in favour of the exclusive privileges with which they are blessed in this country. The latent sentiment of their hearts vocalized is “whether you remedy your social evils or not is a matter of very little consequence to us, only leave politics and our political ascendancy untouched.” But, there are a few gentlemen who sincerely believe that in view of the magnitude of our social evils we are squandering away our energy in fruitless political discussions, and who, therefore, advise us to direct our attention from these discussions to the removal of those evils. We respect these persons, but we must be permitted to say that the advice they kindly give us involves a two-fold error. What right have they to draw a sharp line of demarcation between political evils and social evils? Are not political evils related to social evils as antecedents are related to their consequents, as causes are related to their effects? Does not political degradation often, if not invariably, bring about social degradation? The truth is the two classes of evils, political and social, act and re-act on each other, and if we begin reform in one region, the region in which it is practicable at present, and leave the other for a time untouched, we cannot reasonably be accused of wasting our energy. Again, political evils are surely as deplorable and demoralizing as social evils. In fact, political evils are to-day eating like cankerworms into the vitals of life in India as thoroughly and decidedly as social evils. What social evil is greater than the extravagant cost of the machinery of the State on account of which millions of our countrymen are not only ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-roused, but brought to the borders, or rather the horrors, of starvation. Are not the taxes which fall most heavily on the classes least able to bear them as demoralizing as, say, early marriage? Is not that political death which is the inevitable result of our exclusion from the legislative councils of our own country and from its administration—is not that political death, as great an evil as any social evil that can be named or imagined? Again, we do not by any means strive to “form the tail of the legislative council.” On the contrary we oppose, with might and main, what may be called the tail system. The nominated members of, say, the Imperial Legislature, those who are nominated on account of their wealth rather than their intelligence and ability, are its tails, magnificent tails, tails in a blaze of purple and jewellery! But the members to be elected by the people are sure to form vital parts of its body, to complete its organism; they are to infuse new life into it; they are to cause new blood to rush through its veins; they are to effect in it, and through it, a revolution fraught with lasting good to the country. (*Loud cheers.*)

One word more, and I shall have done. The National Congress has been, during the last seven years, passing through its enthusiastic age. But its age of enthusiasm must give place to an era of cool calculation; its heroic age must be superseded by an age of calm statesmanship before it can be a source of permanent benefit to this country. In other words, its enthusiasm, which has been noisy, impetuous and dashing like the sources of a mighty river, must expand into a broad and tranquil stream ere it can fertilize the dreary wastes of Indian politics. (*Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT.—GENTLEMEN,—This resolution is one in regard to which no two opinions exist, or can exist, amongst us Indians. We have much to do, and therefore if you approve I will, without calling upon other speakers (and every man present is, I believe, ready to speak on this question), at once put the question. (*Cries of yes, yes. Vote, vote.*)

Then, gentlemen, the 2nd Resolution—we passed the first, if you remember, yesterday in appointing that Sub-Committee—the 2nd Resolution, I say, will run as follows:—

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

The Resolution was then put and carried by acclamation.

THE PRESIDENT.—I will now call on Mr. Pringle Kennedy to propose the 3rd Resolution.

2nd Day

MR. PRINGLE KENNEDY (*Mozufferpore, No. 73, in list*)—GENTLEMEN,—The proposition which I have the honor to move runs as follows :—

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

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

That this unhappy condition of affairs is largely due to—

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

That hence it has become imperatively necessary—

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

that measures be at once taken to give, as was promised by the British Government thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the Land Revenue demand, and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which, under the existing system of temporary settlements, in recent times often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to 10 and 12 years, is found to be impossible ; and to establish agricultural Banks.

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

“Peace, economy, reform :” the good old cause, the grand old cry—a cry, which to me, at least, and millions in Europe, comes like the sound of a trumpet. These are the three watchwords which we find in this resolution. You cannot have one without the others ; where one is not neither of the other two can flourish. First Peace : We ask that the army of India should be primarily armed for defence, not for offence, and we also ask that the waste from these so-called frontier defences may cease. You all know that since the days when the good old policy of that good old man, Lord Lawrence, was abandoned, the Indian Government, under the lead of Lord Beaconsfield, went in search of a scientific frontier ; and you know that the scientific frontier has ever been pursued hither and thither and has never been found. Like a certain Japhot, who went in search of a father, we are still searching for it. Some time ago it was Kandahar, then it was Herat ; now we learn it is on the Pamirs ; and shortly I suppose we shall hear that it is in the Gobi desert or in the Great Sahara. We are told, and I believe told in all good faith, that this scientific frontier is needed for the purposes of defence. But it needs neither seer nor expert to say that, if it ever does become of any sort of use, it will not be used as an instrument of defence but of offence. England, by its geographical position happily, and India to a less extent, but still to a great extent (though I am afraid that the Government policy, which I do not like to characterize, is doing its best to do away with this insularity), needs not a militarism similar to that which, like a night-mare, weighs down the nations of Europe. The other day the German Chancellor said : “Peace, peace, all is peace ; still I must have more troops.” Now, Germany has an enemy on one side and an enemy on the other ; but we have no enemy on either side, unless we persistently go forward to seek him. My friend has already referred to the real defence of the country. Nobody will accuse the Earl of Derby of being an agitator. But it was he who said in the old debates of 1878 : “A full treasury, a prosperous and contented people—these are the real defences of the country.” If our rulers will not listen to the Earl of Derby, let them go a little further back and read the statement, which deserves to be remembered for all time, by Sir Thomas More : “Better rule a small territory and rule it well than rule a world and rule it

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badly." Next Economy. We ask for a reduction of both military and civil expenditure. Even for the best of Governments, for the ablest administrations, a nation may pay too highly; there must be some limit to expense. According to the old homely phrase, "you must cut your coat according to the cloth." The most obvious reform in civil expenditure would be the substitution, as far as practicable, of cheaper indigenous for more expensive imported agency. The home charges, which are really the greatest incubus on the Indian Treasury, consist in considerable part of charges connected with this more expensive European agency which we have to use. Then still more heavily figure in these home charges items with reference to military expenditure caused by the fact that the English Government, or the Secretary of State for India, regularly makes India the scape-goat for all experiments; it is the "vile body" on which experiments in military science and other matters of military administration may be tried; and, last of all, we ask for reform, first and chiefly, we ask for reform as regards the Councils. We ask that the people should have a potential voice in the making of the laws which they all have to obey, and in the settling of taxation which they will all have to pay. At present, to look at it in another way, the Government gets a great part of its knowledge of the feeling of the people from the newspapers. These are very valuable in many cases. But what we want is to have duly accredited representatives in the place of irresponsible newspaper editors (too often appointed by themselves). Then other reforms are asked for, prominent among which are fixity in our settlements, and also that the Government should help agriculturists by the establishment of banks. Let me ask your attention for a short time to the terms of the resolution. First, we make the statement, which I believe is nowhere doubted, that a great part of the people are in the deepest poverty. Millions, as we have been told, have not, from year's end to year's end, a sufficiency of food. From one day to another they do not know, what every one of us knows every day of his life, what it is to have their stomachs full. Actual starvation carries off a part; but who can tell the millions carried off by diseases which are engendered and fostered by insufficient nourishment? This mournful fact is acknowledged by all. Many responsible statesmen, in admitting it, argue that it is a law of nature—a huge population and an insufficient supply of food, and they come to the conclusion that nothing can be done. For my part, I will never accept what I may call the philosophy of despair. It seems to me very much as if a doctor who could not radically cure his patient should decline to treat him at all. We know that all the ills of mankind cannot be removed by the best Governments; but we know,—and history shows it in a thousand instances—that many ills can be thus removed. Then, having stated in our preamble that the people are very poor, we state what we believe to be three causes of the same. As regards the first, I need say nothing, as you have already heard enough from a more eloquent tongue than mine. As to the second point, the question of economy, we have already heard something, but I must add something more. Let no one think that we ask for an inferior army. We want as good an army as we can get. But we also want value for our money. A smaller army of veterans, hardy and intred to the climate, we are told on the highest military authority, would be better than a large army consisting of unacclimatized boys, a great number of whom die or have to go home every year on account of sickness, and who leave the army almost in every case just as they are beginning to be useful. As to the active army, as military authorities tell us, a great number of regiments are such that we could never think of putting them in line against the one enemy that we are told we have alone to fear—the Russians. In that case, what is the need for them at all? In another resolution we speak of the means whereby the internal peace of the country may be sufficiently kept. Some twelve years ago there was a commission headed by Sir Ashley Eden, in which certain recommendations were put forward. Those recommendations, I believe, were accepted by almost every responsible head of the army in India, the dissentions being very few. Yet those recommendations have never been carried out, simply for one reason, that the Secretary of State, and other persons around him, decline to part with their patronage. If one could get rid of a few useless general appointments it would do more good to the country than the disbanding of more than one regiment. As regards the civil administration I have already spoken. With reference to economy, all may be summed up by saying that if several of the millions, which now go into the coffers of the Government were left to fructify in the pockets of the people, much of the present poverty might disappear.

As regards the land settlement I will give you one instance.

In Gurgaon, in the Punjab, an assessment was made early in the Seventies, which was called a fair-weather settlement. About 1877 or 1878 came the years of famine. In 1881 or 1882 the people were numbered again; and, speaking from memory, I believe I am within the mark in saying that there was a diminution of 500,000 as compared with 1871. Now, where do you think I got this information? I have not got it from the railings of the native press. I have got it from the *Pioneer* itself, the organ of the Imperial Government, which, while the last Congress was sitting in Calcutta, actually published an article on the subject which, if

any of us on this platform had spoken, we should have been called liars, sedition-mongers, and I do not know what else. Well, Sir, we want to make future settlements on the Gurgaon principle impossible. Let me refer to Bengal. When the Permanent Settlement of 1796 took place there, two-thirds of it were calculated to be jungle; now the greater part of it blossoms like a rose; and, although the Government loses in regard to the land, it has a large revenue from other sources of income which have only become fruitful, because the people are prosperous. In Behar they are not so prosperous. The population is denser than in any other part of India, but, poor as the people are, they would be poorer still if they knew that at the end of 30 years the assessment was to be renewed. In the latter days of the old assessment they would make no wells and no improvements, knowing that they would ultimately be confiscated in great part (to use plain English) by the Government.

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We also ask that the ryot should be able to get money in times of distress from agricultural banks. He now borrows from the village money-lender. What we want is that he should get his money at easier rates than at present. There is plenty of money in the country, and all that is wanted is to give the persons who lend abundant security, and let those that need it for the land have money at low rates of interest.

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

MR. MUDHOLKAR (*Behar, No. 273, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT; BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The 3rd Resolution which my friend Mr. Pringle Kennedy has proposed in so able and eloquent a manner is one which concerns the most vital interests of our people. It is a resolution which I may say affords the most convincing proof of the necessity that exists for what my friend has called the policy of peace, economy and reform. The resolution proposed by our great countryman Surendra Nath Banerjee, which has been aptly called the main plank in our platform—the resolution about the reform of the Legislative Councils—is one which is brought forward, not on mere speculative grounds, but on the highest practical considerations. It is because we feel that the present system of Government is not productive of those benefits which were expected from the pure intentions of its founders that we have considered it necessary to advocate its reform. Every form of Government, like all human expedients, is only a means to an end; and, if we find that this present form of Government is inadequate to secure the objects expected from it, it is necessary that it should be reformed. We say that, in spite of the noble and generous intentions of the British people and the British Government, the India of to-day presents a most mournful and abnormal spectacle. Here is a country which poets have called the land of gold and pearls. The wealth of India is a simile familiar to all readers of literature. The mineral resources of the country are second to none in this world. And what do you find, and that under (so far as intentions go) one of the best Governments established by human agency? There is peace (at any rate internally, on the ever-expanding frontiers, of course, Government has always some war on hand), there is order, there are courts of justice, there is security of property; and in a country with all these natural advantages what do we find? We find that there is acute, widespread, growing poverty, that the masses are every day sinking lower and lower, that there is an utter absence of any economic staying power in them. It is natural that in face of results like these the minds of the people should be occupied with this unhappy state of affairs, and that they should ask for the reasons for this phenomenon. It may perhaps be said that our statement as to the people growing poorer is but the vapouring of the press or random assertions. What I say is not based on my knowledge, though I of course know it well; I do not advance it on my own authority, but on the authority of the responsible officials of the Government. Here we have had Sir Wm. Hunter, Director General of Statistics of the Government of India, saying emphatically years ago, that fully 40 millions in India went through life with insufficient food. Then there is Sir Charles Eliot, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, writing as Chief Commissioner of Assam, who says: "I do not hesitate to say that half the agricultural population do not know from one year's end to another what

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it is to have a full meal." Then there is another authority, Mr. Harrington, Commissioner of Lucknow, who says, that he has not the slightest hesitation in stating that the greater part of the population of India suffers from a daily insufficiency of food. Endless testimony to the same effect could be cited. That is the spectacle which is afforded you under this most beneficent of rules.

Take, again, the dismal record of famine. What do the Famine Commissioners themselves say? They say that there have been 17 great famines in this land of plenty in comparatively recent times. During the 12 years which preceded 1878, as many as 12 millions died. Most of these occurrences happened, not in the Native States, but in British India, in provinces directly under the Government of the British people (*Shame!*) Compare this heavy loss which the country has sustained with the deaths which occurred from what are called preventible causes in other countries. Take, for instance, the number who have died from war in Europe and in America. During the hundred years from 1793 to 1890, only four and a half million people died from war. Here, in India, you find that during some 12 years some 12 millions of people died from famine and starvation, the most miserable of deaths, and this to be wondered at when you see how poor the people are, what their average income is, and how utterly impossible it is for them, in the best of times, to do more than just keep body and soul together? What is the average annual income of an Indian? From official statistics it is put down at Rs. 27; this is the estimate of Sir E. Baring, a responsible minister of Government. But Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee's calculations show it to be nearer Rs. 20. In England the average income is £41, which, at the present rate of exchange, is Rs. 570. In the United Kingdom it is £35 per annum. For the poorest country in Europe it is £9; but for India it is less than £1 10s. Again, see from Government statistics what is necessary for the most frugal meals to be given even to the lowest people. The jail diet costs Rs. 23; the camp follower's diet costs the Government Rs. 30; the native sepoy's diet Rs. 42. According to the calculation of Sir James Peel, formerly member of the Bombay Legislative Council, and now a member of the Secretary of State's Council, it is necessary to have at least Rs. 40 for maintaining a Deccan agriculturist. Now, when you find that the average income per head in India is, even according to the officials, only Rs. 27, and that in all probability it does not exceed Rs. 21 for all purposes, and that for only feeding the criminals in jails, it is necessary to have Rs. 23, you can judge for yourselves what the condition of the masses must be. Especially if you bear in mind that this is an average, and that while several millions have immensely more, scores of millions have much less. If you require Rs. 30 for camp followers, people cannot maintain themselves for Rs. 21 and pay a lot of taxes besides. The result of this is that from one-fourth to one-fifth of our vast population are ever perilously near starvation. In normal years they manage with difficulty to keep themselves, but in years of scarcity, then comes the trial; and what happens? By hundreds of thousands, by millions, the people succumb, and there is an end of the whole thing; a large death-roll furnished by the dismal record of the history of the famine. On the other hand, what do you find in this the poorest of countries. You find that there is an administration which is perhaps the costliest in the world. It has been estimated that the gross income in India is about 540 millions of tens of rupees. Of this it is calculated that 450 millions are required for the most necessary expenses, so that there remain only 90 millions available. Out of this 90 millions let us see how much the Government requires from us. The gross revenue of the Government, according to the latest calculation, is slightly above 82 millions. From this we deduct the charges of the income from railways and opium (which are not taxation properly so called), and there remain 56 millions to be supplied out of the 90 millions; the balance being what is left for 250 millions of people for every purpose except the barest necessities, amounting to 4 annas per head of the population. When you find that the people are growing poorer day-by-day, and that the expenditure is not only so enormous but daily increasing, as the Secretary of State's memorandum admits, the subject is one requiring the most careful and anxious thought. It is one about which we have cried ourselves hoarse to the Government, but our voice is like "the voice of one crying in the wilderness." It is, therefore, necessary for us to carry our appeal to a higher, a more potent, and let us hope a more willing tribunal. The spectacle which India affords is one which civilized England ought not to look upon with equanimity. It is one which does not do credit to their administration. If these stern facts are brought to the notice of the people of England, we have great hopes that a nation which has spent millions upon millions in obtaining the emancipation of the Negroes will not fail to give a response to our appeal; and I feel sure that if we set to work in the right way with one accord and one heart, we shall obtain some redress, at any rate, of our cruel grievances. It is for you, gentlemen, to do the work. (*Cheers*).

MR. MURLIDHAR (*Panjab, No. 132, in list*), then spoke in Urdu. He said:—

BROTHERS,—I marvelled greatly that I was told off to speak on this question, seeing that much abler exponents of our grievances were already on the list, but I know, now; people

cannot listen so long to the sweet voices of the nightingales, the polished phrases of so many silver-tongued orators without longing, by way of contrast, for the hootings of the owl or the hoarse croak of the raven—in other words for the rough untutored speech of some uneducated man like myself. (*Laughter*). Ah you laugh! but it is I who am to blame, for the tale I have to tell of the poverty of India's people is too sad, too hopeless for even a passing smile.

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Alas, as a young and beautiful girl wedded to an old and decrepid husband, can enjoy no happiness, so India yoked to cruel poverty can know neither prosperity nor comfort. Look round you, you who rich and happy, have never known what it is to feel really the pangs of hunger, least of all to hear your children crying vainly for the food you cannot, cannot give them. Look round you in every hamlet in every town, and you will find scores or hundreds, who never, or very rarely, know what it is not to be pinched by hunger, who can reckon up child after child murdered by long-continued semi-starvation.

No doubt for nearly 1,000 years there has been Poverty in the land. She is an old hag, once a slave girl of Muhumud of Ghuzni, who, having robbed and ravaged India, left her behind him as a parting curse. But it needed the fostering influences of our well-intentioned but purblind Government to render that hag prolific, and now, lo! she has brought forth a brood—wretchedness, misery, degradation, famine, pestilence and crime tenfold more evil than herself, which now hold millions and millions of our brethren and their hapless children tightly clutched in their cruel grip, and you;—you, it seems, are content to join with these accursed monsters in battenning on the heart's blood of your brethren (*cries of no, no.*) I say, yes, look round; what are all these chandeliers and lamps, and European made chairs and tables, and smart clothes and hats, and English coats and bonnets and frocks, and silver-mounted canes, and all the luxurious fittings of your houses, but trophies of India's misery, mementoes of India's starvation! Every rupee you have spent on Europe-made articles is a rupee of which you have robbed your poorer brethren, honest handicraftsmen, who can now no longer earn a living. Of course I know that it was pure philanthropy which flooded India with English-made goods, and surely, if slowly, killed out every indigenous industry—pure philanthropy which, to facilitate this, repealed the import duties and flung away three crores a year of a revenue which the rich paid, and to balance this wicked sacrifice raised the salt tax, which the poor pay; which is now pressing factory regulations on us, to kill if possible the one tiny new industrial departure India could boast. Oh, yes, it is all philanthropy, but the result is that from this cause, amongst others, your brethren are starving. (*Shame, shame*)

Not 30 years ago wheat sold for 1½ mauls and gram for 2 mauls for the rupee, for our grain was not exported to foreign lands. Now it is six times as dear, and six times as hard for the poor to fill their bellies, because our philanthropists have conjured up the phantasm of free trade to drain our granaries. Free trade, fair play between nations, how I hate the sham. What fair play in trade can there be between impoverished India and the bloated capitalist England? As well talk of a fair fight between an infant and a strong man—a rabbit and a boa-constrictor. No doubt it is all in accordance with high economic science, but my friends remember this—this, too, is starving your brethren.

And our good Government is so grieved at the decay of all native industries, so anxious that we should once more be in a position to supply ourselves and find work here for our people, that they have established, I believe, nearly one dozen technical schools, amongst 300 millions of people. (*Hear, hear. Shame, shame.*)

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

Then there is the costly, utterly unsuitable, foreign system (this too is imported, like so many of our other blessing-) of civil and criminal, mis-called justice. I say our so-called courts of justice are too generally dens of injustice. Litigation, fostered and fomented by

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this system—(a voice), “but you are a pleader yourself.” (*Laughter.*) Yes, I am a pleader, and hence thoroughly know what I am speaking about. (*Cheers.*) Litigation, I say, the necessary result of this unsuitable and alien system of judicature, has ruined large sections of the community morally and materially. Millions, who would otherwise have remained honest and truthful men, are now rogues and professional liars. In old days there was no tax on justice. You did not always get it, but when you did, it was free. Now I really think you never get it except by accident, and those foolish enough to go to courts to seek it, even if they go with full pockets, return as paupers, for fees and stamps and law charges of innumerable kinds, to say nothing of bribes, are now the order of the day. But this system of judicature is, also, helping to starve the people.

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

Gentlemen, the time of my dissolution is fast approaching, the angel of death has already sounded my doom. I will only say this; as a result of the causes, which I have touched upon and many others, which the President will not allow me to treat of, millions, millions of your countrymen, aye, and of their wives and children, are at this moment, have been any time this last 20 years and will, for all the Government of India seems inclined to do, remain forever, on the verge of starvation, in the depths of misery, and if you have the hearts of men, if you care for happiness in this world, if you would avoid misery in the next, you will persevere with redoubled and ever-growing energy and zeal in this glorious contest which the Congress is carrying on against despotic mismanagement and blundering philanthropy. You will persevere, regardless of the sneers of cynics, the frowns of authority and the base apathy of so many of your own people, until you wring from free England and free Britons, the reforms the Congress is fighting for and the political enfranchisement of our at present down-trodden and enslaved country. (*Loud and continued cheers.*)

MR. D. E. WACHA (*Bombay, No. 257, in list*)—I fear that, suffering as I am from a severe cold and sore throat, I may, perhaps, not be heard distinctly in every part of the pavilion, but I trust you will excuse me for any shortcomings, arising from this complaint, in the discharge of the duty that is entrusted to me. But for the fact that the question of the growing military expenditure of the country in all its branches, on which I am called upon to speak, is of the highest importance to our national well-being, I would have fain foregone the pleasure of addressing you

With this preliminary observation I now proceed with the subject in question. The speakers who preceded me have made you fairly acquainted, more or less, with the question of the prevailing poverty in India; and none, I think, has brought more vividly home to us the miserable condition of the masses, mostly the agricultural population, than our old friend Mr. Murlidhur, who has just left the tribune. The lifelike picture which he drew, and the object lesson he tried to convey to you thereby, were indeed most heartrending. They were such as might have moved even celestial hearts to pain. This, gentlemen, is the condition of the country to be witnessed from year to year, and if any person in India has devoted a lifetime to the study of the facts relating to this harrowing condition, and incessantly laboured to make us and our rulers understand the true causes of that poverty, it is our noble and patriotic countryman, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. (*Cheers.*) It would be supererogatory for me, therefore, to refer to them at any length here. But if I may be briefly allowed to touch on the most salient causes of it, I would observe that two circumstances, above all others, have greatly contributed towards it. They are the system of land revenue assessments and land legislation. These have been mostly instrumental in bringing unnumbered woes on the peasantry. The impoverishment has so far increased and become general that the Government of India has thought it prudent and expedient to appoint a Land Indebtedness Commission and direct it to inquire minutely into the whole question connected with the debts of the peasantry and the impoverishment consequent thereon. Not only the condition of the ryots of the Deccan, but of the Punjab also, is to form the subject of its investigations. We all trust that the inquiries may be thorough, and that the sores may be probed to their innermost recesses, so that the necessary relief, if substantial relief come at all, be forthcoming. That the system of land revenue in vogue in all parts, save Bengal, has led the peasantry from

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bad to worse is not denied. It has been officially admitted. Our rulers departed from the old system in vogue in the times prior to British occupation, which was really the sheet anchor of the agriculturists. It had the great merit of elasticity—elasticity in this sense, that in years of prosperity and abundance the ryot was able not only to pay his assessment to the State and maintain himself and his family, but lay by something against a rainy day or the inclemency of a bad season. The revenue, in fact, was paid in kind. But our rulers have changed all that, and introduced in its place the cast iron system of payment in hard cash at one invariable rate. It is unfortunately so rigid that there is no escape out of it for the ryot; while, to add to his misfortune, it has, more or less, to be paid in many provinces on two fixed dates during the year, when he is least able to pay it. In this aspect of the revenue system of British India there always lurks, I fear, great danger. The peasantry is the backbone of the country, and the land revenue derived by the State, is the backbone of Indian finance. You have only to conceive, and it is a possibility which is not remote, if things go on from bad to worse, as they do now, what may be the condition of the country, politically and financially, if, out of sheer poverty and starvation, the ryots refuse *en masse* to pay the State dues. The great danger, the great internal danger, infinitely more to be guarded and watched against than any external aggression, is, gentlemen, the possibility of a universal agrarian rising. (*Hear, hear*). Surely I need no further urge how grave and portentous is this condition of affairs, this growing poverty of the masses.

Then the second great evil, which in reality aggravates the first evil, is the land laws prevalent in the various provinces of the empire—the laws which Sir James Caird, when visiting this country fourteen years ago in his capacity as a member of the Famine Commission, characterised as “legal chicanery.” You are all so well acquainted with the chicanery arising from the precious land revenue codes that I will not detain you with any description of the growing evils daily arising from them. Sir James has tersely referred to them in his separate report to the Secretary of State for India, dated 31st October 1879. Thus, in the words of that expert authority: “Having parted with the two sheet anchors, the native village organisation and the self-adjusting principle of land tenure, with produce rents, Indian State craft has fallen upon the quicksands of legal chicanery.” I think, gentlemen, you will agree in that statement and not hesitate to attribute to these two causes a large measure of the present impoverishment of the Indian peasantry. There are a dozen other minor causes which I might rightly say would take twelve volumes and twelve years to acquaint you with. So that I would not even whisper them here. The problem presented to us is so perplexing that it would require a lifetime to study it; and I am afraid there are very few Indian gentlemen—they might be counted on your fingers—who have studied the question in the light in which it ought to be studied. Were it to be studied in the way it ought, I would entertain a hope that the next generation, if not ourselves, might witness a better and less oppressive and harsh system of land revenue assessments, suited to the circumstances and the ability of the ryot.

Coming now to the question of the growth of military expenditure I might remind you that at the first Bombay Congress I was entrusted with the task of seconding the resolution on it. Those of you who have taken the trouble to peruse the proceedings of that Congress will no doubt be able to follow me when I state that it is the amalgamation scheme of 1859, under which the organization of the India army was decreed to be uniform in all respects with that of the Queen's English army, which is at the root of all the woes and troubles and embarrassments to which the Indian treasury is subjected from time to time—troubles and embarrassments which have grown interminable as the interminable Indian jungles themselves since the days of the Second Afghan War—with but a brief respite of economy during the righteous administration of Lord Ripon. (*Cheers*.) The period embraced by the Viceroyalties of Lords Canning and Lawrence, say from 1859 to 1869, was one of consolidation.—consolidation consequent on the events which followed the dark days of 1857. The economical and sagacious statesmanship of those two excellent Viceroy's (*cheers*) had really achieved a substantial reduction in our army's expenditure. When Lord Lawrence left these shores the cost was 14 crores of rupees. His successor, Lord Mayo, loyally endeavoured to maintain it at that figure. But still, the amalgamation scheme, and the ruinous Staff Corps arrangements, were slowly making their inroads on the national treasury. It was virtually a partnership transaction, as was observed by the late Prof. Fawcett, (*hear, hear*) in which the stronger and the richer partner successfully managed to foist on the weaker and the poorer (*shame*) burdens which really did not belong to her. The Government of India itself has from time to time expressed the same sentiments in some of their important military despatches which may yet be read with profit. In my speech at the first Congress, I submitted ample evidence of the growth of the military expenditure as called from official blue books and de-patches. So I will not detain you by reciting them here,—suffice to say that, between 1864 and 1885, they had increased by

2nd Day. *five crores.* Since the days of the Second Afghan War of unhappy memory, there has been no limit to that growth. If you ask me the reason of it, I will say that it is the imperial policy of Great Britain which is annually entailing on the poor people of India sacrifices which they are absolutely unable to bear but which they do bear, all the same silently but with a sullen discontent. It is the policy of England in her relations with the politics of Central and Eastern Europe—the policy which leads to complications now and again with Turkey and Russia, and other great European powers—which unhappily leads to military activity or military “preparedness,” so called in this country, entailing crores of wasteful expenditure. Of late, thanks to the Russophobists and the Imperialistic jingoes, at whose head is the veteran Sir Henry Rawlinson, our frontiers have remained constantly disturbed. It is all a game of cross purposes ever since poor Shere Ali was driven away from his throne to die in exile. The Russian game is to gain as far as possible a footing on the banks of the Bosphorus, while England tries to thwart her in that desire. As a consequence, the former tries, whenever occasion offers, to threaten England in Central Asia. But while Russia idly threatens us, the military taxeaters at Simla, who eagerly pant for promotions, decorations, and kudos besides, do not leave a stone unturned, under one pretext or another, to push forward what is euphemistically called the “scientific frontier” (*shame*)—a visionary frontier leading nowhere but ever plunging the country into greater and greater financial embarrassments. Scares are manufactured which could never be substantiated, and while this sort of manufactured panic is designedly created among us, they push on new schemes having for their object nothing but the conquest of wild border tribes, the despoiling them of their territories, the bribing of the recalcitrant with British rupees and so forth. They thus carry on a warfare of external aggression under the hollow pretence of defending India against so-called attacks from without. (*Shame*). From what I have stated you will no doubt be able to understand the import of the intense activity going on, on our N.-W. Frontier borders since 1885, and the rapid construction of forts, bridges and so-called strategical railways. There is a whole history of these scares and scientific frontiers, but which it is impossible for me to unfold before you on this occasion.

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So I now pass on to the question of actual expenditure itself since 1885. That year was indeed a calamitous year for India. For it was the year which witnessed the forcible seizure of Upper Burmah, which brought an additional step in the Peerage to the Earl of Dufferin, the then Viceroy. At the first Congress we deprecated that seizure as iniquitous and unrighteous; and if you read between the lines all that has been stated in the blue books on this conquest, you will be fully convinced that the Congress was justified in condemning those proceedings. Thus our financial troubles recommenced with the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin, a well meaning and, so far as his private morals are concerned, virtuous Governor-General, but ignorant of the true facts and aspects of Indian problems. It was this ignorance which alone prompted him to precipitately rush into Upper Burmah. His ignorance could have been dispelled by the Foreign Office. But it is this Foreign Office of the Government of India which, more than all the Viceroys put together, since the days of Lord Lytton, is the real *fons et origo* of our woes and troubles on our frontiers East and West. The secret doings of that mischievous bureau will never be known, though, if disclosed, they might create such a revolution in opinion on the political history of India with Foreign States as to make us stand aghast. But on this subject, too, I will refrain from saying aught save this. Bring to bay the Foreign Office, and you at once bring military expenditure within reasonable bound and control. This is my humble conviction. At present the Foreign Department is more omnipotent than the Viceroy himself.

Well, gentlemen, it was the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin which led to the increase of 80,000 additional troops (10,000 English and 20,000 Native) saddling India with a permanent expenditure of another two crores. It was this Viceroyalty which laid the foundation of those financial embarrassments, the consequences of which are to be seen in the enhanced duty on salt and the reintroduction of the income-tax of nearly 6½d. in the pound. How fruitful are these embarrassments for evil may be further perceived in the larger amounts which India had annually to remit to England for the army services, effective and non-effective. When it is remembered that, on an average, we remit four millions sterling on this account, or just one-fourth of the whole amount of the bills annually sold by the Secretary of State for India, it will be evident how much heavier this loss becomes with every fall, even of one farthing, in the exchangeable value of the rupee.

But the increase is not only on account of additional troops; though it is a fact that, inclusive of the army services in Upper Burmah since 1885-86, the additional burden laid on the tax-payers is equal to twenty-four crores. There are again the expenses for special defence works, strategical railways, so-called punitive expeditions, mobilisation of the frontier army corps, transport service, new arms and ammunitions, and so forth. It would be tiresome to treat you to a formidable table of statistics; but if you would only

turn to the pages of the current financial statement under the head of army, you would find all the details stated. I will, however, summarise these figures for you. Thus:—

					Crores.
1.	Increased Army Expenditure since 1885-86	...	...	...	24.22
2.	Special defence works to date	...	...	...	3.77
3.	Strategic Railways to date	...	...	...	7.50
4.	Frontier Expeditions to date	...	...	...	1.32
5.	Upper Burmah Military Expenses	...	...	...	10.02
	Total	...	...	...	48.83
	<i>Add:</i>				
6.	Special defence works, balance to complete	1.23
7.	Strategic railways yet to be completed	4.00
	GRAND TOTAL	54.06

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I do not think, however, that the limit of the military expenditure will be reached when the special defences are completed and the additional railways, now under construction, are built; neither do I believe, gentlemen, that Upper Burmah will ever become a paying province. My fear is that there are many troubles still to be overcome there. But the Government is reckless. It is trying to heap on itself more troubles in that direction, while it is madly endeavouring to push the Eastern frontier to the very gates of Yunnan. You have but little idea of the difficulties beyond Bhamo; while the fixed intention of the Government is to penetrate the southernmost and fertile province of China, in obedience to the call of pious Manchester for the sale of the products of its spindles and looms. Remember, gentlemen, this may soon bring the Indian Government into collision with China. And I need not again describe to you what a Chinese war in that direction may mean. It will be as disastrous and sanguinary as the Second Afghan War or the war of the French with the natives of Tonquin a few short years ago.

You will thus perceive what possible embarrassments there loom in the near future for unhappy India. While your net land revenue is increasing during the last few years at the slow rate of twenty-five lakhs per annum, the net military expenditure is growing at the rate of 51 lakhs or at double the pace. The ryot is bled in order that the military taxgatherer may thrive and gain stars and medals (*shame*), but just think for a moment, gentlemen, how contented, how prosperous, how progressive India might have been to-day had she been saved this huge extraordinary extra expenditure of 54 crores in five years. How many productive commercial railways and irrigation canals, branch feeders and lines which are yet a crying want in almost every province of the empire, might have been built. And what blessings these might have brought to our unhappy countrymen. How many crores might have been easily spared to arrest the growth of that gaunt famine which is devastating parts of Southern India and the Deccan. Is there a doubt that all this expenditure is a pure waste—waste of the resources and the labour of the whole population? They might as well have dropped them to the bottom of the sea. (*Hear, hear.*)

You heard an hour ago from the lips of my eloquent friend on the right, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, how the question of the reform of the Legislative Councils is closely connected with the entire policy—fiscal, political, and military—of the empire. No doubt this question of reform is the burning and pressing question of the day, and, of course, the Congress allows this question the first rank among its annual resolutions. It is right that it should be so, and I trust and hope we shall go on giving it that premier importance till we have obtained what we want. (*Hear, hear.*) But permit me to say that no question presses on this country with such urgency as this question of the appalling growth of military expenditure. The saying of John Bright was quoted by my eloquent friend: "Tell me the finances of a country and I will tell you whether the Government is good or bad." Had that great friend of, and sympathiser with, the aspiration of Indians been living to-day, (*hear, hear*) I am quite sure that, looking at this appalling expenditure, he would not have failed to raise his powerful voice against and exert his influence to reduce it by denouncing it in the terms it deserved. Looking at the chronic impecunious condition of our finances he would have certainly observed that it was not one on which he could congratulate the rulers of India. In other words, that India was not wisely governed, or as she ought to be, and that she was not governed in the interests of the people. It is, gentlemen, recorded in black and white in the report of the Simla Army Commission, of which Sir Frederick Roberts was no inconspicuous a member, that the army seems to exist, not for the people of India, but that the people of India exist for the army. (*Shame*). Truer words were never recorded by an official Commission.

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If then our finances are more or less embarrassed, and if military expenditure is the principal cause of that embarrassment, how are you to remedy this growing and uncontrolled evil? This is the practical question which it is our solemn duty to solve. For I repeat, gentlemen, and I repeat with emphasis, that on this question depend grave financial issues, aye, and the gravest political issues, in the near future. We must all endeavour, first, to realise the magnitude of this state of military finance. When you consider that the expenditure of a Government depends on the policy it pursues in its relations both to internal and external affairs, you will at once perceive that it is the present calamitous, nay culpable, foreign policy of the Government of India which dominates the whole condition of finance. And as the financial position of India in turn dominates all its other conditions, especially the material conditions, you will be further able to perceive how imperative is the urgency to agitate for a complete change of that policy. If our Government, therefore, adopts a wise policy you may depend on it that our finances in the near future can be more economically administered, and that the people will immensely advance in material prosperity. If, on the contrary, it persists, in spite of all remonstrances and representations, in adhering to its present fatal policy, it goes without saying that the material condition of our people will grow worse and worse till one day some appalling disaster (which God forbid) overtakes the Government. I think, therefore, you will agree with me that it is time for us all by our persistent agitation to bring about a healthy and wholesome change in the military policy of the Government. The military activity, which has been unceasing and restless since 1885, will never cease until we make it clear to the British electors at home that it needs to be altered. If we are only true to ourselves, we ought from this time forward to take every legitimate and constitutional means in our power to expose the bitter wickedness, the absolute madness, of the course on which the Government are embarked. We must din it, not only into the ears of our rulers, for they seem to be of those who having ears hear not and having eyes see not, but into the ears of the public in Great Britain, that this growing military expenditure is eating away the vitals of the people, and can only lead to the ruin alike of India and of England. (*Hear, hear*).

Those who have followed the annual financial statements of recent years will have noted the tone in which this question of military expenditure is referred to by the Finance Minister. It is indeed satisfactory to note that following Sir Auckland Colvin and Mr. Herbert, Sir David Barbour has not been unmindful of its great evils. I think in all fairness and justice it must be said that he has been a true friend of the people (*applause*) and has manfully endeavoured and is endeavouring, so far as he possibly could, to resist the uncontrolled and uncontrollable demand of the military advisers of the Viceroy for a larger and larger expenditure. And I beg you to specially mark the clear way in which he has given a warning in his latest financial statement. Finance Ministers and Viceroys have regretted the expenditure, but it is our great misfortune that they have hitherto done so little towards mitigating its appalling burden. A tone of helplessness pervades the financial statements whenever the question is referred to, as if a change in the policy could not bring about a better state of matters. In support of my statement allow me please to quote to you one or two short paragraphs. It is observed in the 23rd para of the financial statement of 1886-87 as follows: "By the events of late years, in Central Asia, India finds herself almost in contact with one of the greatest European powers, and she cannot hope to escape the necessity which the position imposes on her of increasing her military strength". The question here is this: *Who created the necessity?* Did the people of India create it? Did they appeal to their rulers to cross the natural but impregnable boundaries of the country on the north-west, and thoughtlessly rush into the open to meet the Russians half way? Did they say that benefit was to be derived from such a course; that India would be assured of greater external security and internal contentment? No. The people have all through condemned the procedure. They have still to be convinced of the "necessity" on which the Government grounds the increase in the military strength of the empire in a variety of ways. Gentlemen, it was the wise policy of the earlier generation of Viceroys, beginning with the ever sagacious John Lawrence, (than whom no other Viceroy has more fully grasped the true significance of confining our line of defence within the natural boundaries of the Empire), and ending with Lord Northbrook, never to cross the Indus. The weighty reasons urged in favour of this line of policy may still be read with profit, in those ponderous Bluebooks on Central Asia which have been published since 1864, and which have been so well summarised in that book issued by Lord Lawrence and his coadjutors entitled "Causes of the Afghan War." To go beyond our natural line of defence, gentlemen, is to court defeat. We expose ourselves needlessly and fritter away the resources and strength which we ought to conserve for defence from within our impregnable boundaries whenever the dreaded external attack becomes a real one, which, I think, is still a remote contingency. At present we are creating an artificial ringence in which to entrap ourselves. Just imagine what may be the result in case of a defeat. Let us assume the worst. Does it not stand to reason that the very lines of strategical railways, the very outposts and forts which we take to be our special

defence works, would be in the hands of the enemies, and that these would be the very means whereby Russia would sooner become master of India than she could possibly have done had we left the natural physical difficulties of the country, untouched as Providence gave them to our hands? Ordinary common sense tells us that this policy is a most fatal one. It has not the merit of ordinary sagacity, let alone statesmanship. It is the maddest policy which a wise Government could be led or betrayed into adopting by its irresponsible military advisers. The late Mr. Slade, whose memory we should always keep green, condemned it in that memorable debate he had in the House of Commons in the early part of 1889, as a "mad" policy. I go a step further and denounce this policy, this feverish military activity to checkmate Russia, halfway beyond the natural boundaries of India, as "epidemic lunacy," to quote the words of Professor Seeley. For verily, gentlemen, there seems to prevail a sort of epidemic, allied to madness, on this trans-frontier question at the head quarters of the Government.

But to pass on. Here is another statement from the speech of Mr. Westland, Acting Finance Minister, while introducing the Indian Tariff Act Amendment Bill in the Supreme Legislative Council on 27th January 1888.

"We might shut our eyes to events in Central Asia and refuse the increases of political and of military expenditure forced upon us by the approach of a great civilised power on our north-west frontier. In short, we might have refused to discharge the duties and responsibilities of a civilized Government, either with respect to our own subjects or to the nations which lie beyond our frontier; and those who think we should have observed this attitude are, to this limited extent, right in pointing to our increase of expenditure as evidence of want of financial control. With such people I do not care to argue, and the Legislative Council is not the place where such arguments are called for."

Here, gentlemen, it may be reasonable to ask again whether the Government of India is correct in observing that the increased expenditure is forced upon it by the progress of Russia in Central Asia? Can this statement be substantiated? Who is it that prompts Russia to approach nearer India? It is the Government of India which first takes a forward aggressive move under one pretext or another, supplied by the Foreign Office, a pretext which can never be verified because it is only an *ex parte* one. Russia only responds to the British move. Outpost answers outpost, and gun answers gun. Thus, is it not intelligible nay manifest to take the latest instance, that it is the occupation of Kashmir and Gilgit and other secret expeditions beyond that outpost which have brought the Russians on to the Pamirs? And yet a responsible official of the State complacently observed that it is not the business of his Government to argue with people who question the wisdom of its trans-frontier policy! The fact is, that Government is unwilling to argue with its critics, that is, the people of the country itself. Of course, we have a voice next to none in the present Legislative Councils, but if we had our reformed Councils, I dare say, my good friend Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee, and others might have risen in their place, and compelled the Government to listen to the arguments of those who condemn, and, in my opinion, justly condemn, this bloated army expenditure and this frantic trans-frontier policy. In such an eventuality India might have been better off to-day; for at least a greater portion of that wicked waste of 50 odd crores might have been saved to her. The whole question hinges on this: Are the trans-frontier defences required? Is it a wise policy to advance beyond the natural frontiers of India? They say it is a question for military experts. In the first place, I deny that proposition. *It is a question of policy and not of experts.* And on questions of policy those who have studied and given thought to them are as competent to pass an opinion as the Government itself.

But leaving this argument alone, may it be asked if even military experts are all agreed? Gentlemen, there are able military experts who have condemned the defences on which so many millions have been spent. They have demonstrated that in the long run these will prove a "death trap." There are experts like Colonels Maurice and Home who have written in the public journals on the question. And, if I am not misinformed, there is a very able minute of the former which is pigeon-holed in one of the secret bureaux of the India Office. It is stated therein that these strategical defences are entirely misconceived, and that the monies spent on them are a pure waste of public monies. (*Urar, hear.*)

I will now pass on to other experts, though not military experts, who speak with authority from the position they occupied as the responsible members of the Executive Government of India during the Viceroyalty of Earl Dufferin in its earlier period. Their names are held in the highest respect. I allude to Sir Auckland Colvin and Mr. Ilbert, who have recorded a joint minute of dissent on the subject of increased troops and trans-frontier defences, which is as much remarkable for its independence as for its close reasoning and logic. It is not

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possible to read the whole of that minute, but I will refer to some of the salient points—points which show conclusively the absence of any necessity for increased troops; and, secondly, the aggressive character of the policy of the Government. They also direct attention to certain military despatches and show their apparent inconsistency. In fact the sum and substance of their argument is: 'That the increase of troops and other measures would "prove a weapon less of defence than of aggression." (*Hear hear.*)

This memorable statement, so forcibly and tersely put, changes the whole aspect of the policy pursued by Government. On the one side the military advisers say: "These are for your good; we are going to make you secure against external attack." On the other hand, the two members, who have based their opinion on the strength of the opinions of various military critics themselves, observe: "No, do not believe what these military advisers say; we have read the despatches, minutes and other papers on the subject, and we have come to the conclusion that the Government is pushing forward and extending its frontiers under the hollow pretence of repelling Russian invasion, and thus squandering away millions of monies of the tax-payers. (*Hear, hear.*)

"The" Simla Army Commission had distinctly and categorically asserted that 50,000 troops would at any time suffice for repelling external attack. This was stated after mature deliberation and after the dire events and incidents connected with the disastrous Second Afghan War. The commission was fully aware of the nearer approach of the Russians, and, in spite of the knowledge of that fact, deliberately recorded that no increase of troops was at all necessary or even expedient. Sir Frederick Roberts was a member of that Commission, and had signed that report. But within a few short years he has strangely changed his mind. It is a matter of deep regret that as the Commander-in-Chief of India he has wholly ignored his previous opinion as a member of the Simla Army Commission. But to proceed with the minute. In the very first paragraph, the dissentient members sound the keynote: "We have no desire to dispute the claim of our military colleagues to speak on the point with greater authority than any to which we can pretend; but we perceive that there is a *great divergence of opinion* on the subject among military men; and we think that, in the consideration which has been now given to the subject, the obligation of the English Government to contribute towards the safety of the Indian Empire has been unduly minimised. The Indian Army Commission, who were appointed by and reported to Lord Lytton's Government, who wrote with perfect knowledge of the rapidity, and the direction of the Russian advance in Central Asia, and on whose recommendations are based some of the most important proposals of the despatch, summarised as follows, in their Reports of November 1879, the purpose for which the Army in India is maintained: (a) Preventing and repelling attacks or threatened aggression, from foreign enemies beyond the border; (b) making successful or armed disturbance or rebellion within British India or its Feudatory States impossible; and (c) watching and overawing the armies of native Feudatory States." "It appears indisputable from the report," proceed the dissentient members, "that, in their enumeration of these purposes, the Commission contemplated the contingency of operations beyond the frontier, not merely against Russia with Afghanistan as our ally, but against Russia assisted by Afghanistan." They say: "The external foes which the Indian Army may have to meet on its land frontier are Russia and Afghanistan on the North-West..... For operations against Russia or Afghanistan assisted by Russia, a force of two Army Corps, or 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." They were of opinion that the Army of India, if properly organised, was sufficient to provide for the purposes thus enumerated, without any addition to its numerical strength. They expressly made the reserve that in making this estimate they "did not take into consideration the contingency of a permanent or lengthened military occupation of Afghanistan."

So much, gentlemen, for the now-a-days alleged necessity of an increase in the Army. But to add emphasis to their argument, Sir Auckland Colvin and Mr. Herbert observe:—"It is necessary, on the contrary, to remember that, since the Commission wrote, a large scheme of strategical frontier railways has been sanctioned, and is being vigorously pushed on..... Apart altogether from the immediate purpose which they serve, these works will add indirectly, but not inconsiderably, to the mobility and fighting strength of the force?" Then, speaking of the frontier fortifications, they observe: "The frontier fortifications to which we refer cannot require, for their occupation, an increase to the Indian Army of 27,000 men. We fail to see why any force needed for this purpose should not be obtained in the mode contemplated by Lord Lytton's government, that is to say, by withdrawing the necessary troops from other parts of India." Then follows the most significant part of the minute, to which I beg to draw your special attention, as it is the kernel of the whole subject: "If the above reasoning is correct, there seems to us every reason to apprehend that the increases

of our forces beyond the needs enumerated by the Army Commission may prove a weapon less of defence than of aggression. The presence in India of so strong a force as is desired may even suggest the permanent occupation of some part of Afghanistan. Against the policy of extending to a point beyond Kandahar, the frontier, formal or practical of British India, and the area which must be permanently held by British troops, weighty arguments, moral, political and financial, have been, and may still be, urged. But whatever may be the merits of such a proposal, it forms no part of the grounds on which an increase to our army is now advocated, and is foreign, we have every reason to believe, to the desires or intentions of our colleagues."

Here then, gentlemen, are some very important statements made and arguments urged from which you will no doubt be able to infer that the increased army strength adopted in 1885 was absolutely uncalled for, and that it is altogether unnecessary, even at this day, bearing in mind all that is going on on the frontier, and all the other military changes and organisations since brought into play. This being the situation, is not the following observation in the same minute prophetic? "We are further of opinion that the proposal is open to the objection that it may lead to the advocacy, and possibly to the adoption, of projects for the extension of our present frontier. The question then narrows itself to this: Is it the duty of the Government of India to maintain 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?"

There are many other points which for want of time I must give up. But I cannot conclude this most important part of my observations without drawing your special attention to the caution and forethought displayed by the two members as far as the financial aspect of the question is concerned. In this respect they have rendered an invaluable service to India for which we must publicly acknowledge our warmest gratitude. (*Applause*) "We agree entirely with the opinion of those who hold that, as an alien people, our best claim to the regard of the 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 principle which has been admitted by all Governments foreign to their subjects, and that it has been uniformly recognised and adopted by our predecessors in the administration of British India. It seems an axiom which at the present time it is singularly incumbent on the Government of India to bear in mind. If it was important when India had no European neighbour, it becomes much more so when she has at her frontier a power whose agents will make the most of all our mistakes, and will bid against us, by every means at their disposal, for popularity. We are aware that it is easy to push this consideration too far, and that the Indian Government must be prepared to risk a certain unpopularity if it is convinced that the measures which it has in view, and for which the imposition of burdens is required, are of so urgent a character as to necessitate their adoption, all draw backs notwithstanding. But we have given in this minute our reasons for holding that in the present instance no sufficient case is made out for departing from the policy above indicated." (*Hear, hear.*)

Gentlemen, I have, I fear, taxed too much your patience already, and I am loth to tax it any more. But if you will kindly allow me the indulgence I would just read a short but pertinent extract from the pen of a German military critic on this trans-frontier defence question. It is ~~meat~~ that you should know what even Europeans, who are not Englishmen, think on the subject. "England may either await an aggressor on her Indian frontier or move against him across it. Political considerations plead in favour of the latter course, while on military grounds, the former might be preferable. An Anglo-Indian army which awaits the invader on the Indus is in close communication with its depôts, magazines, and its present sources of reinforcement. Above all, it would be nearer the sea, which is England's principal base in all her expeditions, and a numerically stronger English force could there be assembled than could be put forward to Kandahar or Herat. On the other hand, a Russian force, which had to advance to the Indus ere it could get within striking distance of the enemy, would be so far ahead of its base that it could with difficulty preserve its long line of communication. It would have to cross a wild mountain range after a long and weary march, part of which would be through barren desert, and on emerging from the passes it would find itself exposed to the fire of hostile forts, and the assaults of the fresh troops of the enemy." Here, gentlemen, is the opinion of a military foreign expert on the military aspect of the trans-frontier policy of the Government. Is it not in accord with the opinion of all common sense people? He plainly informs us that it is far better that the Indian Government should remain *within her line of defence* than rush forward beyond it and court defeat. In fact, that it can give a defeat to any aggressor coming from the other side if it only remains where it ought to remain.

You will thus be able to judge for yourselves from what I urged in my speech on the same subject at the first Congress, and from what I have adduced before you to-day how crushing is the growing burden of military expenditure and how uncalled for it is. It is fast increasing

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and it will go on increasing unless we are true to ourselves and legitimately and constitutionally resist further burdens in the same direction. We must agitate, firstly, for a complete change of the present unwise and aggressive policy—a policy which, under the hollow pretext of defending the Empire, secretly aims at extending its frontiers and is really courting untold disasters—in fact a policy of external aggression pure and simple. The pressure caused by the absorption of our resources, consequent on this mischievous policy, transcends in its cramping and distressing effects all other financial errors of the Government. And I repeat, we must earnestly agitate for either an outright reversal of that fatal policy or security against repetitions of similar disastrous sacrifices of our country's best and truest interests. If the policy is to be persisted in, then we must demand that England shall contribute a substantial share towards the cost entailed by that policy. I will not expatiate on this question, for I have taken up too much of your time. Moreover, I must leave many other points unsaid because they demand a greater occupation of the time of the Congress which, after all, is only very limited. I must therefore conclude with the earnest appeal to you to persist in raising and agitating this question in all places and on all occasions, if we are at all intent upon diminishing the present appalling burden on the shoulders of the Indian tax-payers. But before I sit down permit me to read a few verses from the pen of Dr. Pollen, a distinguished member of the Bombay Civil Service, who had stayed for some months in Russia to study the language of the country. From his intimate contact with the people there he was of opinion that there was a great deal of exaggeration and misrepresentation as to the intentions of Russia. I believe there is a great deal of truth in his observations. If Russia's political necessities goud her on forward in Central Asia, is it not true that the same necessities have in times past been alleged as compelling the British to annex, first to seize Sind, then the Punjab, then Lower Burmah, then Upper Burmah and so forth? For my part, gentlemen, I believe that there is not in these respects a pin to choose between the practical political morality of the English and the Russians. (*Loud cheers*). Here then is Dr. Pollen's appeal to Englishmen which is indeed worth remembering. I am sure every right-minded Englishman who is not biassed, would admit the force of the observations which that liberal-minded and honest Bombay Civilian has embodied so eloquently in rhyme :—

Then, England, pause! know friend from foe!
Where, when, has Russia crossed thy path?
That she doth ever greater grew
Is this the only fault she hath?
Thou callest her "a Giant Liar."
Did Britain never stoop to lie?
Is Prussia's moral standard higher?
Did Austria's ever range so high?
Nay! diplomatic lies have streamed
Since first the Tower of Babel fell,
That Diplomat the best is doctored
Who dexterous falsehoods best can tell.
In truth, the "Teuton" is thy foe!
Thy rival he in every field;
His power thy Court thy Councils know;
Thy Commerce nought from him can shield
His Princes lead thy Daughters forth
Dowered deep in dowers of English gold
His merchant vessel weep thy North;
Thy "silver streak" his warships hold.
He threatens thee on every side,
While thou dost cringe to him and yield,
Surrendering to his armed pride
The best of thy Colonial field.
He stirs the Russ against thy power,
Pointing to plains of Hindustan,
Hoping to stay the dreaded hour
When France will meet him, man to man.

But why should England cross the Russ?
We both have kindred work to do!
Asia is wide: for him, for us,
There's space to spare, and high aims too.
Redeem the Cradle of our race,
Let Commerce circle everywhere,
Let Love regain its pride of place,
Let Eden once mo blossom there!
Let "great white Ts" let "great white Queen
Stretch forth o'er Asia healing hands,
Touching the sere leaf into green,
Blessing with bloom the barren lands.

England and Russia—friendly Powers,
India secure, and ong and free,
Over the West no wacload lowers,
The East regains liberty!

(*Cheers.*)

PUNDIR MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA (*Allahabad, No. 79, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It is my duty to second the proposition, or part of the proposition which has been so ably moved by my friend Mr. Wacha. That duty is rendered easy by the exhaustive manner in which he has dealt with the subject; still I must ask your indulgence a few minutes in order to lay before you a few more ideas bearing on the same subject, and to show the extreme necessity and urgency of the reforms which we are advocating. It has often been said that we Congress people repeat from year to year the same old cries, the same demands, and then go back to our homes after completing this part of our work. But, gentlemen, who is to blame for this state of things! Are we to blame for repeating these old cries, or does not the blame rather pertain to the Government which turns from year to year a deaf ear to those our most earnest appeals? Numberless officers of the Government have said that the poverty of this country is unquestionably very great, and that poverty is growing from year to year. Sir W. Hunter, Sir Charles Eliot, Sir A. Colvin and a number of others have, from their seats in the Viceroy's Council, constantly repeated mournfully and sadly the fact that India is poor and is becoming poorer and poorer every day. And what do we find? Have any measures worthy of the name been adopted to ameliorate that condition, to check the growth of that poverty, and to stamp it out of the country? No, to our deep regret, and (I am extremely sorry to say it) to the shame of our Government, nothing, absolutely nothing, has been done. Ten or fifteen years ago Sir William Hunter said that nearly a fifth of the population of India, nearly 40 millions, go through life on insufficient food. Sir Charles Eliot, while Commissioner of Assam, said: "I do not hesitate to say that half our agricultural population do not know from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger satisfied." Sir E. Baring, Financial Minister in the Viceroy's Council, said: "That the average income of the Indian people was Rs. 27 per head." Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji has proved, and Mr. Digby has also recently shown, that the amount is under Rs. 21 per head. But in view of these admitted and undeniable facts, what measures have the Government taken to check the growth of poverty and stamp it out of the land? They may no doubt have made efforts, now and then to show that they are willing to check the growth of this poverty. They now and then appoint a Commission to take evidence, here and there, and submit reports. But what is their treatment of these Commissions, and what do they do with these reports? They throw them aside for ever. There was the Simla Army Commission; there has been the Public Service Commission; there was the Finance Committee. What have their labors brought about? No doubt bulky reports ably written and printed; but nothing further has resulted from them. It is therefore no fault of ours. It gives us no pleasure to repeat these same old cries—cries prompted by the intense agony of our condition—cries which go out of our hearts and our lips, not because we desire to talk of these things, but because the pain we feel compels us to utter them, to make these appeals to the Government in the hope that their hearts may yet melt, that they may yet take pity on the condition of the people and make an honest, manly effort to cut down expenditure, and to save the people of this country from the misery they are suffering at the present moment.

Of course, we know that the causes of this poverty are manifold. No one can expect us, in the course of our debates here, much less in the short speeches made on any of these resolutions, to deal exhaustively with all the causes of that poverty. In this resolution we deal with the causes for which the Government is mainly responsible, and we point out the remedies which the Government can directly apply, if it chooses to do so, and which it is the plainest duty of the Government to apply, if it cares to call itself a civilized Government. What are those duties and those remedies? In the first three clauses you speak of the exclusion of the people of India from a due participation in the administration. That has been dealt with by my predecessors, and I will leave it. Those who follow me may well take up the question of revenue administration. My friend, Mr. Wacha, has spoken of the military expenditure of the country. It pains me deeply to think of that question. You know that in the gracious proclamation of Her Majesty she said that she held herself bound to her Indian people by the same ties and obligations as those which bind her to her subjects in Great Britain and Ireland; and, further that no Indian subject of Her Majesty will be excluded from any appointment by reason of birth, color or creed. And yet what do we find? Take the military branch of the service. Our countrymen have served the Government, and will continue to serve it with remarkable fidelity and unflinching courage; they have gone beyond the borders of India, wherever Her Majesty has desired them to go, and have fought and shed their blood. And what have been their rewards? They are confined to such subordinate positions as *Subedar* and *Resaldar* majorships; they are not allowed to go higher; after 25 years of valorous service, they remain subordinate to the sub-lieutenant, who joined yesterday. Is that carrying out the intentions of Her Most Gracious Majesty? Where is the justification, in reason or in fact, for not allowing Indian soldiers to be appointed as captains, as colonels, and as generals in Her Majesty's Army? Have they not faithfully

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and bravely served Her Majesty in numberless battles? Can the most confirmed of our opponents point to one instance (setting aside the doubtful case of the sad Mutiny) in which Indian soldiers have not discharged their duties faithfully and honorably? Send Mahomedans to fight against the Afghan, they lay aside all considerations of religion and fight against brethren of their own creed. Send Hindus to any part of the country beyond India; they fight for Her Majesty faithfully and honorably. Why then exclude these people from any participation in the reward of the higher branches of the military service? What is the result? That a large proportion of the income of this country goes to foreign lands in the shape of pension and pay. The same remark applies to Civil Administration. There is that gracious Proclamation, and there is the practice of Her Majesty's representatives here and in England. Is the practice in conformity with the Proclamation? You exclude Indian people almost entirely from the Covenanted Civil Service by saying that you will hold the examinations for it only in England. You do not employ children of the soil even in those positions which Secretaries of State for India have declared are reserved for children of the soil.—I mean employment in the Uncovenanted Service. You recruit officers for the Covenanted Civil Service. A hundred officers are needed; you recruit a hundred and fifty. The result is, in the first place, that you make the country pay for services which it does not require; and, in the second place, you make these covenanted officials encroach upon the grounds reserved for men in the Uncovenanted Service. For all matters, whatever branch you take up, forests or railways, or the P. W. D., the desire is not that Indians should be employed, not that fit men should be employed, but that places may be found (I am sorry to say so) for Englishmen in India, so that they may draw incomes far beyond their market value at their own homes, and take their savings and pensions hence to spend them in England. (*Cheers*). Let none think that I am prompted by any unkind feeling towards my English brethren in saying so. I have the same love, affection and esteem for them as I have for my other fellow human beings. What I say is that it is most improper, that it is unrighteous, that it is criminal and sinful to let people living in a distant country come here and enjoy all these advantages while you have a host of people starving at your door. You speak of the poverty of the country. What else can the country be but poor! The Marquis of Salisbury himself declared that much of the revenue of India is exported without any equitable equivalent in return. There are others who say that a large proportion of the revenue of India goes out in the shape of pay and pension, to England and other places. The total expenditure of the Civil Service is about 14 millions. Of this nearly two-thirds go to Europeans, and only one-third to natives of this country. In the Military Service, again, all the loaves and fishes, all the best and most honored offices are given to Europeans, not because they are a whit fitter than their brother Indian soldiers, not because they are more courageous, more able to fight and to defeat the enemy, but because they happen to possess a fairer complexion. (*Shame*). Combining the Military and Civil Services, you will find, I cannot give the exact figure, but it cannot be less than 15 millions sterling every year going in the shape of pay and pensions and home expenditure of various kinds to England from India never to return to it. The result has been well pointed out in the press and on the platform, but no one has put it more pithily than Mr. J. Wilson in the *Fortnightly Review* of March 1884, and his remarks are true now, with the necessary corrections. He says: "In one form or other we draw fully £30,000,000 a year from that unhappy country, and there the average wages of the natives is about £5 per annum, less rather than more, in many parts" (of course we know that it is nothing like £5; it is £1 and a few shillings.) "Our Indian tribute, therefore, represents the entire earnings of upwards of six (in reality twenty) million heads of families, say 80,000,000 (in reality 100 millions) of the people. It means the abstraction of more than one-tenth (really one-third) of the entire sustenance of India every year." I will not longer occupy your time. I have had my little say, and I hope that those who follow will make it clearer still that the Government, in excluding the children of the soil from employment in the higher branches of the service, are persisting, not only in a most unrighteous but a most suicidal policy. Gentlemen, Government cannot live without the people. Let the people continue to grow poorer and poorer, and the Government is nowhere, or at any rate it ceases to deserve the name of Government. We have hitherto appealed almost in vain; let us hope that our present appeals will not be entirely fruitless. It is true that we are interested, and, therefore, we speak with bitterness and warmth. Who else will speak but those who are interested. It is the man who is being flogged who cries out, not the mere bystanders! We appeal to the English people who are our brethren to make their administration of this country more in conformity with reason, with justice and with common sense, with those high and noble principles, which have always been their pride, and which have raised them to the proud position which they now occupy before the world. Then, and then alone, will British rule in India be the glory, as it should be of England. Let me quote, in conclusion, the words of Mr. Bright on this subject: "You must remember that all this great population has no voice in its own affairs. It is dumb before the power that has subjected it. It is never consulted upon any matter connected with its govern-

ment. It is subject to the power that rules over it, in a manner that cannot be said of the population of any civilized or Christian people in the world." Let the English people make haste and take away this great reproach cast upon them by a man whom they revere, and then we shall all be happy in our mutual union and to own mutual benefit. (*Cheers*).

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MR. K. G. DESHPANDE (*Nagpur, No. 453, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, GENTLEMEN AND BROTHER DELEGATES.—Before addressing myself to the discharge of my proper duty as a supporter of the Resolution that has been so ably and eloquently proposed, seconded and supported by those who have preceded me allow me, as a humble representative of the chief city of these provinces, to tender to you a most hearty welcome to Nagpur, once one of the chief of Indian cities, of vast historical celebrity and importance, but now only the head-quarters of these backward provinces. I happen to be a landlord in these provinces, and my remarks will be confined to the special features of the settlement question as it affects us. There obtained in these provinces under the Bhousala Raj a system of triennial farming leases to the patel on payment of a fixed premium. The patel was thus to all intents and purposes the head of the village community, with full powers to derive all profits from the possession of his villages, and with limited liability to pay the agreed revenues. Of course, he had no absolute ownership of the estate, but it rarely happened that property changed hands. On the contrary, in most cases, it was heritable and created customary rights in the lessee. When the British Government settled these provinces for the first time in 1867-68, the administration of Mr. (now Sir) Richard Temple, the author of the Settlement, now expiring, laid down three principles as the basis of the Land Settlement. I will discuss however, only one of them and leave the other two in the able hands of the speaker who follows me. The point I wish to deal with was the conferring of the private proprietary rights in the soil on the malguzars, with a promise to convert as soon as possible the temporary into a permanent settlement. Sir Richard observed at the time in support of the first principle that "another obvious and pressing need in these provinces is the recognition and determination of proprietary title and tenant right in the land. The matter lies deep at the root of all improvement in by far the largest portion of society. Until this shall be done the public mind will not be easy nor contented, capital will not be accumulated, and applied, and agriculture will not advance."

Besides a permanent limitation of the State demand was distinctly promised to the people of these provinces by Sir Richard Temple as the head of the administration. I read in support the following from one of his administration reports: "The period over which the limitation of the Government demand according to the new assessment is to extend, is thirty years for all districts alike; this has been sanctioned by Government. It has also been recommended that the boon of the Permanent Settlement, that is, the limitation of the Government demand in perpetuity, should be conceded to those landholders who might have brought their estates to a high state of cultivation. The Government have decided that after a lapse of three years from the commencement of the new settlement, those landholders who may be thought worthy of the concession, and who may desire a perpetual limitation of the Government demand, may have their assessments revised with a view a to such limitation in perpetuity being declared."

The advantages of the above policy cannot be better described than in the following words of Sir Richard Temple himself:—

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

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

The evils of constant revisions of Settlement have been thus described by Sir Auckland Colvin in one of his minutes: "The value of the property depreciated until the exact amount of the new assessment is declared, credit affected, heart burning and irritation between landlord

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and tenant, suspicion of the intention of the Government, a host of official underlings scattered broadcast over the vexed villages." The only rational ground on which the policy of short termed settlements can be defended is that the Government has a right to participate in any improvement in the condition of the country which is not the product of the people's personal labour and capital, but which results from changes in the extrinsic circumstances of the country, or in one word, "the unearned increment theory." Extension of cultivation and rise in prices of agricultural produce under the influence of general prosperity and the opening up of the empire, are the only causes which can operate to increase the profits of land independently of the efforts and exertions of the people themselves. As regards the first, Lord Lawrence said in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee in 1873 that a margin must be kept in all villages for grazing purposes, and he fixed this margin at 20 per cent of the total average area. He further said that no revenue should be put on any but the cultivated land, and that the waste land including pasturage should be left untaxed. Now, as we ask for a permanent settlement only for such estates as have fulfilled the conditions laid down in the Secretary of State's well-known Despatch of 1862, that at least four-fifths of the cultivable area should be redeemed and brought under plough, and, as according to the high authority of Lord Lawrence one-fifth of the total village area must be left unassessed for grazing purposes, it is clear that our prayer for a permanent settlement cannot be denied us on the ground of prospective loss of revenue to Government from extension of cultivation. As regards rise in prices it has to be borne in mind that along with it there is a corresponding rise in the cost of production and the prices of all the necessaries of life. Then, again, the major portion of the profits accruing from this source is intercepted by middle men leaving only a pittance for actual tillers of the soil. Rise in prices, stimulated by compulsory exports expanding every day with our growing liabilities, have little or no effect in increasing the real profits of cultivation or those with whom land is the only means of subsistence; for in a country where the people are too poor to effect any agricultural improvement, where the soil under an exhausting system of cultivation is fast deteriorating, and when more land has to be given to non-food crops year after year to respond to an ever-increasing export, and when at the same time with the increase of population the number of mouths to be fed is increasing, the local demand for food grows *pari passu*. Thus the main cause of the rise in price is decrease of production concurrently with a growing demand, both local and foreign. But what does this mean for the ryot? What else but that, while the exports bring him less and less returns, his home supply of food-grains diminishes. Again, those who have any experience of the Indian ryots know that with him the immediate object of cultivation is subsistence for himself and his family. He has little or no capital employed in his cultivation unless we include under this term his crude implements of husbandry. His seed-grain and his food-grain to maintain him till the next harvest, have all to be borrowed at a high rate of interest and are deducted by the money lender as soon as the harvest is cut and ready for the market. He has thus too little surplus left after meeting his own requirements and the claims of his creditor to be in a position to realize any profit from the high prices induced by foreign exports. Where a man's circumstances do not enable him to reserve enough food for himself and his family, and where he has no surplus to sell or, even if any is left, he is unable to sell it at the most advantageous time so as to secure the best price, no rise in the prices can have the effect of increasing his real profits of cultivation.

Again, agriculture in India is the most uncertain of industrial enterprises. It is subject to great vicissitudes. The least change in the weather may destroy the results of the most unwearying industry. This is specially the case in parts of the Central Provinces, like Bilaspur, where the population depend almost entirely on one solitary crop, and that crop is one which requires an abundant rainfall - I mean rice. Lastly, with a growing population, all depending on land, and a vanishing margin of cultivable waste, the question how the people are to live and prosper is becoming every day one of the gravest moment. Land, which thirty years ago paid the Government dues and supported a community, say, averaging 150 per square mile, will now have to sustain the weight of enhanced State demands and at the same time to maintain a population twice as numerous. Thus a considerable portion of profits accruing from rise in prices will necessarily be absorbed in feeding the people, leaving a small margin for the Government to take in the shape of increased land revenue. It will thus be seen that the rise in prices will scarcely afford any room in the future for enhancement of assessment.

Admitting, however, that the Government cannot fix the land revenue in cash permanently, it is yet possible to give fixity to its demand by settling once for all the rate of land revenue in kind, for various classes of soil. If the Government follows the simple and broad classifications of soil known to the people, and does not introduce refinements of its own in the matter, if for each class of soil thus ascertained revenue in kind be fixed permanently and for ever, the Government will be in position to benefit by any future rise in price, and at the

same time will give to the people that feeling of security which alone can induce them to spend their capital and put forth their strength in the cultivation of land. My friends who will follow me will give you practical illustrations of the evils of temporary settlements by putting before you certain facts and figures relating to the new settlement that is in progress among us. All I have to say as regards that is that, supposing a malguzar in those provinces, having strictly complied with the conditions laid down by Sir Richard Temple in his public declaration regarding the conferring of a permanent settlement, were to ask the Government to fulfil its promise in the matter, it could only refuse to do so by declining to be governed by those rules of equity and good conscience which, in the case of private individuals, it enforces through the agency of its Courts of Law. Instead of a permanent settlement, however, the period of the new settlement already made ranges from 10 to 12 years, and along with this are elaborate and complicated classifications of soil, while ingenious rules for revisions and enhancements of rents have been introduced and adopted with the result that the revenue has been immensely raised as you will be told later on. Whether justifiable or not such a sudden increase in their liabilities is sure to subject the people to the greatest difficulties. They have been accustomed for years past to regulate their expenditure on a certain scale. All of a sudden they are called upon to pay in the shape of tax on land double, treble, four times, five times, in one case sixteen times, the sum they were paying before. Before they can so re-adjust their domestic expenditure as to be able to live on a reduced scale some time must necessarily elapse, and in the interval they will for ever alienate from themselves all their other property to make good the inexorable State demand. Millions may be spent in opening up the communications of the country and developing its resources, but the people will remain as abjectly poor as ever. A single failure of harvest would be enough to depopulate whole tracts of the country and to drive the wretched agriculturists to flock like beggars to the relief works to earn their starvation wages. If then the whole population are not to be reduced into one dead level of poverty-stricken agriculturists to be decimated, in spite of all the aid the State in its bounty can give, by a single failure of harvest, the Government is bound to stay its hand and give the people an opportunity to accumulate wealth and property by conferring on them the boon of fixity and permanency of the revenue demand in some shape or form. Let this National Congress, therefore, in whose occurrence here, at this critical period of settlement operations in these provinces, there is, to my mind's eye, something providential, with one voice pray for the bestowal of this boon on these provinces. In the name of national good, justice and equity we beseech the Government, in the noble words of that generous and high-souled statesman Lord Cornwallis, "to endeavour to remedy evils by which the public interests are essentially injured, and by granting perpetual leases of land at fixed assessment to render their subjects the happiest people in India and to have reason to rejoice at the increase of their wealth and prosperity as it would intallibly add to the strength and resources of the State." We shall then invoke the Almighty and implore—

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

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

The Congress then adjourned for lunch. After a short adjournment, the Congress re-assembled.

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

MR. GOPAL HARI BHIDE (Nagpore, No. 475, in list)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—India is essentially a country of agriculturists. This is specially the case with the Central Provinces. The people, mainly through necessity and force of circumstances, are compelled to depend solely on the produce of their lands for their livelihood. The question what share of such produce the Government should take as land revenue is therefore with us a question of life and death. The guiding principles of the old Settlement here were :—

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- (1.) Conferral of proprietary rights on the people.
- (2.) Limitation of Government demand to 50 per cent. of the village profits.
- (3.) Fixation of period of Settlement at 30 years.

Official records in support of this could have been quoted had time permitted.

As regards the first, the landholders or malguzars were everywhere recognized as proprietors. What was done under this head at the last Settlement has not been undone anywhere except in one district, Sambalpur. Here, in direct violation of the declarations of Sir Richard Temple in open Durbar, the Government now refuses to acknowledge the Gounteas, as the landlords are locally called, as proprietors of any but the bit of land actually cultivated by them. Not only that, but Maafi rights created by Sanads, granted by old native rulers and recognized at the last Settlement by the Settlement Officers, are now construed as amounting to a mere assignment of land revenue and not to a grant of the village itself, revenue free. These confiscatory measures have been petitioned against, and thanks are due to the present Chief Commissioner for having ordered enquiry into the subject.

As regards the second point, unfortunately the people were kept out of the benefits which the Government had resolved to confer on them, by the illegitimate action of the Settlement Officers. Sixty per cent. was the maximum fixed for the Nagpur Province, but the assessment as made swallowed up 80 per cent. of the profits. On the strength of this act of injustice and rack-renting the local administration has secured the sanction of the supreme Government for the abrogation of the 50 per cent. rule for the new Settlement that is now in progress, in order that Government Revenue may largely increase.

In my humble opinion, however, the right way to redress a wrong is not to perpetuate it, but to undo its effect by giving back to the people what has been unjustly withheld from them.

This shows that in India, for the sins both of omission and commission of Government officers, it is the people who have to suffer.

If the Settlement Officers at the last Settlement over-assessed in contravention of the express orders of Government, they ought to have been called upon to explain their irregular proceedings; not only they were not so called upon, but were promoted to the highest posts and honors in the administration of these very provinces. However cruel was the conduct of these Settlement Officers towards the landholders in rack-renting them, the latter proved themselves more merciful towards their tenants. The Chief Commissioner in his address to the people of this division declared that the enhancement of rents payable by ryots in the Nagpur Division are moderate and fair. What is the reward for this moderation and fairness? Abrogation of the half assets rule and substitution in place thereof of 65 per cent. as the maximum limit.

If the Government cannot rise to the moral height of reducing the present assessment so as to make it 50 per cent. of the existing assets, it ought not to enhance it, unless it be to bring it up to that limit.

As regards the period, the new Settlement in Bilaspur and Raipur ranges from 10 to 12 years. In this district it is to be from 16 to 22 years. The reason given for the reduction in the period is that the Government intend to keep a small permanent settlement staff and to make new settlements by rotation district by district. This may be a justification for fixing a different period for different districts, but not for the reduction of the period. The principle of rotation could be given effect to equally well, if the period were to be from 26 to 34 years, or even greater. That there has been a radical change of policy under this head would appear from the fact that not merely long settlements, but a permanent limitation of the State demand on the fulfilment of certain conditions was publicly promised by the head of Government. I cannot give extracts from official records for fear of over-stepping the allotted time, but believe me my statement is so supported.

In other respects also the new Settlement is to differ from the old Settlement. The seer or homefarm of the proprietor was assessed before at half the prevailing rate. Now it is to be the full rate. With so high an assessment as 80 per cent. on an average and 100 or even 150 per cent. in individual instances, you will wonder how people lived under the weight of this crushing burden. The solution lies in the light assessment of the seer. By industry and expenditure of capital, prudent malguzars realized sufficient profits from these lands to enable them to meet the Government demand, and at the same time maintain themselves. The rest constituting the great majority are all sunk in poverty, and a Commission is now sitting

to find out how to improve their condition. The remedy is, however, simple enough, if only the Government would see it and adopt it,—a light Settlement for a long period if not a permanent Settlement. Settlement profits from waste, or as they are called miscellaneous income, were either not taxed at all or only nominally so. Now they are to be fully taxed. What these precious miscellaneous profits are is a question which may well be asked. The possible yield from a tamarind, a mangoe, a mohwa and other similar trees is to be rated to revenue. As a matter of fact, this income is so precarious and uncertain that speaking generally no permanent income is made from it. Moreover, this is being done in violation of law which only allows such assessment under special previous sanction of the Supreme Government. No such sanction has been obtained. The cesses at the old Settlement were $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. They have already from time to time been raised so that the total is now to stand at $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Moreover, at the new Settlement there are signs of more cesses coming into existence. Remuneration of mukudams at 5 per cent. and of lumbardars by sharers at the same rate is now payable by the malguzars. Imposition of a kotwal cess is, we hear, under contemplation. After meeting all these charges and the loss from uncertainties of season, unrealised rents and the failure of the so-called miscellaneous profits, the balance that will ultimately be left will be no adequate return for the capital spent in the acquisition and improvement of the village. There is no remedy for the state of unrest and anxiety which these constant changes of policy adopted in the supposed interest of the Government revenue create, except by giving effect to the principles embodied in the resolution which I have the honor to support. A persistence in the present policy will only substitute in place of the stimulus of hope the discouragement of utter despair, and this feeling is bound to paralyse all exertion and will lay the axe at the root of all progress and improvement.

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MR. SADASHIVA ROW (*Nagpore, No. 685, in list*) then spoke as follows in Mahratti:—

MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—I come from Bilaspur and am a landholder there. What revision of Settlement at short intervals of time means for the people is well illustrated by what has transpired in my district. A new Settlement has recently been made there, with the result that the land revenue has been enhanced 66, 99 and 116 per cent. in the three sub-divisions of the district respectively. The cesses were $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the land revenue at the old Settlement; but including some new cesses imposed subsequently, and the enhancement effected at the recent Settlement, they now stand at $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., giving an increase of 9 per cent. These are general average results. In some individual villages, however, the revenue has been raised three to fifteen times or by 300 to 1,500 per cent. I admit their number is not many, but at the same time it is not inconsiderable. It has been authoritatively stated that, despite these heavy enhancements, the portion of the profits which the Government has now taken is less than the portion taken at the last Settlement. This is owing, it is said, to the large increase in the village profits since then. Assuming, for the present, the correctness of the figures upon which the new assessment is based, the case stands thus: At the last Settlement *seer* land (home farm) was assessed at half the prevailing rate of rent in my district. With this low valuation of *seer* the total assessable assets were put down at Rs. 4,43,361. But this concession regarding *seer* has now been withdrawn. In order that the comparison may be fair, assessable assets of the old Settlement must therefore be increased by the putting the full rate on *seer*. If this be done then the total assets come to Rs. 5,26,391. My authority for this is para. 302 of the Settlement Report. The Government demand being Rs. 2,51,934, the proportion it bore to the total assets was thus a little less than 48 per cent. The real burden of the demand was, however, even lighter than what this proportion indicates. For two sources of income were not taken into account or taxed, *viz.*, profit from waste lands and the prospective income from extension of cultivation and rise in rents. These were left untaxed for the people to enjoy. According to the figures of the new Settlement the profit under these heads have been about three and a quarter lakhs. Taking into consideration the fact that this income came into existence gradually and not at once, the average for the whole period of the Settlement may fairly be put down at half this sum. If this half be added to the assessable assets as given above, the proportion which the revenue bore to them would be 37 per cent. Now at the new Settlement the proportion is 54 per cent. for the whole district. Thus the Government has taken 6 per cent. more, if income from waste and extension of cultivation be left out of account, and 17 per cent. more, if they be taken into consideration. The comparison is made to appear in favour of the new Settlement by ignoring the circumstance that there has been a change in the method of assessing *seer*.

If the Government had fixed the new assessment on the same percentage as was adopted at the old Settlement, *viz.*, 48, then the land revenue demand would have been about 87 thousand rupees less than what has actually been imposed. If the Settlement had been made on the basis of the fifty per cent. rule, then it would similarly have been about 60 thousand rupees less.

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I have up till now assumed the correctness of the figures of assets of the new Settlement. In a petition which was recently presented to the Chief Commissioner by almost all the leading landholders in the district, their correctness has been challenged. In two of the sub-divisions the Settlement Officer has wrongly swelled the rental paid by the ryots by about Rs. 88,000 on the plea that there has been systematic and wholesale concealment of real rents in the village revenue papers submitted by the landholders to the Government. The Settlement Officer said that, under a combination between landlords and tenants, these village papers have year after year been falsified all throughout the district in order to show less income than what was actually made under the head of rent from ryots. It has been submitted that such perfect concord between two such classes of people having conflicting interests was impossible. It was further impossible that the fraud could have existed on such a large scale and for so many years without being detected by the local district officers. We also relied upon records prepared by the Imperial Survey party in view of the new Settlement. The difference between the rental as appearing in these records and the rental as assumed by the Settlement Officer, was about Rs. 88,000. The people preferred various other objections which it would be tedious to mention here. Their humble prayer was for an enquiry, but it has been refused. So that under the cover of this assumed rental, they have been wrongly charged with an excess of about Rs. 50,000 as land revenue besides cesses at 13½ per cent. These figures will give some idea of the heaviness of the burden which the new Settlement has imposed on the people. Already under its pressure transfers of land have considerably increased. Whereas in 1885-86 before the new Settlement, the total number of transfers by mortgage and sale was 66, it increased to 178 in 1890-91. It is to be hoped the Government will give some relief to the sorely stricken people of Bilaspur, and not turn a deaf-ear to their cry of despair.

MR. SABHAPATHI MOODLIAR (Madras, No. 791, in list)—MR. PRESIDENT, SISTERS AND BROTHERS.—I am asked to support one of the minor propositions contained in this programme, *viz.*, that relating to the establishment and encouragement of agricultural banks. This is a matter in which I have some experience, and therefore I have ventured to come forward and give my humble opinion on this important subject. The establishment of agricultural banks is a great necessity from the fact that the ryots have now to pay at least 24 per cent. interest in the shape of money or in the shape of grain, for loans obtained from the so-called sowcar or other money-dealers. This is too well known to you, and therefore I will not say much on the subject. It is to prevent the ryot's position from becoming worse and worse every day that this proposition for establishing agricultural banks is brought forward. The Government of India have passed two Acts, one of which is called the Land Improvements Act, and the other the Agricultural Loans Act. These two Acts now remain in the Statute Book, under which the Government have authorized Collectors of districts to grant loan to ryots for the sinking of wells and for the improvement of lands in other ways, as well as to advance money to ryots in difficult times, such as times of famine, for the purchase of bullocks, seed-grain and other minor matters. But the procedure established by these Acts, or by the rules made under them, which have the force of law, is so circuitous that it takes two or three months before a ryot's application is complied with; and even then it is a matter of doubt whether the ryot will get half the amount he has applied for, the other half going as remuneration, not as a bribe, but as remuneration, for the people who have kindly interceded to get this loan for him. I have known cases recently in the district of Bellary which is now suffering from famine. People made applications about two months ago, and their requests have not been granted as yet. If such is the case in a famine district where the ryots wanted money immediately to enable them to carry on their avocations, to feed their cattle, to sow their land or to sink wells, what is likely to be the case where there is no such manifest pressing necessity for expedition? What, again, is likely to be the position of people in ordinary times who have to wait for months and months to get loans, and who then do not get the full sum of money applied for, but only a portion thereof, whereas they have to pay the whole amount by instalments? The fact is both Statutes were virtually dead letters. Every intended concession being so hedged round with red tape routine and official formalities, that no one practically obtains any benefit from them. It is, therefore, my duty to support this proposition for agricultural banks managed on ordinary business principles as strongly as my humble voice will enable me. I hope you will agree with me in thinking that this is one of the most important measures for relieving the ryots who are now in a very impoverished state (*cheers*), and it is not as if the thing was impracticable or difficult. The Government need not advance a rupee. There is plenty of money with the money-lenders which they would gladly put into these banks and receive thence a very moderate interest if only the investment is made safe for them. The best of these men might be directors, the Government nominating other men of repute, including, if it thought it desirable, some of its own officers, as their co-directors. But you ask if they charge 24 per cent. now how would they consent to take 9 per cent. from the bank? They charge 24 per cent. now because of the terrible uncertainties and intolerable delays of the civil courts, in consequence of which it is often cheaper to let a fraudulent, and always cheaper to let a poor debtor, go than sue him, and so if they did not charge 24 per cent. they could not

even keep up their capital intact, much less realize interest thereon. They would be glad to get regularly not 9 but even 6 per cent. All Government has to do is to frame rules for the banks, keep them to a certain extent under its control and authority, see that it is well represented on the direction, lay down the maximum rate of interest to be demanded from ryots who borrow, and the maximum interest ever to be paid to shareholders; then by law give all these loans, the second lien on the crops (just as by law the land revenue has the first lien), and make the instalments summarily recoverable, in the same way as, and along with, the Government revenue. Such a bank was actually organized at Poona, and approved by the Government of Bombay, but, as usual, disallowed without any reasons, worthy of the name, being advanced, by H. M. Secretary of State for India. Gentlemen, these banks have now become a necessity, and you will, I am sure, join me in insisting on them. (*Cheers.*)

2nd Day.
Res. III.
Grievous
Distress
amongst
people of
India. The
three pro-
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causes of
this and the
reforms
needed for
the removal
of these.

MR. KALI UHARAN BANNERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 10, in list*)—GENTLEMEN,—In the matter of this resolution, after the consolidated findings of previous Congresses that have been quoted in your hearing, and the fresh evidence of experts that has been adduced before you, I am sure you do not need even a five minutes' summing up to determine what your verdict should be. If I were to sum up the resolution before you I should do it in four words, which ought to be words of authority to our Government "from death unto life." That is a transition which we may covet, and keenly covet, without a breach of the decalogue. It is a transition likewise which we may confidently expect a Christian Government to help us in securing for ourselves. If you consider the contents of this resolution you will be in a position to assert that it does not reflect the ambition of the Bengali Baboo or any of his aspirations. It embodies the response of humanity to the cry of helpless suffering. It is said that the attitude of our people towards the poor clashes with some of the principles of Western schools of political economy. We are told that in dealing with the poor we do not seek to secure that they help themselves. And that is why we seek such a regulation of the agricultural interests of the country as will make it possible for the poor to help themselves. Then, again, we seek the enforcement of economy. That you all know involves, in present circumstances, a good deal of retrenchment, and that this form of retrenchment may be secured we offer our services in order that the indigenous agencies and resources of the country may be utilized to the full. It is very often said of us that we make idle suggestions, and then do not come forward to help those who are expected to give effect to those suggestions. But here we offer our minds and our bodies, a reasonable sacrifice, to the service of the Government, in order that the Government and administration of the country may be worked in harmony with the well-being of the people. These are the two things that we seek to secure for the country, relief of the helpless poor through the enforcement of economy and the utilisation of indigenous resources and agencies. I am sure that I may, even at this stage, demand at your hands an unqualified verdict for the relief of the poor. (*Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT.—GENTLEMEN,—Before I put this proposition to the vote I shall exercise one right, which I believe I possess, that of summing up in about half a dozen words the substance of the arguments hitherto brought forward. It seems to me that the result of the whole argument is that there are facts and figures of a very telling character impaling us on the horns of a dilemma: either, if we believe the authorities, to submit to Russian aggression, or, if we look to facts, to calmly look on when millions upon millions of our countrymen die of famine every decade. That is the sum and substance of the whole of what has been said. We call upon the Government to take away the one horn of that dilemma, which is based on undeniable facts, and is going us even now, and leave us, if needs be, exposed to that other shadowy and still very distant horn, in which, sooth to say, we have no belief. I shall now call upon you to vote on this 3rd Resolution, which runs as follows:—

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

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

That this unhappy condition of affairs is largely due to—

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

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Res. III.
Grievous
Distress
amongst
people of
India. The
three pro-
minent
causes of
this and the
reforms
needed for
the removal
of these.

That hence it has become imperatively necessary—

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

that measures be at once taken to give, as was promised by the British Government thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the Land Revenue demand, and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which under the existing system of temporary settlements, in recent times often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to 10 and 12 years, is found to be impossible, and to establish agricultural Banks.

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

The Resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Res. IV.
Modifica-
tion of the
Rules under
the Arms
Acts and
measures
needful to
qualify the
people to
defend their
homes and
Govern-
ment.

MR. B. G. TILAK (Poona, No. 164, in list)—LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Our worthy President observed yesterday that in this world of imperfections the burthen of duty often falls upon unworthy shoulders, and I stand before you as an illustration of his observations. The proposition that has been entrusted to me ought to have been entrusted to strong hands. I can only say that I will try to do my duty.

The Resolution runs as follows :—

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

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

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

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Res. IV.
Modification of the Rules under the Arms Acts and measures needful to qualify the people to defend their homes and Government.

But when we ask for certain military privileges for our more warlike brethren, we are often told we are the only persons who want them, and when application is made for permission to start a military college, we are told that there are military difficulties in the way. That was the answer that the Government of India made last year in response to an application to start a military college in the Deccan to which His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught had kindly consented to give his name. (*Cheers*). The principle involved in the resolution has been so far recognized in practice that we have made an appeal to the Government of India for granting us concessions, and their reply is that they do not dispute the principle, but there are administrative difficulties in the way. That is a very good excuse in its way, but the difficulty is not insurmountable. If we only keep on it may soon vanish. The principle has already been recognized by H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught, by Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay, and by Sir J. Dornier, C.-in-C. of Madras and other Commanders-in-Chief of Bombay before His Royal Highness. In all these cases the principle so recognized cannot be inconsistent with the best interests of Government. The question has often been put: "Has not the British Government undertaken to defend you from the attacks of a foreign power, to keep you in peace and prosperity? Then why do you want arms?" At first that appears sound, but a little consideration will show that the question can be answered satisfactorily. The responsibility that the British Government has undertaken is very great, almost terrible, to defend 250 millions against the attacks of wild animals in India and the wild bear of the north. As regards the wild beasts here, as a matter of fact, they wholly fail to defend us, and thousands of human lives, as their own returns show, and tens of thousands of cattle, are the victims of the present Arms Act Rules. As regards the other northern wild beast, no doubt, if the time ever comes, which we may venture to doubt, they will do their best. But in the meantime the cost of the preparations, which (as they will take no help from us) they feel bound to make, is simply crushing the life out of the country. Now we do not wish our people starved to death at this present time, because 25 years hence the Russians may venture on a raid into India. We want the cost of these military preparations largely reduced. But we do not desire to weaken the Government; on the contrary, we wish to strengthen it, to render it impregnable to all assaults, whether from Russia or other foe, and we ask the Government therefore to associate our people in the responsibility for the defence of our country, to take measures to train our people to fight for their homes and their Government, to keep alive the martial spirit where it still exists, to revive it where by their present short-sighted policy they have almost smothered it, and generally to realize that with the people, prosperous and contented and qualified to strike a good blow for hearth and home, it would be far more powerful for all good purposes than though it were able to create an army doubly as strong as the existing huge force. It is in this light that we have to consider this resolution. It is in this light that we ask that we should be provided with arms and taught their use, and that when we have been instructed we should not only get higher appointments in the military service but have the privilege of offering our voluntary services to the Government. We ask for these things from a desire to co-operate in the defences of the Empire and not from any other motive. You probably remember that the present Commander-in-Chief at Bombay, Sir G. Greaves, speaking of the military policy of India, said: "We rely upon you and you depend upon us." That surely means, in plain language, that the native Indians should stand shoulder to shoulder with British officers and troops on the battle-field and in office. If that is the ideal, is it to be realized? The argument usually put forward is that the Bengali Babus do not belong to the martial races. Take the argument for what it is worth. Here are millions who do belong to military races, who are asking for privileges that have been enjoyed by their forefathers, and the enjoyment of which had been shown to be consistent with the safety of the Empire; and the question is how far these privileges should now be granted. In the resolution some means are suggested, but I do not think this is the time to consider details or settle the programme definitely. It is at the outset at any rate a question of principle; it is not a question of details nor of expenditure, that can be settled when the time comes. I would add that the form in which, apparently for the sake of brevity, the clause relating to volunteering has this year been put, may possibly lead to misconceptions. When we speak of a widespread system of volunteering, we do not mean that everybody, indiscriminately, is to be permitted to volunteer. On previous occasions we have always laid down that volunteering is to be "under such rules and restrictions as may be necessary" or "as to the Government may seem fitting," and though this year the words are omitted, as needless to repeat, it is in no way intended to alter our standpoint. (*Hear, hear*). It has I believe always been the idea that volunteering should, practically, at present, be confined to those who are to a certain extent educated, and hence, necessarily, belong to the party of order, and certainly if this was our view in the past, this is not a restriction that the Congress could consent to forego in the present state of the country. (*Hear, hear.*)

It has been said that the British Government will only allow the development of India on intellectual lines, not the development of the sinews of the country.

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On that question we are unanimously agreed that it is the duty of the Government to develop the nation in all its branches, and not allow it to be paralyzed in regard to one-half or one-quarter of its aspirations. That is exactly the point. There are four sides to the development, and they must all be looked to. When they are all developed we shall have time to consider what is to become of the united nation. As the matter stands at present, when there is a warlike chief, we are told that he ought to go to school and learn reading and writing. The result is that the whole nation is being demartialized and enervated, and deprived of men who could or would stand by the Government in times of difficulty. Already the Government is complaining of a difficulty in recruiting for the native army, and I fear that, unless they modify their present policy, that difficulty will increase—partly because they are, by their existing system, emasculating the more warlike tribes, and partly because a doubt is growing up as to serving as soldiers under a Government which treats its subjects with the distrust with which, judging from their policy in all these matters, they appear to regard us all. It will be a bad thing for India and a bad thing for Government if these obstacles to recruiting are allowed to develop further. It would lead to a state of things that I do not think we can permit to evolve, without a protest such as this Resolution embodies. (*Here the President touched his gong*). As the bell has rung I will only say further that as you have carried previous resolutions, so you will, I doubt not, carry this unanimously. (*Cheers*.)

MR. ALI MOHAMMED BHIMJI (*Bilaspore, No. 687, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW DELEGATES.—I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution, which, as you know, defines the military policy in certain matters that we desire to see adopted by the Indian Government. It has been said that the country is very poor, and that consequently our military expenses must be curtailed. But supposing, instead of being poor, it was rich, ought we to spend more than is necessary? Comparing the military expenses of European nations, you will see that with nations vastly richer than we are, their military expenses are small compared with ours. The German expenses man for man are one-fourth of the Indian expenses. The amount per soldier in Germany is Rs. 145, whereas in India it is Rs. 775. In France the amount is Rs. 185 and in England Rs. 285. Taking the average income in those countries, England stands at the top—£42 per head per annum; Germany £18; France £28; and India £1-10. Are we not then justified in asking the Government to reduce our expenditure? Why does England make poor India suffer for the wars she wants to carry on for the purposes of English trade and in the interests of the Manchester people? The Manchester people who have done so much for India—by repealing the cotton duties, if you please! It has been said that we want reform in the matters dealt with in this resolution to enable our warlike tribes to obtain a military education, but that the Babus are intellectually inclined and do not care about the question. But allow me to say that the Babus themselves have taken the initiative in this matter. Let me refer you to a petition lately presented to the Marquis of Lansdowne by the Babus of Bengal, containing the earnest request “that Your Excellency will be pleased to sanction our being formed into a corps of volunteers as a second or Bengal Battalion of the Presidency Volunteer Rifle Corps.” And let me also recommend you to follow this example and send in petitions to the same effect. In regard to the question of volunteers, I do not see what objection there can be to our being enrolled. Are there not the armies of the Native States? If those in authority are afraid of natives carrying or being trained to arms, then I say there are plenty of natives in the Native States carrying arms. What harm are they doing? You are yourselves training armies for the Native States to supplement the Imperial defences. You are calling upon Europeans and Eurasians to come forward and enlist largely as volunteers; you give them inducements and exempt them from income-tax. Why then refuse the privilege to us, the natives of British India, who have been knocking at your door and calling until we have become hourse. But let us go on knocking and knocking, and perhaps the door will, at last, be opened. (*Cheers*.)

MR. RAMA CHANDBA PILLAI (*Madras, No. 811, in list*)—BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—I have been commanded by our esteemed President to support this resolution in consequence of the indisposition of the Hon'ble Mr. Sankara Nayur, who would have done ample justice to the subject. I will try and do my best to discharge the duty assigned to me, which is to support the sub-clause (a) of the resolution. Permit me, however, first to state that during the five years that I have been connected with the Congress I have taken great interest in this movement by convening meetings at the place from which I come. I may tell you that I do not belong to any presidency town or even to any of the regulation provinces in British India. I come from Secunderabad, which is the largest British military cantonment in India, in Hyderabad, Deccan, which state is ruled by a Prince called the Nizam. The reason why I mention the fact is that about four years ago, this Government—I mean H. H. the Nizam's—under the advice of certain British officers, who shall be nameless just now, issued a resolution in the *Official Gazette* strictly prohibiting, not only its own officers, but also its own subjects, from attending any meeting of, or relating to, the Congress (*Shame*)—the most

severe penalties being laid down for any breach of these ridiculous orders. You may imagine then the difficulty we have to contend with, although Secunderabad itself is under British rule, in convening meetings. But with the co-operation of my friends I am glad to say I have succeeded in convening meetings year after year, and also in raising subscriptions for the Congress. (*Cheers*). I spoke on the subject to my brother pleaders and some of the leading Mahomedan vakils, and asked them to take part in the meetings. Of course they sympathized with the movement, and they promised to attend, but at the last moment they absented themselves. In spite of this disappointment we convened a large meeting, and it was attended by representative men of Secunderabad. I may say without egotism that the people of Secunderabad are nearly as well educated in matters relating to the National Congress as any other part of India. As a proof I may mention that I was authorized by my townsmen to promise a sum of Rs. 1,000 at the Congress held at Bombay, which I am glad to say has been paid in full. (*Cheers*). The town has a population of over 60,000, and how do you think we are treated. We had two English organs in Secunderabad—one was the *Deccan Times*, a respectable paper, but it was stopped four months ago. The other was the *Deccan Standard*, in my opinion a disreputable paper, subsidized by the Nizam's Government, but I am glad to say that this too has ceased to exist, though only last week. The Editor of the paper was appointed Superintendent of Education and of the Printing Establishment of the Nizam's Government. I interviewed our worthy General Secretary as to whether we delegates from Secunderabad might not be permitted to lay our grievance before the Congress: but he told me that this question was outside the Congress, and, therefore, it must be put off to some other occasion. The ground of our grievance was that a resolution was passed by the Government of India that no paper was to be started in places not coming under the category of British India without the special permission of the Political Agent; and we are therefore practically without a single paper in Secunderabad. With regard to the resolution I need not say much, as so much has been said by able speakers at previous Congresses. I am sure it will commend itself to you all. I do not see why there should not be more facilities for obtaining licenses for keeping arms in our homes. I think that the Government has fully satisfied itself of our loyalty. I do not believe that there is a single section of the nation so grateful to the British Government as ourselves. In Hyderabad there are turbulent races, Hindus and Mahomedans, Sikhs and Marathias, Turks, Arabs, Rohillas armed to the teeth; and it is a matter of great wonder that there never has been any rising against the Government. If, however, there have been no disturbances in a place like Hyderabad, notwithstanding the presence of all these professional swash-bucklers, there is no reason surely to fear any such in India on the part of the respectable and educated classes against our Government, which, with all its faults, may at any rate be truly said to be well meaning, and to have done India, in a great many ways, a great deal of good.

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Res. IV.
Modification of the Rules under the Arms Acts and measures needful to qualify the people to defend their homes and Government.

MR. C. S. NAYADU (*Nagpore, No: 435, in list*)—**MR. PRESIDENT, SISTER AND BROTHER DELEGATES**,—I rise to speak a few words on the resolution so ably proposed and seconded by my predecessors. In doing so, I have to keep two points in mind: first, to say what little I have to say within the space of five minutes; and, secondly, speak nothing but to the point. I rise to support the fourth resolution. Having been animated by the invincible warrior spirit for thousands of years, and having stood shoulder to shoulder as soldiers for our countries' sake on many a battle-field, I ask have we now, within the last quarter of a century, become so unfit that we are not to be allowed by our benign British rulers to wear weapons and qualify ourselves to defend our own sacred hearths and homes? (*Cheers*). The sacred promise, the solemn Proclamation of Her Majesty the Queen Empress of India, delivered to us by H. E. Lord Canning in 1857, put it very clearly before us that the rights and grievances of the Indian subjects of Her Majesty would be as fully considered as the rights and grievances of other subjects of our Sovereign, and that without any distinction of caste, color or creed. (*Hear, hear*). H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught says that the Indian people are brave and loyal, and he does not see any reason why a military institution like Sandhurst should not be opened in India. H. E. Sir George Greaves (the battered old soldier as he likes to call himself), while addressing the Kumars at Rajkot, asked them to become soldiers. He said he was a soldier, and that he was very fond of soldiery. I say, so are we. (*Cheers*). But how are we to be soldiers if we are denied the use of weapons, if we are debarred from becoming volunteers, and if we are prevented from joining any military institution, and that in the face of all these distinct promises? Oh! forgive me, dear Mr. President, don't look swords and daggers at me, although we are discussing the question of arms. I will soon join the majority. (*Laughter*). I ask what is the reason for this anomaly? All say, we are loyal, able and brave, and yet we are treated like children. When my distinguished friend, India's orator, Surendra Nath Banerjee (*loud cheers*), and India's grand old man, Mr. Hume (*loud cheers*) visited England, while addressing British audiences there, they said that the day was not far distant, they hoped, when young Indian gentlemen would be seen holding commissions in the army. I sincerely join in that hope, and I trust also that the day may soon come to revive a martial spirit in the breasts of all Indian children,—the children of the mighty warriors of old and the descend-

2nd Day. ants of heroes—so as to qualify all to fight side by side with our British brethren against the enemies of our common sovereign, our beloved Queen Empress. God bless her! (*Cheers*).

Res. IV.
Modification of the Rules under the Arms Acts and measures needful to qualify the people to defend their homes and Government.

MR. NALA SWAMI PILLAI (*Madras, No. 800, in list*).—On the question of the arms rules I wish merely to press one or two points. Theoretically, those who are people of position can get licenses for arms, but in practice the obstacles are almost too vexatious. Applications have to be filed, we have to satisfy this, that and the other authority; we have to do many things that are not pleasant. You all know what I mean. I need not particularize. (*Laughter*). Then after a month or six weeks you do get the license, but that will only cover the arms in that one district. If you go shooting in the jungle, and cross the boundary and are caught, you are punished. You must take out a separate license in each district. Then these licenses have to be renewed before the close of each year, and to get them renewed you have to take your arms to the nearest Police Station and dance attendance there for, perhaps, a week and do other disagreeable things (*a laugh*), so that what with one thing and another, it is hardly to be expected that gentlemen will go through it all. As for poor men, who want arms to save their crops, why it may take them six months, or a year, to get a license and involve the loss of several weeks' work. Certainly the rules need amending as suggested in the Resolution, which I strongly support.

THE PRESIDENT.—I will now ask you to vote on the 4th Resolution which runs thus:—

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

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

The Resolution was then put and unanimously carried.

Res. V.
Simultaneous Examinations in India and England for all Civil Branches of the Indian Public Service.

PUNDIT PRAN NATH SARASWATI (*Calcutta, No. 15, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW DELEGATES,—The Resolution which it has fallen to my lot to propose is this:—

That as one step towards ensuring the wider employment of Indians in the administration of the country, and as a matter of simple justice to the people of India, this Congress, agreeing with previous Congresses, declares it to be essential that all examinations for any and 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.

This resolution, like its predecessor, is only a further development of the 3rd Resolution already adopted. It embodies a demand which is no stranger to these meetings. I think the best plan for me will be to focus, as it were, the positive declarations of persons in authority upon the question at issue. From a very remote period every Government of India, I do not mean the Government of mere temporary invaders like that of Mahmud of Ghuznee, but every permanent and settled Government, has availed itself to the full of all the indigenous talent of the country as well in the Civil as in the Military Department of the Administration. At first the British Government, from the very nature of the case, also availed itself of such indigenous agency; but by a gradual process of elimination (for the most part owing to difficulties of linguistic attainments) it has now come to pass that every high post is rigidly entailed upon foreigners. But, although this is the practical result, declarations have not been wanting, from very early periods, as to the necessity, or the abstract propriety, of admitting the sons of the soil to a due share in the administration of the country. The first declaration, which I wish to place on record, is contained in the Statute 3 and 4, William IV, Cap. 85, sec. 87, well known as the Statute of 1833. It was then declared by the Lords and Commons of Parliament that "no native of the said territories" (meaning India) "nor any natural born

subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company" (meaning the East India Company, whose Charter was being renewed.) Twenty years after that Lord Montague in the House of Lords made the following declaration: "If the only door of admission to the Civil Service of India is a competitive examination carried on in London, what chance, or what possibility, is there of natives of India acquiring that fair share in the administration of their own country, which their education and abilities would enable them to fulfil, and therefore entitles them to possess?" Shortly afterwards, upon the pacification of the country after the mutiny, in 1858, on the occasion of the gracious Proclamation of Her Majesty, which the people of this country have always adhered to as the great charter of their liberties, the Sovereign was thus pleased to express herself: "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil. . . . And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be *freely and impartially* admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge." Gentlemen, in these late days the fashion has grown up in official circles (I am glad to say there are bright exceptions) of speaking disparagingly of this Proclamation. I need only remind you of the weighty words of Lord Ripon, who said that this document "is not a treaty or diplomatic instrument, but a declaration of principles of Government which, if it is obligatory at all, is obligatory in respect to all to whom it is addressed. The doctrine to which Sir James Stephen has given the sanction of his authority I feel bound to repudiate to the utmost of my power. It seems to me to be inconsistent with the character of my sovereign and with the honor of my country, and if it were once to be received and acted upon by the Government of England, it would do more than anything else could possibly do to strike at the root of our power and to destroy our just influence." After this we had an Official Committee of the India Office constituted of such experienced and honorable men as Sir James Willoughby, Mr. Mangles, Mr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Maonaghten and Sir Erskine Perry. That Committee were unanimously of opinion that, in order to redeem the pledges which former Governments had given to the people of India, it was necessary to hold simultaneous examinations in India and in England, classifying the candidates who pass the examination in one list, examining them by the same standards, and then giving appointments upon the amalgamated list. That was in 1860. Nine years afterwards the Duke of Argyll made this confession: "With regard, however to the employment of natives in the Government of this country, in the Covenanted Civil Service, formerly of the Company and now of the Crown, I must say that we have not fulfilled our duty, nor the promises and engagements which we have made." I take it that the Statute of 1870 was partly due to this confession, and it was thereby enacted that natives of India, of proved merit and ability, might be appointed to any office in the Indian Civil Service. The history of that Statute and of the Public Service Commission is too recent and too well known to require repetition. I will only draw your attention to the well known confidential despatch of Lord Lytton, in which he made the candid confession that whatever might be the declarations and promises of Parliament and the Crown, the Government of India had always tried to avoid the fulfilment of those pledges. The people of India endorse the opinion of Lord Lytton that those pledges have not been redeemed; but we are thankful to Lord Lytton for stating the dilemma, to which that non-fulfilment is due, so clearly. I have no doubt that if that dilemma is put to the people of England, to the House of Commons and to the Sovereign herself, in the form in which Lord Lytton has put it, *viz.*, whether the promises are to be kept or violated, there will come from our august Sovereign, from that august Assembly, and that august Nation, the unanimous assurance that the promises so often made were meant to be kept and not to be violated. And, gentlemen, the only practical way of enforcing those promises and making sure of their fulfilment is to insist upon the system of simultaneous examinations. (*Cheers*).

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MR. N. SUBBA RAO (*Madras, No. 788, in list*)—MR. CHAIRMAN AND BROTHER DELEGATES.—The first thing that strikes one in reading the resolution is that we are making a royal road for our youths to become the rulers of the land. Our British critics have not been slow in charging us with being unfit to occupy such a position. The reason is not far to seek. They point to various disabilities under which we suffer in social matters. At the same time in making this charge, that we are unfit to enjoy the concession we claim, they lose sight of the fact that it is not the Hindus alone that ask for this concession, but Mahomedans, Christians and other races who are free from our prejudices, and they, therefore, make a grievous mistake. Moreover they do not take into consideration the fact that there are advanced sections among us already, powerful and numerous, who are slowly rising above these social prejudices.

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Simultaneous Examinations in India and England for all Civil Branches of the Indian Public Service.**

What we ask by this resolution is this : Devise such test to secure the highest talent, the largest conception of duty, and whatever else you may think proper, but only let these apply equitably and fairly to all, be they English or Indian. Do not let the best of us be handicapped ; do not continue this policy of practical, even if unintentional, favoritism on the one hand and exclusion on the other, by which the best of the Indians cannot be utilized for consolidating your own rule. By the best of us, I mean not so much Hindus as Muhomedans, Eurasians, Christians and other races, whose traditions and habits leave them far more free to furnish the material necessary according to the approved Government standards. These races, as well as the advanced sections of the Hindu community, are at present grievously handicapped. I say it is these races just as much as the Hindus that feel the danger of sending their young people to England, possibly to fail, and their lives to be wasted in unknown lands. Therefore the Congress asks, on our behalf, for such examinations as may secure physical, moral and intellectual fitness, simultaneously in England and India, instead of as now only in England. It must not be understood by this that the Congress as a whole is pledged, in securing these examinations, to demand also that appointments shall be conferred without subsequent training in England. That is a question of detail which is left to the Government, whose duty it is to lay down what conditions shall combine to complete that fitness which, in its opinion, is needed to qualify the candidate for its service. I, for one, believe (and I know that this opinion is shared largely by a considerable body of Congress Members, men of "light and leading" in each province) that a training in England is essential before the candidate can enter on his duties in India and take his place, on an equal footing, with his brother civilians. There is no use in disguising this. We, at any rate several of us, are quite prepared for this. What the Congress as a whole asks is this : No matter what the tests, what the limitations may be, whether it be to go to England, America or Japan, whether it be to drop from a balloon, let those tests be the same to the English and Indian youths. We do not ask that English youths should come here to be examined, we ask only that our Indian youths be not compelled to go there to be examined. We ask that as English lads are examined in England, so Indian lads should be examined in India, and having passed and secured a lien, as it were, on an appointment, if Government so wishes it, let them go to England and go with hope, not anxiety, to go through the remaining tests. Such is briefly our request. Is this any new idea created by this Congress? No, gentlemen, we are charged with want of originality. I admit it freely in this instance, at any rate, since for the last 50 years or more we have been promised just this equality of treatment, first by the Parliament itself in 1833, and subsequently by our Queen Empress herself, to say nothing of other great authorities. On these promises rests our claim—"a claim" (in the words of Lord Lytton) "which has been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indian statesmen, and by the legislation of the Imperial Parliament, and which is recognised by the Government of India as binding on its honor and consistent with all the aims of its policy." (*Cheers*). Surely the time has come now to satisfy that claim. (*Loud cheers*).

THE PRESIDENT.—For seven years at least we have all been of one mind in regard to the subject-matter of this resolution, and so without further speaking I will ask you to vote on this 5th Resolution.

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

The Resolution was then put and carried by acclamation.

**Res. VI.
Reduction in the Salt Tax. Raising of Income Tax taxable minimum. Honest adherence to Government's own declared Excise Policy.**

PANDIT ANOOBHYA NATH (*Allahabad, No. 74, in list*)—**MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW DELEGATES.**—It is now my duty to propose the 6th Resolution for your acceptance. I proceed first to read it :—

That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating—

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

In other words, we propose to ask the Government to reduce the Salt tax, to raise the taxable minimum income to Rs. 1,000, and to compel its subordinates to carry out

that policy in regard to excise which was sketched out by that Government itself. In defence of the enhancement of the Salt duty it is said, first, that it is an indirect tax, and that it entails upon each man so small contribution that it matters very little whether it is enhanced or not. But it is forgotten that this is a country where admittedly from 50 to 60 millions of people live on the verge of starvation, and that therefore even this light additional burden weighs heavily upon them. The Government, in dealing with questions between the landlord and money-lender on one side, and the ryot on the other, is profuse in its professions of sympathy and compassion; but in dealing with a tax by which its own coffers are to be filled to enable it to commit acts of extravagance, or worse, on the frontier and elsewhere, those humane feelings are entirely lost sight of.

I think I am entitled to speak of the evils of the income tax as it affects people whose income is small in my part of the country, and to speak with some authority. Many come to me for advice. I have a large number of acquaintances in the Public Service, many of whom are assessors of this income tax. It is a fact in Upper India that if any officer of Government in any particular year reduces the aggregate amount of the tax within his jurisdiction, he is called upon for an explanation, and a satisfactory explanation too. You know what is meant by satisfactory—an explanation which gives satisfaction to the superior authorities; but in almost every instance no explanation, however satisfactory in itself, is considered technically satisfactory. But if an income tax officer is so fortunate as to show an increase in the amount of tax levied by him in any particular year, so far from being called upon to give an explanation, he is commended to the notice of his superior officers. I remember that when the Act was passed in Mr. Wilson's time one Deputy Collector was actually recommended for promotion on that account. (*Shame*). Now, gentlemen, that being the case, on whom should the burden fall? Upon those whose incomes are small? In the first place, they do not keep very elaborate accounts, and it is difficult to prove what their exact income is. In the second place, even if they can prove it, it is very difficult for them to get a *bona-fide* hearing. It is obvious then that we ask you to adopt this resolution in the interests not of your wealthy countrymen, but of those who are comparatively poor.

The third and the last clause requires no argument from me to commend it to your notice. Government itself has laid down the policy, and we ask that Government should carry it out, and see it carried out by others, in its integrity. I am perhaps one of the fittest persons to ask you to adopt this part of the resolution, because in the North-West Provinces the local Government, to the best of my knowledge, has done nothing in that direction. Much has been done in Bengal and Madras, but the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh has turned a deaf ear to the representations of the people and the recommendations of Parliament. One word, by the way, about local option. Whatever may be the difficulties in towns—and to me they do not seem serious, since each separate mohulla or ward can be treated as a separate hamlet—but I say whatever the difficulties, real or imaginary, in towns, no one can pretend that there would be the smallest difficulty in introducing the system of local option into all villages and hamlets, including populations not exceeding, say, 1,500 or 2,000 souls. The only thing necessary would be, on a day fixed and locally notified before hand, to poll all the adult males in each, as to whether they would or would not have a liquor shop within the limits of their mouza, or township, or parish, or whatever in English best describes the land area pertaining to each village. This done, we maintain that, wherever two-thirds of such adult males opposed the existence of a liquor shop within their limits, none should there be allowed. As Government is itself the proprietor of all these liquor shops, (or public houses), and only lets them on competitive leases year by year to the highest bidders, no question of compensation can here complicate the question. Such a system would save annually millions and millions from drink, degradation and crime. (*Cheers*). Such a system can be introduced throughout the country in six months without the smallest difficulty, and the Government know this. (*Oheers*). Such a system would close nine-tenths of the rural liquor shops, and the Government know this well also (*cheers*); and this, it seems, is why they will have nothing to say to it. No, they will cling to their money, to the fruits of sin and misery, rather than act righteously and do justice. (*Loud cheers*). Individually our rulers are, I think, good men, many of them really religious men, but collectively they have neither conscience nor religion; their financial coles are their Shastras (*cheers*) and money, no matter how obtained, to spend on Frontier dacoities (*cheers*) on a grand scale, their *summum bonum*. None the less will we press this Resolution, until stung by shame, they realize that it is doing right, which constitutes the chief strength and glory of a Government. (*Loud cheers*).

MR. M. V. JOSHI (*Berar, No. 278, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—I am taken by surprise in having to second this proposition. I expected that it would not come on for discussion so soon, but I do not think that any special preparation beyond what I

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

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

MUNSHI SHEIKH HUSEIN, v. SHEIKH CHAND (*Bombay, No. 260, in list*) then spoke in Urdu to the following effect :—

The way the Government Forest Laws are worked is a scandal to a civilised administration, and in many parts of the Bombay Presidency, the peasantry call the Forest Department, Black Death. Even the dead leaves are taxed, and tens of thousands have been despotically shut off from rights of user that they and their forefathers have enjoyed from generation to generation. (*Question, question*).

THE PRESIDENT.—We are not discussing Forest grievances at present.

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

THE PRESIDENT.—We are not now discussing the permanent settlement ; will you please confine your remarks to the Resolution which is before the assembly.

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

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

MUNSHI SHEIKH HUSEIN.—But I have not said half I have to say, and I protest, after having been permitted to speak, against being thus interrupted. (*Cries of sit down, vote, vote*).

THE PRESIDENT.—I am really very sorry, but it is your own fault. You would go on speaking on subjects not before the meeting. You have had the five minutes by rule allotted to

speakers, and the meeting does not wish to hear you longer. (*Ories of vote, vote*). Very well, then I formally put to you our 6th Resolution, which stands thus :—

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

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

The Resolution was then carried unanimously.

MR. POORNENDU [NARAYAN SINGH (Behar, No. 64, in list)—I beg to propose the following resolution :—

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

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

With regard to the first clause ; the executive and judicial functions were united by the East India Company more on economical than on other grounds, but the great administrator, Lord Cornwallis, discovered that the result of that system was to sacrifice the administration of justice to the supposed fiscal interests of Government. It was he who made a beginning in the separation of executive and judicial functions by making a radical change in the codes for the administration of civil and criminal justice. In 1805 it was enacted that the Chief Justice was not to be a member of the Supreme Council, in order, as the preamble to the regulation says, that the separation of the judicial from the executive authority in all their gradation and branches, might, in form and practice, be carried into full operation. In 1831 Lord Auckland procured the sanction of the Court of Directors to the separation of the offices of Collector and Magistrate. You thus see that during the time of the East India Company, our position in this matter was far better than it is now. But the forward policy of Lord Cornwallis received a check in 1858, perhaps, on account of the darkness of the political atmosphere at that time. It was in that year that the offices of Collector and Magistrate were again united, and in 1872, when the matter again came before the Legislature, and when there was peace all over the country, the provisions were re-enacted in the code of that year, and the grounds set forth by Mr. Fitz-James Stephen in a minute on the administration of civil and criminal justice in British India. He was of opinion that "the maintenance of the position of the district officers (Collector-Magistrates) is essential to the maintenance of our British rule ; and, in order to maintain that position, judicial power in criminal matters must be left in their hands. The exercise of criminal jurisdiction is both in theory and in fact the most distinctive and most easily and generally recognized mark of sovereign power. All the world over the man who can punish is the ruler." If this be the basic principle of the present anomalous union of the executive and judicial functions, the sooner its fallacy is exposed the better. I may tell you that Mr. Justice Phear, lately a Judge in the Calcutta High Court, made some very pertinent observations regarding this position of Mr. Stephen in his introduction to the Bengal Regulations. He says : "It may be well to consider that the District Magistrate does not in fact exercise the criminal jurisdiction. In the Lower Provinces he has not leisure to do so, and its exercise in practice devolves upon the Joint Magistrate. Again, the *nizamut*, or right to administer criminal justice, was not given to us at first, and it

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remained in the hands of the native, while we notwithstanding exercised the real sovereign power." Then the objection on financial grounds is equally futile. The existing staff of Assistant and Deputy Magistrates is quite sufficient, at any rate in Bengal and Behar, for the complete separation of the judicial and executive functions, if the staff be remodelled, and they be partially reinforced from the judicial service—I mean at head-quarters of the districts. But that is beside the question; we are not at present concerned with the financial aspect of the matter.

The next clause refers to the extension of the jury system in parts where it is not at present in vogue. The present jury districts in Bengal were created in 1862, in Madras also in the same year, and in Bombay in 1867. There are seven in Bengal, seven in Madras, and only one in Bombay. It is a calumny against the British rule to say that in the year 1862, more than a quarter of a century ago, we were where we are now. They speak of the abuses in jury trials in India. That is as much as to say that no human system is perfect. Human nature is the same in India as elsewhere, and it has been pointed out several times in these Congress meetings that many of the so-called abuses are due to the bad and wantonly, if not intentionally, careless selection of juries. And then what about the infinitely greater abuses in trials without juries by civilian Magistrates and Judges?

As to the withdrawal from the High Courts of the power invested in them in 1872, to set aside verdicts of acquittal by juries, I need only refer to some remarks made by those who have administered this law of 1872. Mr. Justice West, in a case in the Bombay High Court, said in distinct terms that the verdicts of juries ought not to be interfered with, first on the constitutional ground that it was not proper to take away powers from those in whose hands they were originally vested by the Legislature, and second that any undue interference might and must interfere with the jurymen's sense of responsibility.

The records of the High Courts, both of Bombay and Calcutta, sufficiently show their uneasiness in having to deal with cases already disposed of by juries. There is something inhuman in the suspense and mental torment to which an accused person is subjected after a protracted jury trial ending in a verdict of acquittal, simply because the element of finality is withdrawn from it. (*Cheers*). The point has been again and again pressed from the Congress platform, and in the interest of justice and humanity the British Government should not turn a deaf ear to our representations.

The next clause relates to the introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that, instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions. Now in Session cases the Magistrate inquires whether the accused can be committed to the Court of Sessions or not. If the accused himself requests to be committed to the Court of Sessions there is no reason why public time should be wasted, and the accused made to undergo the trouble and expense of magisterial proceedings. There are cases in which the Court of Sessions has a concurrent jurisdiction with the Magistrates. In such cases the accused ought to have the opportunity of having the benefit of going to the higher Court whenever he likes. Speaking of warrant cases, if the accused takes his trial at the Court of Sessions, a step will be taken in the separation of judicial and executive functions, without the addition of any public burden.

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

MR. OKHOY CHUNDER DASS (*Calcutta, No. 25, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, SISTER AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—I have been greatly surprised at the announcement that I have to speak on this resolution, but as I am suddenly called upon as a delegate, it is my bounden duty to respond

to the call of our honoured President. As regards the second and third questions referred to in the resolution, I think I need add nothing. My learned predecessor has already touched upon them at some length, and I will therefore confine my remarks to the last question, namely, the reform of the police administration. We are as anxious to get the police administration reformed as our benign British Government. We have the authority of no less a personage than Lord Dufferin as to the validity of our claim. In his memorable speech at St. Andrew's Dinner on the eve of his departure from India, His Excellency the Viceroy admitted the necessity of police reform; in fact he said that the Congress resolution on this head was a "counsel of perfection," and that the concession should be granted; but the promise of the noble Lord has not been redeemed. As regards the presidency police it is in a better state on account of the existence of public opinion and the constant vigilance of the press. The mofussil requires, I think, more reforming than the presidency police. The present District Superintendents are not well educated men. They enter the service by the back door of nomination, as they have not the slightest chance of getting any appointment through a competitive examination in any department of the State. They and the assistants are, as a rule, relatives of high officials who have been too backward to get into any other branch of the service. In regard to many of the present Assistant Superintendents of Police, their educational qualifications are absolutely nil. I have the authority of one in high position for this statement. An examination was held in Calcutta and the Assistant Superintendents of Police obtained only one, two, three, and four marks even in English, their own mother-tongue. Most of these Assistant Superintendents of Police are connected with officials enjoying the highest posts in the land. Some are sons and some are nephews, cousins, and so on. The police service has, to all intents and purposes, become a sort of family arrangement with these Anglo-Indian officials. Those well-connected nonentities do not, because they cannot, effectively discharge their duties. They are simply paid; the police it seems to be thought existing only to provide for them. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Stuart Bayley, announced that without passing a competitive examination no Assistant Superintendent of Police would be allowed to remain in the service. Even the *Pioneer*, the champion of these Europeans, remarked that hitherto examinations of officers were unknown in the police department, that it served as a refuge for incapables and asked if these places were taken from them what could they do. They would most probably, it was suggested, end their lives in England as members of some of the lower grades of the British Police Service. The whole matter lies in a nutshell; broadly speaking the superior English officers are wholly unfit for their position. They are the flowers and fruit of an unchecked nepotism and intellectually the inferiors of many of their subordinates and many of the criminals whom they ought, but generally fail, to bring to justice. There are of course exceptions, and many wholly unfit for the very responsible positions they occupy are, as the phrase goes, "very good fellows," but they are wholly out of place in the positions into which their uncles and cousins have inducted them. As for the native subordinates rank and file, they are grievously under paid, selected in the most reckless way, often themselves worse criminals than the majority they have to arrest, to a great extent uneducated, and when in the Police taught chiefly to gabble by heart certain police regulations and attend to their uniform. What can you expect? With these remarks I beg to second the resolution. (*Cheers*).

2nd Day.
Res. VII.
Reforms
in the
Judicial
and Police
Adminis-
tration.

THE PRESIDENT.—Before putting this resolution to the vote I wish to say a word with regard to clause (a). For some time past the propensity to pass unappealable sentences and record findings of fact, on the part of the magistracy, has become great; an immense injustice has in many instances resulted from that propensity. One instance which ought to be proclaimed from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin is as follows: A magistrate was determined to convict a certain accused; his predetermination was so manifest that the Government's power was invoked, and the magistrate's convicting hand was stayed. He was told to send the case up to the Sessions. He obeyed; but the last sentence in his committing order ran thus: "I am perfectly satisfied as to the guilt of the accused; I was prepared to convict him and pass sentence on him, but my hands have been tied." That case went before the Sessions Court which, after hearing the case for the prosecution, without even calling upon the accused for his defence, acquitted him honorably. That is a typical case; and as I well know that many, if not all, of you can call to mind many cases of this nature, though none perhaps quite so atrocious, there will be no difficulty I apprehend in saying "Ay" to this, or indeed any section of this Resolution 7 which I will now read and formally put to you.

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

- (a) the complete separation of Executive and Judicial functions such that in no case shall the two functions be combined in the same officer;
- (b) the extension into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, of the system of trial by jury;

2nd Day.

Res. VII.
Reforms
in the
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and Police
Adminis-
tration.

- (c) the withdrawal from High Courts of the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittals by juries ;
- (d) the introduction into the Code of Criminal Procedure of a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions ;
- (e) the fundamental reform of the Police Administration, by a reduction in the numbers and an increase in the salaries, and in the qualifications of the lower grades, and their far more careful enlistment, and by the selection for the higher posts of gentlemen, of higher capacities, more in touch with the respectable portions of the community, and less addicted to military pretensions, than the majority of existing Deputy Inspector-Generals, Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of Police.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

Res. VIII.
Deprecates
diminution
of educa-
tional
grants and
in the
interest of
Technical
Education
advocates
an enquiry
into the
industrial
condition
of the
country.

HERAMBO CHANDRA MOXITRA (Calcutta, No. 9, in list)—MR. PRESIDENT, SISTER AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—The resolution which has been entrusted to me runs as follows:—

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

I will follow the example of my distinguished friend Babu Kali Charan Banerjee, who summed up the substance of the third resolution in four words. I will also sum up the substance and spirit of this resolution in four words—"from darkness unto light." We desire, as our friend said, certain great fundamental administrative changes which to India would be as the passing from death unto life, but we also simultaneously entreat our benign Government not by any mean economy in educational matters to impede the nation in its upward course from darkness unto light; light without which life is miserable, nay, more miserable than death itself. This is a question of such magnitude and presenting to us so many aspects that I will only venture to glance at a few matters connected with it. The time has come when the Government is upon its trial with regard to its oft-repeated profession of anxiety to promote primary education. We see it gradually withdrawing itself from the sphere of higher education. Does it fear that we already know too much? I am grieved to find that there is no longer anything new done by Government in that direction. The mouths that once were never weary of trumpeting the cause of higher education now maintain an inglorious silence, and yet in face of the fact that ample resources have been placed at the disposal of Government by the contraction of its operations in the field of higher education, no new departure has been made in that of primary education. How can we account for this discrepancy between the professions of the Government and the manner in which it has been actually acting? This is not the time to go into facts and figures, but it is a truth, which cannot be disputed by the most servile supporter of the official bureaucracy, that the Government of India spends a smaller amount proportionally upon education than the most backward countries in Europe. A Government, like ours, professing so loudly to be enlightened and Christian, priding itself on the nobility of its motives, ought to be a little ashamed, one would think, of such a state of affairs. (*Cheers*). I happen to be in possession of facts which have not yet found their way into public documents, and I will put you in possession of some of them. Some time ago the Director General of Public Instruction of Bengal happened to communicate with Sir Charles Eliot, his anxiety to promote primary education more largely and devote funds to that end. What was the reply? That the Lieutenant-Governor had no funds to spare; at the same time we believe it is in contemplation that all the district Schools of Bengal should be abolished, so far as the Government is concerned, and that the Colleges of Rajshaye and Hugli should be closed. That is the state of things. Let us resolve not to permit this scandal and barbarism. We will not allow the Government to assert uncontradicted that it is anxious to promote primary education and yet remain doing nothing in that direction, while gradually withdrawing itself from all concern with higher education. It may be that higher education has made some little progress, but in comparison with the countries of Europe or America it cannot be said, as yet, to have taken a sufficiently deep root in the soil here. The Government that taunts us educated men with being a "microscopic minority" is at least bound, in decency, not to withdraw from us all sources of higher education. If the educated classes are a microscopic minority, who but the Government is to blame for this? Perhaps at the root of this policy there may be some apprehensions, regarding the attitude of the educated classes towards the official class, apprehensions of hostility. Now, if hostility means hostility to unconstitutionality, to despotism and to old and corrupt traditions, we are hostile; but if hostility means reckless, inconsiderate, desperate enmity to constitutional Government, we are not the enemies of Government, we are its friends, the friends and supporters of order and justice and of the Crown of England. (*Cheers*).

As, in the sphere of religion, the human mind passes, if not rightly guided, in a single bound from grovelling superstition to defiant atheism, so in the sphere of intellectual culture the human mind, if not rightly guided, passes at a single bound from servile ignorance into defiant rebellion against the established order of things. Let Government beware of the fatal policy that would withdraw, just at this critical period, that rightful guidance which is essential to the peaceful evolution of the new order. It may be that the growth of education and of public opinion will be stronger and stronger, and will impose a check upon despotism, but it will at the same time strengthen the foundation of the British Empire. The true foundation of an Empire is righteousness—that righteousness that exalts the nations of the world. A truly constitutional Government has nothing to apprehend from the educated; they are its natural supporters, its necessary allies.

2nd Day.
 Res. VIII.
 Deprecates
 diminution
 of educa-
 tional
 grants and
 in the
 interests of
 Technical
 Education
 advocates
 an enquiry
 into the
 Industrial
 condition
 of the
 country.

There is another cry that we often hear from officials, *viz.*, that they cannot provide bread, *i.e.*, official positions, for all the educated, and hence that they will stop educating. This resolution covers that ground. Education need not mean the casting of all minds in the same mould, and the turning out an unlimited supply of Clerks and Deputy Magistrates. Provide a many sided education, educate our people in such a manner that it may promote the development of the resources of the country, and show them how to earn their own bread. We do not want academic education merely; let us have a many-sided education, and the Government may be quite sure that its cry of inability to provide bread for the hungry literati will fast disappear before the expansion of the immense resources of this blessed land. It is they themselves who taunt us with being a "microscopic minority," who tacitly refuse to make any adequate efforts for the promotion of education. In reply to the charge of being a "microscopic minority," we say that it is a telescopic sort of benevolence which they manifest, and that it is so remote that it requires a most powerful political telescope to discover its wisdom. It is a telescopic sort of benevolence to be spending millions upon millions on frontier defences, and taking away money from the schools and colleges and technical institutes. Hence, it is one aim of this Congress to give prominence to this great question, and to force the Government to adopt a more liberal and righteous policy in this matter than has hitherto obtained. Even at the risk of being suspected to be a heterodox Congress-walla, I will declare my conviction that this resolution does not yield in importance to the great resolution with reference to the elective system. That is merely a weapon; education is to supply the power which is to wield that weapon righteously and efficiently. Be it then the glory of England to promote the interests of India by consecrating and vitalizing her exertions in the administration of this Empire, with a copious infusion of righteousness, so as to elevate this unhappy and still fallen country shorn of its glory and splendor, and teach our countrymen to regard the advent of the English as the great instrument, ordained by God Himself in his wisdom, for the revival of this down-trodden and unhappy land. (*Cheers*). It is hard upon three score years ago that this great problem formally forced itself on the consideration of the British nation. "Shall we for ever retain these Indians whose destinies God has confided to our charge, ignorant and as slaves, or shall we educate and raise them to be fit and anxious to join, as free men, in the administration of their own country?" Day after day in both Houses of Parliament, the great debate was carried on until the nation, through its peers and representatives, decided for the latter and nobler course. For years this decision was honestly acted up to, and Lord Derby's (then Lord Stanley's) despatch of 1859 and John Stuart Mill's famous despatch of 1854, remain proofs of the honesty of purpose of the British nation. But ever since the Congress arose to advocate and vindicate the cause of constitutional freedom, and threaten the autocratic powers and exclusive privileges of the great Indian bureaucracy, this latter, alarmed for these its cherished possessions, has begun to crave for a retrograde movement into the policy which their nobler countrymen, 60 years ago, indignantly repudiated. (*Shame, shame*).

It is too late, my friends—too late—the seed has been sown broadcast—has germinated, is germinating everywhere—in vain, you try now everywhere to repress and discourage higher education by every insidious means. You may delay, but you cannot destroy. You may earn hatred, you cannot secure the enslavement of those who now know that they are free British subjects. It is too late, put aside this folly, accept the inevitable and foreseen results of the policy your nobler predecessors deliberately adopted. Abstain from discouraging, as you now are discouraging, education, be true to the higher and better impulses of a Briton's heart, be true to the edicts of your senates, the orders of our Queen Empress, stimulate heart and soul, as in days gone by, education of all kinds and of every grade, and then, in lieu of a Frankenstein monster ever on the alert to destroy you, you will find in the educated generations that will rally round you, not indeed the servile sycophants that ignorance might have furnished you, but true, loyal and capable colleagues, whose foremost aim and chief glory it will be to labour on equal terms, side by side with you, to secure the safety, honour and welfare of our common sovereign and all her dominions. (*Loud cheers*).

MR. G. K. GOKHALE (*Poona, No. 172, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—

2nd Day.
Res. VIII.
 Deprecates
 diminution
 of educa-
 tional
 grants and
 in the
 interests of
 Technical
 Education
 advocates
 an enquiry
 into the
 industrial
 condition
 of the
 country.

I have great pleasure in seconding the proposition which has just been so eloquently moved for your adoption by Mr. Moitra. As the time is very short I will do no more than put my points before you. My first point is that the Government has pledged itself in the most solemn and unreserved manner to regard the education of the people as its most sacred duty. In the despatch of 1854, which is believed to have emanated from Mr. John Stuart Mill, the Directors say that the education of the people is the most sacred and solemn duty of the Indian Government. After the transference of the Government of this country from the Company to the Crown in 1859, the Secretary of State for India, in a despatch to the Indian Government, reiterated the same thing. So far, therefore, as the promises of the Government are concerned there can be no doubt. My next point is, that taking all civilized countries into consideration, India is the least advanced in the matter of education. I have the statistics with me, but will not quote them. You will find that in the countries of Europe 90 per cent of the school-going population attend school; but in our own country the proportion is only 11 per cent. I have also statistics with regard to expenditure, but I will mention only a few. In Europe, in the most backward country as far as education is concerned, no less than 6·5 per cent. of the public revenues goes towards the expenses of education, whereas in India the proportion is about 1 per cent. The expenditure on education has not kept pace with the increase in the ordinary revenues of this country. About 20 years ago it was 1·4 per cent., and now it is only 1 per cent. The Education Commission appointed by Lord Ripon has exhaustively dealt with the question and recognized the necessity of increasing the educational expenditure. The most sympathetic of Governors-General in 1884 directed the local Governments to increase the outlay upon education as much as possible. Then came a change in the Government of the country, and in the policy of the Government. Lord Dufferin's Government issued a resolution in June 1888 distinctly stating that thereafter the expenditure on education should be reduced rather than increased. The policy of reducing the expenditure on education is only recent, coming into existence with the Government of Lord Dufferin. I was going to say something with regard to the picture presented by Lord Ripon's Government and Lord Dufferin's; but there is no time. The second part of the resolution asks the Government to appoint a commission of inquiry which is to report upon the industrial problems of the country. I am no great believer in these commissions. Their reports are submitted to Government, but nothing comes of them. There is, however, one distinct advantage about them, that they supply most exhaustive material for those who like to study the question. It is only in this light that I support the recommendation on this subject. The Government cannot now hesitate. The time for hesitation has gone. In 1833, as my predecessor so eloquently explained, Government was at the parting of the ways, and if they wanted to hesitate should have hesitated then. But they, or rather the British nation, chose the policy that alone was consistent with the best traditions and the glory of England. Having entered upon that path, they cannot now go back, they cannot even halt; they must go on (*cheers*), and why in God's name should they halt? The spread of education in India means the glory of England, and an ever-growing guarantee for the peaceful continuance of her rule. For it involves a continuous expansion of that section of the community which labours to secure that happiness for and contentment amongst the masses, which are essential to the permanence of a foreign supremacy. Truly in the happiness and contentment of India's people lie England's glory and England's strength; and in England's sense of honour and justice lie, at this critical period, all our hopes and all our aspirations. (*Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, the shades of eve are falling fast. I am loath to stop this instructive and interesting debate, but as we are all agreed, and night is closing on us, I must do so. This then is our 8th Resolution.

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

The Resolution was then put and carried with loud cheers.

THE PRESIDENT—Before we adjourn I want to say one word with regard to our "grand old man." I want all of you to go to Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose for Mr. Hume's photograph, an excellent picture, some thousand copies of which have been most generously supplied by Mr. Radha Raman Kar (*cheers*), a Calcutta gentleman, for gratuitous distribution to all Congress-wallahs (*continued cheering*). The Congress then adjourned to the next morning, Wednesday, the 30th, at 11 o'clock A.M.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Wednesday, December 30th 1891.

THE Congress re-assembled at 11 A.M.

THE PRESIDENT.—GENTLEMEN,—You all know that this is the last day of the present Congress Meeting, and you also know that we have a good deal of work still to do. I need not remind you that there is a rule with regard to the time to be allowed to each speaker. That rule was not strictly enforced yesterday, but, considering that we must go through the work to-day, it will be my painful duty to exercise the authority which you have placed in my hands for the benefit of you all. Speaking to the point, and omitting all irrelevant and collateral discussion, is what we should all aim at.

3rd Day.

Before we proceed let me mention that we have had a very large number of telegrams expressive of sympathy in the Congress cause from different quarters, as well as telegrams expressive of their regret from a great number of delegates, who, in consequence of sickness or other causes, have been unable to attend; but there is one telegram which deserves special attention—I mean a telegram from General Booth—which I shall call on the General Secretary to read to you, together with the reply which your Subjects Committee has proposed to send, and which, I doubt not, you will adopt without a moment's hesitation.

Large number of telegrams of sympathy and expressing regret at inability to attend.

MR. A. O. HUME (*General Secretary*) (*Punjab, No. 130, in list*)—General Booth's telegram runs as follows: "May I be allowed to commend to the attention of the delegates the claims of the millions of India's starving poor, and to urge the consideration of some scheme by which these destitute multitudes can be placed upon the waste lands of the country, in such an organized and befriended manner, as will enable them to gain for themselves those necessities of healthy existence which, in their present circumstances, are denied to them. Praying for the blessing of God upon the labours of the Congress, yours in sympathy with every effort for the amelioration of mankind, William Booth, General of the Salvation Army."

Res. IX. General Booth's Telegram and reply thereto.

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

THE PRESIDENT.—GENTLEMEN,—Does this reply of the Subjects Committee meet your approval? (*Cries of yes, yes, all right*). Very good then, to put every thing in form I shall submit the proposition as Resolution IX in the following form:—

Read the following telegram from General Booth:—

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

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

"The Congress having received and considered your kindly message thank you cordially for the same. No possible scheme of internal immigration can perceptibly relieve the fifty to

3rd Day.

Res. IX.
General
Booth's
Telegram
and reply
thereto.

sixty millions of half-starving paupers, whose sad condition constitutes the primary raison d'être of the Congress. It is only by modifying the adverse conditions out of which this widespread misery arises, and by raising the moral standard of the people, that any real relief is possible. As regards the first, the Congress programme now embodies all primarily essential reforms; as regards the second, in every province and in every caste, associations, public or private, are working with a yearly increasing earnestness. Many good missionaries are labouring in 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."

The Resolution was then put and carried by acclamation.

Res. X.
The Annual
Indian Ses-
sions of
the Con-
gress to be
continued
until all
necessary
reforms
are secured.

MR. W. C. BONNERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 1, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW DELEGATES,—I have a purely formal duty to perform and that is to present to you a report of the committee appointed under your first resolution. One word of introduction is necessary before I read the report. You will remember that the British Committee,—at a meeting held on the 13th October 1891, used these words: "At the same time the Committee, think it desirable that no other Session of Congress, after that of December of 1891, be held until the Congress has assembled in England." Out of deference to that opinion of the British Committee the General Secretary issued a notice to all standing Congress Committees asking them to consider this subject, and to come here prepared to say whether the Annual Indian Sessions should be discontinued or continued pending the British Session. We have all considered this matter, and it has been discussed, both formally and informally, all over the country, and as the result of that consideration and discussion, and in view to a formal settlement of the question, you appointed a committee whose report I am about to present to you. That report runs as follows:—

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

I have much pleasure in presenting that report to you, and from the way in which you have received it I have no doubt that it will be accepted unanimously. (*Cheers*). I move that it be accepted and filed amongst the records of the Congress.

PUNDIT AJOODHYA NATH (*Allahabad, No. 74, in list*)—It affords me sincere pleasure to second the adoption of this report. It is quite in accordance with my own feelings. (*Cheers*). I think we are all agreed that wherever else we may also hold Sessions of the Congress, we will go on holding our Annual Sessions in India until all needful reforms have been secured. (*Cries of yes, yes, yes*).

THE PRESIDENT.—Are you all agreed? (*yes, yes*). Shall I then put it formally as our tenth resolution! (*yes, yes*). Then it will run thus:—

Read Report of the Committee appointed under Resolution (1.) which runs as follows:—

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

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

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

Res. XI.
Necessity
for mitigat-
ing the
harshness
of the prac-
tical admin-
istration
of the
Forest
Laws.

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

MR. PAUL PETER PILLAI (*Madras, No. 757, in 'list'*)—I beg to move the following resolution:—

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

3rd Day.
Res. XI.
Necessity for mitigating the harshness of the practical administration of the Forest Laws.

I am from Tinnevely, the southernmost district in India. With the knowledge and experience of a small ryot owning a few acres, I have the good fortune to combine an intimate knowledge of the conditions and circumstances of landholders, of all grades and positions, among whom I move largely, and for whose benefit I am working, and I consequently know a good deal about the Forest Laws and their operation. I speak from personal knowledge and observation, and from careful study of the agricultural condition of the country. Some time ago I held and declared the opinion that the condition of agriculture was degenerating. Now I may venture to say that it is on the high road to a complete collapse. The indigenous arts and industries of the land have collapsed, or are collapsing. While this is the case with the arts and industries, agriculture, the only thing left for the people, may truly be said to be well on the way to a collapse. Alas! if this goes on there will be an end of everything so far as India is concerned. The Forest Laws which I have now to discuss have, amongst other things, largely contributed to this unhappy result. I shall simply enumerate the various ways in which the Forest Laws exercise a disastrous influence on the agriculture of the country, at least as far as the Madras Presidency is concerned. With a single stroke of the legislators' pen the Forest Laws have extinguished the communal rights of the ryot—rights which have been enjoyed from time immemorial—rights recognised and respected by former Governments and even by the British Government in former times, which went so far as to issue *pottahs* to ryots for the enjoyment of such rights; and several ryots showed me such *pottahs*. While the Government as a general rule reserved valuable timber forests, the ryots were allowed the enjoyment of minor forest produce, and of inferior wood necessary for every-day domestic use, free pasture, and the right of procuring vegetable manure, fuel, stone and gravel. Now all these rights and privileges have been taken away summarily by a single stroke of the legislators' pen. It is some thirty years since the Madras Government thought of developing and enlarging the Forest Administration. Since the passing of the Forest Act of 1882, the laws have been enforced rigorously with unhappy consequences to the ryot classes. By the extinction of these communal rights our peasant proprietors have ceased to possess that status and moral influence, as compared with non-land-owning classes, which so materially aided to reconcile them to their position. Any one acquainted with the village system of rural India, at any rate in the south, will agree with me in saying that the ryots have ever possessed unquestioned the gratuitous enjoyment of all waste lands, cultivable or uncultivable, the *pottah* lands under cultivation being answerable for the Government revenue and the waste lands under valuable timber forests being in the enjoyment of the State.

By the extinction of communal rights village society has been revolutionised. By the extinction of the rights and the privileges of the landholding community they are placed on the same dead level with the artizan and non-landholding inhabitants of villages. Not only that. Their condition has become inferior to these, for they are answerable for a heavy Government land tax though they have no longer the enjoyment of pasture for their cattle or the right of procuring wood for their houses and for agricultural implements, vegetable manure for their fields, thorns and prickly shrubs for fencing their fields, and the like. Under pressure of necessity they are driven to infringe the all-embracing Forest Law, and thus stand liable to criminal prosecution. For petty infringements of these vexatious forest ordinances thousands of criminal prosecutions take place in my district. The protecting wings of the Forest Laws have descended from the hills to the plains. The hills have been divided into reserved and unreserved forests. The plains also have been divided into reserved lands and unreserved. The ryots are often unable to find which are reserved and which are unreserved. The unreserved lands, if there be such, are let to the ryots with restrictions and prohibitory conditions. Unreserved lands are gradually dwindling to such an extent that in many a village there is hardly any room for cattle to move beyond fallow lands. In such places, if the *pottah* lands be under cultivation, the hardships are insuperable. Then I may refer to the loss of the privilege and status of the land-holding and cultivating community over mere artizans and labourers. The charges of labourers have risen enormously high without bringing any corresponding profit or benefit to the ryot. By the Forest Laws, which impose taxes on forest produce which was before exempt from taxation and Government interference, the land revenue is directly or more strictly speaking indirectly enhanced. The land is heavily taxed enough. Pasture for cattle necessary for agriculture is taxed. Vegetable manure is taxed. Wood, necessary for agricultural implements like the plough, is taxed. Even when the tax is paid the labourers

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engaged in working out these forest products have to be paid heavily as they work subject to continual interference from forest subordinates, and this leads to worry and annoyance. Moreover, even when the ryot is willing to pay the tax, he experiences great difficulties in getting licenses. The social and economic revolution brought on by these changed conditions is most keenly felt in rural districts. The wages of the labourers engaged in procuring these articles, according to the laws of political economy, increase the wages of labour in other directions also. The abnormal disturbance of the labour market produced by this cause among others is a very serious subject for consideration. The Forest Laws are making great havoc with the live stock of the country so essential for its agriculture. I wrote to the leading paper in Madras, the *Madras Mail*, stating that by taking away pasture you destroy the British power in India, by taking away pasture you destroy cattle, and by destroying cattle you destroy the industry of agriculture in India. This is nothing but a truism. In consequence of the difficulties experienced in procuring food for cattle on the hills as well as on the plains there is heavy mortality among them. Cattle degenerate in every way, and accordingly there is a growing diminution of cattle power so essential for agriculture. There is a growing diminution in the supply of farm yard manure (animal dung and urine), in the supply of milk and its products, and in the supply of animal food. For want of nutrition and sufficient pasture cattle are degenerating in their procreative power. What a tremendous loss will these be to India, when all these things are put together. Whether there is pasture or not cattle must live. On account of the pasture difficulty cattle are liable to commit trespass upon prohibited lands reserved by the Government, or *pottah* lands under cultivation. Cattle are impounded wholesale in large numbers by 600 or 700 or 1,000 heads of cattle or sheep at a time. I have made a very strong protest against such wholesale impounding. In prosperous times even cattle degenerate and the live-stock declines rapidly in consequence of this iniquitous and blundering forest administration. Cattle-owners, in most instances, have not even half of what they had twenty years ago. In times of scarcity and distress they die in large numbers, which was not the case formerly, when the ryots had the right of free pasture and when they had the opportunity of economising and storing the fodder of the plentiful years for years of scarcity and drought. The Government realised last year one and a half lacs from pasture fees. While so much is realised from legal fees for pasture, the Government got three and a half lacs of rupees from penal fees by impounding cattle for trespass. The legal and penal fees amount to five hundred thousand rupees on account of pasture alone. You have heard of the controversy between Mr. Caine and Lord Wenlock about cattle mortality on account of the distress and famine in the Presidency of Madras. On the eve of my departure from Madras I read in the *Madras Times* (by no means friendly to Mr. Caine) that within the short period of eight months, from January to September this year, in the single district of North Arcot about three hundred thousand cattle perished from want of pasture and fodder over and above the normal mortality during the corresponding periods of previous years. The facts are from official reports obtained from tanneries. More than half of the cattle that died would have been useful for agricultural labour. Taking on an average that a bullock or draught ox is sufficient for cultivating six acres throughout a year, more than a million acres are without bullock power so necessary for agriculture in the district. I myself experienced just such a difficulty in 1886, when there was heavy mortality in my place on account of agricultural distress. The difficulty of procuring bullocks for ploughing was very great by the fall of rain out of season, and the ploughman's wages rose from three annas to a rupee and a half per day. On account of this difficulty I had to employ coolies to stir up the soil with mammoties and hoes according to the rude and primitive method of agriculture. There are a number of ryots who are driven to this primitive method of cultivation. This is one of the reasons why large areas of land, once under cultivation, are left lying waste.

There is a difficulty in procuring wood for agricultural implements like ploughs. The ryots are put to the hardships of buying timber, often of a valuable kind, from bazaars and markets far away from their places, while the wood in the village in the neighbourhood of their houses, and the use of which they have enjoyed from time immemorial, is closed against them.

There is difficulty also in procuring vegetable manure from Government forests and practically even from *pottah* lands, beyond forest thanas, by Government interference and taxation. How is it possible to carry on agriculture without vegetable manure and farm yard manure whose supply is growing more and more scanty every year? Land must necessarily deteriorate under such circumstances.

There are certain other hardships which the agricultural classes suffer equally with the non-land-owning classes. Fuel has become a State monopoly. The monopoly of fuel supply causes great hardships. The price of fuel has risen considerably. Often fuel is not procurable either for love or money. Fuel is as much a necessary of life as food

itself. When there is a fuel famine the people suffer nearly as much as during the times of the worst famine and scarcity. I have heard of instances of ryots converting valuable teak and other timbers into fuel. I have heard of instances of even Government servants starving temporarily and delaying to attend to their office-work in consequence of the fuel difficulty. I have heard of people being driven to the necessity of soaking grain in water and eating it raw and fresh. While during ordinary times the price of fuel is high, in times of scarcity and distress the price becomes very low in consequence of too many of the coolie class and the poorest people, for want of better work, supplying fuel far in excess of the demand, the demand being lessened by the distress of the consumers. Thus in the district of Salem, while the coolie class sold their head loads of fuel for nine pice, the Government tax amounted to six pice, leaving a surplus of three pice only for the support of the labourer and his household. The matter was represented to the Collector and the Governor, but with no effect. The wild berries of trifling value, thatch grass, and inferior wood for constructing butts are taxed and are subject to prohibitory restraints. Even stones and gravel are taxed on pain of one month's imprisonment if removed from forest lands (plain and hill forests). My brother delegate, Mr. P. Kesara Pillai of Anantapoor, has told me to-day that there is a recent General Order of the Madras Government enjoining the revenue authorities to discourage the ryots from removing stones and gravel even from pottah lands. I believe fully in this strange treatment, because now and then there is such interference from the revenue authorities, and because we in our pottahs are requested or forced to declare the surrender of our claims over mineral produce and mining rights. I am unable to imagine how the removal of stones and gravel will injure forest conservancy. Any one who knows anything of our agriculture and forestry will tell you that the removal has only the contrary effect of improving the forests by improving the soil. By such restrictions the people suffer, especially in the Ooded Districts, where stones are largely used in house building.

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When it was proposed to introduce forest legislation, it was done on the plea of making provision for posterity and following the scientific principle, of procuring more rain by increasing the foliage area. From philanthropic and scientific grounds it has in practice degenerated into a mere money-making and other people's property-grabbing arrangement. Everything within the forest limits has been taxed, except the atmosphere, without any rhyme or reason. Difficulties and ruinously prohibitory restrictions are raised with regard to the right of way for cattle and men even for drinking purposes. The Government seems to have some extraordinarily dismal idea about fires and cattle grazing. Forest fires are not caused by owners of cattle alone. They often arise from natural causes, like lightning and friction; under the influences of wind, dry sticks and bamboos rubbing against each other and igniting. But the economy of nature has so arranged things that pure grass hills will remain grass hills to eternity, unless the nature of the soil and topography of the ground are changed. Such hills which will remain useless for the growth of valuable timber are only slowly to be improved by the chemical action of the atmosphere on rocks and gravel, by the ashes of the grass burnt periodically and by the pasturage of cattle which give the hills the benefit of their manure. For the past ten years forests have been very rigorously conserved in my place, even from cattle trespass and protected from fire. But there is no progress in rainfall. There is less rainfall now in my parts than before. There has been a water famine in my place twice of the severest character unprecedented in the memory of living men, and that although the place is at the foot of the Western Ghats. Forests in Native States which have less scientific forestry, and in zemindaries which have no scientific forestry to boast of, are as good as Government forests and, in certain respects, even better in well managed States and estates, and in these there is none of the cruel rigour which characterises British territory, where the rulers do not seem to have realized the real reproductive and recuperative powers of nature. If the axe and saw be carefully watched and controlled within the forests, it is quite sufficient for the purposes of forest conservancy. These are some of the facts, and those who are well acquainted with the suffering of the ryots in consequence of all this absurd and useless so-called scientific forestry will feel that I have not overstated my case. Gentlemen, this is a very serious matter for the consideration of the Congress. Repeated memorials to the Government and protest in the press have been of no avail. If there be any institution that is to save India from its agricultural ruin resulting from the hardships inflicted by the forest laws, it is the National Congress. It is the highest duty of every one of the two hundred and eighty-five millions of India, princes and peasants, to support the grandest movement that history has ever seen. If we are not able or willing to support the movement we are not worthy of our existence and not fit to be called men and a nation. The grievances of the Forest Laws affecting millions of people are such as to require immediate redress. (*Cheers.*)

MR. R. P. KARANDIKAR (*Satara, No. 197, in list*)—MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW DELEGATES,—I believe that the announcement made by our worthy President at the beginning of the discussion will dispel many of the fears that have been entertained by some of the delegates from the Bombay Presidency who wanted the Forest Laws themselves to be made the subject of dis-

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discussion rather than the administration thereof. I believe therefore that we need not waste time by going over that question, important as it is. I will refer to the serious inconveniences or, as the resolution puts it, the serious discontent created by the administration of these laws. In the first place, I would ask the favour of your walking with me out of this Pandal—I do not mean bodily, but mentally—and if you will go with me to a village situated somewhere in the western hills, you will find a small hut with a few persons consisting of a man, a female and some children. For the edification of those who are anxious to see what they are like I have their photographs here. (The photographs were distributed for inspection). We are now speaking in the interest, not of those who are rich, but of those who are really poor. Indeed this proposition may be called the poor man's proposition: If you look at the map of India you will see that the country has on the east and on the west mountainous ranges, and it is the people of these districts that are particularly affected by the Forest Laws. Here is the hut, there is the field, and you have the cattle outside the man's door; there is also what is called the family. I want you to see on how many sides this family is encircled with difficulties consequent upon the introduction of the Forest Laws and their administration. I have here all the facts and materials with me, but I will simply draw your attention to the remarkable statements made in the speech by Sir Theodore Hope, who had charge of the forest measure in the Legislative Council, and who assured the people that the object of legislation was not to trespass on their rights, but merely to conserve and take better care of that part of the forest which was over and above the actual wants of the people who tilled and used the forests. Now you will see whether that promise, coming from so high an authority, has been kept, by the rules that profess to be framed under the regulation which was passed with this object in view. You will observe in the photograph that there is one bullock, a milch cow and a sheep. It is not expected that a cow is at all times giving milk. The rule is that as long as cattle give milk they are to be allowed free pasturage, provided that they belong to cultivators, and provided again that there is land belonging to the village in which the cultivator is resident included in the forest reserve. It cannot be supposed that at all times the cattle can be giving milk. You will see that the resolution has been cautiously worded, giving room for over-anxious officers to try their best and see that the interests of the Government are protected by increasing the revenue year by year. The cattle that are actually in use in agriculture are only not excluded. But all know what herds of cattle are, and we cannot suppose that all the herds can be used directly for the purpose of agriculture. With reference to the fields most complaints come from the western and eastern parts. In Peninsular India there is a cultivation known as shifting cultivation. As long as it goes on, and there are people who have lived by it for generations, it is necessary that the cultivator should have sufficient land at his disposal to make a living out of this kind of cultivation. I will give you a concrete instance because it is no use laying down general propositions. There are nine villages in my district in which the shifting cultivation area had been so restricted by the reserves that the only course open to the people was to cultivate portions of lands included in the reserves, and thus make themselves amenable to the law. Cases were actually prepared against the residents of all these villages, but fortunately common sense prevailed, and the matter was dropped. At every turn now-a-days the cultivator is harassed and impeded by forest restrictions of one kind and another. Mr. P. P. Pillai has referred to many and universal grievances in regard to the forest administration, and I can confirm all he says. But besides these almost every place has some special grievance. Take the district of Tirwah and its grievances. It is a district in which more brushwood and foliage is required for agricultural purposes than in any other. There are hill slopes that are well watered, but to utilize these properly for rice and other crops, it is necessary to use quantities of vegetable ashes and refuse. But the privilege of collecting this needful manure, which has been enjoyed for centuries, is now denied to the villagers and complaints have been made to the Government which have not received a satisfactory answer. But the Forest Department with its aggrandizing policy is so powerful that the Government itself is almost powerless against it. I wish to say in conclusion that I have been specially sent here by a meeting, not attended by the cream of the educated natives of India, but by 8,000 people assembled from villages lying within a circle of some 50 miles, every man of whom would have told you, far better than I can do, how destructive of all prosperity and comfort to our ryots is the present system of forest administration. (Cheers.)

MR. S. B. BHATE (*Belgaum, No. 145, in list*)—In rising to support this resolution, I must endeavour to remove a possible objection that may, with some show of reason, be raised to the discussion of the question involved in it. It is said, or felt, in certain quarters that this matter is provincial in its character, and that therefore the Congress has no concern with it. I desire to meet this objection. And the first consideration that I wish to urge is that in the present depressed condition of Indian industries, agriculture, upon which 86 per cent of the population depends for its means of sustenance, is inextricably bound up with forest laws and their administration. Various kinds of forest produce are required for agricultural purposes. It is from this standpoint that the question is to be regarded. And, if so, our grievances will be seen to be of universal application all over India. There

is within the district from which I come a large forest area; and, following the example of my leaders, I should like to place before you striking illustrations of the rigor of the administration of Forest Laws if it were necessary to do so. But really, Mr. Pillai has gone over the whole ground, and I do not wish to trespass on your time, but I may mention that from 10 to 12 head of cattle can be purchased in my district for a rupee. Indeed, many cultivators of the soil are ready and willing to dispose of their live stock as a gift. This because there is a fodder famine from which our cattle have been suffering, and were the rigor of the forest administration diminished, were the lands, into which, in such seasons, our cattle used to be driven to graze, once more, if only temporarily, thrown open to our starving herds, this deplorable state of things would be appreciably, yea immensely, ameliorated. (*Cheers*).

MR. J. B. NIBKAR (*Nasik, No. 202, in list*) then spoke in Marathi. The following is a translation:—

GENTLEMEN AND BROTHER DELEGATES.—I have been permitted by our worthy President to support the 11th proposition, but in doing so I cannot, I feel, either satisfy myself as to the full discharge of my duty or do justice to the subject within the short time allowed to each speaker. You all know the subject in hand is a vast one and has numerous details; still I will try my best to put it before you in as explicit, but concise, a form as I can. Before proceeding, gentlemen, to touch the subject in hand I have to assure you here, that by finding fault with the forest administration of our Government we do not at all admit that our present Forest Law is in any wise agreeable to us. It requires substantial and numerous amendments which, however, do not fall within the scope of the present resolution, to make it compatible with the real interests and welfare of our masses. But we cannot have these greater changes all of a sudden. What we are now asking is that the law, bad, as we think it, may yet be fairly, righteously, and mercifully administered. To revert then, gentlemen, to the subject, I must first show you how injuriously the forest administration affects our poor ryots.

As a recognised principle throughout the civilized world, that country is prosperous whose peasantry is prosperous. The prosperity of the peasantry is the basis of the prosperity and material wealth of the country. It is the masses, or poorer classes, those illiterate, ignorant, suffering cultivators upon whom our daily existence depends. It is they whose better condition alone tends to the happiness of all other classes. It is they for whom the sovereign enjoys his sway. It is they for whom our hearts are most specially moved when we see their helpless condition. The poor who have not even rags to cover their persons, who have not even the means of living from hand to mouth, and who have no cultured mouths to plead their cause or expound their grievances—it is on behalf of these, countless thousands of mute sufferers that we first and foremost attack the forest administration.

You all know, gentlemen, that forests, jungles, wilds, constitute one of the necessities of life. From birth to death, and even after it, we require all kinds of things that are derived from the forests and wilds. During our life we want fuel, we want wood, we want grass, stones, earth, leaves, bark, roots, and everything else, which being ours has been made to belong to others, not by Divine agency but by the avaricious desire on the part of men like ourselves. Nature has here in India provided us bountifully with all this without any request on our part, and for hundreds of generations we have enjoyed it unchallenged, but sud- denly we have been deprived of it by man—by the Forest Administration—acting against nature.

If you look back and see what forests were in the times of the Hindu and Mohamedan rulers, you will find they were blessings, but under the present administration they are curses to all living in their neighbourhood. They existed solely for the real good of ryots, as all necessary rights of user were freely enjoyed by those—the inhabitants of the neighbourhood—for whom nature had manifestly designed them. Of recent years forest laws have been introduced, nominally, to protect the country from droughts, absence of rains, and famine, but practically they have been worked otherwise. To declare one policy and to work up to another, to the disadvantage of others, is not an honest act. If you desire a typical instance of that kind of thing it is before you in the present administration of forests.

I am an original inhabitant, rather a *Khot* and a *Dharekari* of a poor hilly village in a poor district, misnamed Ratuagiri. (I do not know who first named it the "Mountain of Jewels"). That district cannot maintain its residents for more than a quarter of a year upon its own produce. It has its peculiar hardships in connection with the Forest Administration, very different from any of yours. We have most of our "warkas," cultivation lands on the hills. We are the owners of them, but curiously and ridiculously enough we cannot take the least advantage of what may be upon them in the way of forest, brush, scrub, though

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3rd Day. they are our own. Formerly sag, (teak), sesum, (black wood), and sandal trees were the only trees for the cutting of which permission was necessary from the immediate authorities.

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

Now with regard to cattle grazing : pasture lands have been almost swallowed up by the inordinate spread of reserved jungles. Where are the cattle to graze? The very means of husbandry, the cattle, have day by day diminished, owing to want of grass and hay. A few grazing grounds, out of so many ancient ones, have been kept, but to no purpose, as most of them can produce no grass and do not, and never can, suffice for the number of cattle in the neighbourhood. As we are not able to maintain sufficient cattle even for agricultural purposes, how can we expect to have them for milk and its products? Our people are, therefore, reduced to skeletons, being vegetarians as they are. In spite of the so-called spread of education our villagers, having no doctors, have to be their own physicians, but whence to bring the needful simples, the roots and leaves of plants or trees, as all these are now inside Government reserves? If to save his life from disease a man brings a chitak's weight of any thing medicinal out of the forest, he is fined under the forest produce definition section which, gentlemen, you must have specially studied, if only for the sake of curiosity.

Now with respect to the mortality of ryots from the spread of forests ; instances are numerous in several districts, such as Sholapur and others, where the, to European sportsmen, greatly beloved tigers and boars, reigning predominantly over man, have killed or wounded, and are still killing and wounding, numbers of poor human beings. The Arms Act has combined its full force to complete the human sacrifice with the Forest Administration! Is it worthy of our civilized British Government to allow such human sacrifices, in the 19th century, offered by the Arms Act priest and accepted by the Forest Deity on the altar of their reputed wisdom of ages? Let us now see the subject in hand from a sanitary point of view. The vicinity of a jungle to an inhabited portion of a village always tends considerably towards the increase of various sorts of diseases, and I am ready to prove this, not only under the “Vagbhat” and “Sooshroot” works, but also from the canons of modern medical science.

What is a still worse feature of the Forest Administration remains to be mentioned. Paper demarcation of forests is naturally unknown to cattle which are not, and cannot be, trained at schools and colleges. (*Laughter*). Cattle trespassing into forests are carried to pounds for no fault of theirs or their owners, but from that of the forest preservers, who never fence them as they want to turn their own faults to their own advantage. They are then released on payment of fines. The owners are prosecuted for the cattle trespass and fined as a separate source of income in addition to civil damages which are also recovered without mercy. The pound fee and fine rates have been increased. In one of the talukas of the Nasik District the aggregate amount of fines in 18 such prosecutions was 450 rupees during four months, civil damages and pound fees excluded.

I cannot enter, gentlemen, into any more details, as I think what is said is sufficient for the present purpose. Let me repeat once more with all my power that neither the Forest Law nor its administration are carried out in the interests of the people. The whole thing is treated as a source of revenue, a golden spring for Government. What else can there be under the sun more abominable, more horrible, more cruel, than the sham philanthropy of the mismanaged administration of forests. (*Loud cheers*).

MR. V. N. APTÉ (*Poona, No. 161, in list.*)—Amongst the several grievances which this Indian National Congress has made its duty to bring before our rulers for redress those connected with the Forest Laws administration must take a foremost place. These laws may

have been framed with a benevolent intention, as all laws and regulations presumably are : but the way in which they are enforced on the poor ryot is simply cruel. It must be a strange irony of fate that our rulers should have, I will not say deliberately, but perhaps unwittingly, so enacted laws and regulations that many of the necessaries of life—things which are essential to keep life and soul together—are denied to us, or rather made too dear to be attainable by the poor, such as salt, firewood and corn, while other articles which are detrimental to health, nay, to the very life of the ryot, ruinous to him, body and soul, are, so to say, forced down his throat, for instance, liquor and opium.

Firewood is as great a necessity as food itself. What would you do without it even if you had plenty of corn? Man is said to be a cooking animal. That is one of the characteristics of man distinguishing him from the lower animals. He must cook his food before he can eat it. Then again, he must have firewood to protect himself from the rigour of cold to warm himself with. Again, he has cattle (his sole wealth) to feed, and so he must have grass and fodder for them. Then come also his implements and his hut, which require from time to time to be repaired or renewed. Where is the wood to come from for these purposes except from the forest about his village? He has not always the money to buy these materials with, and so he goes into the forest, as his forefathers have done for generations, and hews down a suitable tree. But then he is prosecuted and punished. Is this justice, I ask? Gentlemen, the Forest Laws and Regulations are so stringent and so harshly administered that these necessaries of life are made almost unattainable both to the ryot and his cattle. People living in large towns and cities can have no adequate idea of the hardships to which in the districts the ryot is subjected by these forest rules. The cow movement, which is assuming such proportions, has its origin partly in the stringency of the Forest Laws. The numerous witnesses, who were examined by the late Bombay Forest Commission, gave, as you are already aware, painful details of the effects of these laws.

I need not, therefore, enter into them here especially after the speeches of some of my predecessors. I will therefore only once more make an appeal to our rulers. This appeal is on behalf of the voiceless ryot. It is an appeal on behalf of the masses and not the classes. The demand for the elective principle of representation may be said to come from the educated and enlightened "microscopic minority," but certainly this appeal, which concerns the conditions of life, both of man and animal, comes from the ryot. It must therefore be heard and prompt relief given. (*Cheers*).

MR. K. B. MULLICK (*Serampur, No. 34, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, SISTER AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—In asking permission to say a word or two on the resolution before the Congress, I may mention that my brother delegates from Bengal said to me: "What business have you coming from Bengal to take any part in the discussions in regard to Forest Act? Where you are there is no serious trouble about this matter?" I reply that we are proclaiming to the world that we have given up sectional distinctions and have become a united people. Millions are suffering under the Forest Laws, and though I personally am not so suffering, I equally desire their improvement. I wish, however, to propose an amendment. I have very little hope that it will even be seconded; but a sense of duty prompts me to say a word or two in regard to this Act. I wish to substitute for the words in the resolution: "By the practical administration of the Forest Laws," the words, "by the operation of section 41 of the Forest Act." The reason why I want to substitute these words is simply this: I have no knowledge of the operation of the Forest Laws in Bengal, to which I belong, as I have lived in Rajputana for the last twelve years. But I know that in and about Ajmere there is a large class of poor people who earn their livelihood simply by cutting small trees in rocky wastes and bringing them to the market. They have no other means of livelihood, and from generation to generation they have thus subsisted. These poor people, especially many women, who have to support themselves and their children, depend simply on these waste land products derived from lands situated near the frontier of a British possession called Ajmere, a small place in Rajputana, surrounded by a number of Native States. These poor helpless folk have to pay blackmail to the British Forest Department for every twig of fuel they bring in to the market, though this feeble trade is the only means of their subsistence. If it is not the law itself which is in fault I do not know what is. If it is not the oppressive operation of section 41. I do not know what it is. The section is an amended section. It makes it criminal for any one to cut down forest trees, not only from these wastes, the ownership of which by the British Government is disputed, but from their own land. Before they can cut the smallest branch of a tree they have to get permission from the Government officials. If they do not, they come under the operation of the law, and are taken before the nearest Magistrate and punished. If this is not the oppressive operation of the Forest Law of India, I do not know how to characterise it. My only object in coming here is to try and save these poor people from the oppressive action of this section.

THE PRESIDENT.—I fear that you have hardly understood the bearing of your so-called amendment. The adoption of this will make that alone to be the grievance. This resolution

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speaks of the practical administration of the Forest Laws, and it therefore covers a much larger area. Is it your object to restrict our protest to complaint against the operation of this particular section and this only?

MR. MULLICK.—No, certainly not.

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

MR. MULLICK.—Well, if the words “practical administration of the Forest Laws” means or includes the operation of Section 41, my amendment fails to the ground. But does it? Is this quite certain?

THE PRESIDENT.—Yes.

MR. MULLICK.—Then I withdraw the amendment.

MR. VIRA RAGHAVA CHARYA (*Madras, No. 763, in list*)—GENTLEMEN AND FELLOW DELEGATES,—If I stood here as an advocate on behalf of the people of this country in a technical sense, and if you constituted yourselves a public tribunal, I would charge the Government of India in regard to the administration of the Forest Laws under the following two heads: First, I say that I would charge them with breach of faith or contract; and, secondly, I would charge them with misappropriation. I charge them with breach of faith, because when this Act was introduced in 1877, the Government distinctly assured us that it was introduced not with a view of raising revenue, but in the interests of the people at large. A Commission was sent to some of the European countries, and the experts reported that the periodical famines which ravage this country could probably be minimised by the growth of protected forests. A resolution was consequently passed, and we were distinctly told that the Government would not endeavour to increase its revenue from these forest lands. Now, so far as this Madras Presidency is concerned, in the year 1877 the revenue was 4½. In 1878 it was 6½ lakhs. In 1879 6½ lakhs. In 1883 it grew to 8 lakhs. In 1884 it was 9 lakhs. In 1887 it went up to 12 lakhs. In 1888 and 1889 it had grown to 13 lakhs. That is only in the Presidency of Madras. Although they assured us that the Act was introduced not to increase the revenue, they have been systematically encroaching upon lands belonging to the public. Then, as to the charge of misappropriation in our own presidency. There are two or three charters of land prevailing. In Chundu and Tungari and other districts, the ownership of the land is with the people, not with the Government. The Government, in violation of the several regulations passed in the times of the East India Company, have been gradually extending their rights over these lands belonging to the people, and reserving large tracts in them to the detriment of the cattle and the general health of the people. Not only are people suffering, but the cattle are also dying in large numbers. The death rate in times of famine has greatly increased. Last year in two or three districts there was an increase of 81,000 deaths among cattle owing to the rigour of the Forest Laws, and in some districts the Collectors themselves have reported that there ought to be some relaxation in the working of these laws. By the Government's short-sighted and immoral policy, as regards forest questions, they are not only making the people still poorer and more helpless, and more liable to succumb in any scarcity, but they are also causing the destruction of cattle in large numbers—cattle which, here in India, as you all know, are the primary requisite of all agriculture. Spade culture in our poor soils is practically impossible; a man cannot dig a sufficient area to earn a subsistence. Ploughing is essential, but this without cattle is impossible, and the Government, or its limb, the Forest Department, is gradually but certainly destroying the cattle. It is here, as in the case of the army, as in the case of excise, the Government enter on a course and originate a policy upon the highest noblest and most unassailable principles, but having got in the end of the wedge, they throw aside all these principles, and thereafter work the scheme for their own profit. They created an army to defend their own territories, they have expanded it so as to enable them to seize the territories of others. They originated the excise to check insobriety and then gradually expanded it so as to spread drunkenness broad cast and increase their own revenue. So they started the Forest Administration to benefit the country and conserve the rights of posterity, and now they work it only to pile up revenue, careless that they are ruining the peasantry and perilling the existence of any posterity. Against this misconception by Government of their duty to us, to England and to God, this resolution is a premonitory protest; it will be stronger a good deal next year, and I ask you to carry it unanimously. (*Loud cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT.—Shall I now put this question? (*Yes, yes, vote, vote*). Well then our 11th Resolution stands as follows:—

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

The Resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

MR. K. G. NATU (*Poona, No. 183, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—If ever the saying that “*artis long and life is short*” is anywhere realized, it is realized in this Congress Hall, when the man who stands here to give utterance to his thoughts is allowed five minutes, and no more. But fortunately for myself, I am entrusted with a proposition which does not require much argument. It requires only a heart; and is there a soul that lives that is not moved with gratitude to those who are working in England for the protection of India? I need not repeat their names. There is one among us now, Mr. Hume (*prolonged cheers*), whose name will be remembered not only by ourselves but by posterity as one who has brought about the resurrection of the whole country. (*Loud cheers*). Yesterday it was said that what India wants is to pass from death unto life, and that is what is aimed at by those who are so generously working for us. I beg now to move the following Resolution:—

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

When I look on you, representing, as you do every province, every class, every creed, the whole of India is mirrored in the view, and I ask, is India so poor that it has no feelings of gratitude towards those who are working for it? What are the services that they are rendering? They are reiterating your utterances. There are oceans and mountains between us; and your cry perhaps is not heard so far away; but they are standing at the heart of the Empire, repeating your prayers, pressing for a consideration of your grievances and insisting on justice for you. While, on the one hand, they are pleading with Great Britain to do something for India on the other hand they are turning towards us and breathing hope into our hearts, by their support and sympathy. There is the true heart in them bent on doing good to our country. They are not paid servants. Their work is a labour of love. It is not their own advancement but our welfare that they seek. How oh, how can we sufficiently thank them? And yet, such is human nature, while we thank them for all that they are doing and have done, we now ask them to do more. (*Cheers*). We want them henceforth not to restrict their exertions to those special great fundamental questions, which have been discussed and adjudicated on by this Congress, but to interest themselves generally in all Indian matters involving any principle accepted by the Congress, properly vouched representations in regard to which may be submitted to them from this country. Matters, in the first place, often occur between Congresses, which need immediate action, like that Bombay judicial appointment which is fresh in all your minds, and again, monthly, cases are cropping up, involving no doubt violations of principles that the Congress has insisted on, yet hardly of such national importance as to warrant their discussion in this national assembly, with the very brief space of time it has at its disposal, and yet, for all that, cases involving cruel wrongs and gross injustice, in regard to which immediate public protest in England and in the House of Commons is essential, and we desire that our British Committee should be in a position to deal with all such matters. At present they have only the mandate from us to deal with and press Congress questions. We, as representing the nation, now desire to empower them to deal with all Indian questions on India's behalf, involving violations in letter or in spirit of those great principles, which we have, in our various sessions, affirmed on behalf of our countrymen and constituents; and we are not desirous of restricting the right to seek their intervention to the openly acknowledged members of the Congress party, to the Standing Congress Committees, as was at one time contemplated. No, national as is our movement, and dear as it is to every Indian's heart whether he so acknowledge it or, for fear of the powers that be, conceal his true feelings, we desire that this channel for the redress of grievances should be open to all India, not merely to Standing Congress Committees but to all associations, sabhas and other public bodies that have been, or may be, formed amongst our countrymen.

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them to
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Of course we must have definite rules, under which such references will have to be made. We must make sure that all such complaints are, as the resolution says, properly vouched for.

Again, of course, there are multitudes of private grievances, not only not national, but not even public in their nature, which, if put forward in England at all, must be pushed through private agents and not through a public body like our British Committee. Our rules must provide for this and must leave the fullest discretion in all cases to our Committee to move or not to move in any matter. But these are mere details; it is the principle of this new and important departure that this resolution affirms, and it is one I venture to say that you will all concur in. (*Here the gong sounded*). My time is spent and yet I have only said half of what I wished to say. Never mind, perhaps, I may be allowed to say the other half at the next Congress. (*Laughter and cheers*).

MR. GIRISHA CHANDRA SETT (*Calcutta, No. 8, in list*)—FELLOW DELEGATES,—It is with great pleasure that I find myself privileged to second the resolution. I am sure there is no one here who is likely to forget the name of Sir William Wedderburn. If this country can be grateful to any body, it is to that eminent gentleman who has labored so long, not only in India but also in England, for the good of this land, and who is also continuing his labour in its behalf. We are also grateful to all the members of the British Congress Committee who from year to year have been anxiously endeavouring to do their best to ameliorate the condition of this country. Mr. Nathu has so fully and ably expounded the true purport of this measure that I need now only add that I trust you will all carry the resolution by acclamation.

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

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

The Resolution was then carried by acclamation.

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signal ser-
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grief at his
untimely
death.

MR. PHEROZSHAH MEHTA (*Bombay, No. 256, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND DELEGATES ALL,—It is with the most unfeigned reluctance that I have been persuaded—I ought almost to say over-persuaded—to undertake the painful task of placing before you the next resolution. For it is a task which I cannot approach without being overcome with the deepest and most sincere emotion. To me human speech has always seemed helpless and impotent in the presence of death, and as I rise to speak of it, the death of Charles Bradlaugh seems to rush upon the mind as fresh in all its terrible and mournful reality, as if it were only yesterday. India had never more reason to lament what the poet has described, with all the force of the old Hellenic conviction, as “the mystery of the cruelty of things,” than when it was suddenly and despite the prayers of millions, deprived of the valiant knight who had sworn to do battle for her; her chosen and trusted champion, her true and tender friend, her wise and sober counsellor, her accredited representative in the great and august counsel of the Empire. It is only two short years ago—nay, not so much; not two—that, plucked from the very jaws of death, snatched, as he himself said, from the blackness of the grave, we greeted him, in the name and at the call of all India, with the simple enthusiasm which his unselfish and untiring devotion to India's cause had already created from one end of the country to the other. I well remember how our hearts were unutterably stirred within us, at finding him in our midst, restored, as we then fondly, but alas, vainly, hoped, to health and a long career of noble usefulness. I shall never forget, (and who that was present could forget?) the memorable speech which, his gentle heart moving him almost to tears, he addressed to the vast concourse of people that had assembled to welcome and greet him, and in which he pledged himself, modestly and unostentatiously, but earnestly and feelingly, “to do his best, so far as one man may, for the greater happiness of India's people, the greater peace for Britain's rule, and the greater comfort of the whole of Britain's subjects.” Only one short year was given him to redeem his promise. But even in that short year how nobly, how indefatigably, how devotedly he applied himself to the task he had undertaken, with all that large human sympathy which always seemed to me to pervade and direct his fearless, powerful and uncompromising vindication and championship of right and truth and justice. Even during the few months that have elapsed since his death, how often have we

missed, on great occasions and small, the ring of his sagacious and powerful advocacy, and how often have we had reason to exclaim.—

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

Death's heavy hand has indeed fallen heavily upon us in the loss of Charles Bradlaugh. England has lost in him one of her best sons like unto those knight errants of old “who went about redressing human wrong,” one of those large-hearted and large-minded Englishmen whose love and sympathy, reared and nurtured in a lofty conception of moral and political duty, does more than is imagined to transform the feeling of gratitude for the material blessings of British rule, inestimable as they are, into a sentiment of earnest, devoted and enlightened loyalty. His name has become a household word in the remotest parts of the country. It is a more eloquent and surer tribute to his worth than monuments of brass and marble. These may be raised to deserving as well as undeserving people. We have a statue in Bombay to Lord Reay, we have another to Sir Richard Temple. But the heart cannot belie itself. Let us then reverently enshrine his memory in our hearts as we have already enshrined those of John Bright and Henry Fawcett! (*Cheers*). I beg to propose the following resolution:—

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

MR. K. P. KAVYABISHARAD (*Allahabad, No. 89, in list*)—FELLOW DELEGATES,—Fully conscious as I am of my utter unworthiness to stand before this august assembly, I am really grateful to the learned President for permitting me to second this resolution. Although suffering from the disadvantage of coming after that distinguished orator and patriot, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, I dare to stand up because I yield to none, not even to Mr. Mehta himself, in keenness of appreciation of our late champion's services or of grief at his untimely loss, though I have not his power to give expression in words to what my heart feels. What shall I say of Charles Bradlaugh, a man “the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unlose.” Before even he had begun to take an active interest in Indian affairs, I had learned to admire, nay, almost to worship him. An unworthy and insignificant disciple of his, words cannot describe the joy I experienced when he stepped forward to fight my country's battle, or the pain I felt at his irreparable loss. I had, however, the consolation of knowing that my grief was shared by all my countrymen from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin; from the Indus to the Brahmapootra. We all of us know that Charles Bradlaugh was no mealy-mouthed philanthropist. He used no empty words. He was a practical man in every sense of the word. He was slow to promise, but sure to perform. “Thorough” was his motto. What he undertook to do he meant to do thoroughly. He could never be disturbed by the bureaucratic owls hooting their hoots, and misrepresenting this national assembly in every way. But it is not for me to dilate on the merits of Mr. Bradlaugh. You know them full well, and they have been referred to by the honorable gentleman who preceded me with a fulness and pathos to which I can never attain. But as an illustration of Mr. Bradlaugh's universal sympathy for us, permit me to quote from memory a few words of the late lamented member for India—words that have been ringing in my ears from the memorable day of his Bombay speech. Said he: “Born of the people, trusted by the people, for whom shall I work if not for the people? I know no geographical or race limitations.” Such was the man to whom we owe a debt of immense and endless gratitude. (*Cheers*.)

MUNSHI SADRUDDIN AHMED (*Allahabad, No. 81, in list*) then spoke in Urdu—

“Oh! God thou hast turned my smiles into tears, and added anguish to my sorrow,

Thou hast made the song of my heart mournful as the Nightingale's and hast watered the flowers of my garden with fire.”

(*Verse*.)

The objects of the Indian National Congress are so very straightforward, simple and reasonable, that no one ever thought of antagonism from any one—nay it was hoped that all the Mussalmans as a body (in accordance with the saying that Hindus and Mahomedans have been together for 800 years like the chest piece and the skirt of the same coat) would be of the same mind; and no opposition was feared or expected from the Anglo-Indians, and specially from those of them whose flesh and skin had been nourished with Indian salt; and

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from those officers who, by virtue of India's good name, obtained positions ranging from an Assistantship to Lieutenant-Governmentship; but—

*"I was wrong in what I thought."
(Verse.)*

Shortly after (the Congress had made some progress) the fire of antagonism was kindled. Those Europeans upon whom we relied as friends turned into enemies. Aligarh and Benares also aimed side blows treacherously. The poor Congresswallas began to grow disappointed so far as Indian Officers were concerned, and they contemplated securing a powerful help and patron in England. The country was in this condition when English papers began to reveal that Mr. Charles Bradlaugh had cast the skirt of mercy upon us helpless Indians, in other words, that the sun of Bradlaugh's sympathy having risen from the West had lighted the East. This news, however, was not believed universally in India and was considered to be the Congresswalla's gossip till at last Mr. Bradlaugh came to the Bombay Congress. His bright face, reverend locks, benign manners, majesty of speech, public sympathy, constancy of mind, vivified the soul of the nation, and all were convinced that that helmsman would steer our ship to the shore of desire. Our countrymen, thus consoled and rejoiced, were taking part in the proceedings of the Calcutta Congress when the ill news of his illness made all anxious, and soon after our return from Calcutta we suddenly heard the sad occurrence of his death.

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

It was our desire to make that revered man our leader before the Imperial Throne when our caravan should reach London. But alas he whom we were to place before the Imperial Throne has sunk into the pit of the grave. It was our aspiration to make this patron of the country the consort of the bride, the embodied aspirations of the Congress, to make ready all the requisites of procession and pleasure, so much so as to make, with our thanks and love as it were, garments of brocade for the bridegroom. But alas we had to read the following verse instead.

*"We have seen many a body besmeared with dust; if the friend changed dress we saw a coffin."
(Verse.)*

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

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

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

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

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

MOULVI ABDULA AZIZ SAHEB (Nagpur, No. 428, in list) then spoke in Urdu, as follows:—

MR. PRESIDENT, FELLOW DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It is absolutely binding upon us all to be grateful to all those who show us kindness, who try to get our grievances removed, and who do not let an opportunity escape without doing us good. The late lamented Mr. Bradlaugh, who was neither a follower of any of the Indian religions nor an inhabitant of India, was kind enough to shew sympathy to us, took up our cause and promised, though unostentatiously yet most sincerely, to educate British public opinion upon Indian matters to such an extent that our grievances should become dreams of the past, and thereby the union between England and India eternally cemented. We are, therefore, bound to place on record our feelings of deep gratitude towards him. We cannot refrain at the same time from expressing our great sorrow for his untimely severance from us. His untimely death has been an irreparable loss to us, to the whole of India, and every true son of India is conscious of this. Had he been spared to us, Lord Cross's Bill for amending the

Legislative Councils in India would have been never withdrawn, but amended upon the lines laid down by the Indian National Congress and passed into law. I do, therefore, most earnestly beseech you, ladies and gentlemen, never to forget his services, and to hold forever engraven in your hearts the sacred memory of him who laboured so much and so unselfishly for us and for India.

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THE PRESIDENT.—I will now formally put to you our 13th Resolution, and it is only meet and fitting that you should, if you accept it, as accept it you will, pass it in solemn silence, all standing in reverence to the memory of our great champion.

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

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

MR. W. C. BONNERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 1, in list*)—(who was received with loud cheers) said.—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I am extremely grateful to you for the kindness with which you have received me. I understand the feeling that prompted your kindness, and I assure you I appreciate it heartily. The resolution which I have to propose for your consideration is one which does not require any advocacy on my part to induce you to accept it. It is this:—

Res. XIV.
Mr. Dada-
bhai Naor-
jee.

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

Is there any one amongst you who has not heard the name of Dadabhai Naorojee or, having heard it, does not revere it, does not love it, does not carry it about with him as a household word? From the time when he was an young man to the present day when he is over three score years old, he has devoted himself, his fortune, his talents, his life one may say, to the cause of his country. There is no publicist among us who knows the economical condition of India so well as Mr. Dadabhai Naorojee. He has fought, and in my opinion fought successfully, many a tough battle with the adversaries of India. Chief amongst them was that very superior person Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff, who, when he was in India, only corresponded with such high personages as Prince Bismark and the Empress Frederick. (*Laughter*). Now Mr. Dadabhai Naorojee, not for any personal advantage to himself, but only for the sake of his country, has been trying for some years to get into the House of Commons, so that there, in the midst of the representatives of Great Britain herself, he may plead the cause of his native country. You know how difficult it is even for Englishmen to get into the House of Commons. He has failed once, but the spirit which led him to devote his life to his country is still in him and stirring him on to do the best he can to get a seat in the House of Commons. All that I ask you to do by this resolution is to say that you have your old confidence in the old man, and that you will be sincerely grateful to any constituency in Great Britain that will do itself the inestimable honor of sending Mr. Dadabhai Naorojee to the House of Commons. (*Cheers*)

THE HONORABLE MR. SANKARA NAIR (*Madras, No. 807, in list*).—It is only as a matter of form that I rise to second this proposition. Mr. Dadabhai Naorojee took up the question of national reform long before any one of us turned his attention to the subject; and how well, how ably, and how persistently he has fought for us, has been so well insisted on by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, that it is needless for me to add anything to what he has already said. It is only just and proper that to him, and to those in India and in England who have been aiding him, and are still aiding him, whether in Central Finsbury or elsewhere, we should tender our most cordial acknowledgments. With these remarks I leave the resolution in your hands confident of its unanimous acceptance. (*Cheers*).

THE PRESIDENT.—I now put our 14th Resolution which I really need not read again.

The Resolution was then put and carried by acclamation.

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MR. C. N. NAYADU (Chairman of the Reception Committee) (*Nagpore, No. 432, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT, SISTER AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—The proposition that I have to bring before you runs thus :—

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

Gentlemen, this is one of the most important, if not the most important resolution, that has been brought before the Congress. You know that our existence as a Congress is largely based upon the efforts that we may make in England for the recognition of our proceedings. It is a matter of vital importance that we should go to England and try and move the people there and our Mother Empress, and impress upon them the necessity of granting us the reforms that we are praying for. You know well that unless we go there, and knock at the door of the head quarters of the Empire, nothing really satisfactory will come of our movement. We have to move the British nation, and through the nation the British Parliament, through the British Parliament the Secretary of State, and through the Secretary of State and Her Majesty's Ministry our Government in India to grant us the reforms that we advocate, and unless we do so I do not see how we can hope to succeed within any reasonable time.

The system on which the British Government is now administered is this : The Government here complies with the orders of the Secretary of State, the Secretary of State is guided by the sense of the majority of the House of Commons, when this finds an expression ; and the House, as it were, only speaks out when the constituencies press it. So we must go to the fountain head if we wish to get our grievances redressed. Unless we send a strong representative body of Indians to England, I fear we shall not be able to move the constituencies or obtain any reasonable instalment of that which we are longing for. I do not wish to make a long speech on this subject, because the argument was fully gone into at the last Congress by able speakers. The necessity is felt by all of us, and I am sure you will all agree with me and adopt the resolution without any hesitation. (*Cheers*). But there are two things that I have to bring to your notice : First, we asked the several Standing Congress Committees on the last occasion to give us lists of the delegates they desired to be sent to England to represent us there. These lists we do not consider it necessary now to make public—for as the general elections are expected to take place in 1892, and we have been asked by the British Committee to suspend our going to England till after the election is over, many things may occur between now and then to modify these lists. When the elections are over then we shall expect to receive new lists up to date. (*Cheers*). Secondly, you are aware that the British Committee have most generously invited our delegates to England, when we do send our chosen 100, to be their guests for one month. (*Loud cheers*). I am sure that you all appreciate the generosity and kindness of this noble offer of hospitality, and that you all join with me in heart-felt thanks (*Hear, hear*) to these brave English gentlemen, on whom we have only that claim that sufferers from injustice ever have on British hearts, and who are, yet, ready to labour for us as they do, and to receive us as their guests as they promise—and will. (*Long and continued cheering*).

BABU BHUPENDRA NATH BASU (*Calcutta, No. 6, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER AND SISTER DELEGATES,—It is not desirable at this stage of the proceedings to dwell at length on the resolution now before you : nor is it necessary. Fears were entertained by the gentlemen who suggested it at the last Congress that Conservative India, so largely represented in the Congress, might hesitate to accept it. All fears were dispelled, all misgivings swept away, when the resolution was put to the vote and carried with acclamations by all sections of the Congress. Delegates from all parts of India, delegates representing widely divergent views on matters of social usage, delegates of all creeds and castes, Hindus and Mussalmans, Brahmins and Sudras, all stepped on to the platform at the mandate of the Chairman to support the resolution. And you, brother delegates from Bengal, will certainly remember that one of us, always modest and retiring, always reticent and unpretentious, but always a warm supporter of the Congress movement, himself the worthy representative of one of the most ancient and orthodox families of Calcutta, for once in his life, shaking off his habitual reserve, came forward to speak in favour of the resolution. I allude to Maharaj Kumar Neel Krishna (*loud cheers*) who, alas ! for us, is now no more to help and to cheer us. Well, gentlemen, the question has been asked with pertinacious insistence, the cry has been raised, and swelled into volume, by the arts of the enemy. What have been the achievements of the Congress ? What have been the results of these annual gatherings ? Mine is not the creed of easy success. No triumph is worth the achievement unless reached through sacrifice and labour. It has taken Ireland, with representatives in the House of Commons, backed by the unselfish patriotism and devotion to duty of thousands of her sons, backed by sacrifices almost superhuman, backed by the indomitable energy and untiring patience of the Irish race, backed by the moral

support of civilized Europe and backed by the great liberal party in England, it has taken Ireland nearly a century to bring her programme to the threshold of victory. And we poor Indians, held for ages in foreign yoke, diversified by creeds and castes, distracted by mutual jealousies and internal dissensions, fanned into flame by the breeze of official favour, sleeping for centuries the sleep of petrified Ahalya, and just awakening into life at the magic touch of one, whose memory, we and our sons after us, will cherish with the love and reverence, with which we Hindus have been accustomed to regard the great Rama, of the family of Raghu,—what could we expect to do in the brief space of seven years? It is a wonder that we have been able to achieve the little that may safely be placed to our credit, something of which was recalled yesterday to our minds by our friend Surendra Nath Bannerjee, but does any man in this great hall, even the most sanguine amongst us, believe for a moment that we shall succeed in winning our battle on the soil of India? Our officials, “lulled by the langour of the land of the lotus,” are not easy to move. Bureaucratic India has turned a deaf ear to our cry. Come then, friends, gird up your loins, and fight your battle on the soil, where no slave can breathe. Our real masters are the people of England, and to them we must appeal.

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We, in Bengal, have made up our minds, and found our men. Reverend Pundits learned in the Shastras have pronounced that there is no harm in a sea-voyage. Long before the question of sea-voyages had become the burning question of the day, the only passage in the Shastras, which the opponents of reform cited in support of their narrow-minded views, was interpreted for other purposes by the late Pundit Tarannath Tarka Bachaspati, justly considered in his time the first grammarian of India, and he said that not sea-voyages, but the expiation of sins by drowning oneself in the sea was what was interdicted in the Kaliyuga. Through a wrong interpretation of one single passage in the Shastras, we Hindus had been burning our widows for centuries, and through the wrong interpretation of another passage, we have shut the door on our progress. Well, gentlemen, the question of sea-voyages, so far as Bengal is concerned, has, thanks to the energetic efforts of Maharaj Kumar Benoy Krishna, been practically settled, and orthodox Hindus, hoary with age, and of indisputable authority, have pronounced themselves in their favour. I have no doubt that the other provinces of India will readily find men to espouse our cause in England. The Central Provinces have pronounced their verdict. My friend, Mr. Mudholkar, continues to be the same respected member of Hindu society as he was before he went to England at the mandate of the Congress and in obedience to the call of duty.

THE PRESIDENT.—More respected, more.

Our President says more and I say, yea, with all my heart.

Well, gentlemen, the way being cleared shall we halt in sight of the promised land? Here in India we ask for bread and they give us stones. Let us now stand before the bar of the British public, pleading our cause, pleading the cause of our country, which is the cause of justice and of freedom, a cause which has never failed, and is not now going to fail for the first time, and success shall be ours.

The misgivings of doubt, the sneers of contempt, the voice of cavil will be drowned for ever, and we shall earn for ourselves the gratitude of the voiceless millions of India and of generations yet to come.

MR. A. C. PARTHASARADHI NAIDU (*Madras, No. 751, in list.*)—I wish that this resolution did not exist in the Agenda Paper. I wish it were in my power to expunge it now. For, when this resolution was moved last year at Calcutta, I capered with joy and fondly believed that the scheme would soon become an accomplished fact. Deeply regretting therefore the circumstances that have necessitated the postponement of the Congress Session in London, I, however, think it reasonable that the arrangements of the London Congress should be suspended as signified in the resolution in question. I consider the causes that have contributed to the suspension as Providential; for during the two years that will elapse, Pundits and others might thoroughly investigate the question of the feasibility or otherwise of sea-voyages, so that there might not be any persecution when the band of Congress Delegates returned from England. I have much pleasure in announcing the report that H. H. the Maharajah of Mysore and His Highness the Rajah of Bobbili are contemplating visits to England, and that they have asked the opinion of the Pundits in Southern India and in Benares on the question of sea-voyages. It is almost certain that the result of this investigation will be favourable, and I hope therefore that Delegates from India will be able to go in a body to England and present to the British public their grievances in the most right loyal manner possible. (*Applause.*)

SWAMI ALARAM (*Allahabad, No. 76, in list*) spoke in Hindi as follows.—Friends, in the last Congress at Calcutta, it was resolved that the Congress of 1892 should be held

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in London. But anticipating the dissolution of Parliament, the British Committee has recommended the postponement of the Congress in London till after the Elections, for in the time of Election members are too much occupied with their own affairs to attend to anything else. We fully concur with the suggestions of the Indian Political Agency, and say that the Congress Session of 1894 should be held in London. It is heard that Mr. Hume is about to enter Parliament. If this be true, the Congress will soon attain its objects. Friends, may God elevate Mr. Hume to the position of Secretary of State for India, and then and then only the grievances of the 300 millions of the Indians would be redressed. Mr. Hume is not going to separate himself from the Congress as was given out some time ago, but will continue to be its General Secretary, and thus nurture the tree which he has planted. Friends, don't remain inactive like stone statues during this interval, but continue to hold these grand Congresses as usual year after year. In 1894 the Congress should be held in London, and you should be prepared to send your delegates there. The loss of caste, consequent on a sea-voyage, is a pure misconception. Sea-voyage is not an *ekadasi* fast that is broken by eating a grain of gram. There is no harm in a person cooking his own food and eating it anywhere. Here you drink water brought to you through pipes, and there too you have to do the same. This in no way would take away your caste. It is stated in Nannuck Ohandrodaya that Guru Nannuck went to Mecca for the good of the people, still he did not lose his caste. How think you, then, that you would lose it by undertaking a sea voyage? Friends, England is a land of angels (*laughter*), then why do you raise unnecessary objections to seeing angels! Though sixty years old and a sanniyasi (hermit) still, if I be alive, certainly I would go to England, and with this view I have commenced studying English. That well known Englishman, Mr. Bradlaugh, died while labouring for your good, then don't you feel ashamed in shrinking from visiting England, his birth-land, his home, which his death has hallowed. A series of Congresses held in India would not be so effective in rousing public attention in Britain as a single Congress in London. Let us, therefore, hold our Congress in 1894 in London before the threshold of our Mother Empress Victoria and pray her to redeem those solemn and sacred pledges given by Parliament in 1833 and by Her Majesty herself in 1858.

PUNDIT SHYAM NARAYAN MASALDAN (*Oudh, No. 123, in list*)—MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have great pleasure in supporting the Resolution which is now before you. It was resolved last year that the London session of the Congress should be held this next spring. But now our English friends and members of our British Committee are of opinion that we should hold our session in London after the General Elections which must come before long; and I agree with this opinion, because I think that at present with the near prospects of a General Election the public mind of Great Britain is so much excited that it is hardly possible to divert its attention to any other subject, however interesting and even important that subject may be. If after the assembling of a new Parliament when the present excitement would have ceased, and when (I also hope) the Liberals will have been installed in office, we go to England—and the larger our number the better it would be—and lay our grievances before the English nation, acquaint them with the hardships and injustice of an alien bureaucracy, extenuating nothing, nor setting down aught in malice, but telling them plainly what our sufferings are, and what it is that we want and what those measures are which would mitigate those sufferings and lighten the burden of our political and social sorrows, I have no doubt that the English people, whose love of justice and fair play is proverbial, who having enjoyed themselves the fruits of freedom from time immemorial, have so often helped to nurse the infant liberties of less advanced states, will redress our grievances and free us from those political evils which our own fate (for after all what does it avail to blame the officials who may be but mere instruments of an evil fate?) has brought upon us. Every new Parliament has its own ambitions and aspirations, and the next Parliament, which I trust will be Liberal, will have its own ambitions, not the least of which will be (at least with a large majority of our Liberal friends) to do something for India. Those who are fighting for Irish Home Rule may well be expected to take some interest in the furtherance of a movement, which is beyond doubt the greatest political movement of modern times, and which, while it embodies all the best features of Irish Home Rule, involves none of the drawbacks and dangers, which some, though I am not amongst the number, believe to attach to this latter. If we go out in large numbers to England and appeal to them for help, rest assured that help they will give us, and through their support our cause will form a strong plank in the Liberal platform.

Of course, our critics will not be slow to discredit our movement in their eyes. They will tell them what they have been telling our Government here that we are not fit for what we want, that our chief demand for a moderate measure of representation in the Legislative Councils is premature, and out of place in a country like India, where there are so many sects and creeds, so many discordant elements that would defy all attempts at bringing them together to work harmoniously under a representative system. Now, I will not wait to examine the sincerity of these criticisms, I can only say that if they are not deceiving the Government then they are themselves labouring under a very lamentable self-deception. It may be a rather hard task to cure them of this self-delusion, but it is certainly wisest to take every precaution

to prevent the contagion of this malady spreading to the people of England. It is one of the noblest traits in the character of Englishmen that, as soon as they are convinced of the existence of any political evil or injustice, they do not rest until that evil has been removed or that injustice redressed. The English are well aware that even in countries where the coexistence of divergent races and creeds was a source of political discontent and instability, the establishment of representative institutions has been the means of restoring public contentment and tranquillity. It is one of the principles of human nature that the highest class of feelings are called into existence and nourished only by exercise and action. Men who are accustomed to take part in public affairs, to make sacrifices, for these are, by mere force of habit and circumstance, raised to a higher level of morality, while those who have no interest in public matters, whose daily actions and aspirations are confined to their own selves, however good and pure-minded they may be, come instinctively to take a narrow view of man's calling, lose their generous sympathies, and become unconsciously selfish and demoralized. There will be sectarianism, class bias, disunion and all the rest of it among a people who are debarred from taking part in public concerns, in things which raise the mind, if even for a moment, above the sordid veil of self and awaken it to wider and more generous sympathies. On the contrary, when a different set of principles prevails, then the results will be far happier, as we see in Switzerland. That country is divided into a number of Cantons each having little in common with the rest. The differences between the Protestants and the Catholics are most marked. Even the nationalities are various. In former times there used to be great feuds among them. But in spite of all this Switzerland is the most democratic country in Europe, and ever since it has become so, feuds and quarrels have, practically, disappeared, differences of race and religion have lost their odious features, and the Swiss people are considered the most peaceful and contented people in Europe. Take another instance, that of Canada. There, too, so long as "British ascendancy" prevailed, the people were on the verge of rebellion. In Canada there are two such discordant elements as the French and the English. At one time it was thought impossible to reconcile the two, and attempts were made to rule Canada, not in accordance with the wishes of the Canadians but according to English ideas. The attempt egregiously failed. Discontent and disaffection rose to the highest pitch, until, fortunately for England, wiser counsels prevailed, and Canada was granted representative institutions which appeased the public mind and have ever since converted that country into one of the most loyal portions of the British Empire.

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If differences of race and religion did not stand in the way of representative Government in Canada and Switzerland, I see no reason why they should constitute any argument against the limited representation that we claim for the people of India. If it is not granted to us, it is because the English nation has not yet made up its mind that it shall be granted to us, and it has not made up its mind because it is not yet sufficiently informed upon Indian matters. The moment its information is complete it will do justice to India. It is for us to go to England and inform it.

THE PRESIDENT.—I know every one would like to speak on this subject. I think I could myself speak straight off for an hour (*laughter*), but I really must urge you to finish our work. Now shall I put this resolution without further speaking? (*Cries of yes, yes, vote, vote*). Come then, our 15th Resolution will stand thus:—

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

The Resolution was then put and carried *nemine dissente*.

MR. J. GHOSAL (*Calcutta, No. 14, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW DELEGATES,—I have been called upon to move a merely formal resolution. As you have passed the twelfth resolution with acclamation, we have cleared the ground. We have acknowledged gratefully the services rendered to this country by the British Committee, and we expect that they will go on working for the good of this country. But for that purpose we must provide them with funds. They are giving their services gratuitously, time and much time, that to most of them means money, and we must at least provide for actual expenses, printing and the like, incurred on our behalf, and for these expenses we have to allot, as we do every year, a certain sum of money. A calculation has been made as to the amount that will be required to meet the expenses of next year, and this is the resolution which has been framed:—

Res. XVI.
Assignment of funds for British Committee and General Secretary's Office.

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

2nd Day. office and establishment, and that the several circles do contribute as arranged in Committee for the year 1892.

Res. XVI.
Assignment of funds for British Committee and General Secretary's Office.

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

MR. VIRARAGHAVA CHARIAR (*Madras, No. 763, in list*)—This subject has been threshed out by the Subjects Committee whom we appointed to consider it and other questions, and they have come to the conclusion that Rs. 40,000 should be voted to meet the expenses of the British Agency in England and promptly paid in, so as to keep the Committee going with its work. The money is urgently required, and if we forget to discharge our duty the Secretary is frequently bothered in making the necessary payments. I therefore appeal to you not only to order the money now, but to collect it and remit it at once to England. (*Cheer and cries of vote, vote*).

THE PRESIDENT.—By all means, if no one else wishes to speak on this subject? (*None, none*). Then I put the 16th Resolution in these words:—

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

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

Res. XVII.
Re-election of General and Joint General Secretaries

MR. W. C. BONNERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 1, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—It has always been my privilege to propose one resolution at the meetings of the Congress—I refer to the re-appointment of Mr. Hume as General Secretary (*loud and continuous cheering*), and of Pandit Ajudhya Nath as Joint General Secretary (*loud cheers*). This resolution does not require any seconding or putting to the vote from the chair. I have always proposed this to the Congress except at the last meeting, and I do it now. There is but one word that I ought to say. You must have all been dismayed by the circular issued by Mr. Hume in which he hinted that perhaps he would not be able to continue our General Secretary; and you may have heard that the health of Pandit Ajudhya Nath is such that it is with the greatest difficulty that he can retain his post. But Mr. Hume and Pandit Ajudhya Nath have yielded to the persuasion that has been brought to bear upon them. (*Cheers*.) I ask you to carry this resolution with acclamation as usual; and I think I may say, in conclusion, that we bring you glad tidings of great joy.

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

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

Res. XVIII.
Eighth Congress to be held at Allahabad.

MR. A. O. HUME (*Punjab, No. 130, in list*) who was received with further long continued bursts of cheers and showers of flowers,—BROTHER DELEGATES,—I also have the privilege of annually submitting one resolution; but before I ask you to accept it I have one or two little matters to touch upon. In the first place, I would attempt to thank you for the kind manner in which you have received me. It is hopeless for me to find words to express my gratitude for the sympathetic attitude which you always assume in regard to me in return for such small poor sympathy as I have been able to show you. (*Loud cheers*). The first point on which I wish to touch is this. I have been very unwilling to continue in the post of your General Secretary simply because circumstances will prevent my visiting India next year, and I think that if the duties of the General Secretary are to be properly performed he ought to visit the country, and I should be unwilling to continue in an office the duties of which I could not adequately fulfil. That alone is the reason for my hesitation in continuing to hold the office of General Secretary. You know well that my heart is ever with you all! (*Loud burst of cheers*.) I have hesitated to accept the honor offered to me; but when I found that my friends here were of opinion that for the good of the Congress it was necessary that I should remain I at once acceded. (*Cheers*). And I am thoroughly pleased at heart that it should have been thought necessary that I should remain. Then I want to allude publicly to one or two little points about which there is a misunderstanding. I came across in the *Gujerati* the other day, and in some other native papers, passages referring to the accounts of the British Committee, and saying that they, the writers, did not know what became of the money that went to England. Now, elaborate and full accounts are sent out every year to this country, and if the Standing Congress Committees do not choose to distribute them, we in England are not to blame. There is nothing secret, every farthing spent at home is accounted for, and you get a regular account audited by professional accountants as auditors. Then I am told that a great number of persons in India do not understand that the newspaper *India* is the property of the Congress. It was started

with your funds by the British Committee. Some people fancy that Mr. Digby is the proprietor. He is nothing of the kind. He is paid £100 a year for editing the paper, in addition to his other salary. It is absolutely your property (*cheers*) and it is your interest to develop its circulation. If you only do your duty in that respect it will be perfectly self-supporting. At present it is rather a drag upon the funds that you send home to the English agency. I hope therefore that in this matter you will all exert yourselves. I have occupied four and a half minutes. Another half minute will suffice to submit the resolution which it has always my been duty to propose.

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Res. XVIII.
Eighth
Congress
to be held
at Allaha-
bad.

“RESOLVED—That the Eighth Indian National Congress do assemble on the 26th December 1892 at Allahabad.” (*Cheers.*)

To me there is something saddening and something gladdening in this announcement ; gladdening, because we have reached the Eighth Congress and are going to have a gathering which I know will be successful ; saddening, because, for the first time from the commencement of the Congress, I shall not be present to share your enthusiasm and your labors for the good of the country. But be sure that, though distant from you in body, my spirit will be with you and I shall watch over your progress, and shall be expecting, if still in the land of the living, to receive good tidings and hear that the next Congress is the most successful that you have ever had. Remember that our opponents have been always telling the world—you and I know how false it is—that these Congresses depend entirely upon Mr. Hume. It will be for you to show next year, when Mr. Hume has not been near the country for twelve months, that you can run the Congress yourselves as well as or better than it has ever been run when Mr. Hume was present. I lay this burden upon you. (*Loud cheers.*)

HON'BLE PANDIT AJUDHYA NATH (*Allahabad, No. 74, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW DELEGATES,—On behalf of the N. W. Provinces I cordially invite the Congress to Allahabad. (*Cheers, and three cheers for Pandit Ajudya Nath*). According to the usual practice it would not be necessary to say a word more. But under the special circumstances I ask permission to add a few words. I want those good friends, whether Anglo-Indians or others, who have been saying that this is the beginning of the end to note once for all that there is no lack of enthusiasm for the Congress in the country. (*Cheers*). India mourns to carry on this movement, or, as our opponents call it, agitation (be it so) as long as our reasonable demands are not granted ; and if Government defer the granting of these demands the Government and the British Parliament and the British Nation will be responsible before man and God for this waste of India's time, India's money and India's energy. (*Loud cheers*). We are all sorry that one of the reasons why Mr. Hume will be unable to attend the Congress next year is failing health. At the same time there is some consolation, both to him and to us, in this that, if we hold the Congress in his absence, and if he finds any shortcomings—and shortcomings there must be—he will still be able to teach us how to overcome them. While heartily and sincerely thankful to Mr. Hume for the invaluable assistance he has rendered to us at the time when we most needed it, for all he has done, for all he is doing for us (*cheers*), we are sure that no one will be happier than himself to discover that his political child, the Indian National Congress, has not only learned to walk but is able to work for itself. (*Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT.—You will now allow me to put to you formally our 18th and last Resolution.

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

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

MR. SURENDRA NATH BANNERJEE—(*Calcutta, No. 11, in list*)—BROTHER DELEGATES— I have to invite you to join me in the performance of a duty which I am sure will be most welcome and acceptable to you all, and that is to tender our acknowledgments and our most cordial expressions of gratitude to Mr. P. Ananda Charlu for his conduct as President of this great assembly. (*Cheers*). The President of the National Congress has a most responsible, most difficult, and I was going to say most embarrassing, duty to perform. He has, in the first instance, to enforce the rules of debate and also the rule in regard to the limitation of time—a very unpleasant duty at times. I think I express the sense of this great gathering when I say that, having regard to the delicate nature of his duties and the responsible character of his functions, he has nobly merited an expression of our acknowledgments. I hope and trust that this vote will be carried by acclamation.

Vote of
Thanks to
the Presi-
dent.

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

3rd Day.
 President's
 Concluding
 remarks.

THE PRESIDENT.—GENTLEMEN,—I am now *functus officio*. I have no right to ask you to listen to me with authority : this, however, I am entitled to ask, that since I have to address my brethren they will give me a patient and indulgent hearing. My object, first, is to thank you all, the entire body of delegates, for the manner in which you have made it possible for me to discharge the function which you have assigned to me. It is but right that having done me the honor of electing me to this chair, you should assist me in my efforts to deserve that honor ; and, if in the discharge of the duties entrusted to me any measure of success has attended my efforts, it is solely due to you, one and all. But I find it necessary to single out two bodies who are entitled to special praise at my hands. One body is composed of the many gentlemen who spoke in connection with the resolutions. I cannot too highly praise the sense of proportion that marked them generally. If occasionally there was a little trespassing beyond the allotted time, I put it down, and put it down rightly I believe, to the enthusiasm under which the speaker was speaking at the time, not to any oblivion of the rule that I am sure he was determined, in his heart of hearts, to observe strictly. If, therefore, in dealing with any of the speakers I have unwillingly been a little peremptory (*No, no*), I beg of you to excuse me. Then there is another body to whom my thanks are due, consisting of gentlemen who were inclined and qualified to speak, but who, out of respect to the authority you have vested in me, have foregone that pleasure, and have thereby proved in the highest degree their possession of that sense of propriety that should belong to every representative elected to a national assembly. And now, gentlemen, I beg, on your behalf and on my own behalf, to thank the Chairman and the various members of the Reception Committee for all they have done to make this Congress a success. In a work done by a large number of people, the apportionment of praise is an invidious task. I do not therefore propose to bring before you any names as entitled to any special consideration, except to say that Mr. Narayan Swami conducted the Congress ear to triumph and victory, as Narayana conducted the Pandavas in their virtuous war to undoubted victory. Mr. Hume in his circular referred to the undoubted fact that this Congress indicates a distinct stage which we have reached. In that we all unquestionably concur. But he suggested that the Congress sessions in India might be suspended for some time. That suggestion was facing me when I came here from Madras, and one of the things that I wanted to incite you to do was to differ from Mr. Hume in that matter. I am glad to find that without my help you have done this and have resolved to continue to hold these annual Congresses without intermission. Now a few words more, by way of completing the remarks which you were kind enough to hear from me when I began. At that time, not knowing how you were going to determine, I could certainly not have given you what, in my mind, ought to be the forecast of the future of this institution. Is it to be reduced in dimensions, and in numbers, and denuded of all demonstration ? Or is it to be a mere demonstration ? Or is it to be an institution coupled with demonstration ? Considering that one main object that we have in view is to unify India, and that in that respect we have yet to go a long way, it is desirable that the propagandist character of the Congress should not cease for some time to come. (*Cheers*). Wherever we have a centre in India, promising anything like a good local audience, and giving us the prospect of gathering together a large body of visitors, it is our religious duty to pitch our camp there, and do all that we can to influence those who assemble. Whatever be the method adopted next year, we must, in order to carry out our purpose effectually, go in for a big moveable pavilion of our own, with seats sufficient to accommodate at least four thousand persons ; and over it we must have a banner containing a monogram " I. N. C. " (Indian National Congress) inseparably intermingled with the crosses of St. George, St. Andrew and St. Patrick of the British flag. (*Cheers*). If in that way we meet at different stations, we should, I think, in addition to the regular Congress work, devote one day to an important purpose to which no time has yet been allotted at the Congress sittings. We have no doubt on the opening day the Chairman's speech and the President's speech ; but I think it is necessary that we should add to our programme, by proposing in regard to each presidency or important province, an honorable mention, and from every one of those provinces or presidencies some one should give a review of the administration thereof with well attested and calmly stated facts by way of response. If we can devote, say, one day to hearing speakers in that way, the Congress record will contain not merely what takes place in regard to those questions with which Congress is immediately connected, but a good, intelligent and careful review of the administration of the whole country from the closing of one session to the beginning of another. Those, gentlemen, are the thoughts which I should have added to the observations with which I began the meeting, but, as I have said, I could not then do so. The only thing that now remains for me is to thank you again from the bottom of my heart for the manner in which you have received the proposal of thanks to me (*cheers*), and to declare, as I now do, this Seventh Indian National Congress dissolved.

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

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

SEVENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT NAGPUR, DECEMBER, 1891.

Number.	Presidency of Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee ...	Bengali Brahmin.	Barrister-at-Law, Fellow of the Calcutta University, 6, Park Street.	At a Public Meeting held at the Albert Hall, Calcutta, on the 8th December 1891.
2	"	"	"	Dr. Jagadis Chandra Lahiri.	do.	Medical Practitioner, 101, College Street, Calcutta.	do.
3	"	"	"	Dr. Mohini Mohun Bose, M.D., L.R.C.P., Edin. etc	Kayastha.	Hon. Magistrate, Zemindar, Physician and Surgeon, 111, College Street, Calcutta.	do.
4	"	"	"	Babu Palia Bihari Sircar.	do.	Merchant, 21, Beaulieu Street, Calcutta.	do.
5	"	"	"	Babu J. Bose ...	do.	Landowner, 85-1 Raja Naba Kissen's Street, Calcutta.	do.
6	"	"	"	Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu, M.A., B.L.	do.	Solicitor, High Court, Calcutta.	do.
7	"	"	"	Babu Preonath Ghosh	do.	Solicitor, 11, Beaulieu Street, Calcutta.	do.
8	"	"	"	Babu Girisa Chandra Sett, B.A., B.L.	do.	Solicitor, High Court, Calcutta.	do.
9	"	"	"	Babu Hrambo Chandra Moitra, M.A.	Bengali Brahmo.	Editor, "Indian Messenger," Professor, City College, Calcutta.	do.
10	"	"	"	Babu Kali Charan Banerji, M.A., B.L.	Bengali Christian.	Vakil, High Court, Fellow of the Calcutta University.	do.
11	"	"	"	Babu Surendranath Banerjee, B.A.	Bengali Brahmin.	Editor, "Benaler," Principal and Proprietor, Ripon College, Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, etc.	do.
12	"	"	"	Babu Amoy Nath Bose ...	Bengali Kayastha	Landowner, 13, College Square.	do.
13	"	"	Southern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Rev. C. N. Banerjee, B.A.	Bengali Christian.	Missionary, Bhowanipore ...	do.
14	"	"	British Indian Association.	Mr. J. Ghosal ...	Bengali Brahmin.	Zemindar, Merchant, Municipal Commissioner, Honorary Magistrate, Vice-President, Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.	At a Committee Meeting of the British Indian Association held on the 15th December 1891, and Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, 4th December 1891.
15	"	"	"	Pandit Pran Nath Saraswati, M.A., B.L.	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Bhowanipore.	At a Committee Meeting of the British Indian Association on the 15th December 1891.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
16	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.	Babu Narain Dass ...	Hindu Khetre.	Zemindar, Merchant, and Banker.	At a Meeting of the Members held on the 4th December 1891.
17	"	"	Indian Association.	Raya Yatindra Nath Chowdhuri, M.A., B.L.	Bengali Kayastha.	Zemindar, Barahanagar ...	At a Meeting of the Committee of the Indian Association held on the 3rd December 1891.
18	"	"	"	Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, B.A.	Bengali Brahmo.	Superintendent, City College, Editor, "Sanjivani."	do.
19	"	"	Nuddea.	Babu Akshoy Kumar Mitra.	Bengali Kayastha.	Municipal Commissioner, Chogdah.	At a Public Meeting held at Chogdah on the 25th October 1891.
20	"	"	"	Babu Jadu Nath Chatterjee, B.L.	Bengali Brahmin.	Vakeel, Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Zemindar, Krishnagur.	At a Public Meeting held at Krishnagur on the 8th December 1891.
21	"	"	"	Babu Bishwambhar Boy, B.L.	Bengali Kayastha.	Pleader, Member, District Board, Nuddea, Local Board, Kushtea.	do.
22	"	"	"	Babu Pulin Bihari Lahiri.	Bengali Brahmin.	Pleader, Member, District Board, Vice-Chairman, Local Board, Krishnagur.	do.
23	"	"	"	Babu Banku Behari Singha.	Hindu.	Merchant and Talukdar, Vice-Chairman, Local Board, Member, District Board, Hony. Magistrate.	At a Public Meeting held at Nuddea on the 6th December 1891.
24	"	"	"	Babu Nundo Gopal Bhadury.	do.	Merchant and Talukdar ...	do.
25	"	"	Howrah.	Babu Akshoy Charan Dass, B.L.	Bengali Hindu Knibartta.	Pleader, District Court, Hony. Secretary, Howrah People's Association and Howrah Congress Committee, and Honorary Assistant Secretary, Howrah Pleaders' Association, 3 Lakshman Das's Lane, Howrah.	At a Public Meeting held at the Howrah Town Hall on Saturday, the 26th September 1891.
26	"	"	Maniram- pur (24 Per- ganahs.)	Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee.	Bengali Brahmin.	Zemindar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Manirampur on the 15th November 1891.
27	"	"	Khulna.	Babu Indu Bhuvan Mazumdar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Landholder, Member, Local Board.	At a Public Meeting held at Khulna on the 15th December 1891.
28	"	"	"	Babu Jadub Chandra Dass	do.	Pleader and Landholder ...	do.
29	"	"	Jessore.	Babu Radhika Charan Dutt B.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader ...	At a Public Meeting held at Jessore on the 22nd December 1891.
30	"	"	Magurah (Jessore District.)	Babu Ambica Charan Sirkar.	Hindu Barol.	Pleader, Landholder, Honorary Magistrate, Vice-Chairman, Local Board, Magurah.	At a Public Meeting held at Magurah on the 6th December 1891.
31	"	"	"	Babu Basanta Cumar Bose.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader ...	do.
32	"	"	Midnapur.	Rajah Srinarain Pal ...	do.	Zemindar, Dharendra ...	At a Public Meeting held at Midnapur on the 17th November 1891.
33	"	"	"	Babu Trailoxya Nath Pal.	Hindu Satgopa.	Pleader, Member, District Board.	do.
34	"	"	Serampur (Hooghly District.)	Babu K. B. Mullick ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Journalist ...	At a Public Meeting held at Serampore on the 3rd December 1891.
35	"	"	"	Mrs. Amelia Sophia West	Eurasian Christian.	Landowner ...	do.
36	"	"	Murshid- abad.	Babu Nafar Dass Roy ...	Hindu Kshatriya	Zemindar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Murshidabad on the 7th December 1891.
37	"	"	Bankura.	Babu Mahesh Chandra Banerjee, B.A., B.L.	Bengali Brahmin.	Vakil, Member, District Board, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting held at Bankura on the 11th December 1891.
38	"	"	Chittagong	Babu Dharendra Lal Khastgir, B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Pleader and Landholder ...	At a Meeting of the Chittagong Association on the 20th December 1891.
39	"	"	Assam.	Babu Meghanatha Banerjee.	Hindu Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Jaipur, Dibrugarh.	At a Meeting on the 21st December 1891.
40	"	"	"	Babu Durga Kant Roy, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Baidya.	Pleader, Dhubri, Assam ...	do. on the 6th December 1891.
41	"	Dacca	Tangail (Mymen- sing District)	Babu Prosonno Kumar Bose.	Brahmo.	Talukdar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Tangail on the 22nd December 1891.
42	"	"	Bogra	Babu Jadab Lal Roy ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Talukdar, Honorary Magistrate and Zemindar's Agent.	At a Public Meeting held at Bogra on the 4th December 1891.

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43	Bengal.	Barisal	Backargunge.	Babu Jagadis Mukherjee, B.A.	Hindu Kayastha.	Professor, Beraj Mohan Institution, Barisal.	At a Public Meeting held at Barisal on the 29th December 1891.
44	"	"	"	Babu Hara Kanta Sen ...	Hindu Vaidya.	Secretary, Barisal Loan Office	do.
45	"	Rajshahye	Dinajepore	Babu Madhava Chandra Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board.	At a Public Meeting held on the 30th November 1891, at Dinajepore.
46	"	"	"	Babu Umesh Chandra Khanavish.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zemindar, Mukhtear, Municipal Commissioner.	do.
47	"	"	"	Babu Khetra Nath Banerjee.	Bengali Brahmin.	Zemindar	do.
48	"	"	"	Babu Jogesh Chandra Sinha, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader	do.
49	"	"	Pubna	Babu Mohini Mohan Chakravarti, M.A., B.L.	Bengali Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Vice President, Municipality.	At a Public Meeting held on the 8th December 1891, at Pubna.
50	"	"	"	Babu Mohini Mohan Lahiri, M.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, District Court.	do.
51	"	Rampur Beaulah	Rampur Beaulah.	Babu Mukanda Mohun Maitra, B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court	At a Public Meeting held at Rampur Beaulah on the 6th December 1891.
52	"	Bhagalpore.	Purneah	Babu Baroda Kanta Banerjee, B.L.	Bengali Brahmin.	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held at Purneah on the 5th December 1891.
53	"	"	"	Babu Parbutty Charan Das, B.L.	Brahmo.	Pleader, Member, District Board.	do.
54	"	"	"	Babu Jogendra Nath Mukherjee, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
55	"	"	Bhagalpore	Babu Joti Kumar Ghosal, B.L.	do.	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held at Bhagalpore on the 12th December 1891.
56	"	"	"	Babu Akinaah Chandra Bose, B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	do.	do.
57	"	"	"	Babu Khetra Nath Ghosal, B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	do.	do.
58	"	Chota Nagpur.	Ranchi.	Babu Prabhu Narayan...	Hindu Kayastha.	Mukhtear and Zemindar	At a Public Meeting held at Ranchi on the 29th December 1891.
59	"	"	"	Babu Jagatpal Sahay ...	do.	Pleader	do.
60	"	"	Hazaribagh	Babu Akhoy Kumar Gupta	Hindu Vaidya.	Contractor	At a Public Meeting held at Hazaribagh on the 25th October 1891.
61	"	Behar.	Patna.	Babu Guru Prasad Sen, M.A., B.L.	do.	Editor, "Behar Hurak," Vakil, Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting held at Patna on the 15th December 1891.
62	"	"	"	Babu Bisweswar Singh ...	Hindu Kshetriya	Pleader, Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner, Honorary Magistrate, Member, Local Board, Arrah.	do.
63	"	"	"	Babu Saligram Singh B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Zemindar, Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta.	do.
64	"	"	"	Babu Purnendu Narayan Singh, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Bankipore	do.
65	"	"	"	Syed Abdul Hamid, B.A., B.L.	Mahomedan.	Pleader, Zemindar, Vice-Chairman, Local Board, Member, District Board, Honorary Magistrate.	At a Public Meeting held at Patna on the 1st December 1891.
66	"	"	"	Moulvie Amir Hyder ...	do.	Pleader & Zemindar, Bankipur	do.
67	"	"	Gya.	Babu Nand Kishore Lali, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zemindar and Vakil	At a Public Meeting held at Gya on the 20th December 1891.
68	"	"	"	Babu Siva Sankar Sahay	do.	Zemindar and Pleader	do.
69	"	Mozufferpur.	Mozufferpur.	Babu Shorashi Charan Mitra, B.L.	do.	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held at Mozufferpur on the 6th December 1891.
70	"	"	"	Babu Parmeshwar Narain Mahtha.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Zemindar, Banker and Indigo Planter, Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner and Member, District Board.	do.
71	"	"	"	Moulvie Syed Ahmed Hossain, B.A., B.L.	Mahomedan Shiah.	Zemindar and Pleader	do.
72	"	"	"	Syed Mahomed Baza ...	do.	Zemindar	do.
73	"	"	"	Mr. Pringle Kennedy, M.A., B.L.	European.	Pleader	do.
74	"	N.W. P.	Allahabad.	Pandit Ajudhianath ...	Christian Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, Landowner, Merchant and Banker, Fellow, Allahabad and Calcutta Universities.	At a Public Meeting held at Allahabad on the 7th November 1891.

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75	Bengal.	N.-W. P.	Allahabad.	Babu Charoo Chander Mitter	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting held at Allahabad on the 7th November 1891.
76	"	"	"	Swami An Bam	Hindu	Preacher	do.
77	"	"	"	Munshi Kaabi Prasad	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court	do.
78	"	"	"	Pandit Balkrishna Bhatta.	Hindu Brahmin.	Editor, "Hindi Pradip" & Head Pundit, Kayastha Pathshala.	do.
79	"	"	"	Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, B. A., L.L. B.	Malaviya Brahmin.	Pleader and Journalist.	do.
80	"	"	"	Pandit Baldeo Ram Dave.	Gujrati Nagar Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P.	do.
81	"	"	"	Munshi Sadruddcen	Mahomedan.	Zemindar	do.
82	"	"	"	Pandit Moti Lal Nehru.	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P.	do.
83	"	"	"	Mirza Tufail Ali Beg	Mahomedan.	Zemindar	do.
84	"	"	"	Syed Anwar Hussain Kazmi.	do.	do.	do.
85	"	"	"	Meer Hatim Ali	do.	do.	do.
86	"	"	"	Syed Akhtar Hussain	do.	do.	do.
87	"	"	"	Syed Hafiz Abdul Huq	do.	Physician and Zemindar	At a Public Meeting held at Kara on the 5th November 1891.
88	"	"	"	Sheikh Mahomed Zakrallah.	do.	Zemindar	do.
89	"	"	"	Pandit Kallprasaano Kavyabisharad.	Hindu Bengali.	Editor, "Indian Union and Cosmopolitan," Proprietor, Secular Press, Bhowanipore.	do.
90	"	"	"	Syed Mahomed Taki	Mahomedan.	Zemindar	do.
91	"	"	"	Sheik Inayet Ali	do.	do.	do.
92	"	"	"	Syed Sultan Hussain	do.	do.	At a Public Meeting held at Bahela on the 4th November 1891.
93	"	"	"	Syed Anlad Hussain	do.	do.	do.
94	"	"	"	Syed Nazim Hussain	do.	do.	do.
95	"	"	"	Meer Ahmed Hussain	do.	do.	do.
96	"	"	"	Syed Mahomed Hadi	do.	Zemindar and Muafdar	At a Public Meeting held at Ujhani on the 3rd November 1891.
97	"	"	"	Meer Mehndi Ali	do.	Private Service	At a Public Meeting held at Janka on the 8th November 1891.
98	"	"	Cawnpore.	Mahomed Muksoodul Huq.	Mahomedan.	do.	At a Public Meeting held at Cawnpore on the 23rd December 1891.
99	"	"	"	Pandit Jankinath	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Pleader and Zemindar	do.
100	"	"	"	Babu Gulzari Lal	Hindu Bunniah.	Banker, Zemindar and Contractor.	do.
101	"	"	"	Babu Bunsidhar	Hindu Meheri.	Zemindar	do.
102	"	"	"	Babu Nundun Lal	Hindu Khetri.	Cloth Merchant	do.
103	"	"	"	Hurnam Sing Varma	Punjabi Khetri.	Proprietor "Cawnpore Gazette."	do.
104	"	"	"	Pandit Maharakishen	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Bais	do.
105	"	"	"	Pandit Prithinath	do	Pleader, Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
106	"	"	"	Pandit Hurdeo Narayan Koul.	do	Pleader	do.
107	"	"	"	Babu Prayag Chandra Mitra, B.A.	Bengali Kayastha.	Vakil High Court	do.
108	"	"	Agra.	Lala Gokul Chaud	Hindu Vaisya.	.....	At a Public Meeting held at Agra on the 24th December 1891.
109	"	"	"	Babu Ram Das Chathe.	Hindu.	Teacher, Bookseller and Printer.	do.
110	"	"	"	Babu Jumna Das Biswas.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Editor, "Nasim-Agra."	do.
111	"	"	Kumaon.	Pandit Jwala Dutt Joshi.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court	At a Public Meeting held at Almora on the 24th December 1891.
112	"	"	"	Pandit Badri Dutt Joshi.	do.	Pleader	do.

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113	Bengal.	N.-W. P.	Etawah.	Lala Suraj Prasad Johari.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Jeweller	At a Public Meeting held on the 22nd November 1891, at Etawah.
114	"	"	Aligarh.	Hafiz Abdurrahim ...	Mohomedan.	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held at Aligarh on the 30th December 1891.
115	"	"	"	Pandit Udai Ram ...	Hindu	Private Service	do.
116	"	"	Farrukhabad.	Mr. Gopal Rao Hari Prantaker.	Hindu Brahmin. Maharatta Brahmin.	Secretary, Vaidek Samaj ...	At a Public Meeting held at Farrukhabad on the 16th November 1891.
117	"	"	Azimgarh.	Munshi Basier Sahai ...	Hindu Kayasthi.	Second Master, C. M. H. School.	At a Public Meeting held at Azimgarh on the 13th December 1891.
118	"	"	Dehra Doon.	Lala Banoo Singh ...	Arya Mahajan.	Zemindar, Banker, and House Proprietor.	At a Public Meeting held at Dehra Doon on the 9th December 1891.
119	"	"	Muttra.	Babu Radhe Lal Sharma.	Vedie Brahmin.	Vedie Updeshak ...	At a Public Meeting held at Brundaban on the 16th December 1891.
120	"	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Nawab Hashmat Ali Khan.	Mohomedan.	Rais	At a Public Meeting held at Lucknow on the 17th December 1891.
121	"	"	"	Babu Bansi Lal Singh ...	Hindu	Pleader, High Court, and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
122	"	"	"	Pandit Shri Kishore ...	Kshatriya, Kashmiri Brahmin.	Government Pensioner	do.
123	"	"	"	Pandit Sham Narayan Maslidan	do.	Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
124	"	"	"	Pandit Sheo Bihari Lal Misra.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Secretary Jain Sabha.	do.
125	"	"	"	Pandit Lakshman Prasad Brahmachari.	Brahmin.	Missionary	do.
126	"	"	"	Rev. R. O. Bose, M. A. ...	Christian.	do.	do.
127	"	"	"	Munshi Gunga Pershad Varma.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Editor and Proprietor "Advocate" and "Hinduasthani," Municipal Commissioner.	do.
128	"	"	"	Babu Bhuban Mohan Ray	Bengali Brahmo.	Merchant and Secretary to the Brahmo Samaj at Lucknow.	do.
129	"	"	"	Babu Heera Lal Sircar.	Bengali Kayastha	Homoeopathic Practitioner ...	do.
130	"	Punjab.	Lahore.	Mr. A. O. Hume, C.E. ...	European	Late Indian Civil Service, Fellow of the Calcutta University.	At a Public Meeting held at Lahore on the 13th December 1891.
131	"	"	"	Capt. A. T. Banon ...	do.	Late Bengal Staff Corps, Zemindar, Kulu, Kangra.	do.
132	"	"	"	Lala Murlidhar ...	Hindu	Pleader, Umballa	do.
133	"	"	Amritsar	Baba Narain Singh ...	Vaisnya, Sikh Guru.	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held at Amritsar on the 20th December 1891.
134	"	"	"	Bodhi Nund Kumar Sing	do.	Preacher	do.
135	Bombay.	Sindh.	Kurrachi.	Mr. Shewakram Awatral.	Hindu Amil.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	By a Meeting of the Sindh Sabha.
136	"	"	Sukkur.	Mr. Peemul Zowkiram Sami.	do.	Pleader and Vice-President, Sukkur Municipality.	do.
137	"	Surat.	Surat.	Mr. Hardeoram Nana-bhai Haridas.	Vaisnik Kayastha.	Landowner	By a Meeting of the Praja and Vardhak Sabha.
138	"	Sholapur	Sholapur.	Rao Bahadur P. L. Nagpurkar.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Chairman, Local Board, Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting held at Sholapur on the 21st October 1891.
139	"	"	"	Rao Sahab S. K. Kirloskar, B.A.	do.	Pleader, High Court, and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
140	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Goutam Moti Chaud Shaha.	Jain.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
141	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Anand Deshmukh.	Singayat.	Pleader	do.
142	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Krishna Antolkar.	Brahmin.	do.	do.
143	"	"	"	Mr. Vitthal Shamrao Kattkar.	do.	do.	do.
144	"	"	"	Mr. Raja Sahab Deshmukh.	Mahratta Kunbi.	Inamdar	do.
145	"	Belgaum	Belgaum.	Rao Sahab Satashiv Balkrishna Bhatc.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Municipal Commissioner, Member, Local Board, Secretary, District Association.	At a Public Meeting held at Belgaum on the 24th December 1891.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
146	Bombay.	Bhusawal.	Bhusawal.	Rao Sahab Ohintamas Bapoojee Morgankar.	Deccan Brahmin.	Pleader and Vice-Chairman, Municipality, Bhusawal.	At a Public Meeting held at Bhusawal on the 4th November 1891.
147	"	"	"	Mr. Vithal Govind Dastane.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader ...	do.
148	"	"	"	Mr. Kesheo Ballal Sahasra Buddhe.	Deccan Brahmin.	Railway Contractor and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
149	"	"	"	Mr. Sakharam Ganesh Patankar.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
150	"	Ahmednagar.	Ahmednagar.	Rao Sahab Hari Ram Chandra Saraph.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting held at Ahmednagar on the 21st November 1891.
161	"	"	"	Sheikh Heyat Sahab ...	Mahomedan.	Inamdar of Akola ...	do.
152	"	"	"	Mr. Dattatraya Ganesh Gokhale.	Mahratta Brahmin.	School Master ...	do.
153	"	"	"	Mr. Pandhari Nath Sapuji Bhalerao.	do.	Vakil ...	do.
154	"	"	"	Mr. Gobind Bapaji Pawar.	Hindu Mahratta.	School Master ...	do.
155	"	"	"	Mr. K. B. Limaye ...	Mahratta Brahmin.	Editor, "Jagada Darsha" ...	do.
156	"	"	"	Mr. Shankar Vinayek Vable.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
157	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudev Vishnu Ketkar.	do.	Pleader and Member, Local Board.	do.
158	"	"	"	Mr. Bahvant Babaji Deshpande, B. A.	do.	Landholder ...	do.
159	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Krishna Dabholkar.	do.	Jagirdar Akolnir, Membe. Local Board.	do.
160	"	"	"	Mr. Sada Shiv Vyan-katesh Jog.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
161	"	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Vishnu Narayan Apte.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Assistant Manager and Accountant, Deccan Paper Mills.	At a Public Meeting held at Poona on the 9th December 1891.
162	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayak Narain Apte.	do.	Merchant ...	do.
163	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudeo Laxaman Athavale.	do.	do. ...	do.
164	"	"	"	Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Editor "Mahratta" and "Kedari."	do.
165	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Mahadeo Ballal Namjoshi.	do.	Municipal Commissioner and Secretary, Ray Museum.	do.
166	"	"	"	Mr. Shankar Ganesh Deshpande, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
167	"	"	"	Mr. Banchandra Keshav Limaye.	do.	do. ...	do.
168	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Babaji Kanit Kar.	do.	Pleader and Trustee, Devasthan.	do.
169	"	"	"	Mr. Vaman Vishnu Lele	do.	Pleader, Secretary, Indo-American Dye House Company.	do.
170	"	"	"	Mr. Madhav Krishna Deshmukh.	do.	Merchant and Moneylender	do.
171	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Vishnu Morshvar Bhida.	do.	Pensioned, 1st Class Judge Chairman, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, Honorary Magistrate.	do.
172	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, B.A.	do.	Professor, Ferguson College, Editor, Sarvjanik Sabha's Quarterly Journal.	do.
173	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Ragbunath Bamechandra Avasti.	do.	Banker, Pensioned Sub-Engineer.	do.
174	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Narain Apte ...	Arya	Journalist and Editor of "Karmavuka."	do.
175	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnarao Purnshottam Bhat, B.A.	Brahmin	.....	do.
176	"	"	"	Mr. Pandurang Bangnath Shiralkar.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Merchant ...	do.
177	"	"	"	Mr. Keshav Pandurang Godbole.	do.	Head Master, City School ...	At a Public Meeting held at Poona on the 18th December 1891.
178	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Govind Limaye	do.	.....	do.
179	"	"	"	Mr. Sitaram Ganesh Doodhar, B.A.	do.	School Master ...	do.
180	"	"	"	Mr. Bamkrishna Bhikaji Kulkarni.	do.	do. ...	do.
181	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnarao Govind Limaye, B.A.	do.	.....	do.
182	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Sakharam Patil, B.A.	do.	School Master ...	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
183	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Rao Sahab Kashinath Govind Natu.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting held at Poona on the 18th December 1891.
184	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Naro Shastkar Doodhar.	do.	Member, Local Board, Sirur of Poona Zillah.	do.
185	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Narayan Ghotardker.	do.	Merchant, Agriculturist and Editor of "Shet Kari."	do.
186	"	"	"	Mr. Sydenham Smith ...	European	Pleader ...	do.
187	"	"	Dhulia.	Rao Bahadur Govind Rao Ramchandra Garud.	Brahmin.	do. ...	At a Public Meeting held at Dhulia, on the 6th November 1891.
188	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnarao Vasudeo Garud.	do.	Merchant ...	do.
189	"	"	Satara.	Mr. Dattatraya Balvant Parasnis.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Moneylender and Editor, "Maharashtra Kokil."	At a Public Meeting held at Satara on the 22nd November 1891.
190	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Govindkrishna Ranade.	do.	Pleader, Inamdar and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
191	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Gopal Kuver.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
192	"	"	"	Mr. Kaikhasru Adarji Ghasvata.	Parsee	Merchant and Contractor ...	do.
193	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Ballal Phansalkar.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader ...	do.
194	"	"	"	Mr. Narhar Govind Ranade.	do.	Inamdar and Moneylender ...	do.
195	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Shridhar Ranade.	do.	Inamdar ...	do.
196	"	"	"	Mr. Sakhran Nilkant Bapu Sahab Kahere.	do.	Inamdar and Moneylender ...	do.
197	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar.	do.	Pleader, High Court ...	do.
198	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudeo Ramchandra Jolekar, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	do. ...	do.
199	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Ganesh Pandurang Agte	do.	Inamdar and Honorary Magistrate, Vice-President, Municipality, District and Local Boards.	do.
200	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Balvant Shridhar Sahasra Buddha.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
201	"	"	Wai Taluka.	Rao Sahab Ramchandra Krishna Kothavale.	do.	Inamdar and Moneylender, Chairman, Municipality, Member, District and Local Boards.	At a Public Meeting held at Wai on the 19th November 1891.
202	"	"	Nasik.	Rao Sahab Janardan Raghunath Nimkar.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Member, Local Board.	At a Public Meeting held at Nasik on the 22nd November 1891.
203	"	"	"	Mr. Yamanrao Balkrishna Ranade.	Arya.	Editor, "Dayaw Chakshu ...	do.
204	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Yamanrao Mahadeo Pradhan.	Mahratta Prabhu.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Member, Local Board.	do.
205	"	"	"	Mr. Balwant Ganesh Nowle.	Hindu Mahratta.	Private Mukhtear and Vakil Sinuar.	do.
206	"	"	"	Mr. Sitaram Damodar Bhonde.	Mahratta Brahmin	Banker, Municipal Commissioner and Member, Local Board.	do.
207	"	"	"	Mr. Sridhar Gopal Pattekar.	do.	Vakil and Mukhtear ...	do.
208	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Ganpudhar Nar-sinh Ketha.	do.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Member, Local Board	do.
209	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Vishnu Bam.	do.	Preacher ...	do.
210	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Anant Scop Kavale.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner	do.
211	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Ganesh Raoji Kahri Sagat.	do.	Pleader, Member of Local and District Boards.	do.
212	"	"	"	Mr. Keshav Mohadeorao Wadkar.	do.	Merchant ...	do.
213	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Purnabotam Radashiv Malange.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
214	"	"	Kolhapur.	Mr. Vishnu Govind Kale	do.	Teacher, Mission High school	At a Public Meeting held at Kolhapur on the 20th December 1891
215	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Narayan Gokhale.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
216	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Narasingh Kulkarni.	do.	Teacher ...	do.
217	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Baidoo Apte.	do.	Pleader ...	do.

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218	Bombay.	Deccan.	Kolhapur.	Mr. Chintamon Hari School.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader, Jasmadar.	At a Public Meeting held at Kolhapur on the 20th December 1891.
219	"	"	"	Mr. Vishnu Krishna Bashingkar, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader	do.
220	"	"	"	Mr. Dattatrya Pandurang Pravi.	do.	Teacher, Mission High School	do.
221	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnaji Dadaji Kulkarni.	do.	Merchant	do.
222	"	"	"	Mr. Dattatrya Dadaji Pandit.	do.	Landholder and Merchant	do.
223	"	"	"	Mr. Shankar Raghunath Gokhale	do.	Shastree Manager Vidya Vilas	do.
224	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Narayan Pinge.	do.	Pleader	do.
225	"	"	Walva.	Mr. Ramchandra Vishnu Bhagwat.	do.	Pleader and Village Munsiff, Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting held at Islampur on the 29th November 1891.
226	"	"	"	Mr. Kondo Keshoo Saharabuddho.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
227	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnaji Laxman Desai.	do.	Pleader	do.
228	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Narayan Tagore.	do.	Merchant	do.
229	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Govind Dhonde Limaye.	do.	Vakil, Municipal Commissioner, Member, District and Local Boards.	do.
230	"	"	"	Mr. Dinker Raoji Kuvra.	do.	Pleader	do.
231	"	"	Bijapur.	Mr. Pandurang Anant Desai, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader and Landholder	At a Public Meeting held at Bijapur on the 20th December 1891.
232	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Waghavendra Krishna.	do.	Pleader, Chairman, Municipality, Vice-President, District and Local Boards.	do.
233	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnaji Ramchandra Kalaindekar.	do.	Pleader, and Chairman, Local Board.	do.
234	"	"	"	Mr. Dattatrya Govind Joshi.	do.	Pleader	do.
235	"	"	"	Mr. Sido Timaji Badami	do.	Pleader and Landholder	do.
236	"	"	Ycola.	Mr. Khemchand Dajiba Gujrathi.	Hindu Gujrathi.	Banker and Cloth Merchant, Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting held at Ycola on the 22nd December 1891.
237	"	"	"	Mr. Jagjivan Khemchand Gujrathi.	do.	Banker and Cloth Merchant	do.
238	"	"	Kanara.	Rao Sahab Pandalik Narayan Pandit.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held at Sileli on the 16th December 1891.
239	"	Bombay.	Bombay.	Mr. Manickaha Hormusji Nicholson.	Parsee.	Broker	At a Meeting of the Presidency Association on the 16th December 1891.
240	"	"	"	Mr. Goverdhan Dass Soonder Dass.	Bhatia.	Merchant and Mill Agent	do.
241	"	"	"	Mr. Purmanund Dass Jeevan Dass.	do.	Cotton Merchant	do.
242	"	"	"	Mr. Goverdhan Dass Jathabhoj.	do.	do.	do.
243	"	"	"	Mr. Bhugwan Dass Jathabhoj.	do.	do.	do.
244	"	"	"	Mr. Mahadeo Vaman Bhat, B.A., LL.B.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court	do.
245	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Gunaji, Welinkar, M.A.	Arya.	Professor, Wilson College	do.
246	"	"	"	Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, B.A., LL.B.	Frahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Fellow of the Bombay University.	do.
247	"	"	"	Mr. Purshottam Paraharam Khare, B.A., LL.B.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, and Law Professor.	do.
248	"	"	"	Mr. Sorabji Kavaji Khambata.	Parsee.	Broker	do.
249	"	"	"	Mr. Shapurshah Hormasji Hodiwala	do.	3, Marine Street	do.
250	"	"	"	Mr. Gangadhar Sadashiv Gokhale, L.C.E.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Architect and Engineer	do.
251	"	"	"	Mr. Jasmohan Dass Vandran Dass.	Dasa Perwad Bania.	Merchant and Banker, Justice of the Peace, Councillor, Municipal Corporation.	do.
252	"	"	"	Mr. Mahadev Bhaskar Chanbul, B.A., LL.B.	Kayastha Prabhu.	Pleader, High Court	do.
253	"	"	"	Mr. Sitanath Gopinath Ajinkya.	Arya.	Pleader, High Court, late Subordinate Judge.	do.
254	"	"	"	Mr. Gonesh B. Kirloskar, M.A., LL.B.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Justice of the Peace, Fellow of the Bombay University.	do.

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255	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay.	Mr. Balaji Abaji Bhagwat, B.A., L.L.B.	Mahratta. Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court.	At a Meeting of the Presidency Association on the 15th December 1891.
256	"	"	"	Mr. Pherozshah M. Mehta, M.A.	Parsee.	Barrister-at-Law, Councillor of the Municipal Corporation, Fellow of the Bombay University.	do.
257	"	"	"	Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha.	do.	Merchant, Councillor of the Municipal Corporation.	do.
258	"	"	"	Mr. Sadasbiva Waman Kane.	Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner	do.
259	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Sagar Dikshit.	do.	.....	do.
260	"	"	"	Munshi Sheikh Homcin	Mahomedan.	Preacher and Agriculturist	do.
261	"	"	Colaba.	Mr. Vinayak Shivanoo Dighe Dharkar.	Kayastha. Prashnu.	Merchant, Inamdar, Khot, Municipal Commissioner, Member, Local Board, Director, Penkar Spinning and Weaving Company.	At a Public Meeting held at Alibag on the 12th December 1891.
262	"	"	"	Mr. Waman Bapuji Deva.	Brahmin.	Landholder and Merchant	do.
"	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Chimanaji Narayan Bhatc.	do.	Pleader	do.
264	"	"	Bassia.	Munshi Baghunath Moroba Byker.	Hindu.	Landlord, Pensioner, Municipal Commissioner, Member, Local Board.	At a Public Meeting held at Bassia on the 25th October 1891.
265	"	"	"	Munshi Bhan Baghunath Thakur.	Brahmin.	Merchant and Landholder	do.
266	"	"	Ratnagiri.	Rao Saheb Dhondo Mohdeo Barve.	do.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Member, Local Board.	At a Public Meeting held at Ratnagiri on the 6th November 1891.
267	"	"	"	Mr. Gangadhar Lakshman Oka.	do.	Sowkar and Landholder	do.
268	"	"	"	Mr. Damodar Krishna Karandikar, B.A.	do.	Sub-Editor, "Native Opinion"	do.
269	"	"	Thana.	Mr. Balkrishna Narayan Bhajekar, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court	At a Public Meeting held at Thana on the 12th December 1891.
270	"	"	"	Mr. Lakshman Ballal Joglekar.	do.	Pleader	do.
271	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Lakshman Patel.	do.	Pleader and Member, District Board.	do.
272	Govt. of India.	Berar.	Sarvajanik Sabha.	Mr. Ganesh Shrikrishna Khaparda, B.A., L.L.B.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, Landholder and Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Chairman, District Board.	At a Meeting of the Berar Sarvajanik Sabha on the 23rd October 1891.
275	"	"	"	Mr. Bangnath Narasing Mudholkar, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court, Landholder and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
274	"	"	"	Mr. Prahlad Narayan Jog, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court, and Banker.	do.
275	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Nagosh Sahasrabudhe.	do.	Pleader	do.
276	"	"	"	Mr. Gulam Ahmed Sowdagar.	Mahomedan.	Zemindar, Member, Local Board	do.
277	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Hari Karandikar.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, and Member, Local Board.	do.
278	"	"	Amraoti.	Mr. More Vishwanath Joshi, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court	At a Public Meeting held at Amraoti on the 21st October 1891.
279	"	"	"	Mr. Antaji Govind Kestkar.	do.	Pleader and Vice-Chairman, Municipality.	do.
280	"	"	"	Mr. Yeswant Gorind Kestkar.	do.	Proprietor and Editor, "Pranad Sindhu."	do.
281	"	"	"	Mr. Tukaram Padmajee Deshmukh.	Hindu.	Cultivator	do.
282	"	"	"	Mr. Balwant Ramchandra Augal, B.A., L.L.B.	Kshatriya. Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court	do.
283	"	"	"	Dr. Ramchandra Narsinh Mudholkar, L. M.S.	do.	Medical Practitioner	do.
284	"	"	"	Mr. Dipchand Mangarajam.	Jain.	Banker and Moneylender	do.
285	"	"	"	Mr. Narhar Bhagwant Deshpande.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Landholder and Inamdar	do.
286	"	"	"	Mr. Madho Laxaman Changde.	do.	Pleader and Landholder	do.
287	"	"	"	Mr. Tukaram Malharao Kale.	Konbi.	Banker and Sowkar	do.

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288	Govt. of India.	Benar.	Amraoti.	Mr. Dariaji Chendu Chuk.	Mali.	Banker ...	At a Public Meeting held at Amraoti on the 21st October 1891.
289	"	"	"	Mr. Tukaram Shamras Deshmukh.	Kshatriya	Cultivator ...	do.
290	"	"	"	Mr. Raghwendra Sakharan Kalegiri.	Mahratta Brahmin	Pleader and Inamdar ...	do.
291	"	"	"	Mr. Chintaman Ramchandra Kelkar.	do.	Editor, "Pranod Sindhu" ...	do.
292	"	"	"	Mr. Shivapa Gutapa Kapahe.	Singayat.	Contractor ...	do.
293	"	"	"	Mr. Mahadev Gangadhar Wankar, B.A., L.L.B.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court ...	do.
294	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayek Savlaram Oak.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
295	"	"	"	Mr. Tikamdas Bhivraj ...	Marwadi.	Sowkar ...	do.
296	"	"	"	Mr. Pandurang Govind	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader and Landholder ...	do.
297	"	"	"	Mr. Mahimaji Sonagi Patel.	Kunbi.	.....	do.
298	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Narayan Deshpande.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader and Landholder ...	do.
299	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnaji Bapuji Kide.	do.	Banker and Member, Local Board.	do.
300	"	"	"	Mr. Bahiradas Jethmal.	Marwadi.	Banker ...	do.
301	"	"	"	Mr. Bhirnrao Bapuji ...	Brahmin.	Pleader and Member, Local Board.	do.
302	"	"	"	Mr. Vitthal Atwaram Bhudang.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Sowkar, Member, Local Board.	do.
303	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Madhab.	do.	Banker, Agriculturist and Member, Local Board.	do.
304	"	"	"	Mr. Kushal Sing Budhsing.	Rajput.	Banker ...	do.
305	"	"	"	Mr. Nicholas Godfrey ...	European Christian.	Pleader ...	do.
306	"	"	"	Mr. Shivaram Aochutji Patel.	Kunbi.	Agriculturist ...	do.
307	"	"	"	Mr. Sakharan Chinnajee Gole.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Landholder and Editor, "Shetkari."	do.
308	"	"	"	Mr. Vishwanath Kashinath Kale.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
309	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudeo Narayan Jog.	do.	Pleader, Banker, and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
310	"	"	"	Mr. Lahuram Hiralal ...	Hindu Katal.	Abkari Contractor ...	do.
311	"	"	"	Mr. Lakshman Ramkrishna Ghude.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Landholder and Moneylender.	do.
312	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Ballal Godbole.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Educationalist ...	do.
313	"	"	"	Mr. Keshav Bahvant Deshpande.	do.	Banker and Landholder ...	do.
314	"	"	"	Mr. Shitaram Tukaram Patel.	do.	Landholder ...	do.
315	"	"	"	Mr. Sardarsingh Umrao Sing.	Rajput.	Banker and Landholder ...	do.
316	"	"	"	Ramkrishen Sakharan Pethe.	Hindu Katal.	Landholder ...	do.
317	"	"	"	Mr. Shitaram Govindram Pethe.	do.	do.	do.
318	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Narayan Kane.	Christian.	Pleader ...	do.
319	"	"	"	Mr. Sawlaram Lakshman Oak.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Landholder, Merchant and Moneylender.	do.
320	"	"	"	Mr. Mahboob Bant Hamja Bant.	Mahomedan.	Landholder ...	do.
321	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Waman Bapat, B.A.	Mahratta Brahmin	Law Student ...	do.
322	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Renko Dole.	Mahratta Brahmin	Banker, Landholder, and Member, Local Board.	do.
323	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Jairam Pendke.	do.	Banker and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
324	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Rambhala Pokarnal.	Marwadi.	Banker and Landlord ...	do.
325	"	"	"	Mr. Srinivas Baghaath	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader ...	do.
326	"	"	"	Mr. Kondo Balaji ...	do.	do.	do.
327	"	"	"	Mr. Suddesvar Krishna Joshi.	do.	Pleader and Landholder ...	do.
328	"	"	"	Mr. Padmanabha Raoj Dande.	do.	Pleader ...	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
829	Govt. of India.	Berar.	Amraoti.	Mr. Manok Bansi ...	Hindu Chatrapan.	Banker ...	At a Public Meeting held at Amraoti on the 21st October 1891
830	"	"	"	Mr. Moro Ramchandra Pandit.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Landholder and Moneylender	do.
831	"	"	Akola	Rao Saheb Deoras Vinayek.	do.	Pleader, Landholder and Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting held at Akola on the 15th December 1891.
832	"	"	"	Mr. Shankar Govind ...	do.	Pleader ...	do.
833	"	"	"	Mr. Vyankatesh Ramchandra Mudholkar.	do.	Editor, "Vaidarbha," Honorary Secretary, Municipal Committee.	do.
834	"	"	"	Mr. Laloo Vithoba Patel	Kunbi	Moneylender and Agriculturist.	do.
835	"	"	"	Mr. Vishwanath Ramjee	Mahratta Brahmin.	Banker and Agriculturist ...	do.
836	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Ramrao Deshpande.	do.	.....	do.
837	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Ramchandra Anwiker.	Hindu Krishna- pachi.	Editor and Proprietor, "Shudha Varaha," and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
838	"	"	"	Mr. Dattatraya Vishnu Bhagwat, B.A., L.L.B.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, Vice-Chairman, District Board.	do.
839	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Gopalrao Deshpande.	do.	Landlord Proprietor ...	do.
840	"	"	"	Mr. Gopalrao Govind Mote.	do.	Banker ...	do.
841	"	"	"	Mr. Dinanath Gopal ...	do.	Board and Member, Local Board.	do.
842	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnarao Ganesh	Hindu Parbhui.	Pleader ...	do.
843	"	"	"	Mr. Anant Vishnu Bhagwat.	Mahratta Brahmin.	do. ...	do.
844	"	"	"	Mr. Benukadas Balwant	do.	Jagirdar and Merchant ...	do.
845	"	"	"	Mr. Trimbeck Waman ...	do.	Merchant ...	do.
846	"	"	"	Mr. Anandrao Ambadas Lote.	do.	Banker ...	do.
847	"	"	"	Mr. Martand Laxman Gupte.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
848	"	"	"	Mr. Jaikrishna Bagojee	do.	Banker and Member, Local Board.	do.
849	"	"	"	Mr. Onkaradas Lalchand	Jain Mar- war.	Banker ...	do.
850	"	"	"	Mr. Venkatesh Krishna Desai.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
851	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Shastri	do.	Preacher and Physician ...	do.
852	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Pandurani- nath.	do.	Banker's Agent ...	do.
853	"	"	"	Mr. Shivram Anant ...	do.	do. ...	do.
854	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Waman Udgirkar.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
855	"	"	"	Mr. Shankar Patel ...	Kunbi	Agriculturist, Member of Local Board.	do.
856	"	"	"	Mr. Surajmul Govindram.	Hindu Agarwalla.	Banker and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
857	"	"	"	Mr. Balwant Vinayek Digambar.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Banker and Agriculturist ...	do.
858	"	"	"	Mr. Bhagu Sing Chain Sing.	Rajput	Banker's Agent and Agriculturist.	do.
859	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Vinayek.	Hindu	D. P. W. Contractor ...	do.
860	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Haranant Thombay.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Moneylender and Agriculturist.	do.
861	"	"	"	Mr. Maruti Ganesh Asarkot.	do.	Banker, Agriculturist, Proprietor of Ginning Factory, and Vice-Chairman of the Local Board.	do.
862	"	"	"	Mr. Popatlal Parasaram.	Jain Shrawak.	Banker ...	do.
863	"	"	"	Mr. Hanvilal Panachand	Hindu Guzerathi.	do. ...	do.
864	"	"	"	Mr. Meshaji Shivaji ...	Kunbi.	Banker and Member, District Board.	do.
865	"	"	"	Mr. Pandurang Bopuji Bajanderker.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Cultivator ...	do.
866	"	"	Wan.	Mr. Vithal Ganesh Sarmokadam.	do.	Jagirdar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Yeatal on the 20th November 1891.
867	"	"	"	Mr. Wasdeo Balwant Sarmokadam.	do.	do. ...	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
368	Govt. of India.	Berar.	Wnn.	Mr. Waman Balwant Sule.	Parbhu Hindu.	Landowner ...	At a Public Meeting held at Yeotmal on the 29th November 1891.
369	"	"	"	Mr. Ram Chander Gonesh Munde, B.A., L.L.B.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader ...	do.
370	"	"	"	Mr. Laxman Chintaman Bapat.	do.	do. ...	do.
371	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Narayan Bhat.	do.	Pleader and Izardar	do.
372	"	"	"	Mr. Baliram Raghav Sastikar.	do.	Pleader.	do.
373	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Raghonath Bapat.	do.	do. ...	do.
374	"	"	"	Mr. Laxman Raograo Danc.	do.	Izardar ...	do.
375	"	"	"	Mr. Daji Ramchandra Halbe.	do.	Landholder ...	do.
376	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Vitul Subhedar.	do.	Izardar ...	do.
377	"	"	"	Mr. Narayn Ganesha Deshpande.	do.	Jaghirdar ...	do.
378	"	"	"	Mr. Narhar Balaji ...	Hindu Kompti.	Izardar ...	do.
379	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Krishna Deshmukh.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Jaghirdar ...	do.
380	"	"	"	Mr. Sadasbiva Moreshvar Dev.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
381	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnaji Bhicaji Palintkar.	do.	Landlord ...	do.
382	"	"	"	Mr. Sitaran Bavaraji Patel.	Hindu Kunbi.	Izardar ...	do.
383	"	"	"	Mr. Sono Divakar Deshmukh.	Hindu Vidur.	Mukhtear ...	do.
384	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Govind Ruikar.	Hindu Tel.	Izardar ...	do.
385	"	"	Ellichpur.	Mr. Vasudeva Krishna Donge.	Hindu Vithoor.	Pleader ...	At a Public Meeting held at Ellichpur on the 8th November 1891.
386	"	"	"	Mr. Bapu Mahadeva Paudse.	Mahratta Brahmin.	do. ...	do.
387	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Ramchandra Gadhikar.	do.	do. ...	do.
388	"	"	"	Mr. Vyankatrao Hanmantrao Deshmukh.	do.	Landlord and Moneylender...	do.
389	"	"	"	Mr. Mahitobasing Kishansing Jemadar.	Rajput.	Moneylender and Cultivator.	do.
390	"	"	"	Mr. Bamrao Sadashiva Sadhu.	Brahmin.	Agent ...	do.
391	"	"	"	Mr. Laxman Balkrishna.	Hindu Goldsmith.	Contractor ...	do.
392	"	"	"	Mr. Gangadhar Narayan Jogdale.	Brahmin.	Pleader ...	do.
393	"	"	"	Mr. Sukhusing Babusing Jemadar.	Hindu Lohariya.	Agent and Cultivator ...	do.
394	"	"	"	Mr. Hiralal Amarchand.	Hindu Mahesari.	Moneylender ...	do.
395	"	"	"	Mr. Padmol Dipraja Sahu.	Hindu.	Moneylender and Cultivator.	do.
396	"	"	Buldana.	Mr. Bappoosa Tukasa ...	Lod Bunniah.	Sowkar, Landlord and Member Local Board.	At a Public Meeting held at Buldana on the 23rd May 1891.
397	"	"	"	Mr. Bawaji Raghav Tagde.	Arya.	Pleader ...	do.
398	"	"	"	Mr. Damodar Hari Ranade.	do.	do. ...	do.
399	"	"	"	Mr. Ganpatrao Sambhogi Patel.	Kunbi.	Contractor ...	do.
400	"	"	"	Mr. Narayansa Chhinausa.	Lod Bunniah.	Sowkar and Landlord ...	do.
401	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnarao Venkatesh Deshpande.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Trader and Vatandar ...	do.
402	"	"	"	Mr. Ananaji Ram Chandra Pimprikar.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
403	"	"	"	Mr. Shrikrishna Chimanaji Deshpande.	do.	do. ...	do.
404	"	"	"	Mr. Wasudeo Balaji Pimprikar.	do.	do. ...	do.
405	"	"	Basim.	Mr. Shankar Govind Naik Barve.	do.	Landlord and Moneylender ...	At a Public Meeting held at Basim on the 15th November 1891.
406	"	"	"	Mr. Seabrao Raghunath...	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.

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407	Govt. of India.	Berar.	Basim.	Mr. Luxamon Atmaram, Mahajana.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Merchant, Moneylender, and Vice-President, District Board	At a Public Meeting held at Basim on the 18th November 1891.
409	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayek Vishnu Gokhale.	do.	Pleader	do.
400	"	"	"	Mr. Yashwanth Vaman Dighe.	Kahatriya.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
410	"	"	"	Mr. Chinnarao Trimback	Brahmin.	Landlord and Member, Local Board.	do.
411	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Nagpur.	Mr. Atmaram Bhagwant	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader, Landed Proprietor and Malguzar.	At a Public Meeting held at Nagpur on the 3rd December 1891.
412	"	"	"	Mr. Anna Sahab Upadhyay	do.	Landlord and Malguzar ...	do.
413	"	"	"	Mr. K. Parigah Naidu	Hindu Telegu.	Contractor	do.
414	"	"	"	Mr. Mahomed Ismail Bin Vasir.	Mahomedan Sunni.	Accountant	do.
415	"	"	"	Mr. Abdur Rahman ...	do.	Mukhtear	do.
416	"	"	"	Mr. Mahomed Ghulam Mohiuddin.	do.	Merchant	do.
417	"	"	"	Mr. Munuji Adamji ...	do.	Contractor	do.
418	"	"	"	Mr. Keshavrao Shivram Bhandare.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Writer	do.
419	"	"	"	Mr. Balwantrao Govind Mahajan.	do.	Advocate	do.
420	"	"	"	Mr. Dattoo Vinayek Gokhalay.	do.	Contractor	do.
421	"	"	"	Mr. Anantrao Vinayek Kaptan.	do.	Sowkar and Malguzar ...	do.
422	"	"	"	Mr. Vithalrao Vinayek Kalikar.	do.	Rais, Sowkar and Malguzar ...	do.
423	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchundra Raghunath Bobdey.	do.	Pleader	do.
424	"	"	"	Mr. Tara Narayan Roy, L. M. S.	Bengali Vaidya.	Medical Practitioner ...	do.
425	"	"	"	Mr. Gopalrao Madhorao Pauditji.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Munsifdar, Malguzar and Honorary Magistrate.	do.
426	"	"	"	Mr. Chuanji Lalji ...	Hindu Marwari.	Mukhtear and Honorary Magistrate.	do.
427	"	"	"	Mr. Gopalrao Udhoji ...	Mahratta Brahmin.	Malguzar	do.
428	"	"	"	Mr. Abdul Aziz ...	Mahomedan.	Pleader and Secretary, Local Board.	do.
429	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnarao Narayan Karmarkar.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Editor, "Bousla," and Teacher, City School.	do.
430	"	"	"	Mr. F. W. Dillon.	European.	Barrister-at-Law	do.
431	"	"	"	Mr. Jadava Wasudeva Dake, B. A.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Teacher	do.
432	"	"	"	Mr. C. Narayan Swami Nayadu.	Hindu Kahatriya	Pleader and Landholder, President, Municipality, and Secretary, District Council.	do.
433	"	"	"	Mr. Bhagiratha Prasad, B. A.	Hindu Kalar.	Professor, Hialop Collego, and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
434	"	"	"	Mr. Cottari Venkat Ramana Nayadu.	Kahatriya.	Barrister-at-Law	do.
435	"	"	"	Mr. Cottari Soorya Prakashrao Nayadu, B. A. (Cantab).	Kahatriya.	Barrister-at-Law	do.
436	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Mukund Bootoo	Brahmin.	Banker, Landlord and House Proprietor.	do.
437	"	"	"	Mr. P. Vijayarangam Nayadu.	Hindu Telegu.	Merchant, Banker and Landlord.	do.
438	"	"	"	Mr. Hiralal Rambax ...	Sonar.	Pleader	do.
439	"	"	"	Rambax Khashiram ...	do.	Merchant and Goldsmith ...	do.
440	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Dattatriya, Foandar.	Brahmin.	Banker and Malguzar ...	do.
441	"	"	"	Sai Doorga Pershad ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader	do.
442	"	"	"	Mr. Shridhar Trimback ...	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader, Malguzar, Sowkar and Member, Local Board.	do.
443	"	"	"	Mr. Martand Bapuji Vaikar.	do.	Pleader, Banker and Malguzar.	do.
444	"	"	"	Rev. P. Timothy ...	Christian Telegu.	Pastor	do.
445	"	"	"	Mr. Dhundiraj Ramkrishna, B.A.	Mahratta Brahmin.	.....	do.
446	"	"	"	Rev. John Douglas, M.A.	European.	Clergyman	do.
447	"	"	"	Mr. Bhaskar Baji Rao Deshpande, F.A.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Landlord and Teacher ...	do.
448	"	"	"	Mr. Hormusji Dinshaw Panthakey.	Parsee.	Merchant	do.

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449	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Nagpur.	Mr. Mahomed Hamid-ud-deen.	Mahomedan Sunni	Handicraftsman	At a Public Meeting held at Nagpur on the 3rd December, 1891.
450	"	"	"	Mr. Sultan Ali	do.	Merchant	do.
451	"	"	"	Mr. Hafiz-ud-deen Ahmed	do.	Draftsman	do.
452	"	"	"	Mr. Mirza Raza Ali Beg	do.	Conservancy Inspector	do.
453	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnarao Govind Deshpande, M.A., B.L.	Mahratta Brahmin	Pleader, Malguzar, and Agriculturist.	do.
454	"	"	"	Mr. Burjorjee Bezorjee	Parsi.	Watchmaker	do.
455	"	"	"	Mr. Jammadas Poldar	Marwari.	Sowkar and Mill Agent	do.
456	"	"	"	Mr. Ganpatrao Narayana Gokhale.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader and Malguzar	do.
457	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Hari Bhide	do.	Pleader, Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
458	"	"	"	Bapurao Dada Tinkere, M.A.	do.	Pleader, Malguzar and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
459	"	"	"	Mr. Shivaram Tanbaji Dobe, B.A.	do.	Teacher, City School	do.
460	"	"	"	Mr. Sadashiv Ganpat Subhedar, B.A.	do.	Rais, Landed Proprietor and Malguzar.	do.
461	"	"	"	Mr. Murtidhara Amrita Buty.	do.	Banker and Malguzar	do.
462	"	"	"	Mr. Nilkant Damodar Udhoji.	do.	Pleader and Malguzar	do.
463	"	"	"	Mr. Wasudeva Trimbak	do.	Sadar Munim and Landholder	do.
464	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Mahadeo Pandit.	do.	.....	do.
465	"	"	"	Mr. Baoji Kashinath Gokhale.	do.	Pleader	do.
466	"	"	"	Babu Bipin Krishna Bose, M.A., B.L.	Kayastha.	Advocate	do.
467	"	"	"	Mr. Kanhojirao Mohite Amir Rao.	Kshatriya.	Rais and Mokasdar	do.
468	"	"	"	Rev. D. Whitton	European.	Principal, Hislop College	do.
469	"	"	"	Rev. S. Bhowaji	Native Christian.	Licentiate and Teacher	do.
470	"	"	"	Mr. Alexander Robertson, M.B., M.C.	European.	Professor, Hislop College	do.
471	"	"	"	Mr. Madho Moreshtar Jamdar, B.A.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Rais and Landlord	do.
472	"	"	"	Mr. Srikrishna Shridhar, Munshi.	do.	Rais and Malguzar	do.
473	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Dajiba Wadegaonkar, B.A.	do.	Landed Proprietor	do.
474	"	"	"	Mr. Pandurang Rao Gujar	Mahratta.	Rais, Malguzar and Mokasdar	do.
475	"	"	"	Rajah Nowlaji Rao Gujar	do.	Rais, Malguzar, Sowkar, Mokasdar, Sardar and Hony. Magistrate.	do.
476	"	"	"	Mr. Keshav Vinayek Joshi, B.A.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Headmaster, City High School.	do.
477	"	"	"	Mr. Jadava Prabhakar Vastak, B.A.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Malguzar and Landed Proprietor.	do.
478	"	"	"	Mr. Puru-hottam Ganesh Parenje, B.A.	do.	Landed Proprietor	do.
479	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Amritrao Buty.	do.	Banker and Malguzar	do.
480	"	"	"	Mr. Shivashankar Puriji Gura, Gosai Padampurej	do.	Sowkar, Malguzar and Merchant.	do.
481	"	"	"	Mr. Parasram Krishna Hardas, B.A.	do.	Teacher and Malguzar	do.
482	"	"	"	Mr. Gangadhar Rao Madhav Chitnavis.	Hindu Probu.	Rais, Malguzar, Mokasdar, Municipal Commissioner and President, District Council.	do.
483	"	"	"	Mr. Gosain Ramkrishna Puriji Gura Padmapuriji	Goswami Brahmin.	Merchant, Sowkar and Malguzar.	do.
484	"	"	"	Mr. Jankoba Jairam Mooley.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Broker, Banker and Malguzar	do.
485	"	"	"	Mr. James Bremner, M. A.	European.	Professor, Hislop College	do.
486	"	"	"	Mr. Shankar Kashinath...	Kolar.	Sowkar	do.
487	"	"	"	Mr. Kashinath Zolbaji Dawray.	Kunbi.	Sowkar, Landholder and Malguzar.	do.
488	"	"	"	Mr. Raulhan Paramshukla	Marwadi.	Silk Merchant	do.
489	"	"	"	Mr. Hanumantrao Patel	Kunbi.	Malguzar	do.
490	"	"	"	Mr. Chintaman Krishna Duvali.	Brahmin.	Pleader	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religion, denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
491	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Nagpur.	Mr. Vinayak Jogeshvar Bute.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Banker ...	At a Public Meeting held at Nagpur on the 31 December 1891.
493	"	"	"	Mr. Mahmood Khan ...	Mahomedan Sunni.	Malguzar ...	do.
493	"	"	"	Mr. Mahomed Abdulla ...	do.	do. ...	do.
494	"	"	"	Mr. Mahomed Hamiduddin.	do.	Clerk ...	do.
495	"	"	"	Munshi Yusuf Ali ...	do.	Merchant ...	do.
496	"	"	"	Mr. Mahomed Kasim ...	do.	do. ...	do.
497	"	"	"	Mr. Abdul Kiyum ...	do, Shiah.	do. ...	do.
498	"	"	"	Mr. Ghulam Abbas ...	do.	do. ...	do.
499	"	"	"	Mr. Kyder Miyan ...	Mahomedan Sunni.	Kashkar ...	do.
500	"	"	"	Mr. Ganpatrao Gopalrao Ghataley.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Banker, Landed Proprietor and Malguzar.	do.
501	"	"	"	Mr. Allahuddeen ...	Mahomedan Sunni.	Kasi ...	do.
502	"	"	"	Mr. Abdur Salam Khan ...	do.	Siladar ...	do.
503	"	"	"	Sheikh Budhna ...	do.	Merchant ...	do.
504	"	"	"	Mr. Amir Miyan ...	do.	Handicraftsman...	do.
505	"	"	"	Mr. Mahomed Visal Haq ...	do.	Malguzar ...	do.
506	"	"	"	Mr. Kayum Ali Khan ...	do.	do. ...	do.
507	"	"	"	Mr. Kareem Ali ...	do.	Kashkar ...	do.
508	"	"	"	Mr. Yawa Meer Khan ...	do.	do. ...	do.
509	"	"	"	Mr. Akbar Mir Khan ...	do.	do. ...	do.
510	"	"	"	Mr. Abdul Jabar Khan...	do.	Malguzar ...	do.
511	"	"	"	Mr. Muntar Ali Khan ...	do.	do. ...	do.
512	"	"	"	Mr. Khureshed Husain ...	do.	do. ...	do.
513	"	"	"	Mr. Yakub Ali ...	do.	Munadar ...	do.
514	"	"	"	Mr. Rafiqdeen ...	do.	Medical Practitioner	do.
515	"	"	"	Mr. Waris Mahomed ...	do.	Mukhtar ...	do.
516	"	"	"	Mr. Abjar Rahman ...	do.	Merchant ...	do.
517	"	"	"	Mr. Mahomed Husain ...	do.	Ilakim ...	do.
518	"	"	"	Mr. Ahmed Ali ...	Mahomedan Shiah.	Malguzar ...	do.
519	"	"	"	Mr. Ghulam Mahomed ...	do Sunni.	Mukhtar ...	do.
520	"	"	"	Mr. Madhoo Narayan Patwardhan.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader ...	do.
521	"	"	"	Mr. Shrinivas Ramchandra Herdas.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Dharma Shastri ...	do.
522	"	"	"	Mr. A. Krishna Swami Mudaliar.	Hindu Tamil	Contractor and Landed Proprietor.	do.
523	"	"	"	Mr. Chhotelal Tulsiaram	Molewani Hindu	Contractor and Banker ...	do.
524	"	"	"	Mr. Biharilalji Kewalaram Dube.	Brahmin.	Banker, Malguzar and Landed Proprietor	do.
525	"	"	"	Mr. Sethram Narayan Jaduram.	Vaishnava	General Merchant and Contractor, Banker and Landed Proprietor.	do.
526	"	"	"	Mr. Ramkrishna Golchha	Jain Marwari.	Banker ...	do.
527	"	"	"	Mr. Narayana Lax ...	Bunnah	Merchant ...	do.
528	"	"	"	Mr. Tukaram Kashinath	Mahratta Brahmin	Private Service ...	do.
529	"	"	"	Mr. Ananta Singha ...	Native Christian.	Merchant, Banker and Agriculturist	do.
530	"	"	"	Mr. Chintaman Dadaji Dharokar.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Banker and Malguzar ...	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
581	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Nagpur.	Mr. Bajaram Sitaram Dikshit.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Contractor	At a Public Meeting held at Nagpur on the 3rd December 1891.
582	"	"	"	Mr. Bhansaheb Kaloo ...	do.	Pensioner	do.
583	"	"	"	Sheikh Yalcbhai Suleimann.	Mahomedan Shiah	Merchant	do.
584	"	"	"	Mr. Ahlogirao Ginjara ...	Marathi	Malguzar	do.
585	"	"	"	Mr. Akasaheba Ginjara ...	do.	Pensioner	do.
586	"	"	"	Mr. Trimbakrao Appaji Dikshit.	Mahratta Brahmin	Pleader and Malguzar	do.
587	"	"	"	Sheikh Hassanji ...	Mahomedan Shiah	Merchant	do.
588	"	"	"	Mr. Damodar Atmaram Kunte.	Brahmin	Deputy Manager, Swadshi Mills.	do.
589	"	"	"	Rai Debipetahad, B.A., B.L.	Kayastha	Pleader	do.
590	"	"	"	Mr. T. Laxmana Swami Nayadu.	Hindu Telegu	Pensioner	do.
591	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Mukund Booty.	Hindu Brahmin.	Banker, Landlord and House Proprietor.	do.
592	"	"	"	Mr. Ram Chandra Ganesh Nareley.	Mahratta Brahmin	Pleader, Landed Proprietor and Malguzar.	do.
593	"	"	Kamptee.	Mr. J. Robinson	American	P. W. D., Contractor	At a Public Meeting held at Kamptee on the 6th December 1891.
594	"	"	"	Mr. Bhundas Naidu ...	Hindu Telegu.	Contractor and Honorary Magistrate.	do.
595	"	"	"	Syed Abdul Rahiman ...	Mahomedan Sunni	Clerk	do.
596	"	"	"	Mr. Kesheo Ramchandra Kelkar.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Head Clerk	do.
597	"	"	"	Pandit Gyarasram Sharma	do.	Dharmasastri	do.
598	"	"	"	Mr. L. B. Sitaram ...	Kalal.	Akbari Contractor and Malguzar.	do.
599	"	"	"	Mr. Hiralal Sukul ...	Brahmin.	Pleader	do.
600	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Purshotum.	do.	do.	do.
601	"	"	"	Mr. Coopoooswamy Naidu	Telegu Hindu.	Medical Practitioner and Landowner.	do.
602	"	"	"	Mr. Hurnath Seo Balabh	Hindu.	Banker	do.
603	"	"	"	Mr. Shankar Lall	Bantab.	Malguzar and Cloth Merchant.	do.
604	"	"	"	Mr. Biharilal Sukul ...	Brahmin.	Landowner and Head Clerk.	do.
605	"	"	"	Mr. Champalal Savani	Banlah.	Cloth Merchant	do.
606	"	"	"	Mr. Jaganath Ramchand	do.	Banker and Cloth Merchant.	do.
607	"	"	"	Mr. Ahmed Khan	Mahomedan Sunni.	Medical Practitioner	do.
608	"	"	Wardha	Mr. Keshavaro Mahadeo Kawley.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held at Wardha on the 2nd December 1891.
609	"	"	"	Mr. Balaji Sakharan Gonde	Kunbi.	Malguzar, Cultivator and Member, Local Board,	do.
610	"	"	"	Mr. Bapuji Fakirji Bobde	do.	Malguzar and Cultivator	do.
611	"	"	"	Mr. Shot Ishwardas Mohta.	Marwadi Vaishnava	Banker, Malguzar, Municipal Commissioner, Director of Hinganghat and Pulgaon Mills.	do.
612	"	"	"	Mr. Bhargava Govind Karmarkar	Mahratta Brahmin.	Malguzar and Banker	do.
613	"	"	"	Mr. Baliram Chanaji Kumdeva.	Hindu Kunbi.	Banker and Malguzar	do.
614	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Pandurang Kalyasa.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Malguzar and Banker	do.
615	"	"	"	Mr. Damodar Nilkanta Khare, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Pleader	do.
616	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Balwant Peshkar.	do.	Malguzar and Banker	do.
617	"	"	"	Mr. Bhagwantrao Hurbu Hore.	Kunbi.	do.	do.
618	"	"	"	Mr. Ganpatrao Deskar	do.	do.	do.
619	"	"	"	Mr. Abhimau Patol	do.	Malguzar	do.
620	"	"	"	Mr. Deoras Rajaram Deshpande.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Banker and Malguzar	do.
621	"	"	"	Mr. Bamkrishna Punzaji	Bhata.	Malguzar	do.
622	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudoo Vitai Vadar.	Hindu Vidur.	do.	do.

Number.	Prosiency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
573	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Wardha.	Mr. B. Shrinivas Naidu	Hindu Telugu.	.....	At a Public Meeting held at Wardha on the 2nd December 1891.
574	"	"	"	Pandit Hiralal Dube ...	Brahmin.	Malguzar and Cultivator	do.
575	"	"	"	Mr. Laxman Ohimnaji ..	Mahratta Brahmin.	Agent	do.
576	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Vaman Kelkar, B.A., L.T.B.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
577	"	"	"	Mr. Baliram Kashinath...	do.	Pleader, Malguzar and Cultivator.	do.
578	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnarao Narayan Deshmukh.	do.	Pleador and Landlord	do.
579	"	"	"	Mr. Baliram Narayan Deshmukh, B.A., B.L.	do.	do.	do.
580	"	"	"	Mr. Vaman Vithal Barve	do.	Trader	do.
581	"	"	"	Mr. Shet Bachoraj ...	Marwari.	Banker, Landlord and Mill Agent.	do.
582	"	"	"	Mr. Pandurang Bapuji ...	Mahratta Brahmin.	Agriculturist.	do.
583	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudeo Vinayak Paranjpe.	do.	Pleader and President, Municipal Committee.	do.
584	"	"	"	Mr. Prahlad Bhashkar Deshpande.	do.	Malguzar	do.
585	"	"	"	Rev. Dugald Bervie ...	European.	Medical Practitioner and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
586	"	"	"	Mr. Yashrao Pandurang Kalyani.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Banker and Malguzar	do.
587	"	"	"	Mr. Ganpatrao Patel Meghey.	Kunbi.	do.	do.
588	"	"	"	Mr. Jagannath Gonesh Badhe, L.C.E.	Mahratta Brahmin.	.....	do.
589	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Shripat Patel.	Kunbi.	Malguzar	do.
590	"	"	Wadhwa and Arvi.	Mr. Anandrao Rangrao	Mahratta Brahmin.	Malguzar, Arvi, Wardha District.	At a Public Meeting held at Arvi on the 21st November 1891.
591	"	"	"	Mr. Tukaram Maladia ...	Kunbi.	Private Service	At a Public Meeting held at Wadhwa on the 13th December 1891.
592	"	"	"	Mr. Shittaram Lalla ...	Marwadi.	Banker	do.
593	"	"	"	Mathura Das ...	do.	do.	do.
594	"	"	"	Mr. Maruti Raghav ...	Mahratta Brahmin.	Private Service	do.
595	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Vittal	do.	Priest	do.
596	"	"	"	Mr. Tukaram Bapu Gudge.	do.	Private Service	do.
597	"	"	"	Mr. Govinda Patel ...	Kunbi.	Malguzar	do.
598	"	"	"	Mr. Vithul Shittaram ...	Mahratta Brahmin.	do.	do.
599	"	"	"	Mr. Shrawan Patel ...	Kunbi.	do.	do.
600	"	"	"	Mr. Ramsing Mansing ...	Kshatriya	Banker, Malguzar, and Landholder.	do.
601	"	"	"	Mr. Suryabhan Patel ...	Kunbi.	Malguzar	do.
602	"	"	"	Mr. Dewaji Patel ...	do.	do.	do.
603	"	"	"	Mr. Dulchand ...	Marwadi.	Banker	do.
604	"	"	"	Mr. Yadvrao Gajanan Deshmukh.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Malguzar	do.
605	"	"	"	Mr. Dinaji Ghagro ...	Kunbi.	do.	do.
606	"	"	"	Mr. Ganpatrao Kesho Deshmukh.	Mahratta Brahmin.	do.	do.
607	"	"	"	Mr. Dadopant Dada ...	do.	do.	do.
608	"	"	"	Mr. Vyankatrao Anant- rao.	do.	do.	do.
609	"	"	"	Mr. Madhavrao Vithalrao Deshmukh.	do.	do.	do.
610	"	"	"	Mr. Sheorao Chintaman	do.	do.	do.
611	"	"	"	Mr. Bajirao Dadasji Bhopkar.	Mahratta.	Malguzar and Landed Proprietor.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Divisions.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
612	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Bhandara	Mr. Bamechandra Narayan Kardale.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Malguzar and Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting held at Bhandara on the 16th December 1891.
613	"	"	"	Mr. Jogeshvar Keshav Pande.	Brahmin	Pleader ...	do.
614	"	"	"	Mr. Vishvanath Nilkanth Pandit, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	do. ...	do.
615	"	"	"	Mr. Bangrao Hari ...	Native Christian.	Pleader, Malguzar, Vice-Chairmen, Municipality, and Secretary, Local Board.	do.
616	"	"	"	Mr. Vithoba Laxman Chutakc.	Hindu.	Sowkar and Malguzar ...	do.
617	"	"	"	Mr. Sitaram Lalman Sao	do.	Banker, Malguzar, and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
618	"	"	"	Mr Sakharam Rewaram Kasor.	do.	Banker, Trader and Malguzar	do.
619	"	"	"	Mr. Pundalik Pandurang Dalalkosti.	do.	Broker and Malguzar ...	do.
620	"	"	"	Mr. Shoocharan Baghu Pande.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Malguzar and Mukhtear ...	do
621	"	"	"	Mr. Amant Banguath Tankale.	do.	Malguzar and Cultivator ...	do.
622	"	"	"	Mr. Damodar Vinayak Kaley.	do.	Contractor ...	do.
623	"	"	"	Mr. Purshottam Madhav Ragslwar.	do.	Malguzar and Contractor ...	do.
624	"	"	"	Mr. Baghu Krishna Katya.	do.	Landlord and Agent ...	do.
625	"	"	"	Mr. Sakharam Sitaram Wasalwar.	do.	Pleader, Banker and Malguzar.	do.
626	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Govind Deasant.	do.	Landlord ...	do.
627	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Balwant Pandripandey.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
628	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Vishnath Katre.	do.	Malguzar ...	do.
629	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Jannardhan	Hindu	Contractor ...	do.
630	"	"	"	Mr. Gangadhar Balwant Gokhale, B.A., B.L.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader ...	do.
631	"	"	"	Mr. Vishnu Rajaram ...	do.	Contractor ..	do.
632	"	"	"	Rev. J. Sandilands, M.A., M.D.	European	Missionary ...	do.
633	"	"	Rampalli	Mr. Tulsiaram Paika Patel	Hindu Powar.	Banker and Malguzar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Arambha on the 30th November 1891.
634	"	"	Umrer.	Mr. Vithulrao Mukund- rao Deshmukh.	Knabi	do. ...	At a Public Meeting held at Umrer on the 20th December 1891.
635	"	"	"	Mr Laksman Wasudeo Deshmukh.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Talukdar, Mokaadar, Malguzar, Banker and Agriculturist.	do.
636	"	"	"	Mr. Bijichand Ramchandra.	Marwari	Banker and Grain Merchant	do.
637	"	"	"	Mr. Jannardhan Damodar Naik.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Sowkar, Malguzar, Agriculturist, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
638	"	"	"	Mr. Vamanrao Valjnath- rao Deshmukh.	do.	Malguzar, Tukumdar, and Agriculturist.	do.
639	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Shridhar ...	do.	Sowkar, Malguzar, Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner and Member, Local Board.	do.
640	"	"	Balaghat.	Mr. Gopal Bijirao ...	do.	Agent and Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting held at Balaghat on the 16th December 1891.
641	"	"	"	Mr. Shamrao Kesheo Masumdar.	do.	Malguzar and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
642	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Krishna Kelkar.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
643	"	"	"	Mr. Baghunath Moresbhar Bhawalkar.	do.	Merchant and Contractor ...	do.
644	"	"	"	Mr. Parmanand Sitaram Sao.	Jain	Moneylender and Jemadar ...	do.
645	"	"	"	Mr. Asalat Khan ...	Mahomedan.	Malguzar and Moneylender	do.
646	"	"	"	Mr. Mannaram Tularam	Bania	Mukhtear ...	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Ethnic, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
647	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Balaghat.	Mr. Marreshwar Jagganath.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Mukhtiar, Rurha and Momban Municipal Committee.	At a Public Meeting held at Balaghat on the 18th December 1891.
648	"	"	Bharaswada.	Mr. Jageshwar Pandurang.	do.	Banker	At a Public Meeting held at Bharaswada on the 23rd November 1891
649	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Yeshwant Phushi.	do.	Malguzar	do.
650	"	"	"	Mr. Gumpatro Bhiwaji Patel.	Kunbi	Banker and Malguzar	do.
651	"	"	"	Mr. Ghuseji Patel.	Hindu	Malguzar	do.
652	"	"	"	Mr. Chimnaji Nilniji Kale.	Kunbi.	do.	do.
653	"	"	"	Rajmaji Nimbaji Kharde	do.	do.	do.
654	"	"	Arvi.	Mr. Baswant Sakharam.	Kunbi.	Banker, Malguzar and Landed Proprietor.	At a Public Meeting held at Arvi on the 2nd November 1891.
655	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Narayan Abhankar.	Hindu.	Merchant, Malguzar and Agriculturist.	do.
656	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Vithul Gaskard	do.	Malguzar	do.
657	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudeva Krishna Abhankar.	do.	do.	do.
658	"	"	"	Gopal Balkrishna Deshpande.	Mahratta Brahmin.	do.	do.
659	"	"	"	Mr. Hansraj Dwaital Parwar.	Jain.	Banker and Landholder.	do.
660	"	"	"	Mr. Manaji Janoji Mali.	Hindu.	Landlord and Agriculturist	do.
661	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Chimnaji...	Kunbi.	Banker and Malguzar	do.
662	"	"	"	Mr. Naraynarao Patel ...	do.	Malguzar	do.
663	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudeva Bhaskar ...	Mahratta Brahmin.	do.	do.
664	"	"	"	Mr. Chandulal Baw Chandra Parwar.	Jain.	Banker, Malguzar and Landed Proprietor.	do.
665	"	"	Ashi.	Mr. Jainarayan Lala ...	Marwari.	Malguzar	At a Public Meeting held at Ashi on the 3rd December 1891.
666	"	"	"	Mr. Chintaman Shivaji Dhole.	Hindu	Sowkar and Agriculturist	do.
667	"	"	"	Mr. Laxman Govind ...	Hindu.	Pleader	do.
668	"	"	"	Mr. Keshav Balkrishna Shastri.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Agriculturist	do.
669	"	"	"	Mr. Chintamanji Dhabley Dhole.	Hindu	Sowkar, Malguzar and Agriculturist.	do.
670	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Keshav Deshpande.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Banker and Malguzar	do.
671	"	"	"	Mr. Ambadas Atmaram Deshpande.	do.	Banker, Malguzar and Member, Local Board.	do.
672	"	"	"	Mr. Mahadeorao Babuji Mukaddam.	Hindu	Sowkar and Agriculturist	do.
673	"	"	Rajnandgaon.	Mr. Kashinath Trimback Khare.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Contractor and Trader	At a Public Meeting held at Rajnandgaon on the 22nd November 1891.
674	"	"	"	Pandit Vidhata Prasad ...	do.	Merchant	do.
675	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Kashinath Khare.	do.	Contractor and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
676	"	"	"	Pandit Srinivash Rao ...	do.	Pleader	do.
677	"	"	"	Mr. V. Sarangapani Moodaliar.	Hindu	Contractor and Municipal Commissioner, Manager, Halam Press and Proprietor, "Rajnandgaon Gazette."	do.
678	"	"	"	Babu Kobarnath Bagchi.	Hindu Bengali.	Pleader	do.
679	"	"	"	Pandit Gajadhar Sukla ...	Brahmin.	Banker and Agent, C. P. Milla.	do.
680	"	"	"	Pandit Shooraj Mali ...	do.	Pleader	do.
681	"	"	"	Pandit Shankar Prasad Pandey.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
682	"	"	"	Pandit Gangadhor Odhe...	Hindu.	Pleader and Pensioner	do.
683	"	"	"	Pandit Sektaram Baghoo-nath.	do.	State Advocate	do.
684	"	"	"	Mr. Abdul Husain ...	Mohomed an Shah.	Shopkeeper	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
685	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Bilaspur.	Mr. Sadasiv Asaram Sao.	Bania.	Banker, Malguzar and Landed Proprietor.	At a Public Meeting held at Bilaspur on the 25th October 1891.
686	"	"	"	Mr. N. Agendra Nath De	Hindu Bengali.	Barrister-at-law and Secretary, Municipal Committee.	do.
687	"	"	"	Mr. Ali Mahomed Bheemjee.	Mahomedan Sunni.	Law Agent ...	do.
688	"	"	"	Sheik Khoda Bux ...	do.	Mukhtear and Zemindar ...	do.
689	"	"	"	Mr. Manindra Nath Sircar, M.A. B.L.	Kayastha.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
690	"	"	"	Mr. V. P. Lobo ...	Eurasian Christian.	Merchant and Contractor ...	do.
691	"	"	"	Mr. Mahomed Akbar Khan.	Mahomedan Sunni	Malguzar ...	do.
692	"	"	"	Mr. Bapurao Sadasiv ...	Brahmin.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
693	"	"	Raipur.	Mr. Govind Hari Mankeshwar.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Contractor ...	At a Public Meeting held at Raipur on the 22nd November 1891.
694	"	"	"	Mr. Tukarm Vishnu.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
695	"	"	"	Mr. Gujaram Ragho Bagchi.	do.	do.	do.
696	"	"	Katole.	Mr. Sheoram Gonesh.	do.	Malguzar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Katole on the 5th December 1891.
697	"	"	"	Mr. Baburao Mankar Deshmukh.	Kunbi	Banker, Malguzar and Landed Proprietor.	do.
698	"	"	"	Mr. Luxman Prabhakar Pachkhede.	Hindu.	Landholder ...	do.
699	"	"	"	Baliram Mankar Deshmukh.	Kunbi.	Banker, Malguzar and Landed Proprietor.	do.
700	"	"	"	Mr. Sitaram Anandrao Patel.	do.	Sowkar and Malguzar ...	do.
701	"	"	"	Mr. Radharam Dewaji Patel.	do.	Malguzar and Landed Proprietor.	do.
702	"	"	Ramtek.	Mr. Raghunath Sheoram Pandey	Brahmin.	Landlord ...	At a Public Meeting held at Ramtek on the 7th December 1891.
703	"	"	Hinganghat.	Mr. Rekhchand Moha.	Marwari Vaishnava	Merchant, Sowkar, Municipal Commissioner and Chairman, Hinganghat Mill Company.	At a Public Meeting held at Hinganghat on the 21st December 1891.
704	"	"	"	Mr. Sakharan Ashtekar Patel.	Kunbi.	Malguzar ...	do.
705	"	"	"	Mr. Mohanaji Govindrao Patel.	do.	do.	do.
706	"	"	"	Mr. Kesheo Sheoram Bhanwalkar.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Trader, Banker, Pensioner and Manager, Hinganghat Mills.	do.
707	"	"	Chanda.	Mr. G. Ramchandra Narayan.	do.	Pleader and Member, District Board.	At a Public Meeting held at Chanda on the 10th November 1891.
708	"	"	"	Mr. Daji Ganesh Diwekar.	do.	Pleader and Landed Proprietor.	do.
709	"	"	"	Rev. Israel Jacob ...	Christian Telegu.	Missionary ...	do.
710	"	"	Pardi.	Mr. Hambirji Patel ...	Hindu.	Malguzar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Pardi on the 20th November 1891.
711	"	"	"	Mr. Waliuji Patel ...	Kunbi	do.	do.
712	"	"	Saoner.	Mr. Raghoba Ratiram Pali.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Malguzar and Vice-President, Municipal Committee.	At a Public Meeting held at Saoner on the 23rd December 1891.
713	"	"	"	Mr. Bapu Khem Patel ...	do.	Malguzar ...	do.
714	"	"	"	Mr. Kushal Dhundi Patel.	Lodhi Bunniah.	Banker and Malguzar ...	do.
715	"	"	Burha.	Mr. Jynal Balaram ...	Kayastha.	Malguzar and Cultivator ...	At a Public Meeting held at Burha on the 15th December 1891.
716	"	"	"	Mr. Sheolas Anupchand.	Marwari.	Merchant, Malguzar and Member, Local and District Boards.	do.
717	"	"	Pandharna.	Mr. Balkrishna Ganesh Bandoic.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Banker, Malguzar and Vice-President, Municipal Committee.	At a Public Meeting held at Pandharna on the 15th December 1891.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
718	Central Provinces.	Jabalpur.	Jabalpur.	Mr. D. Baghubar Prasad, B.A.	Brahmin.	Schoolmaster ...	At a Public Meeting held at Jabalpur on the 10th December 1891.
719	"	"	"	Mr. Bapu Waman Joshi.	do.	Landed Proprietor ...	do.
720	"	"	"	Babu Jogendra Nath Seal B.A., B.L.	Hindu	Pleader and Landholder ...	do.
721	"	"	"	Mr. Alfred Nundy ...	Bengal. Native Christian.	Barrister at Law and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
722	"	"	Betul.	Babu Krishna Chandra Banerjee.	Bengali Brahmin.	Landholder ...	At a Public Meeting held at Betul on the 10th December 1891.
723	"	"	"	Babu Ramchandra Banerjee.	do.	do.	do.
724	"	"	"	Mr. Mukund Ram Dhar-madhikari.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Banker, Multar and Landholder.	do.
725	"	"	"	Mr. Laxman Bhat Dhar-madhikari.	do.	do.	do.
726	"	"	Saugor.	Babu Kall Prasonno Mukherjee, B.A., B.L.	Bengali Brahmin.	Pleader and Member, District Board.	At a Public Meeting held at Saugor on the 22nd November 1891.
727	"	"	"	Mr. Indra Prasad Bhandari.	Brahmin.	Banker and Malguzar ...	do.
728	"	"	"	Mr. Tantiah Naidu ...	Hindu.	Contractor, Malguzar, Honorary Magistrate, Member, District Board.	do.
729	"	"	"	Pandit Shiv Ram Hardikar.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Banker and Malguzar ..	do.
730	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Sakharan Shikhande.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
731	"	"	Khandwa.	Pandit Vithal Waman Pagay.	do.	Pleader ...	At a Public Meeting held at Khandwa on the 26th October 1891.
732	"	"	"	Mr. Ganpatrao Gangaram.	do.	Contractor ...	do.
733	"	"	"	Pandit Vishnupant Bannikrisna Gudray.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
734	"	"	"	Rao Ramasing Pratap Sing.	Hindu Rajput.	Zamindar ...	do.
735	"	"	Harda.	Mr. Sadashib Ramchandra Patwardhan.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader, Malguzar, Editor and Proprietor, "Nyasudha."	At a Public Meeting held at Harda on the 26th October 1891.
736	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunathrao Waman Kekrey.	do.	Banker and Malguzar ...	do.
737	"	"	"	Mr. Vishnu Damodar Quidarkar.	do.	Banker and Landholder ...	do.
738	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnarao Narayan Paroolkar.	do.	Banker, Malguzar and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
739	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnarao Narayan Bogay.	do.	Banker, Jagirdar and Malguzar.	do.
740	"	"	"	Mr. Bhikaji Vinayek Nayak.	do.	Banker, Landlord and Malguzar.	do.
741	"	"	"	Mr. Babuji Sitaram ...	do.	Contractor ...	do.
742	"	"	Chhindwara.	Mr. Vinayek Ganesh Wasalwar.	do.	Pleader ...	At a Public Meeting held at Chhindwara on the 14th December 1891.
743	"	"	Burhanpur.	Mr. Habibullah Kader-vhai Makdaiwala.	Mahomedan.	Merchant and Landed Proprietor.	At a Public Meeting held at Burhanpur on the 17th November 1891.
744	"	"	"	Mr. Doochand Manikchand Shet.	Sania	Moneylender and Malguzar	do.
745	"	"	"	Mr. Trimlak Narayanrao Mahajan.	Brahmin	do. do. ...	do.
746	"	"	"	Mr. Vithal Manlal Shet	Hindu Vani Agarwala.	do. do. ...	do.
747	"	"	"	Mr. Govindrao Ramchandra.	Mahratta Brahmin	Malguzar ...	do.
748	"	"	"	Mr. Ganpat Raoji ...	do.	do. ...	do.
749	Madras.	Madras.	Madras.	Mr. M. P. Narayanaswami Nyalu.	Hindu Vishnuita.	Merchant and Landholder ...	At a Meeting of the Mahajana Sabha on the 11th December 1891.
750	"	"	"	Rao Sahab T. V. Apparao Naidu.	Hindu.	Merchant and Municipal Commissioner, Treasurer, Southern India Merchants Company.	do.
751	"	"	"	Mr. Athcepadu Cascoores Parthasaradin Naidu.	Hindu Vaishnava.	Editor, "Audhraprakasha" ...	do.
752	"	"	"	Mr. S. Veerarasbhava Chetty.	Tamil Brahmin	Merchant ...	do.
753	"	"	"	Mr. P. Bala Krishna Pillai.	Hindu Vaishnava	Contractor and Landholder ..	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
754	Madras.	Madras.	Madras.	Mr. G. Siva Rama Brumhum Sastry.	Brahmin.	Landholder ...	At a Meeting of the Mahajana Sabha held on the 11th December 1891.
755	"	"	"	Mr. Kuttalay Ethiraja Pillay.	Vellala Vaishnava.	Merchant and Contractor ...	do.
756	"	"	"	Mr. M. S. Narain Swamy Iyer, B.A.	Brahmin.	Zemindar ...	do.
757	"	"	"	Mr. Paul Peter Pillai.	Native Christian.	Agent and Landholder ...	do.
758	"	"	"	Mr. G. E. Sampathu Chetty.	Hindu.	Merchant and Honorary Secretary, City Club.	At a Meeting of the Mahajana Sabha on the 16th December 1891.
759	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnama Charriar B.A., B.L.	Vishnuvite Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court Madras ...	do.
760	"	"	"	Mr. E. Sreeramulu Sastriyar, B.A., B.L.	do.	do. do. ...	do.
761	"	"	"	Mr. V. Ranga Charriar, B.A., B.L.	.....	do. do. ...	do.
762	"	"	"	Raj Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, B.L.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
763	"	"	"	Mr. M. Veeraraghava Charriar, B.A.	Hindu Vishnuvite Brahmin.	Joint Editor, "Hindu" ...	do.
764	"	"	"	Mr. V. Masilamani Pillai B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court ...	do.
765	"	"	"	Mr. M. Venkatrao.	Brahmin.	Merchant and Landholder ...	do.
766	"	"	Salem.	Bao Saheb C. Venkata Charriar.	do.	Landlord, Malguzar and Member, District Board.	At a Public Meeting held at Salem on the 19th December 1891.
767	"	"	"	Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, B.A.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
768	"	"	"	Mr. Bhavani Krishnarao, B.A., B.L.	do.	do. ...	do.
769	"	"	"	Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Charriar, B.L.	do.	do. ...	do.
770	"	"	"	Mr. W. Vira Swamy Aiyar.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
771	"	"	"	Mr. Y. Sesha Chellu Iyer.	do.	Landholder and Member, District Board.	do.
772	"	"	"	Mr. Narasinha Chary ...	do.	Landholder ...	do.
773	"	"	"	Mr. M. K. Rungasawmi Chetty.	Sudra.	Merchant ...	do.
774	"	"	Cuddapah.	Mr. V. Ramanuja Rao.	Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Cuddapah.	At a Public Meeting held at Cuddapah in December 1891.
775	"	"	Beswada	Mr. Tadanku Venkataswara Aiyar.	Brahmin.	Pleader ...	At a Public Meeting held at Beswada on the 14th December 1891.
776	"	"	"	Devaguptam Seebachalapaty Row.	do.	Schoolmaster and Editor, "Krishna News."	do.
777	"	"	"	Mr. Singarasa Lingaya	do.	Pleader, Hon'y. Magistrate & Municipal Commissioner	do.
778	"	"	"	Mr. Madabhushi Lakshmi Narasinha Charyulu.	Hindu Vaishnava.	Pleader ...	do.
779	"	"	"	Mr. Katuri Narayanaswami Naidu.	Sudra.	Cashier ...	do.
780	"	"	"	Mr. Patri Venkata Subbaran.	Brahmin.	Landholder ...	do.
781	"	"	Trichinopoly.	Mr. A. Krishnaswamy Iyer.	do.	Landholder and Mirasdar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Trichinopoly on the 12th December 1891.
782	"	"	"	Mr. T. R. Ratnam Ayar, B.A.	do.	Professor, S. P. G. College ...	do.
783	"	"	Guntur.	Mr. Paturi Shrivamulu .	do.	Pleader, Banker and Malguzar	At a Public Meeting held at Guntur on the 29th November 1891.
784	"	"	"	Mr. Sanagapalli Ramaswami Chettiar.	Hindu Vaishya.	Merchant ...	do.
785	"	"	"	Mr. Nyapati Hanumanta Bow.	Brahmin.	Teacher and Inardar ...	do.
786	"	"	Rajahmundry.	Mr. Kolichena Appaya Dikshitulu, B.A.	do.	Teacher ...	do.
787	"	"	"	Mr. A. Sundaramaya, B.A.	do.	Pleader and Hon'y. Magistrate.	At a Public Meeting held at Rajamundry on the 5th December, 1891.
788	"	"	Coconada.	Rao Saheb N. Subbarao Pantulu, B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Municipal Commissioner, and Member, Local and District Boards.	At a Public Meeting held at Coconada on the 16th December 1891.
789	"	"	"	Sri Rajah K.R.V. Krisharam Bahadur.	do.	Zemindar ...	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
790	Madras.	Madras.	Bellary.	Mr. M. Ramanujala Naidu.	Hindu Vaishnava	Contractor	At a Public Meeting held at Bellary on the 6th December 1891.
791	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur A. Sobapatty Mudaliar.	Hindu Vaida.	Merchant, Millowner and Chairman, Municipality.	do.
792	"	"	"	Mr. B. Janardhanan Pillai.	Hindu.	Contractor	do.
793	"	"	"	Mr. K. Venkata Row ...	Brahmin.	Pleader, Landholder and Director, Bellary Spinning and Weaving Coy.	do.
794	"	"	Shrivallipatur.	Mr. R. M. Chittambaram Iyer.	do.	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held at Shrivallipatur on the 15th December 1891.
795	"	"	"	Mr. J. P. S. Shanmuga Naidu.	Hindu.	Merchant	do.
796	"	"	Gooty.	Rao Sahab P. Kesava Pillai.	Hindu Vaishnava	Pleader, Landholder and Member District Board,	At a Public Meeting held at Gooty on the 10th December 1891.
797	"	"	"	Mr. Amidala Cheenabasavamai Gand.	Hindu	Landholder	do.
798	"	"	Madura.	Mr. M. T. Tirimalu Moodaliar.	Siozneyet do.	Mirasidar, Madura ...	At a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December 1891.
799	"	"	"	Mr. P. N. Mattusawmy Iyer, B.A., B. L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Madura.	do.
800	"	"	"	Mr. J. M. Nalaswami Pillai, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	do. do.	do.
801	"	"	North Arcot.	Mr. K. Nalathumby Mudaliar.	Hindu Vaida.	Abkari Contractor ...	At a Public Meeting held at Arcot on the 20th December 1891.
802	"	"	Mesulipattam.	Mr. M. Sambhotlu Chetty.	Hindu.	Merchant, Cuddapah ...	At a Public Meeting held in December 1891.
803	"	"	Mayaveram.	Mr. Sivasami Sastriar ...	Brahmin.	Landlord	At a Public Meeting held at Mayaveram on the 11th December 1891.
804	"	"	Tinnevely.	Mr. C. V. Ramanujala Naidu.	Hindu Vaishnava.	do.	At a Public Meeting held at Tinnevely on the 12th December 1891.
805	"	"	Nellore.	Mr. T. V. Venkatarama Aiyar, B.A., B. L.	Tamil Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, and Member, District Board.	At a Public Meeting held at Nellore on the 16th December 1891.
806	"	"	"	Mr. Mutoraji Vyankatraj Puntulu.	do.	Contractor	do.
807	"	"	Calicut.	The Honorable O. Sankaran Nair, B.A., B. L.	Hindu Nair.	Vakil, High Court, and Member, Legislative Council, Madras.	At a Public Meeting held at Calicut on the 4th December 1891.
808	"	"	"	Mr. C. Kirshnan, B.A., (Cantab.)	Hindu.	Barrister-at-Law ...	do.
809	"	"	"	Mr. C. Kunhi Raman Menon, B.A.	Nair Hindu.	Editor and Proprietor, "Kerala Patrika" and Member, District Board.	do.
810	"	"	Secunderabad.	Mr. Arcot Ramanujam Mudaliar.	Hindu.	Pensioner and Zemindar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Secunderabad on the 1st December 1891.
811	"	"	"	Mr. Pondicheri Ramachandra Pillay.	Hindu.	Pleader, High Court, and Landholder,	do.
812	"	"	"	Mr. P. Veeraghavalu Naidu.	do.	.....	do.

APPENDIX II.

SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

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

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FIRST CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

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

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

RESOLUTION IV.

Resolved—That in the opinion of this Congress the competitive examinations now held in England for first appointments in various civil departments of the public service should henceforth, in accordance with the views of the India Office Committee of 1860, "be held simultaneously, one in England and one in India, both being as far as practicable identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit," and that the successful candidates in India should be sent to England for further study, and subjected there to such further examinations as may seem needful. Further, that all other first appointments (excluding peonships, and the like) should be filled by competitive examinations held in India, under conditions calculated to secure such intellectual, moral, and physical qualifications as may be decided by Government to be necessary. Lastly, that the maximum age of candidates for entrance into the Covenanted Civil Service be raised to not less than 23 years.

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

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

RESOLUTION VII.

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

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

Resolved—That the Indian National Congress re-assemble next year in 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, benedict and glorious reign, and heartily wish her many, many more, and happy years of rule over the great British Empire.

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

Resolved—That this Congress do, emphatically, re-affirm the 3rd Resolution of the Congress of 1885, and distinctly declare its belief that the reform and expansion of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws and of the Provincial Legislative Councils, therein suggested, have now become essential alike in the interests of India and England.

RESOLUTION IV.

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

- (1.)—The number of persons composing the Legislative Councils, both provincial and of the Governor-General, to be materially increased. Not less than one-half the Members of each enlarged Council to be elected. Not more than one-fourth to be officials having seats *ex officio* in such Councils, and not more than one-fourth to be Members, official or non-official, nominated by Government.
- (2.)—The right to elect Members to the Provincial Councils to be conferred only on those classes and members of the community, *prima facie*, capable of exercising it wisely and independently. In Bengal and Bombay the Councillors may be elected by the Members of Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce and the Universities, or an electorate may be constituted of all persons possessing such qualifications, educational and pecuniary, as may be deemed necessary. In Madras the Councillors may be elected either by District Boards, Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce

and the University, or by Electoral Colleges composed of Members partly elected by these bodies and partly nominated by Government. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh and in the Punjab Councillors may be elected by an Electoral College composed of Members elected by Municipal and District Boards, and nominated, to an extent not exceeding one-sixth of the total number, by Government, it being understood that the same elective system now in force where Municipal Boards are concerned will be applied to District Boards and the right of electing Members to these latter extended to the cultivating class. But whatever system be adopted (and the details must be worked out separately for each province) care must be taken that all sections of the community and all great interests are adequately represented.

- (3.)—The elected Members of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws, to be elected by the elected Members of the several Provincial Councils.
- (4.)—No elected or nominated Member of any Council to receive any salary or remuneration in virtue of such Membership, but any such Member, already in receipt of any Government salary or allowance, to continue to draw the same unchanged during Membership, and all Members to be entitled to be reimbursed any expenses incurred in travelling in connection with their Membership.
- (5.)—All persons, resident in India, to be eligible for seats in Council, whether as electees or nominees, without distinction of race, creed, caste or colour.
- (6.)—All legislative measures and all financial questions, including all budgets, whether these involve new or enhanced taxation or not, to be necessarily submitted to and dealt with by these Councils. In the case of all other branches of the administration, any Member to be at liberty, after due notice, to put any question he sees fit to the *ex-officio* Members (or such one of these as may be especially charged with the supervision of the particular branch concerned) and to be entitled (except as hereinafter provided) to receive a reply to his question, together with copies of any papers requisite for the thorough comprehension of the subject, and on this reply the Council to be at liberty to consider and discuss the question, and record thereon such resolution as may appear fitting to the majority. Provided that, if the subject in regard to which the inquiry is made involves matters of Foreign policy, Military dispositions or strategy, or is otherwise of such a nature that, in the opinion of the Executive, the public interests would be materially imperilled by the communication of the information asked for, it shall be competent for them to instruct the *ex-officio* Members, or one of them, to reply accordingly, and decline to furnish the information asked for.
- (7.)—The Executive Government shall possess the power of overruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council, in every case in which, in its opinion, the public interests would suffer by the acceptance of such decision; but whenever this power is exercised, a full exposition of the grounds on which this has been considered necessary, shall be published within one month and in the case of local Governments they shall report the circumstances and explain their action to the Government of India, and in the case of this latter, it shall report and explain to the Secretary of State; and in any such case on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretary of State by the overruled majority, it shall be competent to the Standing Committee of the House of Commons (recommended in the 3rd Resolution of last year's Congress which this present Congress has affirmed) to consider the matter, and call for any and all papers or information, and hear any persons on behalf of such majority or otherwise, and thereafter, if needful, report thereon to the full House.

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved—That a Committee composed of the gentlemen named in the margin* be

• Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji (<i>Bombay</i>).	Mr. Guru Prasad Sen (<i>Patna</i>).	appointed to consider
" S. Subramania Iyer (<i>Madras</i>).	Pundit Prannath (<i>Lucknow</i>).	the Public Service
" Peary Mohun Mookerjee (<i>Calcutta</i>).	Munshi Kashipershad (<i>Allahabad</i>).	Question and report
Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (<i>Madras</i>).	Navab Reza Ali Khan (<i>Lucknow</i>).	thereon to this Con-
Babu Motilal Ghose (<i>Calcutta</i>).	Mr. Hamid Ali (<i>Lucknow</i>).	gress.
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (<i>Calcutta</i>).	Lala Kanhyalal (<i>Amritsar</i>).	
" Gungapershad Varma (<i>Lucknow</i>).	Rao Sahib Gungadhar Rao Madhaw gress.	
" Ramkall Chaudhuri (<i>Benares</i>).	Chitnavis (<i>Nagpur</i>).	
	Mr. Rahimatulla M. Sayani (<i>Bombay</i>).	

RESOLUTION VII.

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

* REPORT.

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

- 1.—That the open Competitive Examination be held simultaneously both in India and in England.
- 2.—That the simultaneous Examinations thus held be equally open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects.
- 3.—That the classified lists be prepared according to merit.
- 4.—That the Congress express the hope that the Civil Service Commissioners will give fair consideration to Sanskrit and Arabic among the subjects of examination.
- 5.—That the age of candidates eligible for admission to the open Competitive Examination be not less than 18 nor, as recommended by Sir C. Aitchison, more than 23 years.
- 6.—That simultaneous examinations being granted, the Statutory Civil Service be closed for first appointments.
- 7.—That the appointments in the Statutory Civil Service, under the existing rules, be still left open to the Members of the Uncovenanted Service and to professional men of proved merit and ability.
- 8.—That all appointments requiring educational qualifications, other than covenanted first appointments, be filled by Competitive Examinations held in the different Provinces, and open in each Province to such natural-born subjects of H. M. only as are residents thereof.

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

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

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

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

RESOLUTION X.

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

RESOLUTION XI.

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

RESOLUTION XII.

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

RESOLUTION XIII.

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

RESOLUTION XIV.

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

RESOLUTION XV.

Resolved—That, copies of these Resolutions be forwarded to His Excellency the Viceroy-in-Council, with the humble requests that he will cause the 1st Resolution to be submitted in due course to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, that he will cause all the Resolutions to be laid before Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and that he himself will be graciously pleased, in consultation with his colleagues, to accord them his best consideration.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE THIRD CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

Resolved—That a Committee is appointed, consisting of the gentlemen (marginally

* Messrs. Namjoshi Chandavaker, Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, Hajee Mahomed Abdul Shakoor Badshah Sabib, S. Subramania Iyer, W. S. Gantur, Rangiah Naidu, Surendranath Banerjee, Trilokhyanath Mitra, Kali Charan Banerjee, Gurn Prasad Sen, Salligram Singh, Ram Kali Chaudhuri, Hafez Abdul Rabim, Rampal Singh, Pandit Madan Mohun Ganga Prasad Varma, Bishan Narayan Dar, Hamid Ali, Murlidhar, Satranand Agnihotri, H. H. Dhruva, W. C. Banerjee, Narendranath Sen, Eardley Norton, Joy Govind Shome, Iswari Lal Sircar, G. Subramania Iyer, D. A. Khare, S. A. Saminada Iyer, Sabapathy Mudaliar, A. O. Hume, C. Vigya Raghava Chariar, Govind Bukah, Karandikar.

enumerated*) to consider what rules, if any, may now be usefully framed in regard to the constitution and working of the Congress, with instructions to report thereon to

the Congress, on the 30th instant.

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

RESOLUTION IV.

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

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

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

RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved—That, having regard to the poverty of the people, it is desirable that the Government be moved to elaborate a system of Technical Education, suitable to the condition of the country, to encourage indigenous manufactures by a more strict observance of the orders, already existing, in regard to utilizing such manufactures for State purposes, and to employ more extensively, than at present, the skill and talents of the people of the country.

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

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

RESOLUTION X.

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

RESOLUTION XI.

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

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FOURTH CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

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

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

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

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

RESOLUTION IV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

does now, hereby, affirm the same respectively.

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

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

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

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

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

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

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

does now, hereby, affirm the same respectively.

RESOLUTION VII.

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

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

Resolved—That this Congress being of opinion that it is the first duty of the British Government in India to foster and encourage education, as well general as technical, in all its branches, and that the declaration made in the recent resolution of the Government of India on the subject of education is calculated to encourage the tendency to reduce imperial expenditure on education, and to withdraw from the control of it, respectfully urges upon Government the extreme importance of increasing, or at any rate of not decreasing, the present expenditure on education, and of the Government continuing to control the Educational Institutions of all kinds now existing.

RESOLUTION X.

Resolved—That, having regard to the poverty of the people, the importance of encouraging indigenous manufactures, and the difficulty of practically introducing any general system of technical education with the present imperfect information, Government be moved to delay no longer the appointment of a mixed commission, to inquire into the present industrial condition of the country.

RESOLUTION XI.

Resolved—That the foregoing Resolutions be submitted for the favourable consideration of His Excellency the Viceroy, and for transmission by him to Her Majesty's Government, with the humble request of this Congress that the reforms suggested in the said Resolutions (based as most of these are on Her Gracious Majesty's Proclamation of 1858) may now be effected; and that should it be deemed necessary first to institute any enquiry into any of the matters forming the subjects of these resolutions, such enquiry may be made, as speedily as possible, by a Parliamentary Committee.

RESOLUTION XII.

Resolved—That this Congress, having watched with interest and sympathy the exertions that are being made in England for the total abrogation of laws and rules relating to the regulation of prostitution by the State in India, places on record its appreciation of the services thus rendered to this country, and its desire to co-operate by all means in its power in the attainment of this laudable object.

RESOLUTION XIII.

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

RESOLUTION XIV.

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

RESOLUTION XV.

Resolved—That this Congress puts on record its disapproval of the recent enhancement of the Salt Tax, as involving a perceptible increase to the burthens of the poorer classes, as also the partial absorption, in a time of peace and plenty, of the only Financial Reserve of the Empire.

RESOLUTION XVI.

Resolved—That the Fifth Indian National Congress do assemble in the Bombay Presidency (either at Bombay itself or at Poona, as may be settled hereafter) on the 26th of December, 1889.

RESOLUTION XVII.

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

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FIFTH CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

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

RESOLUTION II.

Resolved—That the following skeleton scheme for the reform and re-constitution of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations, and the Provincial Legislative Councils, is adopted, and that the President of this Congress do submit the same to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M.P., with the respectful request of this Congress that he may be pleased to cause a Bill to be drafted on the lines indicated in this skeleton scheme and introduce the same in the British House of Commons:—

SCHEME.

- (1) The Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils to consist respectively of members, not less than one-half of whom are to be elected, not more than one-fourth to sit *ex-officio*, and the rest to be nominated by Government.
- (2) Revenue districts to constitute ordinarily territorial units, for electoral purposes.
- (3) All male British subjects above 21 years of age possessing certain qualifications and not subject to certain disqualifications (both of which will be settled later) to be voters.
- (4) Voters in each district to elect representatives to one or more electoral bodies, according to local circumstances at the rate of 12 per million of the total population of the district, such representatives to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.
- (5) All the representatives thus elected by all the districts included in the jurisdiction of each electoral body, to elect members to the Imperial Legislature at the rate of 1 per every five millions of the total population of the electoral jurisdiction, and to their own Provincial Legislature at the rate of 1 per million of the said total population. In such wise that whenever the Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus are in a minority, the total number of Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus, as the case may be, elected to the Provincial Legislature, shall not, so far as may be possible, bear a less proportion to the total number of members elected therein, than the total number of Parsees, Christians, Hindus or Mahomedans, as the case may be, in each electoral jurisdiction, bears to its total population. Members of both legislatures to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.
- (6) All elections to be by ballot.

RESOLUTION III.

Resolved—That this present Congress does hereby ratify and confirm the resolutions passed by previous Congresses as to—

- (a) the urgent necessity for the complete separation of executive and judicial functions, such that, in no case, shall the two functions be combined in the same officer ;
- (b) the expediency of extending into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, the system of trial by jury ;
- (c) the necessity of withdrawing from the High Courts, the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal by juries ;
- (d) the necessity of introducing, into the Code of Criminal Procedure, a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that, instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions ;
- (e) the highly unsatisfactory character of the existing system of Police Administration in India, and the absolute necessity of a fundamental reform therein ;
- (f) the expediency of both, establishing Military Colleges in India, whereat the Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army, and of authorising, under such rules and restrictions as may seem necessary, such a system of volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country as may qualify them to support the Government in any crisis ;
- (g) the extremely unsatisfactory character of the Income Tax Administration, especially as regards incomes below rupees one thousand, and the expediency of raising the taxable minimum to this amount ;
- (h) the extreme importance of increasing, instead of diminishing, as the present tendency appears to be, the public expenditure on education in all its branches, and the necessity, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of the appointment of a mixed commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country ;
- (i) the impolicy and injustice involved in the late increase of the Salt Tax in a time of profound peace, and the urgent necessity for an immediate reduction of this tax, and the reimposition, to balance the deficit thus caused, of light *ad valorem* import duties ;
- (j) the necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual increase to, the military expenditure of the country.

RESOLUTION IV.

Resolved—That this Congress hereby tenders its sincere thanks to Messrs. Caine and Smith, and the members who voted with them, in connection with the debate on the Indian Excise Question in the House of Commons ; and, while fully appreciating what has been done by some of the local Governments towards the improvement of their systems of Excise and Abkari, desires to express the earnest hope that no further time may be lost in giving full effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons.

RESOLUTION V.

Resolved—That this Congress, while thanking Her Majesty's Government for raising the age for the Indian Civil Service Competitive Examination from 19 to 23, does hereby put on record an emphatic expression of the universal disappointment which has been created by the rest of that Government's orders in regard to the Public Service Question, (the net result of which orders is to place the people of India in a worse position than they previously held), and reiterates the national conviction that no real justice will be done to India, in this matter, until the simultaneous holding in India, and in England, of all examinations, for all Civil branches of the Public Service in India, at present held only in England, be conceded.

RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved—That, in view of the loyalty of the people, the hardships, that the Arms Act (XI of 1878), as at present administered, entails, and the unmerited slur which it casts upon them, the Government be moved so to modify the rules made under this Act that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India ; that licenses to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and generally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops ; and that these and all licenses issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.

RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved—That the Government be urged to take the subject of a Permanent Settlement once more under consideration in view to practical action thereon, such that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revenue demand without further delay, at any rate, in all fully populated and well cultivated tracts of country.

RESOLUTION VIII.

Resolved—That, in view of the fall that has already occurred in the price of silver and in the exchange value of the Indian Rupee, it is impolitic on the part of the British Government to maintain any hindrances whatever to the consumption of silver for manufacturing purposes ; and that this Congress strongly urges upon Her Majesty's Government that, not only as an act of justice to India (a matter which has been repeatedly brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Ministers), but also as an act of expediency in the interests of Her Majesty's British as well as Indian subjects, the plate duties should be immediately abolished, and Hall-marking be made a voluntary institution.

RESOLUTION IX.

Resolved—That this Congress respectfully expresses the earnest hope that, in the interest of the people of India, the House of Commons will forthwith restore the right, formerly possessed by members of that Honourable House, of stating to Parliament any matter of grievance of the natives of India, before Mr. Speaker leaves the Chair, for the presentation in Committee of the Indian Budget statement, and earnestly trusts that the House of Commons will, in future, take into consideration the Annual Indian Budget statement at such a date as will ensure its full and adequate discussion: and further authorizes the President, Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., to sign a petition in the name and on behalf of this Congress for presentation to the House of Commons in accordance with the terms of this Resolution.

RESOLUTION X.

Resolved—That, in view to his approaching departure, this Congress puts on record an expression of the high sense entertained, not only in the Bombay Presidency, but throughout India, of the ability, integrity and impartiality that have characterised Lord Reay's administration, as also of the gratitude which the whole country feels to be his due for the sympathy that he has ever extended to Indian aspirations and efforts.

RESOLUTION XI.

Resolved—That the Subjects Committee be instructed to settle the question, (left open in the skeleton scheme for the reconstruction of the councils, embodied in Resolution II.), of the qualifications requisite for, and the disqualifications which should debar from, becoming—

- (a) a Voter;
- (b) a Representative;
- (c) a Member of a Provincial Legislative Council; and
- (d) a Member of the Imperial Legislative Council;

and to submit their Report thereon to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M.P., for the purposes of the Bill which he has been requested to have drawn.

RESOLUTION XII.

Resolved—That Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., be re-elected General Secretary of the National Indian Congress for the ensuing year.

RESOLUTION XIII.

Resolved—

- (a) That in view of the large number of delegates this year assembled, and the probability arising from the continuation of their number continuing to increase year by year, henceforth the number of delegates to be allowed from each Congress circle be limited to five per million of the total population of the circle; the Standing Committee of each circle allotting the number which their jurisdiction, as a whole, is entitled to elect, amongst their several electoral divisions, as may seem most expedient.
- (b) That from the date of Mr. Hume's departure for England, the Hon'ble Pundit Ajoothianath be appointed Joint General Secretary, and that Rs. 5,000 be assigned for the payment by him of such Assistant Secretaries as he may find it necessary to employ, clerical assistance, postage, telegrams and printing; and further that Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee be appointed Standing Council for Bengal, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, Standing Council for Bombay, and Mr. Ananda Charlu, Standing Council for Madras, to the Joint General Secretary.
- (c) That the tentative rules for the constitution and working of the Congress, which were first considered at Madras, and in regard to which various addenda have from time to time been circulated, be thoroughly considered during the coming year by the several Standing Congress Committees, and definitely dealt with by the Congress at its next session.
- (d) That this Congress does hereby confirm the appointment of Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart., and Messrs. W. S. Cairne, M.P., W. S. Bright MacLaren, M.P., J. F. Ellis, M.P., Dalabhai Naoroji and George Yule, as a Committee (with power to add to their number) to guide and direct the operations and control the expenditure of the National Congress Agency in England and does further tender its sincere thanks to these gentlemen, and to Mr. W. Digby, C.I.E., the Secretary for the services which they are rendering to India.
- (e) That this Congress does formally appoint Mr. George Yule, Mr. A. O. Hume, Mr. Adam, Mr. Eardley Norton, Mr. J. E. Howard, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, Mr. Mono Mohan Ghose, Mr. Sharfuddin, Mr. R. N. Madholker, and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee to represent its views in England and press upon the consideration of the British Public the political reforms which the Congress has advocated.
- (f) That a sum of Rs. 45,000 be raised for the expenses of the Congress work in this country and in England during the ensuing year, and that the different Standing Committees do send their respective apportioned amounts to the General Secretary, the one half in three, and the balance in six months.

RESOLUTION XIV.

Resolved—That the Sixth Indian National Congress do assemble at some City in Bengal, the exact place to be fixed hereafter, on the 26th of December, 1890.

RESOLUTION XV.

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

* By some oversight, this gentleman's name was omitted, when the Resolution was read to the Congress, the error has been rectified with the consent of the several Standing Congress Committees.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SIXTH CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

Resolved—That this Congress, having considered the draft Bill recently introduced into Parliament by Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, entitled "an Act to amend the Indian Councils Act of 1861," approves the same as calculated to secure a substantial instalment of that reform, in the Administration of India, for which it has been agitating, and humbly prays the House of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to pass the same into law; and further that its President, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, is hereby empowered to draw up and sign, on behalf of this assembly, a petition to the House of Commons to the foregoing effect, and to transmit the same to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, for presentation, thereto, in due course.

RESOLUTION II.

Resolved—That this present Congress does hereby ratify, and confirm the resolutions passed by previous Congresses as to—

- (a) the urgent necessity for the complete separation of executive and judicial functions, such that, in no case, shall the two functions be combined in the same officer;
- (b) the expediency of extending into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, the system of trial by jury;
- (c) the necessity of withdrawing from the High Courts the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal by juries;
- (d) the necessity of introducing, into the Code of Criminal Procedure, a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate they be committed to the Court of Sessions;
- (e) the highly unsatisfactory character of the existing system of Police Administration in India, and the absolute necessity of a fundamental reform therein;
- (f) the expediency of both, establishing Military Colleges in India, whereat the Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army, and of authorising, under such rules and restrictions as may seem necessary, such a system of volunteering, for the Indian inhabitants of the country, as may qualify them to support the Government in any crisis;
- (g) the extremely unsatisfactory character of the Income Tax Administration, especially as regards incomes below rupees one thousand, and the expediency of raising the taxable minimum to this amount;
- (h) the extreme importance of increasing, instead of diminishing, as the present tendency appears to be, the public expenditure on education in all its branches, and the necessity, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of the appointment of a mixed commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country;
- (i) the necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual increase to, the military expenditure of the country;
- (j) the necessity, if any real justice is to be done to the people of India, of holding, simultaneously in India and England, examinations, at present held only in England, for the Civil branches of the Public Service in India;
- (k) the expediency of so modifying the rules made under Act XI of 1878 (the Arms Act) that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India; that licenses to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and generally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops; and that these and all licenses issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.

RESOLUTION III.

Resolved—That this Congress respectfully expresses the earnest hope that in the interest of the people of India, the House of Commons will forthwith restore the right formerly possessed by members of that Honourable House, of stating to Parliament any matter of grievance of the natives of India before Mr. Speaker leaves the chair, for the presentation in Committee of the Indian Budget statement, and earnestly trusts that the House of Commons will, in future, take into consideration the Annual Indian Budget

statement at such a date as will ensure its full and adequate discussion, and further authorizes its President to sign a Petition, in the name and on behalf of this Congress, for presentation to the House of Commons, in accordance with the terms of this Resolution.

RESOLUTION IV.

Resolved—That, while recognizing the action taken, in response to its previous prayers, in the matter of Excise Reform by H. M.'s Secretary of State for India and the Supreme Government here, and noting with pleasure the increase to the import duty on Spirits, the taxation imposed on Indian-brewed malt liquors, the decision of the Bengal Government to abolish the ontstill system, and the closing of over 7,000 liquor shops by the Madras Government in 1889-90, this Congress regrets that it is still necessary to urge the Government of India to insist on all Provincial administrations carrying out in their integrity the policy in matters of Excise enunciated in paras. 102, 104 and 105 of the despatch published in the *Gazette of India* of March 1st, 1890, especially as to sub-section 4 of para. 103, viz.—

“That efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of local public sentiment, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to such opinion when ascertained.”

RESOLUTION V.

Resolved—That the condition of the Finances of India having materially improved, and those special circumstances on which the Government relied to justify the recent enhancement of the Salt Tax having practically ceased to exist, this Congress considers it essential that the enhancement referred to should be remitted at an early date, and empowers its President to submit a special memorial on the subject in its name and on its behalf to H. E. the Viceroy in Council.

RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved—That having reference to the expectations created throughout the country by the Despatch of Her Majesty's Secretary of State in 1862, the principles of which were re-affirmed in a subsequent Despatch of 1865, promising the extension of a Permanent Settlement to all temporarily settled tracts in which certain conditions were fulfilled, and to the fact that throughout large portions of the country those conditions have long since been fulfilled, this Congress respectfully submits that the Government of India is now in honour bound to take up this question of Permanent Settlement, without further delay, in view to practical action thereon such that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revenue demand as explicitly promised, by Her Majesty's Secretary of State, more than a quarter of a century ago.

RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved—That this Congress, having observed with surprise a notice, apparently official, in various Calcutta newspapers which runs as follows:—

THE CONGRESS.

“The Bengal Government having learnt that tickets of admission to the visitors' enclosure in the Congress pavilion have been sent to various Government officers residing in Calcutta, has issued a circular to all secretaries, and heads of departments subordinate to it, pointing out that under the orders of the Government of India the presence of Government officials, even as visitors at such meetings, is not advisable, and that their taking part in the proceedings of any such meetings is absolutely prohibited.”

and having also considered a letter addressed by the Private Secretary of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to the Secretary of the Reception Committee, of which the following is an exact copy —

BELVEDERE, 26th December 1890.

“DEAR SIR,—In returning herewith the seven cards of admission to the visitors' enclosure of the Congress pavilion, which were kindly sent by you to my address yesterday afternoon, I am desired to say that the Lieutenant-Governor and the members of his household could not possibly avail themselves of these tickets, since the orders of the Government of India definitely prohibit the presence of Government officials at such meetings.

To
J. GHOSAL, Esq.,
Secretary, Congress Reception Committee.”

Your faithfully,
P. C. LYON,
Private Secretary.

authorizes and instructs its President to draw the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to the declaration embodied in these papers that Government servants are prohibited from attending any meetings of this Congress even as spectators, and to enquire, most respectfully, whether His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has, or has not, correctly interpreted the orders of the Government of India.

RESOLUTION VIII.

Resolved—That the best thanks of this Congress be tendered to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., for the invaluable services rendered by him during the past year, as also to Sir W. Wedderburn, Mr. W. S. Caine, Mr. J. Bright Maclaren, M.P., Mr. J. Ellis, M.P., Mr. George Yule, and Mr. Dadabhai Naorojee for the unselfish zeal and ability with which they have presided over the British Agency of the Congress; further that they put on record an expression of their high appreciation of the manner in which Mr. Digby, C.I.E., Secretary

of the Agency, and Messrs. Surendra Nath Banerjee, B. N. Mudholkar, W. C. Bonnerjee, Hardly Norton, and A. O. Hume, delegates to England, respectively, discharged the onerous duties imposed upon them, and of their gratitude to all those members of the British public who so kindly welcomed and so sympathetically gave audience, in over fifty public and a far larger number of private meetings, to one or more of these delegates.

RESOLUTION IX.

Resolved—That a vote of thanks be recorded to Kumar Debendra Mullick and brothers, proprietors of the Tivoli Gardens, Mr. N. C. Bose and Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose, proprietors of Mohan Bagan Villa, and to the Hon'ble Sir Romesh Chandra Mitra, Mr. T. N. Palit, Babus Janokee Nath Roy, Gopee Mohan Roy, Harendra Nath Roy, Kissory Mohan Roy, Ramanath Ghose, and Jamadar Ghasiram, owners of houses kindly lent for the use of delegates.

RESOLUTION X.

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

RESOLUTION XI.

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

RESOLUTION XII.

Resolved—That of the Funds now in the Joint General Secretary's hands and about to be received, a further sum of twenty thousand rupees be added to the Permanent Fund and placed in fixed deposits, and that the rest of the funds accruing on account of this current year, 1890, be held by him available for the immediate purposes of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, but to be replaced as the subscriptions for 1891 are received, and ultimately, also added to the Permanent Fund.

RESOLUTION XIII.

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

RESOLUTION XIV.



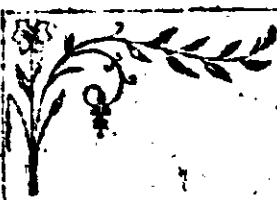
Resolved—That Mr. A. O. Hume and Pandit Ajoodhia Nath are re-elected General and Joint-General Secretaries for the ensuing year.

RESOLUTION XV.

Resolved—That this Congress does formally appoint Messrs. G. Yule, Pherozshah Mehta, W. C. Bonnerjee, J. Adam, Mono Mohan Ghose, A. O. Hume, Kali Charan Banerjee, Dalabhai Naorojee, D. A. Khare, and such other gentlemen as may volunteer for the duty with the sanction and approval of the Standing Congress Committees of their respective circles, to represent its views in England, and press upon the consideration of the British Public the political reforms which the Congress has advocated.

CALCUTTA :
December 31st, 1890. }

PHEROZSHAH MEHTA,
President of the Sixth Indian National Congress.



REPORT
OF THE
EIGHTH
Indian
National Congress,

HELD AT
ALLAHABAD,

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

1892.



S O M E
O F
ENGLAND'S PLEDGES TO INDIA.

Act of Parliament of 1833.

That no native of the said territories (India) nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Government. (Act 3 and 4, Wm. IV., c. 85, s. 87, 1833.)

Her Majesty's Proclamation in 1858.

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

* * * * *

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

Lord Northbrook on Indian Affairs.

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

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

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

Lord Ripon in the Viceregal Legislative Council.

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

Lord Dufferin's Speech on the occasion of Her Majesty's Jubilee in 1887.

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

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

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

REPORT
OF THE
EIGHTH
Indian
National Congress,

HELD AT
ALLAHABAD,

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

1892.

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SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

EIGHTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

Held at Allahabad on the 28th, 29th and 30th December, 1893.

Resolution I.

Resolved—That this Congress, while accepting in a loyal spirit the Indian Councils Act recently enacted by the Parliament of Great Britain, as explained by the present Prime Minister, with the assent of the then Under-Secretary of State for India,—that it is intended by it to give the people of India *a real living representation* in the Legislative Councils,—regrets that the Act itself does not, in terms, concede to the people the right of electing their own representatives to the Council, and hopes and expects that the rules, now being prepared under the Act, will be framed on the lines of Mr. Gladstone's declaration in the House of Commons, and will do adequate justice to the people of this country; further, that it prays that these rules may be published in the official Gazette, like other proposed legislative measures, before being finally adopted.

Resolution II.

Resolved—That this Congress hereby places on record its deep regret at the resolution of the Government of India on the report of the Public Service Commission, in that—

- (a) Whereas, if the recommendations of the Public Service Commission had been carried out in their integrity, the posts proposed to be detached from the schedule of the Statute of 1861 would have formed part of an organised Service, specially reserved for the Natives of India, the resolution of Government leaves these posts altogether isolated, to which appointment can be made only under the Statute of 1870;
- (b) Whereas, while 108 appointments were recommended by the Public Service Commission for the Provincial Service, 93 such appointments only have actually been thrown open to that Service: the number to be allotted to Assam not having yet been announced;
- (c) Whereas, while a Membership of the Board of Revenue and a Commissionership of a Division, were recommended for the Province of Bengal and some other Provinces, the Government has not given effect to this resolution;
- (d) Whereas, while one-third of the Judgeships were recommended to be thrown open to the Provincial Service, only one-fifth have been so thrown open.

And this Congress, again, distinctly puts on record its opinion, that full justice will never be done to the people of this country, until the open Competitive Examination for the Civil Service of India is held simultaneously in England and in India.

Resolution III.

Resolved—That this Congress, seeing the serious mischief arising to the country from the combination of Judicial and Executive functions in the same official, once again puts on record its deliberate and earnest conviction that a complete separation of these functions

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Resolution III.

Resolved—That this Congress, seeing the serious mischief arising to the country from the combination of Judicial and Executive functions in the same official, once again puts on record its deliberate and earnest conviction that a complete separation of these functions

has become an urgent necessity, and that, in its opinion, it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should, in some provinces, involve extra expenditure.

Resolution IV.

Resolved—That having regard to the diversity of opinion that prevails on the Currency Question, and the importance of the question itself, this Congress desires to express its earnest hope, that unless its hands are forced by the action of any Foreign Power, necessitating a change in the currency, or the standard, which might prove injurious to the interests of the country, the Government of India will refrain from taking any steps, until the labors of the Brussels Conference have been completed: and, further, that the Government will lay before the Public, for discussion, the proposals which Lord Herschell's Committee may recommend, before definite action, if any, is resolved upon.

Resolution V.

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

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

Resolution VI.

Resolved - That this Congress views with the deepest concern and alarm the recent policy of Government with respect to trial by Jury, and particularly the action of the Governments of Bengal and Assam in withdrawing the right of trial by Jury in the majority of serious offences, and most respectfully, but firmly, protests against such

policy and action as retrograde, reactionary, and injurious to the best interests of the country, and prays that the same may be reversed by the Government of India, and failing that, by the Government in England; and that, as prayed for in resolutions of previous Congresses, the right of trial by Jury be extended to those parts of the country where it is not now in force, it being the only safeguard for the people in the present unsatisfactory condition of the administration of Criminal Justice in British India.

Resolution VII.

Resolved—That having regard to the fact that the abnormal increase in the annual Military Expenditure of the Empire since 1885-86 is principally owing to the Military activity going on beyond the natural lines of the defences of the country, in pursuance of the Imperial policy of Great Britain in its relation with some of the Great Powers of Europe, this Congress is of opinion that, in bare justice to India, an equitable portion of that expenditure should be borne by the British Treasury, and that the revenues of India should be proportionately relieved of that burden.

Resolution VIII.

Resolved—That this Congress is emphatically of opinion, that it is highly inexpedient in the present state of Education in the country, that Government grants for High Education should in any way be withdrawn, and, concurring with previous Congresses, affirms in the most emphatic manner, the importance of increasing the public expenditure on all branches of Education, and the expediency, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, *i. e.*, the technical, of appointing a mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country.

Resolution IX.

Resolved—That this Congress emphatically re-affirms Resolution III of the Congress of 1891, and having regard to the fact that fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade several millions actually perish by starvation, deems it imperatively necessary that the cost of administration, especially in the military branch of the Public Service, should be greatly reduced, and that measures should at once be taken to give, as was promised by the British Government over thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the land revenue demand, and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which, under the existing system of temporary settlements, in recent times often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to ten and twelve years—is found to be impossible; and to establish Agricultural Banks. And this Congress, again, most earnestly entreats the people of Great Britain and Ireland, not to permit any further sacrifice of life owing to the shortcomings of the existing, doubtless well-intentioned, but none the less unsatisfactory, administration, but to insist, and, that speedily, on the reforms, then and now, so earnestly advocated.

Resolution X.

Resolved—That this Congress entirely adopts Resolution XI of the Congress of 1891, and reiterates its prayer, that having regard to the very serious discontent created, particularly in Peninsular India, by the practical administration of the Forest Laws, the Government of India do investigate this matter carefully, and endeavour to mitigate the harshness of such administration, and render it less obnoxious to the poorer classes.

Resolution XI.

Resolved—That Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Mr. P. M. Mehta, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji, and Rai Bahadur Anunda Charlu, be appointed a Committee to prepare a petition on the line indicated by the petition printed at foot, and that the President be authorised to sign it, on behalf of this Congress, and send it to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M. P., for presentation to the House of Commons.

To

The Hon'ble, The Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the President and Members of the Eighth Indian National Congress, held at Allahabad, on the 28th, 29th and 30th of December, 1892,

Respectfully Showeth,

(1) That in conformity with a resolution adopted at the Eighth Indian National Congress, your humble petitioners beg to bring to the attention of your Hon'ble House, the deep disappointment which prevails in all parts of Her Majesty's Indian Empire at the orders passed upon the labours of the Public Service Commission.

(2) That the Commission was instructed by the Government of India to submit a scheme which might reasonably be expected to possess the elements of finality and to do full justice to the claims of the Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service. Neither object has been secured by the labours of the Public Service Commission. The Statutory Service, under which appointments had been made, has been abolished, and nothing has been done to secure to the people the full enjoyment of the boon conferred upon them by the Act of 1870. The Government of India, in their resolution appointing the Commission, observed, "that the Statute of 1870 is one of remarkable breadth and liberality, and it empowers the Government of India and the Secretary of State, acting together, to frame rules under which Natives of India may be admitted to any of the offices hitherto reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service." But the result of the Commission's enquiry has been a reduction in the number of offices open to Indians.

(3) That in respect, likewise, to simultaneous examinations in England and in India for appointment in the Civil Service, the Report of the Commission, endorsed by the Government of India, has given no satisfaction whatever. The weight of the evidence taken by the Commissioners was distinctly in favour of simultaneous examinations. Among the witnesses examined, there was a very large preponderance of those who were in favour of simultaneous examinations.

(4) That the disappointment which is everywhere felt at the resolution of the Government of India on the Public Service Commission, is of such a character that this Congress has felt constrained to lay the matter before the Hon'ble House, and to pray that it will direct the Government of India to give full effect to the Act of 1870, in the matter of appointing Natives of India to the Public Service of their country.

Resolution XII.

Resolved—That this Congress, in concurrence with the first Congress held at Bombay in 1885, considers that the creation of a Legislative Council for the Province of the Punjab is an absolute necessity for the good Government of that Province, and, having regard to the fact that a similar Council has been created for the United Provinces, hopes that no time will be lost in creating such a Council.

Resolution XIII.

Resolved—That this Congress hereby tenders its most grateful acknowledgments to Sir W. Wedderburn and the members of the British Congress Committee, for the services rendered by them to India during the past year, and entirely approves and confirms the re-construction of the British Committee of the Congress which has been effected by them, as also the new arrangements which they have made in regard to their office establishment, and the journal "*India*;" and that this Congress also tenders its thanks to Mr. W. Digby, C. I. E., for the services which he rendered to the cause during his tenure of office as Secretary to the British Committee.

Resolution XIV.

Resolved—That this Congress is thankful that the House of Commons is vigilant in regard to the recent purity legislation by the Government in India, and desires, once again, to enter its protest against all State-regulated immorality in India.

Resolution XV.

Resolved—That, regard being had to the present political situation in England, the provisional arrangements set on foot, in pursuance of the resolution passed at the Calcutta Congress, 1890, for holding—all things being convenient—a Congress of not less than hundred delegates in England, in 1892, be now suspended, until after the Session of the Congress in 1893.

Resolution XVI.

Resolved—That this Congress most respectfully and cordially tenders, on behalf of the vast population it represents, India's most heartfelt thanks to the electors of Central Finsbury for electing Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji their member in the House of Commons; and it again puts on record its high estimate and deep appreciation of the services which that gentleman has rendered to this country, reiterates its unshaken confidence in him, and looks upon him as India's representative in the House of Commons.

Resolution XVII.

Resolved—That this Congress hereby empowers the Trustees of the Congress Permanent Fund—now locked up in the "New Oriental Bank Corporation, Ltd.," at present in liquidation—to send, at least, five hundred pounds out of it to the British Committee, to be recouped by subscriptions from the Standing Congress Committees.

Resolution XVIII.

Resolved—That, regard being had to the representations received from the British Committee, this Congress is of opinion, that a sum equivalent in Rupees to two thousand eight hundred pounds sterling, be allotted for the expenses of the British Committee, for the year 1892-93; that deducting the money which has been received up to now, the balance be allotted amongst the different Standing Congress Committees, in accordance with the arrangements come to with them; and that the sum be remitted to England as soon as practicable.

Resolution XIX.

Resolved—That this Congress re-appoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B., to be its General Secretary, and appoints Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, to be its Joint-General Secretary for the ensuing year.

Resolution XX.

Resolved—That the Ninth Indian National Congress do assemble on such day after Christmas, 1893, as may be determined upon, at Amritsar.

Resolution XXI.

Resolved—That this Congress hereby tenders its best thanks to His Highness the Maharaja of Darbhanga, for having so kindly lent his Castle and grounds for the holding of this Congress.

Resolution XXII.

Resolved—That this Congress confirms the appointment of Pandit Bishumbhar Nath, in place of the late Pandit Ajudhia Nath, as one of the Trustees of the Congress Permanent Fund.

W. C. BONNERJEE,

President of the Eighth Indian National Congress.

DETAILED
REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
EIGHTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT

ALLAHABAD,

On the 28th, 29th, and 30th of December, 1892.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

1st Day.

The Eighth Indian National Congress assembled on the afternoon of the 28th of December, 1892, in a large octagonal Hall, specially erected for the purpose, on the grounds of Lowther Castle, at the very place at which the Fourth Congress had met four years before. The Castle, which is now the property of His Highness the Maharaja of Darbhanga, had been very generously placed by him at the disposal of the Reception Committee; and its extensive grounds were once more covered with rows upon rows of tents, in which more than 400 delegates were housed, the rest finding accommodation elsewhere.

The Hall measured 150 feet by 150 feet, and afforded room for 3,500 chairs for delegates and visitors. It was a splendid structure,* and admittedly surpassed in elegance and finish, the best of the halls in which the Congress had held its deliberations before.

By about 1 P. M., over 600 delegates and 2,400 visitors had taken their seats within the pavilion. At a quarter past one, came PANDIT BISHUMBHAR NATH, the venerable Chairman of the Reception Committee, and took his seat on the platform. He had been ailing seriously for some months past; but, nerved by his strong sense of duty, he came, at considerable risk to his health, to discharge the duties which appertained to his office, as Chairman, of welcoming the delegates and of opening the proceedings of the Congress.

Precisely at 1-30 P. M., Pandit Bishumbhar Nath, (*Allahabad, No. 333, in list*) rose and said:—

Chairman
of
Reception
Commit-
tee's
Address.

MY SISTER AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—Though professing to be a devout votary of Temperance up to this moment, I feel something has just inebriated me. It cannot be alcohol or wine. It is something too cheery and elevating. It is, I fancy, that cordial nectar, the intoxicating pleasure of meeting you all here in this hall of all nations. (*Cheers*). My proper function, on this occasion, I am happy to notice, is a short and sweet one, and equally grateful to my own feelings. I have not to preach a sermon from the pulpit, nor to inflict upon you a long verbose speech with a pyrotechnic display of oratory. My duty is simply to bow to you all, and wish you cordial greetings after my oriental etiquette.

An indifferent speaker, such as I am, might naturally feel nervous on rising to address so grand an assemblage, which, I may say without using any figure of hyperbole, is a miniature imitation of the highest deliberative Council in the world. Should

* The entire credit of this exceedingly effective construction belonged to Lala Ram Charan Das, Rai Bahadur, Senior Vice Chairman of the Municipal Board, Honorary Magistrate and Banker, of Allahabad, under whose direction and superintendence the Hall was planned and built.

My words fail me in giving expression adequately to my grateful feelings, I am confident you will appreciate the language of my heart, which, I believe, is the proper vehicle for conveying the sense of gratitude and esteem. Permit me then, on behalf and in the name of the Reception Committee, who have done me an honour that I do not deserve, to welcome you here to the Eighth Indian National Congress. (*Cheers*). The welcome, I beg to offer you, is not merely a ceremonious one. It is, I assure you, prompted by that *sanctum sanctorum*, the heart of hearts. There is an Arabic saying which in plain English means "Seldom, the Welcomer,"—its paraphrase being—add to affection come by alternation. You are, therefore, the more welcome as we have the pleasure of meeting here again after a rather long interval of four years.

You must have observed, I dare say, that there is a certain amount of advantage, combined with convenience, in the situation of this our tabernacle, close as it is to the Government House. Had we been privileged to establish a telephonic communication, between that stately mansion and this cottage of the people, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor (*Cheers*) would have been able to listen to what we say, and thus to give us a hearing, if it so pleased him. But His Honour proceeded on his winter tour only yesterday.

As I proceed further, I cannot help observing, that in our mundane affairs smiles and tears stand sometimes side by side, and that joy and sorrow are, as it were, born twins, as a Persian phrase goes. You will, therefore, excuse me, if you find me animated or affected by mixed feelings of pleasure and pain. I am exceedingly glad to see so many worthy representatives assembled here from the various parts of this vast peninsula. And your genial presence, while it has brought a cheery sunshine into our midst, proves to demonstration that the keen, abiding interest evinced in our movement, is keeping pace with the steady development of the movement itself. At the same time, I am grievously sad to miss from amongst us that noble patriot of his country, whom alas ! I see only in shadow and not in substance now, and into whose shoes I have been constrained, against my own will, to step by an unfortunate devolution of melancholy succession. Lamentable it is, indeed, that the necrology of our other leading men has swelled out of all proportions, and that we have to mourn deeply their untimely and premature loss. But as survivors left in the field, it behoves us to complete what they unfortunately have not been able to finish. It is our duty to cherish and perpetuate their sacred memory, and in order to attain that object, we must strive to lay stone upon stone, layer upon layer, and storey upon storey, until our Temple of Liberty rears up its proud head and reaches its destined pinnacle of glory, to the utter amazement and confusion of those who have been watching its rise with a degree of unjustifiable suspicion and mistrust. (*Cheers*).

This monument, no doubt, serves as the best living testimony of the blessings of liberty which we happily enjoy under the *Pax Britannica*. And the common platform, upon which we stand hand in hand, has its solid foundation sunk deep in the adamant rock of true devotion to the august Throne of our beloved Sovereign, the Queen-Empress of India. (*Cheers*). Every true Englishman, with whom the love of Liberty is an instinct, must rejoice in his heart to witness that that proud day in the history of the British occupation of India has come, when the children of the soil have learnt to stand upon their feet, and are now claiming their just rights in a loyal and constitutional manner. Both posterity and the history of our movement when written calmly, will, I am convinced, accord a just appreciation to its legitimate aims and reasonable objects. They not only err but sin, and sin criminally too, who insinuate that this movement is calculated to sap and undermine the foundation of constituted authority. (*Hear, Hear, and Cheers*). To be sure, such sappers and miners its supporters are not. Indeed, they are the sentinels in a hopeful band of volunteers, whose watch-word and bugle-call are, "Beware of true enemies in the guise of false friends." And the shibboleth of that band, marching forward with the banner of liberty, is—Peace, Progress, and Political advancement. The movement, instead of being a heap of loose dynamite, as it has been stigmatised, is a useful and necessary safety-valve in the highly complex machinery of the British rule in India. Our position has been well recognised by that eminent statesman, His Excellency Lord Lansdowne, our ruling Viceroy, and we do not now stand in need of any more characters from the minor satellites. (*Cheers*)

1st Day.
Chairman
of
Reception
Committee's
Address.

1st Day.
 Chairman
 of
 Reception
 Committee's
 Address.

The late Lord Lytton, one of our distinguished Viceroys, on the occasion of the Delhi Assemblage, was pleased to observe that the polity affecting the well being of the British Indian Empire involved administrative problems left unsolved by Caesar, unsolved by Charlemagne, and unsolved by Akbar. Of these, a crucial problem, which is, I believe, the burning question of the day, is, what is the possible remedy for ameliorating the condition of the 280,000,000 of souls in this extremely poor country. I would venture to reply, that the remedy is not far to seek. It lies in reducing the enormous military expenditure, in curtailing the "Home charges," and in mitigating the general rigour of taxation (*Cheers*). It is true that the British rule, as regards its intrinsic value, is solid pure gold, and therefore, as costly as that precious metal itself. It is, however, a true axiom of modern political science, that a State must adapt its polity to the good of its people, and that it must govern them not only justly, but cheaply too. Lord Brougham says, somewhere in his *Political Philosophy*, that "the good of the people is the only object to be considered in the arrangements of Government, and that this fundamental doctrine is the test by which every institution must be tried; and every institution is to be supported or condemned according as it is found sufficient to answer its purpose of promoting the common good or wanting in this object." There are various other means that might be resorted to for bettering the condition of the people here, such as utilising indigenous products and materials, and giving a more extended scope to the employment of competent Indians, of proved merit, in the public service, without distinction of colour and creed, which is a great bane of an alien rule. (*Cheers*).

I may, now, as well proceed to observe that our present Session is the *calmy eighth* in contrast to the *stormy fourth*. In 1888, the opposition shewn on the part of the local authorities, lamentably countenanced by the narrow policy of our late Pro-Consul, had naturally roused our enthusiasm to such a pitch that it not only over-powered and crushed down opposition, but frustrated all selfish designs to set one class against another. Happily, however, though there is now a lull in that respect, the movement has acquired a lasting permanency, which it is impossible to shake or disturb. (*Cheers*). Certain incidents, with which we were amused on the occasion of the last session here, and the adverse criticisms, which left a fugitive effect upon our minds, stale and unprofitable as they now are, have all faded out of our view, and been happily relegated to the limbo of oblivion. Raja Shiva Prasad too with all his stars and decorations and historical lore, both sacred and profane, (*Laughter*) has evidently received no inspiration to re-appear on the scene; and a bogus Patriotic Association, started by him and his colleagues, did die a natural death so soon as it was born. Is this not a true touchstone for testing the righteousness or otherwise of a cause? (*Cheers*).

Sir Auckland Colvin, in the midst of an over-crowded programme of his hygienic and humanitarian fads, has left some testamentary relics of a fragmentary nature. One of them is his studied and laboured oration delivered not long ago at the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. He there confessed to having borrowed a great deal of his politics from the political teachings of the venerable sage there. (*Hear, Hear*). It is the repetition of the old story again, that the introduction of a representative system on an expanded basis into our Legislative Councils would not suit the existing condition of our people. We need not now care much for such imbecile platitudes. We have gained a partial victory. (*Cheers*). The India Councils Bill has passed into law. And though we have not got all that we wanted, the day, I hope, is within measurable distance, when the enlightened and benevolent policy of the Liberal statesmen and the intuitively generous instincts of the British nation will prompt them, in the interests of justice, to concede further the privileges claimed by Her Majesty's Indian subjects, who yield to none in their devotion to their Sovereign. (*Cheers*).

Permit me to say a word as to the necessity or otherwise of holding these annual sessions of the Congress. Some of our critics say that it is a sheer waste of money spent upon, what they are pleased to call, "talking Camps," and that the enormous amount wasted already might have been profitably used otherwise, with far better and more practical results. I regret I am unable to share this view. In the good old days some laudible means and appliances were hit upon, now and then, by the then rulers of this

country, for the purpose of enabling their people to make their personal grievances audible. Anang Pal, a distinguished Hindu monarch, and long after him the Emperor Jahangir, had fastened for the purpose, in their palaces at Delhi and Agra respectively 'chains of justice' made of gold. But such chains could scarcely have been of any practical service or use, even in those days, when the wonderful powers of steam and electricity had not been discovered or utilised. We are now at the fag-end of the nineteenth century, and live under the ægis of a rule, which recognises only lawful agitation by constitutional means. Hence the necessity of our resorting to such a course. Whether such agitation is a blessing or a curse of the present civilisation, I do not propose to discuss here. We must go on, and go on vigorously, and not cease to agitate until we reach the goal of our ambition. (Cheers.)

The rise and growth of the British Indian Empire, with its great dimensions, enormous population, and vast resources, will stand unparalleled in the annals of the world. And it will remain a marvel for ever how a handful of merchants, trading originally in tea and silk, have carved out for their sovereign an empire, in comparison with which the historical Roman Empire falls into the shade. (Hear, Hear). Whether this brightest jewel in the diadem of Britannia has been acquired by a breach or observance of the Ten Commandments is a matter that need not be discussed here. One thing is quite obvious. Its safe preservation in her casket needs an extension of a more considerate and liberal treatment towards those from whose exhausted mines it has found its way into distant shores. (Cheers). The Bible of the British Constitution is as Christian as the Gospel of the faith of the British people. And it is to the truths inculcated in that Bible that we appeal most earnestly for the political regeneration of India; and Her Majesty's Indian subjects, who represent races once great in their own way but now comparatively behind in the race of progress, do crave from Her that humane treatment which the mighty can well afford to vouchsafe to the fallen. (Cheers). The Political Emancipation of India will be a landmark in the history of the British civilisation, and when that time comes, and come it must, it will change the relations between the conqueror and the conquered, into those of affectionate ties and intimate friendship. (Cheers).

Many speculative persons, I observe, have been exercising their minds, by asking themselves—Why ought England to retain India? I would say to them—Because India wants to be retained by England, and by no other power on earth. (Cheers). If Russia dares to move an inch beyond the line of demarcation, chalked out for her, she must think over twice before she ventures to take such a perilous step. (Cheers).

I must now close by being allowed to quote a passage from a useful work. It is:—“That the deep sense of duty, a special heritage of the British nation, handed down to them from the days of their Puritan ancestors, has made them scorn the idea of holding rule over others, solely to benefit themselves. And this feeling, I hope, will retain its strength in upholding her beneficial rule over India for many many generations to come.” To this I myself would say thrice—Amen, amen, amen. (Cheers).

It only remains for me now to request you to elect a President for this assembly. I crave one word more. I appeal to those who have eyes to see for themselves and not jaundiced eyes as some of our journalistic friends seem to have. Let them judge and say whether the present session is duller than the dullest, or livelier than the liveliest that we ever had before. (Cheers).

I beg your pardon for my feeble and tremulous voice which I have lost during my illness. (Prolonged cheering).

MR. P. ANANDA CHARLU, (*Madras, No. 1, in list*).—President of the Seventh Indian National Congress, who on rising was greeted with cheers, said:—GENTLEMEN,—As your cheers have preceded me, so I precede the distinguished gentleman whose name I am going to propose to you for election as your President. It has been said that we have finished one cycle and are beginning another. It is therefore most appropriate that the gentleman who inaugurated the first cycle should be here to attend the opening of the second cycle.

1st Day.

Chairman
of
Reception
Commit-
tee's
Address.

Election
of
President.

Mr. Ananda
Charlu pro-
poses Mr.
W. C. Bren-
nerjee

1st Day.
—
Election of
President.
—

The first cycle began in a very small way, but to what proportions it rose we all know. (*Cheers*). Let this be the small beginning of another cycle which I hope Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, whom I propose to be your President, will succeed in making it swell to larger dimensions still. (*Cheers*).

Mr. Wacha
seconds.
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MR. DINSHAW EDULJI WACHA, (*Bombay, No. 39, in list*).—GENTLEMEN,—I have the honour to second the proposition which has been just proposed. I think my friend is right in saying that this is the beginning of the second cycle of the Congress. The first cycle took its birth in Bombay, and being a Bombay man, I feel a peculiar pride and pleasure in seconding the resolution. Gentlemen, it was intended that this Resolution should have been seconded by Mr. Pherozezshah Mehta, but I regret to say that unfortunately at the last moment he was laid up with fever and has not been able to attend this Congress. With these words I heartily second the proposition which my friend has proposed. In Mr. Bonnerjee you will find the stoutest and most ardent advocate the Congress has, and its strongest pillar too. (*Cheers*).

Mr. Bonner-
jee declared
elected.
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PANDIT BISHUMBHAR NATH, (*Allahabad, No. 333, in list*).—GENTLEMEN,—It is evident from the manner in which you have received the proposal to elect Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, as your President, that you heartily approve it. There is no other proposal before you. I take it then that it is your unanimous desire that Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee should be your President. (*Cries of yes, yes, and prolonged cheers*): I declare Mr. Bonnerjee to be duly elected President of this Congress, and (*addressing Mr. Bonnerjee*) I request you, Sir, to kindly take the chair.

Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, (*Calcutta, No. 178, in list*) then took the chair amid deafening cheers. When the ovation had subsided—

Babu Suren-
dra Nath
Banerji
reads a mes-
sage of wel-
come from
H H. the
Maharaja
of
Durbhanga.
—

BABU SURENDRA NATH BANERJI, (*Calcutta, No. 188, in list*) rose and said :—GENTLEMEN,—Before we proceed with the business of the day, I have been requested by the President to inform you that he has just received a telegram from His Highness the Maharaja of Durbhanga (*cheers*) which, I am sure, will afford you the greatest satisfaction to hear.—The telegram runs as follows :—

"As Proprietor of Lowther Castle, I welcome the delegates to the Congress. It is a source of the greatest pleasure to me that the first use of this property, since my acquiring it, has been for Congress purposes."

In response to a call from Babu Surendra Nath Banerji, three hearty cheers were given to His Highness the Maharaja.

The Presi-
dent's
Inaugural
Address.
—

MR. W. C. BONNERJEE, (*Calcutta, No. 178, in list*) who was received with renewed cheers, then rose and addressed the assembly as follows :—

BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The position, which, by your unanimous voice, you have called me to fill, is a most distinguished and honourable one. I am proud to fill it, and I trust that, with your help and by your forbearance, I may be able to discharge the duties which will be required of me as the President of the Eighth Indian National Congress adequately and satisfactorily. (*Cheers*). Those duties, as all of you who have attended our Congresses before know, are heavy and onerous in the extreme, and I appeal to you to deal out to me, in the same spirit in which you dealt out to my predecessors, such help and indulgence as may be needed by me.

You have been reminded that I have the honour to be the person, who inaugurated the Congress movement in Bombay, in the year 1885, as its first President. It is a singular coincidence that the Bombay Meeting was held on this very day, the 28th of December. The first cycle of our existence thus commenced on the 28th December, under my humble presidency, and ended with the presidency of my friend Mr. Ananda Charlu, who so kindly proposed my election. The second cycle begins on the same day seven years afterwards, again under my humble presidency. At the first Congress there were only a few of us assembled together, but as I pointed out at the time, there were various causes which prevented a larger muster. Those, however, who assembled there on that occasion, were animated by a sincere desire to make the movement a success and fully determined that it should be so if hard work could effect it. And I

appeal to those assembled here to-day to say whether that movement has been a success or not. (*Applause*). Year after year we have met, each meeting vying with its predecessor in the number of delegates attending it, the sacrifices which the delegates made to attend it, in the energy, zeal and determination with which the business was passed through, and the moderation which throughout characterised the proceedings before the Congress. There can be no doubt—say what those who do not view our proceedings with friendly eyes, may—that the Congress movement has been a success and a conspicuous success. The persons to whom I have referred have been troubling their brains, from almost the very commencement of the movement, to find out how it is that this movement, which they are pleased to call only a “native” movement, has been such a success. And they have hit upon one of the causes, which they have, iterated and reiterated, in season and out of season, as the cause of the success of the Congress; namely, the influence over us of that great man Allan Octavian Hume. (*Long and prolonged cheers*). That Mr. Hume possesses, and has exercised, a vast amount of influence over the Congress movement, and over each single Congress which has met, is a fact. We are not only not ashamed to acknowledge it, but we acknowledge it with gratitude to that gentleman, and we are proud of his connection with the Congress. (*Cheers*). But the movement is only to some extent, and I may say, only to a limited extent, due to the influence which Mr. Hume has exercised over us. It is not the influence of this man, or of that man, or of any third man that has made the Congress what it is. It is the British Professors who have discoursed eloquently to us on the glorious constitution of their country; it is the British Merchants who have shown to us how well to deal with the commodities of our country; it is the British Engineers who have annihilated distance and enabled us to come together for our deliberation from all parts of the Empire; it is the British Planters who have shown us how best to raise the products of our soil; it is all these, in other words, it is all the influences which emanate from British rule in India that have made the Congress the success it is. (*Cheers*). The Congress is a mere manifestation of the good work that has been done by all those to whom I have referred (and I ought also to have referred to the British missionaries who have worked amongst us); and all that we wish by this movement to do is, to ask the British public, both in this country and in Great Britain, that, without any strain on the connection which exists between Great Britain and this country, such measures may be adopted by the ruling authorities that the grievances under which we labour may be removed, and that we may hereafter have the same facilities of national life that exist in Great Britain herself. How long it will take us to reach the latter end no one can tell; but it is our duty to keep the hope of it before us, and keep reminding our British fellow subjects that this hope shall always be with us. (*Cheers*.)

Some of our critics have been busy in telling us, thinking they knew our affairs better than we know them ourselves, that we ought not to meddle with political matters, but leaving politics aside devote ourselves to social subjects and so improve the social system of our country. I am one of those who have very little faith in the public discussion of social matters; those are things which, I think, ought to be left to the individuals of a community who belong to the same social organisation, to do what they can for its improvement. We know how excited people become when social subjects are discussed in public. Not long ago we had an instance of this when what was called the Age of Consent Bill was introduced into the Viceregal Legislative Council. I do not propose to say one word as to the merits of the controversy that arose over that measure, but I allude to it to illustrate how apt the public mind is to get agitated over these social matters if they are discussed in a hostile and unfriendly spirit in public. But to show to you that those who organised the Congress movement, had not lost sight of the question of social reform, I may state that when we met in Bombay for the first time, the matter was discussed threadbare, with the help of such distinguished social reformers as Dewan Bahadur Raghu Nath Rao of Madras, Mr. Mahadeo Govind Ranade, and Mr. Krishnaji Lakshman

1st Day.
—
The President's
Inaugural
Address.
—

1st Day.
 The President's
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Nulkar of Poona, Mr. Norendro Nath Sen, and Mr. Janakinath Ghosal of Calcutta, and others. The whole subject was considered from every point of view, and we at last came to the conclusion, with the full consent and concurrence of those distinguished men, that it would not do for the Congress to meddle itself, as a Congress, with questions of social reform. At the same time we also came to the conclusion, that those gentlemen who were anxious, in a friendly spirit, to discuss their own social organisations should have an opportunity of doing so in the Congress Hall, after the business of the Congress should be over. The principal reason which actuated us in coming to that conclusion was that at our gatherings there would attend delegates following different religions, living under different social systems, all more or less interwoven with their respective religions, and we felt it would not be possible for them as a body to discuss social matters. How is it possible for a Hindu gentleman to discuss with a Parsee or a Mahomedan gentleman matters connected with Hindu social questions? How is it possible for a Mahomedan gentleman to discuss with Hindu and Parsee gentlemen matters connected with Mahomedan social questions? And how is it possible for a Parsee gentleman to discuss with Hindu and Mahomedan gentlemen matters connected with Parsee social customs? We thought, and I hope you will agree that we were right, that under the circumstances, all we could do was to leave it to the Hindus and the Mahomedans, Parsees, and other delegates to discuss their respective social matters in a friendly spirit amongst themselves, and arrive at what conclusions they pleased, and if possible, to get the minority to submit to the views of the majority. (*Cheers*). I may point out that we do not all understand in the same sense what is meant by social reform. Some of us are anxious that our daughters should have the same education as our sons, that they should go to Universities, that they should adopt learned professions; others, who are more timid, would be content with seeing that their children are not given in marriage when very young, and that child widows should not remain widows all the days of their lives. Others, more timid still, would allow social problems to solve themselves. It is impossible to get any common ground, even as regards the members of the same community, be it Hindu, Mahomedan or Parsee with respect to these matters. Thus it was that social questions were left out of the Congress programme; thus it was that the Congress commenced and has since remained, and will, I sincerely trust, always remain as a purely political organisation, devoting its energies to political matters, and political matters only. I am afraid that those, whether belonging to our own country or to any other country, who find fault with us for not making social subjects a part of our work, cherish a secret wish that we might all be set by the ears, as we were all set by the ears by the Age of Consent Bill, and that thus we might come to an ignominious end. They mean us no good, and when we find critics of that description talking of the Congress as only fit to discuss social problems, I think the wider the berth we give them the better. (*Cheers*).

I, for one, have no patience with those who say we shall not be fit for political reform until we reform our social system. I fail to see any connection between the two. Let me take, for instance, one of the political reforms which we have been suggesting year after year, *vis.*, the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the same officer. What possible connection can there be between this, which is a purely political reform, and Social reform? In the same way, take the Permanent Settlement which we have been advocating, the amendment of the law relating to forests and other such measures;—and I ask again, what have these to do with Social Reforms? Are we not fit for them because our widows remain unmarried and our girls are given in marriage earlier than in other countries? because our wives and daughters do not drive about with us visiting our friends? because we do not send our daughters to Oxford or Cambridge? (*Cheers*).

It is now my sorrowful duty to officially announce to you that death has been busy amongst the ranks of Congressmen during the year just passed. Standing on this platform and speaking in this city, one feels almost an overpowering sense of despair when one finds that the familiar figure and the beloved face of Pandit Ajoodhianath is no more. We mourned

for him when he died, we have mourned for him since; and those of us who had the privilege of knowing him intimately, of perceiving his kindly heart, his great energy, his great devotion to the Congress cause, and the sacrifices he made for that cause, will mourn for him to the last. With Pandit Ajudhianath has passed away that other great Congress leader, Mr. George Yule. These were the two most prominent figures in the Congress held in this city in 1888: Pandit Ajudhianath as the Chairman of the Reception Committee; Mr. Yule as the President of the Congress. It was my singular good fortune to have been the means of inducing both these gentlemen to espouse the Congress cause. I was here in April, 1887, and met Pandit Ajudhianath, who had not then expressed his views, one way or another, with regard to Congress matters. I discussed the matter with him. He listened to me with his usual courtesy and urbanity, and he pointed out to me certain defects which he thought existed in our system; and, at last, after a sympathetic hearing of over an hour and a half, he told me he would think of all I had said to him, and that he would consider the matter carefully and thoroughly, and then let me know his views. I never heard any thing from him from that time until on the eve of my departure for Madras to attend the Congress of 1887. I then received a letter from him in which he said I had made a convert of him to the Congress cause, that he had thoroughly made up his mind to join us, that he was anxious to go to Madras himself, but that illness prevented him from doing so, and he sent a message that if it pleased the Congress to hold its next Sessions at Allahabad in 1888, he would do all he could to make the Congress a success. And you know—certainly, those of you who attended know—what a success he did make of it. Our venerable President of the Reception Committee of this present Congress has told us the difficulties which had to be encountered to make that Congress a success, and I do not belittle his services or those of any other worthy Congressman who worked with him at that Congress, when I say that it was owing to Pandit Ajudhianath's exertions that that Congress was the success it was.

When it was time to select a President for recommendation to the Congress of 1888, it was suggested to me, I being then in England, that I might ascertain the views of Mr. George Yule, and ask him to preside. I accordingly saw him at his office in the City, and had the same kind of conversation with him as I had had, the year before, with Pandit Ajudhianath. He also listened to me kindly, courteously and sympathetically, and asked me to give him all the Congress literature I had. I had only the three Reports of the Congress meetings of 1885, 1886 and 1887, and I sent these to him; and to my great joy, and, as it afterwards turned out, to the great benefit of the Congress, Mr. Yule came to see me at my house and told me that he entirely sympathised with the cause, and that, if elected to be the President of the Congress of that year, he would be proud of the position and would do what he could for us. Those who had the good fortune to attend the Congress of 1888, know how manfully and how well he sustained the duties of his position; how he pointed out that the chief plank in the Congress platform—namely, the reform and re-constitution of the Legislative Councils of this country—was by no means an invention on the part of the Congress; that that point had received the attention and had been favourably considered and spoken of by that marvellous English Statesman, Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield. He told us that we were treading on the footsteps of that great man, and that if we perseveringly stuck to our colours, some time or other we should get what we wanted. From that time to the day of his death, Mr. Yule worked with us, gave us his valuable advice and helped us considerably as regards our working expenses. Pandit Ajudhianath as you know, from the time he joined the Congress, worked early, worked late, worked with the old, worked with the young, never spared any personal sacrifices, so that he might do good to his country and to the Congress, and his lamented death came upon him when he was coming back from Nagpore, after having worked there for the success of the Nagpore Congress of last year. Those who ever so slightly knew Pandit Ajudhianath and Mr. Yule will never be able to forget the great services which those gentlemen rendered to the Congress cause.

From Madras we have the sad news of the death of Salem Rama Swami Moodelhar. He was an earnest worker and did yeoman's service to the cause of his country. In 1885,

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he was one of a band of three who were deputed to go to Great Britain during the then general election: his colleagues being Mr. N. G. Chandravarkar of Bombay, and Mr. Monomohun Ghose of Calcutta, and these three devoted men vied with each other as to who could do the most work for the benefit of his country. Salem Rama Swami Moodeliar served on the Public Service Commission, and we all know the bitter disappointment he felt when the Secretary of State for India did not carry out what he had hoped he would; namely, accept the recommendations of the Public Service Commission as a whole. There were some recommendations of the Commission which Salem Rama Swami Moodeliar, and those who worked with him, did not approve; but in order that the recommendations of which they approved might be carried into effect, he and his colleagues gave in their adhesion to them, and all joined in signing the Report. I remember that the Report did not give any satisfaction to the country at large. We had discussions on the subject at the Congress of 1888, and some of us were very anxious that that report should be disavowed, and that we should, by a resolution, tell the Government that the recommendations of the Commission did not come up to our expectations at all. Salem Rama Swami Moodeliar advised us not to agitate the matter then, but wait until the Secretary of State's orders were out. If, he said, the Secretary of State accepted those recommendations the matter might well be allowed to rest for some years to come; but if he did not do so, then he, Rama Swami Moodeliar, would be the first to re-open the question and carry on the agitation to the end of his life, if necessary. He was a sagacious and courageous man, and in him the Congress has lost a leader of eminence and earnestness. In Madras, we have also lost G. Mahadeo Chetty and Ramaswamy Naidu, both earnest Congress workers, and they will be missed by their Congress friends and acquaintances. In Bengal, we have had two heavy losses by the death of Prannath Pandit and Okhoy Coomar Dass. Prannath Pandit was the worthy son of a worthy father, the late Mr. Justice Sumbhoonath Pandit—the first native gentleman who was appointed to the Bench of the High Court;—and though he died young he was of great service to his country and to our cause, and had he been spared he would have done still greater services. Okhoy Coomar Dass was a younger man still, but his energy was great, and as a public man he outshone many of his contemporaries in Lower Bengal. It was due to him that many abuses in our Courts of Justice were exposed, and it was due to him that Howrah owes its Standing Congress Committee. We grieve for all these spirits who have passed away from us, and I would beg leave, on behalf of this Congress, to express to their respective families our respective and reverential condolences in the great loss that has overtaken them. "Sorrow shared is sorrow soothed," says the old adage, and, if that be a fact, I have no doubt that our sympathy will go somewhat towards assuaging the grief of their families.

Gentlemen, I must now proceed to call your attention to subjects more exciting, though, with the exception of a couple of them, I am not in a position to say, they are more cheering. The first piece of cheering news I have is that Lord Cross's India Councils Bill, after delays which seemed to many of us to be endless, has at last passed through the Houses of Parliament and received the Royal assent. From what we have been able to gather from the speeches delivered by the Viceroy during his tour in Madras, it would seem that the Rules under which the Act is to be given effect to, are now under the consideration of the Government of India. We all know that the Act in terms does not profess to give us much, but it is capable, I believe, of infinite expansion under the Rules that are to be framed. If those Rules are framed in the spirit in which the present Prime Minister of England understood the Act was framed, and what he said was assented to by the then Under-Secretary of State for India, namely, that the people of India were to have real living representation in their Legislative Council,—if those Rules are framed in the spirit of true statesmanship, statesmanship such as one would have confidently expected from Sir Thomas Munro, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Lord William Bentinck and a host of other distinguished Anglo-Indian statesmen who have made British India what she is—I have no doubt we shall all be glad to put away the first plank in our Congress platform, namely, the reform and reconstitution of the Legislative Councils. The spirits that

seem to be abroad just now in this country however do not seem to me to give a very hopeful augury as to these Rules. I am afraid that some of our rulers have been possessed with the idea that we have been progressing too fast. It is a great pity that this should be so. But if these rules do not come up to our expectations, gentlemen, we must go on with our agitation and not stop until we get what we all think and we all believe, and, what is more, what our rulers themselves have taught us to believe, we have a right to get (*Cheers*).

Another cheering event to which I have to call attention is the return of our leader, our revered leader, Dadabhai Naoroji (*Three Cheers*) to sit in the House of Commons as member for Central Finsbury. You all know it had been hoped that he would be able to come out from England to occupy the position I am now occupying. We all looked forward to his presence amongst us with hopefulness and trust and with great satisfaction, because, if he had been with us we could have shown to him, face to face, that our confidence in him is just as high as it ever was. We could have told him, by word of mouth, of the great joy which spread throughout the length and breadth of India when the news of his return to the House of Commons was received, of the anxiety with which we watched the fate of the election petition which was presented against his return, and how glad we were that it was at last withdrawn. And he could have carried back with him to England our message of gratitude to the electors of Central Finsbury (*Cheers*), and have shown them that in electing him as their representative they had also elected a representative for the people of India in the House of Commons. (*Cheers*). Unfortunately, his opponent, Captain Penton, had presented that hateful petition, and just at the moment that Mr. Naoroji was to have made his preparations to come out to India, it was fixed to be heard. Mr. Naoroji had to stay. There was a hand to hand struggle, and it was at last found that the number of votes for the two candidates was on a level. Captain Penton must have felt that if he went on any further his number might come down, and then Mr. Naoroji would retain his seat and Captain Penton would have to pay all the costs. He thought discretion the better part of valour, and prudently withdrew his petition, each party paying his own costs, and the seat of Mr. Naoroji is now perfectly safe. And as long as this present Parliament lasts he will remain our member (*Cheers*) and we shall get all the help, it is possible for him to give us, in the cause of Indian reforms. But we must not expect too much from him. He is but one in a House of 670 members, and though he will do for us all that prudence, good sense, vast knowledge and great eloquence can do, yet he is single-handed. To be strong, he must receive all the support he can from this country, and backed by that support he may be able to put our case convincingly before the House. But, what we really want is not that our countrymen generally should sit in the House of Commons. Englishmen themselves find it extremely hard to find seats there, how much more must we who are "blackmen." What we want and have a right to get is that our countrymen should have the opportunity of really representing to the Government the views of the people of this country in this country. What we want is that there should be responsible Government in India. I have always felt that the one great evil of the Indian administration is that our rulers are responsible to no one outside of their own consciences. That they conscientiously endeavour to do what they can for the good Government of our country, may be accepted as an undeniable fact and accepted with gratitude. But it is not enough that our rulers should only be responsible to their own consciences. After all they are human beings, with human frailties, and human imperfections. It is necessary that they should be responsible to those over whom they have been placed by Providence to rule. (*Cheers*). In making these observations I have not lost sight of the fact that the Government of India, in India, is responsible to the Government of India, in Westminster, and that the Government of India in Westminster is responsible to the Cabinet of the day, of which he is invariably one of the members. Nor have I forgotten that the Cabinet of the day is responsible to the House of Commons. But when you come to consider what this responsibility really is, I think, you will all agree with me that I have not overstated the case in the slightest degree. Unless the Secretary of State for India happen to be a personage of exceptional force of character and of great determination, such as the late Prime

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Minister proved to be when he was in charge of the India Office; he generally, to use Burke's language, says "ditto" to the Government of India in India. The Cabinet is so troubled with the affairs of the vast British Empire that the members really have no time to devote to India as a body, and leave her to their colleague, the Secretary of State for India. When any Indian question comes before the House of Commons, what do we see? The Cabinet of the day has always a majority in the House, and it always finds supporters among its own party, whether they are would be placemen or whether they are country gentlemen who go to the House of Commons as the best club in England. (*Cheers*). And in non-party matters—and they make it a pretence in the House of Commons to regard Indian affairs as matters non-party,—in all non-party matters, the Government of the day can always rely upon a large amount of support from the opposition. (*Hear, Hear*). There are a few members of the House of Commons who make it a point to devote a portion of their time and energies to the consideration of Indian questions. But they are only a few; they have hardly any following; and if they press any matters on the attention of the House, with any degree of zeal, they are voted down as bores by the rest of the House of Commons. (*Hear, Hear*). Of course the case of Mr. Bradlaugh (*Cheers*) was entirely different. He was a most masterful man, and by his mastery over his fellowmen, he attained the position for himself which he occupied in the House of Commons at the time of his death. There are but few in England like Mr. Bradlaugh. I am sorry to say that since the death of that great man we have not been able to find one who possesses his capacity, possesses his knowledge, or possesses the influence which he exercised over the House of Commons. Therefore, when you consider what the responsibility of the Government of India is to the Government of England and the House of Commons, you will not, I think, be able to come to any other conclusion than that it is *nil*. (*Hear, Hear*).

By the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils on lines that would allow representatives of the people to be elected to these Councils, the Government would be face to face with them. They would know, at first hand, what the real feelings and the real grievances of the people are. (*Hear, Hear*). They would then be able to devise measures which would be in consonance with the feelings of the people, and which would get rid of their grievances. At present, the *modus operandi* is this. A Secretary thinks that a particular measure ought to be passed, and it may be taken that he honestly believes that the measure would be for the benefit of the country. He invites two or three Indian gentlemen of eminence, with whom he is acquainted, to see him. He speaks to them in private, and gets their views, which, unfortunately, in the case of these Indian gentlemen, generally coincide with the views he himself holds. (*Laughter*). The measure is passed. There is a great cry of indignation in the country. The answer of the Government is,—“Oh, but we consulted the leaders of your society, and it is with their help this measure has been passed.” I hold that the time has passed for this sort of statesmanship. If the Government make a real effort to arrive at what the views of the country and people generally are, I have no doubt that they will be able so to shape their policy as to give satisfaction to all concerned. This, to my mind, is the chief thing that we need. (*Hear, Hear*). In the Councils our representatives will be able to interpellate the Government with regard to their policy and the mode in which that policy is being given effect to. My conviction is, that the weal and woe of our country is not so much dependent upon the Viceroy or the Local Governor, however sympathetic and kind, but upon the officials who have to administer the law and come in contact with the people. Until there is the right of interpellation granted to us in our own Councils, there will be no true responsibility on the part of our Government. I repeat that those who are placed over us, our Viceroys, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and others of lesser degree, are more or less actuated by the desire to do us good, both for their own sake as well as for the sake of the people of the country; but the system under which they work is a vicious one, and the result is, no good is really done. (*Cheers*).

Now, Gentlemen, while a Conservative Government has given us this India Councils Bill, and a Radical constituency has sent one of our countrymen to the House of Commons,

showing in the first instance some, and in the second, a great amount of liberality, here in this country, we have had in a neighbouring province a policy adopted which has made a painfully profound sensation over the whole of this vast empire—a sensation which it will take a very long time to allay. In the first place, though we, in this Congress, and the country generally, have been pressing and pressing and pressing the Government not to take away the grants for education but to increase those grants, so far as the provinces of Bengal and Bombay are concerned, grants in aid of high education have been doomed. Government require, they say, money for primary education; they do not wish to spend money upon high education. I am not one of those who believe that primary education is not required. I think, it is as much required as high education. But I confess, I do not understand for a moment why it is necessary to starve high education in order that primary education may be provided for and protected. (*Cheers*). Government ought to foster education of all kinds alike; it ought to spend its resources upon every kind of education (*Renewed Cheers*) for the people; not only primary education but technical education of all kinds, and also high education. It is said,—“you who have had, and who appreciate, high education ought to maintain it yourselves.” I know of no other country in which such a thing as this has been said by the Government to the people they rule over. It is one of the first duties of the Government to educate the people just as it is their duty to protect them from thieves and robbers. (*Cheers*). If they tell the people to-day—“Go and educate yourselves,” why should they not tell them to-morrow—“You are rich and can afford to keep durwans. Go and protect yourselves against thieves and robbers, we will not do so.” (*Cheers*).

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But the sensation, to which I have referred, is one not so much due to the doings of our Bengal and Bombay Governments as regards high education, as to the notification which the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has lately issued, withdrawing trial by Jury in serious cases from the seven Districts in Bengal, where the system of trial by Jury has been in existence for some years. (*Cries of "Shame"*). The plea, upon which this notification has been based, is that trial by Jury has been a failure as a means for the repression of crime. (*Cries of Shame, and no, no*). Can it be said that if a Sessions Judge trying a case with the assistance of Assessors and without the assistance of a Jury acquit a prisoner, that he is a failure as a means for the repression of crime? If that cannot be said with regard to Sessions Judges, with what justice can it be said in regard to Juries? (*Cheers*). Those of us who have had any acquaintance with the subject, have long felt that the administration of Criminal Justice in this country has been extremely unsatisfactory. There has not been much said about it, because it affects people, the majority of whom are poor men—men who cannot make much noise. They submit to what takes place, grumble among their fellows and cry *hismut*. Now let us see how the matter stands. While in Civil cases the evidence is taken down in the language in which the witness gives it, by an officer specially appointed for the purpose, and in appeals the evidence thus taken down is made the basis of the judgment of the Appellate Court where it differs from the notes of the judge, in Criminal cases the evidence is, as a rule, taken down by the presiding officer in English. Most of these presiding officers are gentlemen who come to us here from Great Britain. They, no doubt, try and learn the languages of the people they are sent out to govern, but the circumstances, in which they are placed, and the circumstances in which the people of this country are placed, are such that they are compelled to live in utter isolation from one another. You may read the books of a country, you may know its literature well, but unless you have a familiar acquaintance with the people of the country, unless you have mixed familiarly with them, it is impossible for you to understand the language these people speak. Why is there so much outcry about what is called “Babu English”? Many Babus, and in this designation I include my countrymen from all parts of India, know English Literature better, I make bold to say, than many educated men in England. (*Cheers*). They know English better and English Literature better than many Continental English scholars. They know English History, as well, if not better, than Englishmen themselves. Why is it then that when they write English,

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when they speak English, they sometimes make grievous blunders? Why is it then that their composition is called stilted? Because their knowledge is derived from books only and not from contact with the people of England. If an English gentleman were to write a book or write a letter, in the vernacular with which he is supposed to be most familiar, I am afraid his composition would bear a great family likeness to "Babu English." It would be "English Vernacular." It would contain grammatical mistakes which would even shame our average school boy. Let an English gentleman, thoroughly acquainted with the vernacular of a district, speak to a native of that district. His pronunciation would be such that the native, even if educated, would find it difficult to understand him. It is gentlemen of this description who hear country-people, called as witnesses before them, give their evidence in the vernacular. How is it possible for them to understand them correctly? How much do you think of what these witnesses say to the Judge is taken down correctly and finds a place in the Judge's notes? (*Little or nothing*).

—And when an appeal is preferred to the Appellate Court, it is this evidence, and this evidence alone, upon which the Judges of that Court have to act. When the District Judge tries a Civil case, he has the plaint and written statement translated for him into English by his clerk. The evidence given before him is, as a rule, interpreted to him by the pleaders on either side. But when the same District Judge acts in his capacity as Sessions Judge and presides over Criminal trials, he, as a rule, takes down the evidence, without the aid of interpreters, in English, and he charges the Jury, in Jury cases, in the vernacular of the country. (*Laughter*). The Indian Penal Code has been translated into all the vernaculars of the country, and those who know these languages and who know English; I think, are agreed, that it is extremely difficult to make out what the vernacular Penal Code means; and charging the Jury in the vernacular means, that the Judges have to explain the Penal Code to them in the vernacular—a superhuman task almost! Again, while in Civil cases pleaders, and particularly pleaders of position are allowed a free hand as regards cross-examination, in Criminal cases, particularly in cases where the accused is unable to employ pleaders of eminence, but is compelled to have either junior pleaders or mukhtars, the cross-examination of the witnesses may be said almost to be a farce. The presiding officer gets impatient in a very short time, cuts short the cross-examination at his own sweet will and pleasure, and in many cases most important facts are not elicited in consequence. (*Hear, Hear*). While in Civil appeals, you, as a rule, get a patient hearing, the argument sometimes lasting for days, just think, those of you who have any experience of these Courts, what takes place when Criminal appeals are heard by Sessions Judges in the mofassil! They are often taken up at the fag end of the day and listened to with impatience, and then is asked the almost invariable question, as the Judge, after hearing the appeal for a few minutes, is about to rise for the day,—“Have you any thing more to say; I will read the papers for myself and give the decision to-morrow.” The Judge rises, and the poor man's appeal is over. Some appeals are dismissed and some, though this is more rare, are allowed. Again, while in Civil cases there is hardly any fear of their being decided on facts outside the record, in Criminal cases there is the greatest fear that outside influence is brought to bear upon the presiding officer. The thing is inevitable when you consider that the District Magistrate is the real head of the Police of the district, and that all officers trying Criminal cases, except the Sessions Judge, are subordinate to him and depend on him for promotion; and as regards the Sessions Judges themselves, they may, by the system which has now been introduced of dividing the Civil Service into two branches, find themselves independent of the District Magistrate one day and his subordinate the next, during the time he oscillates as acting Sessions Judge and Joint Magistrate, as not unoften happens. Again, in Civil cases we have the right of appeal as of course, and, if they are of sufficient value of appealing to Her Majesty in Council; in Criminal cases we have to apply for leave, to appeal and have our appeal only from the Sessions Judge to the High Court, and from the inferior judiciary to the Sessions Judge, and in some cases to the District Magistrates. There are many other points to which attention may be called but I think I have said enough to convince those who are not familiar with the matter, that I was right when I said that

the administration of Criminal justice in this country was most unsatisfactory. (*Cheers*). The only safeguard which accused persons have against this system in Sessions cases, is trial by jury. (*Hear, Hear*). And now the notification of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal withdraws this safeguard from the seven districts in Bengal where it existed, and the whole of India has been threatened with a like withdrawal. (*Cries of "Shame"*). The question is not a provincial but an imperial one, and of the highest importance. I therefore think, it is our duty to take this question up and help our Bengal brethren to the utmost extent of our power to get back what they have lost, and to see that other parts of the country are not overtaken by the same fate. (*Hear, Hear*).

Let us for the moment consider, what is the meaning of "trial by Jury having failed as a means for the repression of crime." One of the learned Judges of the Calcutta High Court who was consulted upon this matter, I refer to Mr. Justice Beverley, said, that he did not think that a person bent upon committing a crime would stop to think whether, if he was detected, he would be tried by a Judge with a Jury or tried by a Judge with the aid of Assessors. (*Loud Cheers*). Judges and Juries do not sit to repress crime but to ascertain if crime has been committed, and if the Jury find that crime has been committed, the Judge punishes the offender. (*Cheers*). It is the duty of the police to see that crime is not committed, and when, in spite of their vigilance, crime is committed, to bring the offender to justice. In this country, where unfortunately the police are not over-scrupulous as to how they get up cases, trial by Jury is the most essential safeguard against injustice. Jurymen being drawn from the people themselves are better able to understand the language in which witnesses give their evidence, better able to understand and appreciate the demeanour of witnesses—the twists and turns in their answers, the rolling of their eyes, the scratching of their heads, and various other contortions of their physiognomy which witnesses go through to avoid giving straight answers to straight questions—than the Judge upon whom, unless he be an officer of exceptional and brilliant talents, they are lost. (*Hear, Hear*). A former Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, himself a Sessions Judge of large experience, and, therefore, able to speak with authority on the subject—I allude to the late Sir A. Rivers Thompson,—said in regard to Jurymen, that they were more scrupulous in accepting police evidence than the Judges were, and that it was quite right that it should be so. The law allows Sessions Judges to make references to the High Court if they differ from the verdict of a Jury. These references come up before the High Court, and the learned Judges of that Court have before them only the evidence recorded in English by the Sessions Judge, the evidence recorded in the Court of the Committing Magistrate and the Judge's charge. Though they may be men of brilliant talents, men of great experience, men of great conscientiousness, I still venture to think that it is impossible for them—human beings as they are—reading merely the dry bones of the evidence placed before them upon paper, to come to a correct conclusion as to whether the Judge was right or the Jury were right. (*Cheers*). If they heard the evidence given by the witnesses in their presence, their conclusion would no doubt be accepted as more satisfactory, and if they differed from the Jury it might be that the Jury were wrong, but under the present system how can that be done? How can it be said, that when they accept the opinion of the Sessions Judges, the Sessions Judges are right and the Jury wrong? And in many of these references, the High Courts have accepted the verdict of the Jury and differed from the recommendation of the Judge. (*Cheers*). The only ground for saying that the system of trial by Jury has failed is, as I understand, that the High Court has in some instances differed from them, and adopted the recommendation of the Sessions Judge. I have told you, it is impossible—regard being had to the limitation of human nature—to say with confidence, who was right and who was wrong; but assuming that the Jury were wrong in many instances, and that they had given improper verdicts, what is the consequence? A few more persons who would have been in jail are now free men. What then? Has there been any complaint on the part of the people of these seven districts, that they went about in fear of their lives, because by the obstinacy and perversity of Jurymen, accused persons who ought to have been condemned to death had been set free? (*Hear, Hear*). Did any one say, that he or she regarded the system with disfavour

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or dislike or fear? Had any one suggested, that the system should be abolished? I say emphatically, No! No complaint reached the Government from the people affected, that the system had failed. It is the overflowing desire on the part of the Government to do good to us that has been the cause of the withdrawal of this system. Save us from our well-wishers, say I. (*Loud Cheers*). I could have understood the action of Government if there had been any hue and cry in the country on the subject. I could have understood it, if any representation had come from those affected to the Government; but under the circumstances this bolt from the blue I do not understand and cannot appreciate. (*Loud Applause*). It is said that, trial by Jury is foreign to this country. We who have cherished our Panchayet system for generations to be told that trial by Jury is foreign to us, to be told so at the far end of the nineteenth century, why it is strange indeed! No, no, gentlemen—it was on our Panchayet system that Lord Cornwallis proceeded when in 1790 he ruled that we should have trial by Jury. It was on that system that Sir Thomas Munro based his regulation which his successor promulgated in 1827. It was on that system that the Bombay regulation on the subject was introduced, and when these regulations were codified in 1861, it was on that system the law was based. We must have the system extended to the whole country and not withdrawn from any part of it, and we must therefore join together and agitate on the subject from one end of India to the other, and say, that this notification, which has given rise to so much discontent, was not required, and that it should be withdrawn, and withdrawn as speedily as possible, and the policy of which it is the outcome reversed. (*Loud Applause*).

I am afraid gentlemen, I have detained you longer than I should have done. (*Cries of, "No, No, and go on!"*). I have but a few more words to say, and these I shall say as briefly as I can. I said at the outset, that the Congress movement has been a great success, but it behoved us all to make it even a greater success than it is. During the Jury agitation in Bengal I was greatly pained, more pained than I can describe, by one of the apologists of the Government saying openly in his paper, that the agitation against the Jury notification was of no account because it was only a "native" agitation and that no Europeans had joined it. As a matter of fact, I know from personal knowledge that a great many very respectable and independent gentlemen in Calcutta joined the movement and cordially sympathised with it. But supposing it had been otherwise? This same apologist has, day after day, pointed out that the withdrawal of trial by Jury, in these seven Bengal districts, in serious cases, does not in any way touch Europeans or European British Subjects. If he is right in this, it is a matter of no surprise that Europeans have not joined the movement. But because Europeans have not joined the movement, is a movement of the people of this country to be despised? Is our voice not to be listened to, because, forsooth, to that voice has not been added the voice of our European fellow-subjects? (*Hear, Hear, and Cheers*). We would welcome, welcome with open arms, all the support which we can get from our European fellow-subjects. I believe, that so far as the non-official Europeans are concerned, their interests and ours, in this country, are the same; we all desire that there should be a development of the resources of the country and that there should be enough for all who are here, whether for a time or in perpetuity. (*Hear, Hear*). But apart from that, why is our voice to be despised? It is we who feel the pinch; it is we who have to suffer, and when we cry out, it is said to us, "O! we cannot listen to you; yours is a contemptible and useless and a vile agitation, and we will not listen to you." Time was when we natives of the country agitated about any matter, with the help of non-official Europeans, the apologists of the Government used to say triumphantly, "this agitation is not the agitation of the natives of the country, but has been got up by a few discontented Europeans; don't listen to them, it is not their true voice; it is the voice of these Europeans." But now we are told, "don't listen to them, it is their own voice and not the voice of the Europeans." (*Shame*). It is sad that such reflections should be published by responsible journalists pretending to be in the confidence of our rulers. I hope and confidently trust that these are not the sentiments by which any administration in India is actuated. I hope and trust that when we make respectful representations to the Government, they will be considered on their own merits,

whether we are joined in our agitation by our European fellow-subjects or whether we stand by ourselves; and in order that these representations of ours, not only on the Jury question but on other questions which touch us, may succeed, it is necessary that we, in our Congress, should work and work with a will. It is not enough that you should come from long distances and be present at the annual sittings of the Congress. It is necessary, when you go back to your respective Provinces and districts, that you should display the same zeal and interest there. It has been the habit to leave the whole of the Congress work to the Secretary. We go back to our districts and sleep over it and leave the Secretary to do all he can for the business, in the shape of getting money, and then when it is time for the sessions to be held, we put on our best clothes, pack up our trunks and go. But that is not work. Let us all on our parts act zealously and make sacrifices: without money it is impossible to be successful in anything. Let each of us go back and help our respective Secretaries; let us try and get as much money as we can for the success of the cause. (*Hear, hear*).

You all know that our cause has the support of some distinguished men in England, who form, what is called the Congress Committee in England. They are willing to give us their services unstintingly, ungrudgingly, but you can not expect them to give their services to us at their own expense. You can not expect that the necessary expenses required for the hiring of rooms, for the printing of papers, for the despatch of telegrams and all other things necessary for carrying on the great cause, shall be paid out of their own pockets. We must do our best to support them; we must do our best to support the cause; and if we are true to ourselves, if we are true to our principles, if we are true to our country, be assured that in the fulness of time all that you require from the benign Government of the British nation, all that you seek from them to make you true citizens, will be given to you by that nation. (*Loud and prolonged applause*).

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji, *Officiating Joint General Secretary, (Calcutta, No. 188, in list)*.—I now request the Secretaries of the several Standing Congress Committees to hand in the lists of the names of those gentlemen who have been elected by the delegates of each circle to represent them on the Subjects Committee.

The lists having been given in, they were read out, and approved by the whole assembly. The following gentlemen were elected to the Subjects Committee:—

CALCUTTA CIRCLE	1.	MR. J. GHOSAL (No. 187)	..	..	(Calcutta.)
	2.	BABU TARAK NATH PALIT (No. 187)	..	..	do.
	3.	" NALIN BEHARI SARKAR (No. 183)	..	..	do.
	4.	" HERAMBA CHANDRA MAITRA (No. 179)	..	..	do.
	5.	" KALIPRASANNA KAVYAVISHARAD (No. 185)	..	..	do.
	6.	" KHITENDRA NATH TAGORE (No. 180)	..	..	do.
	7.	RAJ YATINDRA NATH CHAUDHRY (No. 189)	(24	Perghana.)	
	8.	BABU MOHIT CHANDRA BASU (No. 194)	..	..	do.
	9.	" ROMESH CHANDRA MANDAL (No. 209)	..	..	(Hooghly.)
	10.	" KESHAVA CHANDRA SADHU (No. 208)	..	..	do.
	11.	MR. K. B. MULLICK (No. 222)	..	..	do.
	12.	BABU TARAPADA BANERJEE (No. 195)	..	..	(Nudda.)
	13.	" HARI PRASAD CHATTERJEE (No. 196)	..	..	do.
	14.	" KALIGOPAL MAZOONDAR (No. 200)	..	..	(Jesore.)
	15.	" BENIBHUSAN ROY (No. 199)	..	..	(Khulna)
	16.	" HARDYAL NAG (No. 224)	..	..	(Tippera.)
	17.	" CHARUCHANDRA MITRA No 2. (No. 223)	..	..	do.
	18.	" BAIKUNTHA NATH SEN (No. 210)	..	..	(Berhampore.)
	19.	" BROJENDRA NATH SEAL (No. 211)	..	..	do.
	20.	" NAFAR DAS ROY (No. 214)	..	..	do.
	21.	" DHAN KRISHNA GHOSE (No. 220)	..	..	(Beerbhoom.)
	22.	MR. K. B. DUTT (No. 201)	..	..	(Midnapore)
	23.	BABU NAVA KUMAR MITRA (No. 204)	do.
	24.	" RADHAKATH CHANGAKOTI, (No. 227)	(Debrugarh.)

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	CALCUTTA CIRCLE—(contd.)	25. BABU LAKSHMINATH BEZBARUA (No. 226)	(Debrugarh.)
		26. " BHOLANATH BARUA (No. 225)	do.
	DACCA CIRCLE	1. " SARAT CHANDRA BASU (No. 239)	(Dacca)
		2. " HEM CHANDRA ROY (No. 191)	do.
		3. " ANATHBANDHU GUHA (No. 230)	(Mymensing.)
		4. " SRINATH RAI (No. 231)	do.
	FURREEDPORE CIRCLE	1. BABU GIRIJA SANKAR MAZOOMDAR (No. 240)	(Furreedpore.)
		2. " AMBIKA CHANDRA MAZOOMDAR (No. 241)	do.
	BARISAL CIRCLE	1. BABU HARA KANTA SEN (No. 248)	(Backerganj.)
	RUNGPORE CIRCLE	1. BABU KRISHNA KUMAR MITRA (No. 190)	(Rungpore.)
		2. " SATIS KAMAL SEN (No. 247)	do.
	DINAJPORE CIRCLE	1. BABU MADHAV CHANDRA CHATTERJEE (No. 245)	(Dinajpore.)
	PUBNA CIRCLE	1. BABU JNYANA GOVIND CHAKRAVARTI (No. 235)	(Assam.)
	BHAGALPORE CIRCLE	1. BABU PARVATICCHARAN DAS (No. 282)	(Purnea.)
		2. " SRIMOHAN THAKUR (No. 278)	(Bhagalpore.)
	CHOTA NAGPORE CIRCLE	1. BABU RADHAGOVIND CHAUDHRY (No. 255)	(Chota Nagpore.)
	BEHAR CIRCLE	1. BABU GURU PRASAD SEN (No. 259)	(Bankipore.)
		2. " SALIGRAM SING (No. 264)	do.
		3. " MAHABIR SAHAY (No. 263)	do.
		4. MAULVI ABDUL HAMID (No. 257)	do.
		5. BABU NUNDKISHORE LAL (No. 270)	(Gya.)
		6. " GADADHAR PRASAD (No. 261)	do.
	MOZUFFERPORE CIRCLE	1. BABU SORASICHURAN MITRA (No. 272)	(Mozufferpore.)
	BENARES CIRCLE	1. HON'BLE RAMEALI CHAUDHRY (No. 283)	(Benares.)
		2. MR. UPENDRA NATH BASU (No. 288)	do.
		3. BABU MOKSHADA DAS MITTRA (No. 287)	do.
		4. " ANNADA CHARAN DATTA (No. 292)	do.
		5. PUNDIT CHUNNU LAL (No. 295)	do.
		6. BABU BHOLANATH RAI (No. 299)	(Ghazipur.)
		7. " BENI PRASAD (No. 329)	(Mirzapur.)
		8. " SREE RAM (No. 318)	do.
		9. " MUKTESHWAR RAI (No. 309)	(Azamgarh.)
	N. W. P. CIRCLE	1. RAJA RAMPAL SINH (No. 334)	(Allahabad.)
		2. PANDIT SUNDER LAL (No. 335)	do.
		3. " MOTI LAL NEHRU (No. 339)	do.
		4. MR. D. BANERJI (No. 337)	do.
		5. PANDIT BALDEV RAM DAVE (No. 340)	do.
		6. BABU CHAROO CHUNDRAN MITTRA (No. 341)	do.
		7. PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA (No. 346)	do.
		8. BABU DURGA CHARAN BANERJEE (No. 374)	do.
		9. SYED'ABDUL RAOOF (No. 382)	do.
		10. MUNSHI SADRA-UD-DIN (No. 430)	do.
		11. PANDIT PRITHI NATH (No. 473)	(Cawnpore.)
		12. HAFIZ ABDUL RAHIM (No. 510)	(Aligarh.)
		13. PANDIT JAGAN NATH (No. 498)	(Agra.)
		14. MR. ALFRED NUNDY (No. 497)	do.
		15. BABU PRAHLAD SING (No. 520)	(Meerut.)
		16. " BRIJNANDAN PRASAD (No. 604)	(Moradabad.)
		17. " NARENDRA CHANDRA BOSE (No. 602)	do.
		18. " PREO NATH BANERJEE (No. 595)	(Bareilly.)
		19. PANDIT JWALA DUTT JOSHI (No. 598)	(Almorah.)
		20. " ANAND NARAIN (No. 528)	(Dehra Doon.)
		21. BABU BAIKUNTHANATH SARKAR (No. 590)	(Shahjahanpur.)

			Election of the Subjects Committee.
ODDH CIRCLE	1. BABU BANSI LAL SINH (No. 530)	(Lucknow.)	
	2. MR. BISHAN NARAIN DAR (No. 537)	do	
	3. " HAMID ALI KHAN (No. 533)	do	
	4. " BIPIN BEHARI BOSE (No. 545)	do	
	5. NAWAB ALI MAHOMED KHAN (No. 552)	do	
	6. BABU GUNGA PRASAD VARMA (No. 531)	do	
	7. PANDIT JAGAT NARAIN (No. 538)	do	
	8. BABU GOKUL CHAND (No. 577)	(Fyzabad.)	
	9. " RAMSARAN DAS (No. 574)	do	
	10. MUNSHI ALI HOSSEN SAHEB (No. 575)	do	
	11. " IMTIAZ ALI (No. 576)	do	
	12. BABU PITAM RAI (No. 569)	(Sitapur.)	
	13. MUNSHI MURLIDHAR (No. 571)	do	
	14. PANDIT SITAL PRASAD (No. 588)	(Kalakankar)	
PUNJAB CIRCLE	1. CAPTAIN A. BANON (No. 609)	(Lahore.)	
	2. LALA RAM CHAND (No. 607)	do	
	3. MR. N. GUPTA (No. 610)	do	
	4. LALA MURLI DHAR (No. 612)	(Umballa.)	
	5. " KANHAYA LAL (No. 615)	(Amritsar.)	
	6. MR. NUND KISHORE (No. 619)	do	
	7. " BULAKI RAM (No. 618)	do	
	8. DR. PARMANAND (No. 611)	do	
	9. MR. UMA SANKAR (No. 616)	do	
	10. BABA NARAIN SING (No. 617)	do	
	11. MAULVI UMRAO MIRZA HAIRAT (No. 621)	(Delhi.)	
	12. MR. RAGHUNATH DAS (No. 623)	do	
SHOLAPORE CIRCLE	1. MR. P. L. NAGPURKAR (No. 64)	(SHOLAPORE)	
	2. " D. B. CHAKRADEO (No. 63)	do	
SATARA CIRCLE	1. MR. BUEWANT SRIDHARA SAHASRABUDDHE (No. 70)	(Satara)	
	2. " R. P. KARANDIKAR (No. 69)	do	
AHMEDNAGAR CIRCLE	1. MR. B. B. NAGARKAR (No. 61)	(Ahmednagar)	
DECCAN CIRCLE	1. RAO BAHADUR VISHNU MORESWAR BHIDE (No. 85)	(Poona.)	
	2. MR. GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE (No. 82)	do	
	3. " KASHINATH GOVIND NATU (No. 93)	do	
	4. " MAHADEO BULLAL NAMJOSHI (No. 96)	do	
	5. " JANARDAN RAGHUNATH NIMEAR (No. 101)	do	
	6. " RAM CHANDRA KESHAV LIMAYE (No. 86)	do	
	7. " R. T. KIRTANE (No. 108)	do	
BOMBAY CIRCLE	1. MR. D. E. WACHA (No. 39)	(Bombay.)	
	2. " DAJI ABASI KHARE (No. 40)	do	
	3. " CHIMAN LAL H. SATAVAIK (No. 49)	do	
	4. DR. S. W. KANE (No. 41)	do	
	5. " M. G. DESHMUKH (No. 50)	do	
	6. MR. JAGANMOHAN DAS VRINDAVANDAS (No. 42)	do	
	7. " T. DE SOUZA (No. 54)	do	
SINDH.	1. RAO BAHADUR FISUMAL ZOKKI RAM (No. 60)	(Sindh.)	
BERAR CIRCLE	1. RAO SAHEB DEVA RAO VINAYAK (No. 134)	(Berar.)	
	2. MR. G. S. KHAPARDE (No. 130)	do	
	3. " R. N. MUDHOLKAR (No. 119)	do	
NAGPORE CIRCLE	1. MR. NARAYAN SWAMI NAIDU (No. 141)	(Nagpore Dn.)	
	2. " BHAGIRATH PRASAD (No. 139)	do	
	3. " HARI MAHADEO PANDIT (No. 144)	do	
	4. " LAXMAN GOBIND DESHARA (No. 169)	do	

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NAGPORE CIRCLE—(contd.)

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| 5. | Mr. K. V. JOSHI (No. 145) | (Nagpore.) |
| 6. | " RAM GULAM AVASTI (No. 138) | (Jubbulpore.) |
| 7. | " RAOJI GOVIND KHIRWARKAR (No. 160) | (Hoshangabad.) |
| 8. | " N. N. DE (No. 150) | (Bilaspur.) |
| 9. | " NUND LAL (No. 153) | do. |

MADRAS CIRCLE.

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|-----|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| 1. | RAI BAHADUR P. ANANDA CHARLU (No. 1) | (Madras.) |
| 2. | THE HON'BLE C. SANKARA NAJR (No. 2) | do. |
| 3. | MR. VIRARAGHAVA CHARIAR (No. 5) | do. |
| 4. | " V. RAGHAVACHARY S. (No. 7) | do. |
| 5. | " PETER PAUL PILLAY (No. 9) | do. |
| 6. | " V. JAGANNADHA SHASTRI (No. 15) | (Parvatipur) |
| 7. | " P. VENKAT RAO PANTALU (No. 14) | do. |
| 8. | " P. KESAVA PILLAY (No. 37) | (Gooty) |
| 9. | " S. VIRARAGHAVA IYER (No. 17) | (Palghat) |
| 10. | " C. ANNAMALAI MUDALIAR (No. 31) | (Bellary) |
| 11. | " C. VIJIARAGHAVA CHARIAR (No. 22) | (Salem) |
| 12. | " C. VENKATA CHARIAR (No. 21) | do. |
| 13. | " RAMASWAMY CHETTIAR (No. 26) | do. |
| 14. | " S. M. NARAIN SWAMY IYER (No. 10) | (Shivaganga) |
| 15. | " D. V. RAJAGOPALA CHARIAR (No. 30) | (Chittoor) |
| 16. | " V. VYATHI IYER (No. 27) | (Salem) |
| 17. | " NATARAJU IYER (No. 4) | (Madras) |
| 18. | " RAGHU RAM RAO (No. 12) | (Chingleput) |

Congratula-
tions to Mr.
Naoroji and
thanks to
Central
Finsbury.

THE PRESIDENT:—It has been suggested that you should authorize me to send in your name to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, a telegram congratulating him on his being elected a member of the House of Commons, and also thanking the electors of Central Finsbury for having elected him. (*Loud and enthusiastic cheers*). I shall do so in your name this evening. (*Cheers*).

The Congress will stand adjourned till 11 A. M. to-morrow.

The meeting broke up with three cheers for Her Majesty the Empress of India.

The Subjects Committee then met and sat until late in the evening. It met again on the following day, and sat for several hours.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Thursday, 29th December, 1892.

THE Congress reassembled at 1-30 P. M.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen,—This is the 29th of December, 1892. On this day eighty-three years ago, the Grand Old Man of England was born. Let me call for three cheers for Mr. Gladstone.

Three hearty cheers having been given.

THE PRESIDENT.—As we have done hitherto, I suppose I have your permission to send a telegram to Mr. Gladstone congratulating him on the eighty-third Anniversary of his birthday. (*Yes, Yes, and Cheers*).

The President then read out the following rules for the conduct of business at the sittings of the Congress :—

Rules for the Conduct of Business.

(a)—No one who is not a delegate will be allowed to address the Congress or vote on any matter.

(b)—Every delegate must address the assembly from the speaker's platform.

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

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

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

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

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

(h)—No other business shall be brought forward before the Congress until the subjects and resolutions approved by the Subjects Committee have been disposed of. But afterwards, if time permits, any delegate who shall have given notice in writing, at the commencement of the sitting, to the President, of his desire to have a particular subject discussed, or a definite resolution, which he sets forth, proposed, shall have a right to,

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and a delegate who at any time previous to rising shall have given such notice may, with the permission of the President, rise and ask the President to take the sense of the assembly as to whether such subject will be discussed. No speaking at this stage shall be allowed. The President will simply read out the subject and the proposed resolution, and make any such remarks as he considers essential, and take a vote of the assembly as to whether the subject shall or shall not be discussed. If the vote is in the affirmative, the proposer will then set forth the subject and the resolution he therein proposes, with such explanations as he considers necessary, and then, after due discussion, the question will be disposed of in the usual way. If the vote is in the negative, the subject shall be at once dropped.

THE PRESIDENT.—I now call upon Rai Bahadur Ananda Charlu to move the first Resolution :—

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RAI BAHADUR ANANDA CHARLU (*Madras, No. 1 in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I shall not begin with reading this amply worded proposition, as I fear that, when I finish reading it, I might be out of breath. Proceeding straight to the consideration of the measure to which the proposition relates, I must say that I fully share the profound regret, which is everywhere felt, at the absence in the Act itself of a clause, embodying the principle of representation, meant to be given by it. (*Cheers*). If such a clause existed in it, it would put it out of the power of narrow-minded men to deny the right as years elapse. (*Hear, Hear*). This is all the more to be regretted, because the mover of the Bill, Lord Cross, had himself made his object clear when he said that he meant "not only to give the Governor-General, the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors the sufficient assistance which they might require, but so as they might get the *best representatives of the people of the country*."

With an intention such as this presumably before him, it is difficult to see how the draftsman of the Bill managed not to insert it, unless he took his cue from the satirist who has said that language was given to man to hide his thoughts and not to express them. When, however, the Bill passed on to the House of Commons, all our hopes were fully revived when Mr. Gladstone spoke on it. A couple of lines from that great man's speech may be usefully cited here. Mr. Gladstone said: "I believe I am justified in looking forward not merely to a *nominal but to a real living representation of the people of India*." (*Hear, Hear and Cheers*). This declaration as to the scope of the Bill by Mr. Gladstone was assented to by the Under-Secretary who stood sponsor to it in the House of Commons. The words of Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords may be likewise quoted to show how he understood the aims of the Bill which is asked for. He said:—"If we are to do it, and if it has to be done, let us do it systematically. . . . taking care *that the machinery to be provided shall effect the purpose of giving representation, not to accidentally constituted bodies, not to small sections of the people here and there, but to the living strength and vital forces of the whole community of India*." (*Hear, Hear and cheers*).

When the Bill was passed into an Act, accompanied with these declarations and elucidations, and transmitted to the authorities here, our fears ought to cease; and the solution of such a course is perhaps this: that the authorities in England meant to give the authorities here an opportunity and a scope to inaugurate a truly liberal measure of reform and thereby earn credit and achieve a reputation. In this reasonable view we might well rest, hoping for the best. But certain utterances of His Excellency the Viceroy, during his recent tour, gave cause for some alarm and made it necessary for us to declare ourselves at this meeting of the Congress. (*Hear, Hear*). If the fears I have expressed prove ultimately that I have been an unfounded alarmist, I shall be glad to stand corrected. (*Cheers*). Since coming here I have not been able to speak to the delegates from the different parts of the country to see what particular method should be adopted in each particular place. But I think it right to put to you a test case for your anxious consideration. Take a city with four hundred thousand persons. Suppose, on a certain given standard of individual fitness, there are about four hundred and sixty men there, and thirty-two of them, on the ground of that standard, go into a Municipal Board. Would you hold that, in such a case, the possession of a franchise by only those thirty-two men is a real living representation as regards the four hundred thousand constituting, *ex hypothesi*, the

population of the city, or as regards even the four hundred and odd who are on a level of qualification with those thirty-two men? (*No, No.*) Yet such a course is threatened by what His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to say. I think we have a right to expect that, while the Government is at liberty to fix the standard of fitness ever so high as it thinks proper, after the standard is once set forth and enunciated, all persons on a level of qualification on that score must unquestionably possess the franchise as an *individual or personal franchise*. (*Loud and Prolonged applause*). Any thing short of it will be a perfect farce, if not a sham, and an unjustifiable injustice to the vast majority. (*Renewed cheers*). Another thing we have a right to expect is the denial of the franchise to mere voluntary bodies. When this was submitted to His Excellency, he gave an answer which showed that such a rule would, in his opinion, be an injustice to important special interests. I am afraid that this reply involves a confusion between voluntary bodies and special interests. No one denies or ought to deny that special interests should receive protection. But protection of such interests is one thing, and conferring the franchise on voluntary bodies is quite another thing. The two are not identical. They do not stand together. The former may be fully secured, without having recourse to the latter method. If instances of the kind I have brought to your notice exist—and not a few of them do exist—then I venture to assert that, in all such cases, there is not or cannot be any pretence of a real living representation; and that any scheme which admits of such cases would only prove the World's Grand Old Man to have been a false prophet; and, it would certainly not be in consonance even with Lord Salisbury's view of the situation. (*Loud Cheers*).

With these remarks I shall read the proposition which runs thus:—

That this Congress, while accepting in a loyal spirit the Indian Councils Act recently enacted by the Parliament of Great Britain, as explained by the present Prime Minister, with the assent of the then Under-Secretary of State for India,—that it is intended by it to give the people of India a real living representation in the Legislative Councils,—regrets that the Act itself does not, in terms, concede to the people the right of electing their own representatives to the Council, and hopes and expects that the rules, now being prepared under the Act, will be framed on the lines of Mr. Gladstone's declaration in the House of Commons, and will do adequate justice to the people of this country; further, that it prays that these rules may be published in the official Gazettes, like other proposed legislative measures, before being finally adopted. (Cheers).

BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEA, (*Calcutta, No. 188, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT, SISTER AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—In seconding this resolution I am reminded of the words, the memorable words, of the Member for India, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. (*Cheers*). In a remarkable communication, which he has addressed to you, Sir, as the Joint-General Secretary and to the President of the Reception Committee, he has made the remark that it is time that a new departure should be made in the Congress programme, and that we should begin a new cycle. To my mind there is nothing which affords a more conspicuous instance of your recognition of the advice, conveyed to you by our distinguished friend, than your election to the office of President, of the gentleman under whose auspices, the work of the first cycle was so happily begun. (*Cheers*). That cycle was a glorious one, fruitful of splendid results. God grant that the promises of the past may be accomplished in the present, and that the new cycle may prepare the way for the fulfilment of those hopes and aspirations which we are accustomed to identify with this grand and magnificent movement. (*Cheers*). But, gentlemen, there is a discordant note sounded in the camp of our opponents. (*Laughter*). We have been told that ours is a discredited movement; that our enthusiasm is on the wane; and a writer, improving on the situation, writing in one of the journals published in this place, was good enough the other day to tell his readers that this feeble and faulty organization was about to disappear, (*laughter*), and if it is at all to be remembered, it would be recalled to mind with a smile of contempt. (*Laughter*). Well, when I was reading that paragraph, a thought occurred to my mind, and I am sure the same thought must be passing through the minds of many of you within the sound of my voice. I said to myself that if our movement was a discredited movement, how came it to pass that so sapient a journalist should devote four columns of his ponderous artillery to the extermination of that which

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was naught, and to the condemnation of that which was beneath contempt? (*Loud cheers*). Prosecuting the same line of thought, it occurred to me that if our movement was so utterly discredited, so unworthy of mention, how was it that a late Viceroy, one of the astutest that ever sat on the Viceregal throne, honoured us with a great oration, on the eve of his retirement at the memorable St. Andrew's dinner at Calcutta? It also occurred to me as I was reading this passage to ask—how it was that Lord Lansdowne the other day, extended to us, the representatives of this discredited movement, the friendly hand of recognition? (*Cheers*). (Our movement to pass away, unhonoured and unmourned! Much more likely that this miserable rag of a newspaper will vanish into the inane, without a word of sorrow or regret. (*Applause*). This splendid organization to pass away unhonoured and unmourned! Why, it has left its foot-prints deep upon the fleeting sands of Time. It has become part and parcel of the history of Modern India. Will any body deny that this Indian Councils Act, which we are discussing at the present moment, is the outcome of our labours and of our self-sacrificing efforts? Who ever had heard of the expansion and reconstitution of the Legislative Councils before the Congress started the subject? (*Applause*). And within the life-time of a generation, we have obtained what may be regarded as the first instalment of reform in this direction, which it has cost other countries centuries of incessant toil and effort. And indeed, we may well be proud of what we have achieved in other directions. You appealed and agitated for the wider employment of your countrymen in the public service of the land; you prayed that the age for the open competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service be raised; you prayed that simultaneous examinations be held in India as well as in England. You have got the one, but not got the other. The other will come to you in its own good time. (*Cheers*). It is monstrous that our young men should be compelled to travel a distance of over ten thousand miles, and to pass a most difficult competitive examination, forsooth, for the inestimable boon of serving in their own country! (*Applause*). Did you ever hear of such monstrous injustice? Why, the people of Ceylon which is a Crown colony of England are better off. They have simultaneous examinations there for the higher appointments. But not only so, even Java, a Dutch colony, said to be a most misgoverned country, has this privilege which we in India do not possess. (*Hear, Hear and 'shame'*). Our rulers profess to be guided by the gracious terms of the Queen's Proclamation, which is the Magna Charta of our rights and privileges (*cheers*); and in that Proclamation there are these words of gracious promise:—"And it is our further will that so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race, creed or colour, be freely admitted into all offices, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, their ability and integrity duly to discharge." (*Hear Hear*). Mark also the memorable words of Lord Ripon in interpreting the Proclamation—words of righteous indignation against the meaning sought to be put upon that document by Sir James Stephen. I desire to commend these words not only to the members of this Congress, but to the enlightened and informed consciences of our rulers. Lord Ripon said upon that occasion: "Our power and influence rests upon the conviction of our good faith more than upon any other foundation, aye, more than upon the valour of our soldiers or the reputation of our arms." (*Cheers*.) What becomes of the Proclamation, what becomes of the generous words of our Sovereign, of the beneficent interpretation put upon them by her Viceroy, when viewed in the light of the proceedings of the Government of India? To tell the people of India that they are freely entitled to fill every office in the gift of the Crown, and that merit is to be the sole qualification, and then to point out to them that London is the only place, a place ten thousand miles distant, where these examinations are to be held, is to be guilty, if it were the case of an ordinary individual, of impudent and impertinent hypocrisy. (*Loud Cheers*). I presume there is to be one code of morality for individuals, another for Governments. I brush aside this cob-web of sophistry as truly unworthy of our rulers. As much for the maintenance of the honour of our Sovereign, and the credit and reputation of the English people, as for our own interests, we ought to agitate for simultaneous examinations being held in this country as well as in England. (*Cheers*).

There has been progress in all respects save one; and this leads me to that very unhappy Notification which has been issued in Bengal restricting the right of trial by Jury. Year after year in your Congresses you have been praying for the extension of the right of trial

by Jury: the Government answers your demand by restricting the right in Bengal. At one stroke of the pen, without any warning or explanation of any kind, we find this precious right filched away from us. [*A voice:—Question.*] It is a very important question and one intimately connected with the matter I am discussing, for if we had Representative Councils, I am perfectly certain we should have long before this brought the Government to book through the exercise of the right of interpellation, which our members would enjoy. Is it conceivable that if we had a reconstituted Council with the right of interpellation, the Government of Sir Charles Elliott could have withdrawn the system of trial by Jury without a protest from the Council, without a host of questions being put to him of an exceedingly unpleasant character? I think, therefore, it will be admitted that this is a matter which is relevant to the point I am discussing. I wish to say one word more, and that is this, that though this question concerns the people of Bengal alone, brother-delegates from Madras and Bombay, you must not lay the flattering unction to your souls that you will escape the fate which has overtaken us. If you have read the despatch which has recently been issued, you will find that the Government is at the present moment considering the propriety of withdrawing the trial of murder cases from the cognizance of juries in the Bombay districts, and of restricting the right of trial by Jury in the Madras Presidency, where, as you know, it has been extended to every district. Therefore, this is a question in which we are all deeply interested, the people of Bengal, the people of Madras and the people of Bombay, and we should stand shoulder to shoulder in safe-guarding the rights which have come down to us from the past, consecrated by the labours of those who have gone before us. (*Cheers*).

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In the resolution which has been entrusted to me, you express your regret that the Indian Councils Act does not come up to our expectations. Year after year we have been recording resolutions praying for the introduction of the representative element in the Councils and the expansion of their functions. Lord Dufferin despatched a minute to the Secretary of State in which he partly supported the views of the Congress and recommended the reconstitution of the Provincial Councils upon an elective basis. (*Hear, hear*). But what do we find has been done? As a matter of fact the representative element has not been recognized in the Act, but a clause has been inserted which is known as 'the Kimberley clause,' and which provides for the selection, but not the election, of representative members from various bodies. Great was the regret felt on the Liberal side of the House that the Bill did not provide for the recognition of the elective element. There was one gentleman, however, who raised a discordant note, and that was Mr. Maclean, the late member for Oldham. (*Hisses*). I think we may treat even Mr. Maclean with some little consideration. Mr. Maclean was pleased to tell the House that this Bill was nothing more or less than an offer to hand over the Empire to the control of the Baboos of Bengal. (*Laughter*). The Baboos of Bengal have never wanted anything of the kind. Their friends have never urged such a claim on their behalf. Mr. Maclean unfortunately forgot that what was intended for Bengal was intended for the rest of India as well (*cheers*), and he forgot also that in the year 1878, he spoke at a great meeting held in the town of Bombay, and that at that meeting he supported a resolution which provided for the reconstitution and the expansion of the Legislative Councils! Mr. Maclean may have changed his views. Possibly, Mr. Maclean is of the opinion that it is an old-fashioned practice to stick to one's principles. (*Laughter*). He may not think it necessary to be guided by the considerations of such a paltry morality. At any rate, he owes it to the public to offer some explanation with regard to this convenient change of front. But with the exception of Mr. Maclean and of that worthy Baronet, also from the Bombay Presidency, Sir Richard Temple, there was really no sort of opposition worthy of the name in the House of Commons, and the Bill passed amid what might be considered the unanimous approval of the House. But there was one utterance, a remarkable and a statesmanlike utterance, and that was from Mr. Gladstone in which he gave expression to those enlightened views upon which we base our right for a liberal interpretation of the Indian Councils Act. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). My friend has read an extract from Mr. Gladstone's speech, but I desire to quote two more passages in order to emphasize the demand which we now make for a generous construction of the Act. Mr. Gladstone observed:—

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"It is there that we stand upon solid ground, and Her Majesty's Government ought to understand that it will be regarded as a most grave disappointment, if, after all the assurances we have received that an attempt will be made to bring into operation this powerful engine of Government, there should not be some result such as we anticipate from their action. I do not speak of its amount: I speak more of its quality." (*Hear, hear and cheers*).

And again:—

"All these things induce us to look forward hopefully to a great future for India, and to expect that a real success will attend the genuine application, even though it may be a limited one, of the elective principle to the Government of that vast and almost immeasurable community." (*Renewed applause*).

Well, we appeal to Mr. Gladstone, and the illustrious leaders of the Liberal party, for the application of the elective principle to the constitution of the Councils, and I am sure that we will not appeal in vain. (*Prolonged cheers*). A party that is pledged to the principle of Home Rule in Ireland cannot but lend an indulgent ear to the aspirations of the people of India for the wider extension of Self-Government in this country. (*Loud applause*). Self-Government is the ordinance of nature, the dispensation of Divine Providence; it is the leaven of modern society; it is the cement which binds together the most distant families of the human race; it is of universal application; it transcends considerations of race, colour and creed. "Representative institutions," remarked Mr. Gladstone, in a great speech he made in the year 1892, "are consecrated possessions which in the counsels of Providence have been entrusted to the care and the guardianship of the English people." (*Loud applause*). We appeal to Mr. Gladstone, we appeal to his colleagues to admit us into this inestimable legacy of the Anglo-Saxon race. (*Prolonged cheering*). Wherever floats the flag of England, Self-Government is the order of the day. (*Hear, hear*). Wherever Englishmen have gathered together in their colonies, be they in the frigid zones of the north, or amid the blazing heat of the Equator, or in those distant tracts watered by the southern seas, Self-Government again is the order of the day. We are not Englishmen or men of English race or extraction, but we are British subjects, (*hear, hear and cheers*), the citizens of a great and free empire; we live under the protecting shadows of one of the noblest constitutions the world has ever seen. (*Applause*). The rights of Englishmen are ours, their privileges are ours, their constitution is ours. (*Loud applause*). But we are excluded from them. (*Cries of 'shame'*). How long is this exclusion to last? That will depend very much upon ourselves. If we are true to the traditions of the Congress, and loyal to the noble teachings of our great Chief (*loud cheers*), who, though not present in body, is present in spirit with us—if we live up to the exalted standard of his noble life—if we consecrate our efforts by the spirit of self-sacrifice, if we are unsparing in our pecuniary sacrifices, unremitting in our personal efforts, then the great God who presides over the destinies of fallen nations will in his own due time pour down upon us, in plentiful abundance, his choicest blessings; and though we may receive a temporary check, and the flag which we now hold aloft may droop from our sinking hands, I am confident that in the near future there will rise up others, who, more fortunately situated than ourselves, will carry that standard to victory, and establish in this luckless land those principles of liberty, which, while they will serve to weld together the diversified elements of our common nationality, will, at the same time, place the Empire of Britain in this country upon the only unchangeable basis upon which it can rest, viz., the love, the gratitude and the contentment of a vast and immeasurable population. (*Loud and prolonged cheers*).

RAJA RAM PAL SINII, (*Allahabad, No. 334, in list*) GENTLEMEN,—After listening to the illustrious gentleman whose eloquent language you have just heard, you will not be at all pleased with a speaker like me, who speaks in plain and broken English. But, gentlemen, I am sure that the righteousness and the importance of the cause which I advocate, and in behalf of which I now stand before you, will plead my excuse. I am only going to say what is right and just, and it is for this reason I now venture in all humility to stand before you. You know, Gentlemen, that I have been a traveller in foreign countries, and that I have probed the opinions of foreigners in regard to my country, my countrymen and our real interests; and I am sorry to

say that these people,—not only Englishman, but other Europeans and even Americans too, in fact, the world generally—have called you a degenerate race, a nation which cannot be compared to the least civilised community in Europe, because they say you do not show that spirit of independence which European gentlemen, as a rule, have, because the mass of your population do not possess that sturdy sense of self-respect and that love of liberty which would make them resent every wrong and injustice, and boldly claim their rights and privileges. And I must say that there is some truth in this indictment (*A voice "very little"*). But the indications of the growth of a new spirit which are everywhere visible now, will, I am sure, soon take away this reproach from our people. (*Hear, hear*). Then, gentlemen, you have been seeking a voice in the Legislative Councils of your country by loyal and respectful representations, and your critics have said that you will never get it until you express your wishes forcibly. But their views have been proved to be unsound. (*Hear, hear*). The English Government have listened to our prayers, and may the Government be blessed in that they have promised to give us a voice in the Legislative Councils of our country. (*Loud and prolonged cheers*). This right ought certainly to have been conferred upon us long ago in pursuance of Her Majesty's gracious Proclamation. (*Hear, hear*). But there seemed to be no hope of the promises of that Proclamation being fulfilled until the Congress, this happy child of the British administration (*cheers*), now eight years old, came into existence and made its voice heard. (*Renewed applause*). You must insist, gentlemen, still further, on the rights and privileges, which have been promised to you, as subjects of Her Majesty, the Queen of England and the Empress of India, (*Hear, hear and cheers*), being granted to you in their integrity, and you may be sure that they will be granted. (*Renewed applause*). Indeed, even Lord Lansdowne said the other day at Poona that your rights will be granted to you.

Gentlemen, the reason of my rising here is to caution you that when you receive the right of representation, you should take care not to return such members as have, as a rule, been hitherto appointed to the Legislative Councils, men who would merely hold up their hands when the Viceroy would hold up his, and keep them down, when the Viceroy would keep down his. (*Hear, hear*). Such men ought ever to be kept away from the Councils. (*Cheers*). But you should elect, gentlemen, men who should be able to think for themselves, and to speak out their minds freely. (*Hear, hear*). The duties of members of Legislative Councils, always responsible, are becoming more and more onerous day by day. The condition of the people is growing from bad to worse. (*Hear, hear*). The resources of the country are being drained week by week and year by year. It is becoming more and more necessary that Government should devise measures to check the growth of poverty, necessary as much for the stability and reputation of the British administration, as for the welfare of the people. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). It is true that we enjoy under this administration, the blessings of a general education; it is true that we enjoy security of life and property; it is true that we have facilities for travelling by rail such as never existed before; it is true that we have excellent postal and telegraph services. For all these, and numerous other similar blessings and benefits, we feel, and shall always feel, sincerely grateful to the British Government. (*Loud cheers*). But, gentlemen, it is also unfortunately too true that vast millions of Her Majesty's subjects in India are living from hand to mouth, and are eking out a most miserable existence on the verge of starvation. (*Cries of "shame," "shame"*).

The causes of this evil are manifest. The practical monopoly of all the high offices in the administration by foreigners, who do not make this country their home, and who spend the greater portion of their pay and pension in foreign lands; the monopoly of the foreign trade by foreign merchants, and the annual drain in the shape of Home charges, coupled with the heavy loss by exchange, must naturally make the country poor and the people miserable. (*Loud and prolonged cheers*). And in order, gentlemen, to press on the attention of Government, the urgent necessity of the reforms which we believe to be necessary to remedy this deplorable state of things, we require the presence in the Legislative Councils, of men who are acquainted with the condition of the country, and who would fearlessly represent the grievances of the people to Government, and plead that they may

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be considered in a truly earnest and paternal spirit, and, so far as may be possible, remedied. (*Cheers*).

Gentlemen, it has been said, and very well said, that a king who is loved by his subjects is better secured than one of whom they are afraid, like the Emperor of Russia, for instance (*Hear hear*); and therefore I feel certain that if our grievances had been properly represented to Her Majesty, the people of India would long since have been made happy, the gracious promises of Her Majesty's Proclamation would have been fulfilled, and there would have been greater sympathy between the rulers and the ruled. (*Cheers*). In conclusion, I earnestly hope that it will be impressed upon the Government that the reform and reconstitution of the Legislative Councils will be equally beneficial to Her Majesty's Government and to the people of this country. (*Loud applause*).

[Raja Ram Pal Singh then addressed the meeting in Urdu, much to the same effect.]

MR. M. B. NAMJUSHI, (*Poona, No. 96, in list*).—GENTLEMEN,—The resolution that I rise to support, you may well take it, is a self-supporting resolution, and one which hardly requires any observations from any one to commend it to your acceptance. However, for the purposes of the few observations that I am going to make, I have divided the resolution into four parts. The first part gives the history of the movement and the outcome of it; the second part expresses our regret, because the Act does not make any provision for the introduction of the elective principle into the re-constituted Legislative Councils; the third part expresses the hope that a liberal interpretation will be put upon the Act in framing rules to give effect to its provisions, and that the wishes of the nation will be fully met in that direction; and the last part makes a prayer, and the prayer is that the Government of India will be pleased to publish these rules before passing them finally, so that the public might have an opportunity of expressing their opinions regarding them, and judging for themselves how far their wishes are met by the rules. These are the four parts into which I divide the resolution for the purposes of the observations I have to address to you.

Now, gentlemen, we express regret, because in the case of permissive legislation, we are always dependent on the good will of the executive. (*Hear, hear*.) This is what we do not want. (*Cheers*). The Bombay Act of 1878 deals with the subject of Local Self-Government, and it remained a dead letter till 1883, (*cries of 'shame'*) when it pleased the Government to introduce the elective principle into the constitution of the Municipalities. The Local Government did nothing like it until it was pressed to do so by the higher authorities. (*'Shame'*). We wish that this may not be the case here, (*Cheers*) and we, therefore, regret that the measure which has been passed does not provide for the certain introduction of the elective principle into the constitution of our Councils. (*Cheers*). However, the thing has been done (and we have hardly time to speak upon it), and we, therefore, dispose of that part of the subject by the expression of our regret, and rely upon the Act as it is, and upon the assurances given by the leading statesmen of the day in the House of Commons, for the fulfilment of our desires. And, gentlemen, I have not the least doubt that if the Government give effect to those assurances, our purpose will be served. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). Statesmen in Parliament have declared that the intentions of the Legislature should be met most liberally by the Government, and we only express the hope that they will be so met. And, lastly, we ask that the Government will publish the rules, which they have been authorised to frame under the Act, before passing them finally. These rules are, as it were, a secondary piece of legislation. The Parliament passed the Act, and has left it to the Local Government to pass rules under the Act. The Parliament thus took the Government here into its confidence, and it is but just and reasonable that the Government, in its turn, should take the public into its confidence. (*Cheers*). The benefits of such a course are too obvious to require any mention. Under Lord Ripon's Government executive orders were issued requiring that rules framed under a particular Act should be published, so that the public might have an opportunity of making suggestions regarding them. We only require the Government to follow the instructions laid down by Lord Ripon, and as I believe that the

sympathies of the present Government are with us, I hope and trust that they will be pleased to grant this our very reasonable prayer. (*Loud Cheers*).

MR. NARAYAN SWAMI NAYADU (*Nagpore, No. 141, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—In supporting the resolution so ably put forward by my learned friend Mr. Ananda Charlu, and so well supported by my friend Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, I think it will be unnecessarily taking up your time to add anything more in the shape of arguments upon the subject. The resolution simply states what we expected and in what we feel disappointed, and it also expresses the hope that the Government of India will do what they ought to do unasked. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). I believe, gentlemen, that it was under the dispensation of a benign Providence that India was placed in such close relationship with the British Empire, the greatest empire that the world has ever seen. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). India was once in the zenith of civilisation, but time and circumstances brought about her downfall. And it seems it was with a view to restore her to her former high position that the Almighty Providence entrusted the destinies of this country to our Aryan brethren of the West. (*Cheers*). I call Englishmen our Aryan brethren, because they belong to the Aryan race. (*Hear, hear*). It behoves Englishmen that they should well discharge the duties so solemnly imposed upon them by the Great Providence. They have educated us, and opened to us the rich stores of the noble literature of their country. The result of that education is that a large number of our brethren here are as enlightened and as well educated as Englishmen are. They are occupying leading positions as lawyers, doctors, engineers, and so on in the different walks of life open to them. (*Hear, hear*). We naturally desire now that our English brethren should enable us to rise to the same position as they occupy by conferring upon us all those inestimable political privileges that they themselves enjoy. (*Cheers*). They ought to see, and see with becoming pride, that India is not now what it was fifty years ago; that, thanks to the fostering influences of their own administration, we have made great progress in education and enlightenment, and have learnt to appreciate what our rights are and what our duties are to our fellowmen, to our sovereign and to our country. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). They ought to give us an opportunity now to exercise those rights and to perform those duties, that we may be able to promote our common welfare. (*Cheers*). Our request is a very moderate and simple one. We say that the people ought to have a voice in the framing of the laws which are to govern them. We say that there should be a real representation of the people in the Legislative Councils of the country, based on the principle of election. We are convinced that this is absolutely necessary in the interests both of the people and the Government. (*Loud cheers*). We had expected that provision would be made for such representation in the Councils Act recently passed by Parliament. And we were very sorry to see that no such provision was made but that the matter was left in the hands of the executive administration. The solemn assurances given by the Under-Secretary of State for India, coupled with the most important utterance of Mr. Gladstone, to which reference has already been made, have inspired us, however, with the hope that an honest and earnest effort will be made to secure by the rules to be framed under the Act, a living representation of the people in the Councils. The Government are indeed bound to frame such rules as will secure that object. This they can only do by recognising the principle of election in those rules, in conformity with the views of Mr. Gladstone and those who agreed with him. And I earnestly hope that the Government will do this, and thereby make the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils a source of real benefit to the country. (*Cheers*). I hope you will all agree with me in thinking that this resolution has been framed in such a manner as to meet with your unanimous approval, and I commend it confidently to your acceptance. (*Loud cheers*).

MR. UMA SHUNKAR, (*Lahore, No. 616, in list*).—GENTLEMEN,—After hearing so many eloquent speakers who have preceded me, it would have been better for me to keep quiet, as I do not think that anything has been left for me to touch upon. But the request of my fellow delegates of the town I come from, impels me to say a few words to you. I come from Amritsar, the sacred and religious city of the Sikhs. (*Hear, hear*). Now none of you can say that the Sikhs have not proved themselves to be the most loyal subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen by their devotion to her. (*Cheers*). And, gentlemen, they

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Resolution I. desire the reform that you advocate in this resolution as much as others do, because they believe it will conduce to the good both of the Government and the people. (*Loud Cheers.*)

Reform of the Legislative Councils. Gentlemen, the resolution that I have come here to support is like the request of an intelligent young man who having passed his preliminary examination, goes to his parents and asks for text books of a higher class. One would expect that the parents will be delighted to see the progress the young man has made, and gladly supply him with such books as he requires. But what would be thought of those parents who would refuse to give him the books he needs, and give him instead books of an inferior character, too ill-suited to his advanced mental capacity? (*Cheers.*) Can any one say that the reform that the condition of the country demands, and that we have so long and so persistently been praying for, has been granted to us? ('No,' 'none.') And is it not a matter of supreme regret that it has not been granted? ('Yes,' 'yes,' and *cheers.*) However, gentlemen, we need not yet despair. Our object can to a great extent be gained if the rules which are to be framed under the Act, be made in the spirit of Mr. Gladstone's declarations in the House of Commons. And I hope, and hope with confidence, that they will be so framed (*loud cheers*), and that the reputation of our Government for desiring and promoting the advancement of the Indian people will not only be maintained but enhanced. (*Renewed applause.*) With these few words, I heartily support the resolution, and hope you will all support me. (*Loud Cheers.*)

HAFIZ MUHAMMAD ABDUL RAHEEM, (*Aligarh, No. 510, in list.*)—GENTLEMEN,—As called upon by our worthy President, I rise to support this resolution with pleasure. I shall first translate it for the sake of those who do not know English. (The speaker, who spoke in Urdu, here stated the purport of the resolution and then proceeded as follows:) Gentlemen, you have heard what the resolution says. It embraces many points. My predecessors have fully dealt with each and all of them. I wish to say a few words in respect of only two of them.

The first point is as to why we express regret at the fact that the Act as passed by Parliament, does not, in terms, concede to the people the right of electing their own representatives to the Councils, but leaves it to the Governor-General in Council, if he so please, to make from time to time regulations as to the conditions under which such nominations, or any of them, shall be made, and to prescribe the manner in which such regulations shall be carried into effect. Gentlemen, the introduction of the elective principle in the constitution of our Councils, was and is the most essential part of the reform we have been contending for for so many years. (*Hear, hear.*) We had expected that Parliament would recognise that principle in the Act in clear and unmistakable terms. But instead of doing that, it has left the matter in the hands of the Government of India. We have no guarantee that the discretion so vested in the Government would be wisely and liberally exercised, none even that it will not be abused (*Hear, hear and cheers.*) Some of our administrators have no doubt been very liberal and far-seeing statesmen (*Hear, hear.*) But there are others among them who are illiberal and short-sighted. A spirit of retrogression seems to have taken possession of their minds and seems to be guiding their actions. Far from desiring to extend liberty and to secure fresh privileges to the people, they seem to delight in curtailing and restricting what little the people enjoy ('*Shame*'). The present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal affords us an instance. Sir Charles Elliot is a Civilian of these Provinces. He began his career here. There is a great deal of difference between the education and the ideas of liberty which education brings, which prevail in these Provinces and those in Bengal. When Sir Charles Elliot came to be the Lieutenant-Governor of the Lower Provinces, he did not probably like the liberty and the privileges enjoyed by the people there, and consequently commenced attacks on them in various forms and ways. One of the deadliest of such attacks was the one he hurled at the system of trial by jury, which had been in force there for the last thirty years (*Cries of 'shame,' 'shame'*), and had been spoken well of by many preceding Lieutenant-Governors! Sir Charles Elliot abolished that system by one stroke of his pen! ('*Shame,' 'shame'*'). Section 269 of the Code of Criminal Procedure gives a discretionary power to the Lieutenant-Governor to extend or withdraw the system of trial by jury wherever and whenever he may think fit to do so. And Sir Charles Elliot has exercised that discretion, with the sanction of the Government of

India, in a manner which has shocked the whole thoughtful population of India (*Cheers*). If the right of trial by jury had been secured to the people by the provision of the law, it would have been beyond the power of a tyrannically disposed Lieutenant-Governor like Sir Charles Elliot to deprive them of it after they had enjoyed it for 30 long years, in the manner in which he has done it (*Hear, hear and cheers*). We regret that the provisions of the Councils Act do not secure to the people the right of electing their representatives to the Council, but merely empower the Governor-General in Council to introduce from time to time such rules as he may think fit for the nomination of members to the Council, because we fear that if there happen to be a Governor-General as despotically inclined as Sir Charles Elliot, he might by one stroke of his pen, at any time abrogate or suspend the regulations that may be in force for the election of members, supposing that such regulations have been introduced. (*Loud and prolonged applause*).

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The second point to which I wish to draw your attention is as to why this resolution contains a prayer that the rules that are at present being framed under the Act may be first published as draft rules before being confirmed and enforced. It is the recognised practice of all civilised Governments, and of the British Government in India as well, that they publish the draft of every proposed enactment or rule which is likely to affect the public before it is passed, in order to afford the public an opportunity to offer such suggestions or criticisms upon them as they may deem fit to make. Even Municipal bye-laws which affect only a small local area are laid before the public before they are confirmed. (*Hear, hear*). The rules and regulations relating to the nomination of members to the Legislative Councils will affect the whole of this vast country. Both reason and justice therefore make it all the more necessary that they should be published, and the public invited to express their opinion regarding them, before they are finally sanctioned. (*Loud Cheers*). If this wise course is not adopted, and the rules are flung all of a sudden upon the people, and fail to meet their just demands, we shall have no option left to us but to prefer objections to them both here and in England, and send up petitions to Parliament until we have got them revised and brought into harmony with our reasonable aspirations and desires. (*Cheers*). If for no other reason, I hope the Government of India will publish the draft rules for this one reason alone. (*Cheers*). With these few remarks, I heartily support this resolution. (*Loud cheers*).

MOULVI WAHABUDDIN (*Moradabad, No. 606, in list*).—GENTLEMEN,—After so many speakers have spoken, it is superfluous for any other person to rise and say anything in support of the resolution now before you. But I have only a few remarks to offer, and I hope you will allow me to do so. You know, gentlemen, that this Councils Act has been passed after thirty years. The first Act was passed in 1861; and it is now in 1891 (1892) that this second Act has been passed, which is no doubt the direct outcome of the agitation of the National Congress. (*Cheers*). In criticising the provisions of this Act, however, we should not forget that the art of administration is a very difficult one. (*Hear, hear*). My predecessors have spoken in a very despairing tone of the possible results of this Act. I agree to some extent with them. But I hope for far better results. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). I base my hope on the fact that the British Government both in this country and in England, pride themselves upon this that they are always open to conviction, and are ever willing to modify their opinions whenever they find that they are mistaken, and also willing to adopt what may be shown to be most acceptable to the nation at large. (*Hear, hear*). The British Empire is the most extensive empire the world has yet seen. (*Hear, hear*). And it is at the same time so powerful that it can most gracefully make concessions to the reasonable wishes of its people, and thereby strengthen the bonds of their attachment to it. (*Loud cheers*). And I fully believe that the Government will concede to us, slowly it may be but most surely, all that is reasonable and feasible in our demands. (*Loud cheers*). Now we have been agitating for the reform of the Legislative Councils for eight years. Throughout the length and breadth of India, in every hamlet and house-hold, we have asked for some reform which will secure to us a voice in our Legislative Councils. And I am glad to find that our prayers have at last been listened to. (*Cheers*).

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Lord Lansdowne's speeches at Madras and Poona leave no doubt in my mind that our requests will soon be granted, and I earnestly hope they will be granted. (*Cheers*). For surely nothing could be more injurious to the British administration, than that an impression should go abroad that the promises held out by His Excellency are not to be carried out, and that the British Government is not willing to concede to the reasonable wishes of its people. (*Cheers*). It would also be deeply to be regretted if the prayers of nearly thirty crores of people who have, with folded hands, been praying that a change should be made in the law in respect of the constitution of the Legislative Councils, should be disregarded by Government. (*Cheers*). I would say that if an impression once goes abroad that the Government deliberately ignore the united wishes of the people, it would not at all be creditable to the British Government. (*Loud cheers*). I therefore hope and trust that the promises held out by Lord Lansdowne will soon be fulfilled and that the wishes of the nation will be fully satisfied. (*Loud cheers*).

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

Mr. G. K. GOKHALE (*Poona, No. 82, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The proposition which I have to move for your adoption is as follows:—

"That this Congress hereby places on record its deep regret at the resolution of the Government of India on the Report of the Public Service Commission, in that—

- (a) Whereas, if the recommendations of the Public Service Commission had been carried out in their integrity, the posts proposed to be detached from the schedule of the Statute of 1861 would have formed part of an organised Service, specially reserved for the Natives of India, the resolution of Government leaves these posts altogether isolated, to which appointment can be made only under the Statute of 1870;
- (b) Whereas, 108 appointments were recommended by the Public Service Commission for the Provincial Service, 93 such appointments only have actually been thrown open to that Service: the number to be allotted to Assam not having been yet announced;
- (c) Whereas, a membership of the Board of Revenue and a Commissionership of a division were recommended for the Province of Bengal and some other Provinces, the Government has not given effect to this resolution;
- (d) Whereas, one-third of the Judgeships were recommended to be thrown open to the Provincial Service, only one-fifth have been so thrown open.

And this Congress, again, distinctly puts on record its opinion that full justice will never be done to the people of this country, until the open competitive examination for the Civil Service of India is held simultaneously in England and in India.

Really, gentlemen, if ever a mountain was in labor and brought forth a mouse, it was in the present instance of the work of the Public Service Commission. (*Cheers*). Those of you who may remember the loud flourish of trumpets with which this Commission was heralded into being, will easily understand what I say. And we of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha here especially remember with what tremendous indignation and excitement Lord Dufferin spoke to us at Poona in 1887 about the way in which our Bengal brethren were predicting all sorts of evil from the appointment of the Commission. (*Hear, hear*). We, however, now find that the instinctive manner in which our countrymen of Bengal seemed to shrink from that Commission, has been more than justified. Gentlemen, the Commission was appointed to devise a scheme which might reasonably be expected to possess the necessary elements of finality and to do full justice to the claims of the people of this country for their higher and more extensive employment in the public service. But what is the result? Have we been granted higher and more extensive employment? ('No,' 'no'). You will find upon a careful consideration of the subject, that we have not merely not gained anything, but we have been actually put back considerably. (*Cries of 'shame'*). Just consider where we were before the appointment of this Commission. Of course, there was the Statute of 1861, which had reserved certain posts for those alone who would pass the London examination, but under the rules of 1879, one-sixth of the whole recruitment was secured

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to natives of India. Mark, one-sixth of the whole recruitment was secured and not one-sixth of the reserved posts only, as the Government of India and the Commission have tried to assume. (*Hear, hear*). There is much difference between one-sixth of the total recruitment and one-sixth of the reserved schedule posts. There are only about 600 scheduled posts. But over and above these, about 150 other posts are generally held by Covenanted Civilians. Thus there are altogether about 750 posts which are held by Covenanted Civilians in this country. Gentlemen, remember that I am taking the figures which the Government of India themselves have supplied, in their reply to a representation from the Indian Association of Calcutta, and not the higher ones given by the Commission in its report. Well, under the rules of 1879, if full effect had been given to them, we should, in the long run, have had one-sixth of these 750 posts and not merely one-sixth of the 600 reserved by the Act of 1861. (*Hear, hear*). Gentlemen, I grieve to say that in regard to this question of one-sixth, the Commission itself has written in a very misleading manner. In recommending that 108 posts should be detached from the schedule of the Act of 1861, the Commission has gravely stated that the number is greater than the one to which we were entitled under the rules of 1879. Of course, the posts reserved by the Act of 1861 are only 600, and one-sixth of them, *i. e.*, 100 is undoubtedly less than 108. But it is simply astonishing that the Commission should have ignored the fact that the rules of 1879 had secured to us one-sixth of the annual recruitment, and this recruitment takes place, not for the 600 reserved posts only, but for the 750 reserved and unreserved posts which are generally held by Covenanted Civilians. Thus, if full effect had been given to the rules of 1879, about 125 posts, usually held by members of the Covenanted Service, would have, in the long run, been held by Statutory Civilians. And when, therefore, the Commission recommended the setting apart of 108 posts only, it did, beyond a shadow of doubt, recommend a number that was smaller than that which was secured to us by the rules of 1879. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). Thus did the Commission discharge the duty entrusted to it, of doing full justice to the claims of the people of this country to *higher and more extended employment* in the higher grades of the public service! ('*Shame*', '*shame*').

Gentlemen, you now see what our position was before the appointment of the Commission. Next let us look at what the Commission proposed for us. The Commission proposed that in place of the posts secured to us by the rules of 1879, 108 posts from the schedule of the Act of 1861 should be set apart for us. Well, this was giving us 108 in the place of our 125, but there was one good feature about the Commission's recommendation. The Commission had recommended that these 108 posts should be detached from the schedule of the Act of 1861 by Parliamentary legislation, and should then be incorporated into the Provincial Service which the Commission had proposed to create. That service practically was to be exclusively for the natives of this country, while the Imperial service was intended for those who passed the examination in London. If this recommendation of the Commission had been carried out, these 108 posts would have formed part of the Provincial Service. The Secretary of State was, however, afraid of facing Parliament. Lord Cross felt that if he took the matter before the House of Commons, inconvenient questions might be raised, and his own hands, to some extent, forced, because at that time our high-souled and devoted champion, Mr. Charles Bradlaugh (*loud cheers*), was alive, and he would certainly have seen that some justice at least was done to the people of India. It was necessary, therefore, to avoid Parliamentary legislation, and this choice being made the subsequent course of the Secretary of State was clear. And the position now is this:—Government has retained the Statutes of 1861 and 1870, but the rules of 1879 framed under the Act of 1870, have been abolished, and the 108 posts which the Commission proposed to detach from the schedule of the Statute of 1861 by *Parliamentary legislation* remain in that schedule. And the Government of India now proposes to place instead about 93 or 94, out of the posts reserved in the schedule, on a separate list, and make appointments to them, if it thinks that competent natives are available, under the Act of 1870. (*Cries of 'shame'*). Gentlemen, if the scheme of the Commission had been adopted, the schedule of the Act of 1861 would itself have been curtailed by Parliamentary enactment, and the posts cut off, *i. e.*, 108 in number, would have formed part of the Provincial Service. But by avoiding Parliamentary legislation, these posts

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—and even their number has been reduced from 108 to 93 or 94—have now been left hanging alone and unconnected between the two services, the Civil Service of India and the Provincial Service, and appointments to them would only be special appointments under the Act of 1870. This leaves a large measure of discretion to Government which, I am not sure, will not be abused. (*Cheers.*) Then, Gentlemen, you have to remember that the Secretary of State has already decided that appointments made under the Act of 1870 are made to single posts only and do not form part of an organized service. Indeed, when the Commission made its recommendation about the 108 posts, one of its chief arguments in favour of its scheme was that by it the natives would be great gainers, inasmuch as the posts detached from the schedule of the Statute of 1861 would form part of an organized service. The distinction between appointments to specific posts and appointments to posts forming part of an organized service was thus stated by the Commission:—"Membership in an organized service ensures a more permanent status and involves more certain prospects than if appointment is made to a particular post only and every step of further promotion requires a fresh exercise of the power of appointment under the Statute. In the former case, the merit and ability required as a condition of first appointment are, in the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, presumed for purposes of subsequent promotions; in the latter case, they have to be proved afresh at each step." When a person is a member of an organized service Government has to prove his incapacity before he is passed over; while when he holds a specific appointment only, such as are conferred under the Act of 1870, it is for *him* to prove that he deserves to be promoted. (*Hear, hear.*)

Thus if the 108 or rather 93 appointments had been thrown into the Provincial Service, we should have had a right to all those appointments and should have got them all, unless the Government were able to prove that there was not a single individual amongst us natives of India fit for any of them. But now we have ourselves to prove our fitness, in a manner satisfactory to Government, before we get them. Gentlemen, you will thus see that if the scheme of the Commission had been adopted, the Government would have had to prove our incompetency in each case before they could be in a position to appoint a Covenanted Civilian to any of these posts. This means an important difference. The grievance is a very serious one, and it is therefore only proper that it should occupy the foremost position in this resolution. (*Cheers.*)

The second part of the resolution is one which you can very easily understand, and I shall not therefore detain you more than a moment in speaking upon it. It states that while the Commission recommended 108 appointments to be given to us, the Government has only given 93, or, including 2 or 3 appointments for Assam, about 96. Thus the number recommended by the Commission has been considerably reduced, and the quality also of the appointments has been lowered, inasmuch as the highest posts recommended by the Commission have been withheld by Government. (*Cries of 'shame'*). To sum up our complaints in this matter, we find that even the retrograde recommendations of the Commission have been deprived by the Government of India of whatever beneficent character they possessed; that the number and quality of the posts proposed to be detached by the Commission from the schedule to the Statute of 1861 have been reduced; and that a large and perilous measure of discretion has been reserved by Government to itself which is almost sure to be abused. And all this as the outcome of the labours of a Commission solemnly appointed to do full justice to our claims for larger and more extensive employment in the higher grades of the public service! (*Cries of 'shame'*).

The last part of the resolution deals with the question of simultaneous examinations. I do not wish to say much on this question, partly because I can say very little on this subject that may appear new to you, and partly because I have been anticipated in my observations by my friend Babu Surendra Nath Banerji, who has stated the case with his usual eloquence and vigour. But I will say this, that, so far back as the year 1860, a Committee of the Indian Office did actually recommend the holding of simultaneous examinations as the only way to adequately fulfil the pledges that have been from time to time given to the people of this country by Government in this matter. (*Hear, hear.*)

Gentlemen, in those days the consciences of our rulers were not so elastic as they have now become. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). The Committee of the India Office felt that though Government had been repeatedly promising that no distinction would be made among Her Majesty's subjects on the ground of race, colour or creed, yet, practically, for years together they shut us out from the Civil Service of our own country. The Committee therefore unanimously recommended the holding of simultaneous examinations in England and India. (*Hear, hear*). Gentlemen, the value of that recommendation of the Committee was further enhanced by the fact that it was made only three years after that terrible event, the Mutiny of 1857. There is a point in that, for if ever a policy of distrust would have been justified, it would have been so at that time! (*Hear, hear*). And yet what the Committee of the India Office recommended as necessary in 1860, the Public Service Commission of 1886 chose to regard as unsafe and dangerous. ('*Shame*'). Theoretically, of course, there is no inequality, but as pointed out by Babu Surendra Nath Banerji, though we are told that we are at liberty to enter the Civil Service, if we can, when we want to enter, we are asked to seek a door which stands at a distance of ten thousand miles from this country. And thus practically what they give us with one hand they take away by the other. (*Cries of 'shame'*).

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Gentlemen, I must not take up more of your time, but I will only say one word in regard to the promises which have so often been made to us in this matter. So far back as 1833, the Parliament of England deliberately declared that as far as admission to the Public Service of India was concerned, no obstacles would be placed in the path of natives on the score of race, creed or color. That declaration was further emphasised in the great Proclamation of 1858. And if these solemn promises are to be fulfilled, there is only one way in which that can be done, and that is by holding simultaneous examinations here and in England. (*Cheers*). We might for the present be prepared even to accept some limitations. We might, for instance, go in for the compromise suggested by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in his evidence before the Public Service Commission, that the annual recruitment should be half of natives and half of Europeans. Personally, I may go further and say that natives who pass in India should be compelled to reside for two years at some English University. But, so long as we are not examined here, it is idle to say that because the competitive examination is the same, therefore natives and Europeans are placed on a footing of equality. (*Cheers*). Unfortunately the fact cannot be gainsaid, that of late our rulers have been showing a disposition to regret the promises given us in the past; and I should not be surprised if they one day turned round and said, that these promises were never intended to be carried out. In that case, I say, it would be well for them to openly and publicly fling into flames all these promises and pledges as so much waste paper, and tell us once for all, that after all we are a conquered people and can have no rights or privileges. (*Loud cheers*).

That the Government has, of late, been pursuing a policy of retrogression is clear to every one. Turn whichever way we may, we find that a change, and a change for the worse, is coming over the spirit of the Government. Whether you consider the Jury Notification in Bengal, or the curtailment of educational grants, or the treatment accorded to Municipalities, you cannot help feeling that Government is treating us with increasing jealousy and distrust every day. And unless this regime of distrust is soon changed, unless the policy of Government is inspired by more sympathetic feelings, darker days cannot but be in store for this poor country. (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, it is not difficult to understand why this change of spirit has come upon the Government. Indeed the reason was eloquently given expression to by Mr. Pherozeshah Mehta at the last Bombay Provincial Conference. Mr. Mehta said that it was all very well for the rulers to talk of raising the subject to the level of the ruler, but when the subject began to press close, uncomfortably close, the temptation to kick back a little was irresistible.

Gentlemen, in the midst of this dark and dismal situation, there is only one relieving feature. It is the election of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji to Parliament. (*Cheers*). You know what Mr. Dadabhai has said in his letter to the President, that he has spent the greater portion of his past life in efforts to secure, on the part of the rulers, a better recognition

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of the claims of Natives to admission into the higher grades of the public service in India, and in the House of Commons he intends to do what he can in regard to this affair. Let us, therefore, hope that through the exertions of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and through the exertions of English friends, and through our own exertions, a change will soon be brought about in the present unsympathetic policy of the Government of India (*Cheers*); and the Government of India can give us no better earnest of such a change of spirit than a reconsideration and modification of its recent unjust and unsatisfactory orders relating to the Report of the Public Service Commission. (*Loud applause*).

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA, (*Allahabad, No. 346 in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I rise to second this resolution more as a matter of form than of necessity; because, in the first place, the subject has been discussed very fully in previous Congresses, and, in the second place, the very lucid speech of my esteemed friend Mr. Gokhale, renders it unnecessary for me to offer any further remarks to show the reasonableness of the proposition before you. If you look back at the arguments addressed to you in previous Congresses, you will see that the worst apprehensions which were expressed regarding the results of the Public Service Commission, have been realised, and that very few of the recommendations which tended to our benefit have been accepted. (*'Shame'*). It is really a matter for deep regret that it has been so. It cannot but pain us, people of India, to find that though we have been agitating for the last thirty years for an adequate share of employment in the public service of our country, and though our claims to such share have been repeatedly recognised in the most solemn manner by the Queen and Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, we are not up to this time allowed a free and fair scope in the matter of that service. (*Cheers*). Acts of Parliament and the Proclamation of the Queen have laid it down that Natives of India will be freely admitted to every post the duties of which they may, by their integrity and ability, be able to discharge. But in actual practice their claims are deliberately and shamelessly ignored, and Europeans are pitchforked into places of emolument which Indians are by their ability and character fully qualified to fill. (*Cries of 'shame' and loud cheers*). This, gentlemen, has become a question of the most serious importance. It is one in which the most vital interests of the people are involved. We are not prompted to ask for a more extensive employment of our countrymen in the public service, simply for the pleasure of seeing them there. If our country were not being drained of its money year after year by the inordinate employment of persons whose home it is not, and who would not make it their home, (*hear, hear*), we would never have given such painfully earnest attention to the matter as we are now giving. (*Loud cheers*). But this ceaseless drain is making India every day poorer and poorer, and it is the duty of every well-wisher of the country to endeavour to stop or check it, as best he can. (*Cheers*).

It is hardly necessary for me to tell you what amount of drain the employment of non-domiciled Europeans causes on this country, but if you permit me, I will give you a few figures taken from a Parliamentary return of the annual salaries of officers employed in India in 1889-90 to give you an idea of what that drain is. The paper I quote from is dated the 31st March, 1892. It shows that among persons drawing salaries ranging from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 per annum, there were 1,207 Europeans, 96 Eurasians and 421 Natives of the country, and they drew respectively in the aggregate—Europeans 88 lakhs, Eurasians 6 lakhs, and Natives of this country 29 lakhs per annum. (I leave the fractions out). In posts with salaries ranging from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 20,000 per annum, there were 713 Europeans, 8 Eurasians and 45 Natives, and the salaries they respectively drew were represented by 97 lakhs for Europeans, 1 lakh for Eurasians, and 5 lakhs for Natives of the country. In posts with salaries varying from Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000 there were 300 Europeans, 2 Eurasians and 4 Natives of India—the total of their salaries being 72 lakhs for Europeans, Rs. 46,000 for Eurasians, and Rs. 95,000 for Natives. These figures relate to the civil department. I need not trouble you with those relating to the military and other departments, though I have got them in my hand. I will give you the total of what was given in the shape of salaries to Europeans and Natives respectively in India in 1889-90. The Europeans numbered 13,178 in all the departments—I am only speaking of posts with salaries of Rs. 1,000 and upwards,—the Eurasians 3,309, and the Natives of

the country, 11,554. But the salaries which they respectively drew in the aggregate were—Europeans, Rs. 8,77,14,431, Eurasians, Rs. 72,96,026, and Natives, Rs. 2,55,54,313; that is to say, the Europeans drew 9 crores nearly as against 2½ crores drawn by Natives. (*Hear, hear*).

So far as regards salaries. Consider now the pensions which Europeans, and Natives received respectively. Natives of India received in pensions here Rs. 59,81,824 only, while the amount of pensions drawn in England alone by Europeans came up to £3,710,678. (*Hear, hear*).

I think I need not trouble you with any more figures, as I think those I have given speak sufficiently eloquently. They show there is a great and inordinate drain of India's money because of the inordinate employment of Europeans in the higher ranks of the public service. If you analyse these figures, if you go into the lists of the different departments, and separate the Civil from the Military, you will be further astonished at the result. The greater portion of all the good posts are reserved for Europeans, while the children of the soil get the smaller appointments, carrying small salaries with them. (*Cries of 'shame'*).

This is one of those causes which is at the bottom of the increasing poverty of the people of this country. About that poverty there cannot now be the slightest doubt. Lord Dufferin's Government did doubt the accuracy of the statements made about the poverty of the people, and he, therefore, appointed a committee of enquiry, the result of which was embodied in the now well-known resolution of October 1888. That resolution says that there is evidence to show that there is a great deal of poverty in the country; and with that fact established, and with the knowledge that in this country the average annual income per head is only £2 as against £39 per head in England,—I think, no man can for a moment doubt that the result of the present system of getting out excessively highly paid Europeans for employment in the higher ranks of the Indian Service, must have a most disastrous effect on the prosperity of this country. (*Loud cheers*).

I shall not take up much more of your time. I only hope that this ruinous condition of things will not be allowed to go on much longer (*applause*); but if it is, I do not know what the consequences will be. European officials of Government come here for only a short period of time, say twenty or twenty-five years at the utmost. They feel therefore, as a rule, but a temporary and limited interest in its welfare. But we who live here permanently have to suffer the consequences of good or bad administration for all time. It is, therefore, that we beg of them to govern the country economically and well. And it is as a means to that end, that we ask them to substitute the comparatively cheaper indigenous talent and industry in place of the highly costly imported foreign agency in the administration. (*Cheers*). And I devoutly hope they will not longer refuse to listen to this voice of reason and justice. (*Renewed cheers*).

This question of the services has engaged the attention of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji ever since the year 1855, and he is anxious that this Congress should re-affirm the resolution that until simultaneous examinations are held in India as well as in England, full justice will not be done to the people of this country. He is so anxious that we should do so, because he intends to bring the matter before Parliament. You know Mr. Dadabhai has fought many a battle in connection with this question. It was through his endeavours that the Act of 1870 was passed by Parliament. He had, of course, hoped for very much better things from that Act, but all the good it was expected to do was nullified by the way the appointments were made under it. We too complained of the Statutory Service, not because it was a Statutory Service, but because the discretion vested in the Government was exercised in a faulty manner. We asked that simultaneous examinations should be held in England and in India, but we did not expect that while that concession would not be given to us, the Statutory Service would be practically abolished. But when we hoped and prayed for better things, the little that we had has been snatched away from us with cruel hands. Such is the justice our rulers have come to administer to us now! (*Cries of 'shame' 'shame'*). However, it is clear that so long as simultaneous examinations are not held in this country and in England, it is idle to expect our countrymen to enter that service in sufficiently large numbers. We only ask for simultaneous examinations here and in England, though, as Mr. Dadabhai said at the first Congress, the right thing would be to hold examinations for

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admission into the Civil Service of India in India only, (*cheers*), because those that want to enter the Civil Service of India should take the trouble to come to India to compete for it. (*Cheers*). It is singularly unjust to compel the people of this country to go ten thousand miles away from their country, to pass an examination to qualify themselves for service in their own country. (*Loud applause*). No other people labour under such an awful disadvantage. Must we alone be subjected to it because we are the subjects of a strong power like England? (*Loud cheers*). England, we know, has got the strength of a giant, but she should not use it as a giant in enforcing unfair terms and conditions against a people, placed by Providence under her care, but should allow her nobler instincts to guide her in this matter as they have guided her in many others, and see that we are governed practically, and not merely theoretically, in consonance with those noble principles of justice and good government which her honoured Sovereign and her statesmen have laid down for the purpose, and which guide her in the conduct of her own affairs. (*Cheers*). We pray only for a fair field and for no favour. (*Loud and prolonged applause*).

MR. JANARDAN RAGHU NATH NIMKAR, (*Poona, No. 101, in list*).—GENTLEMEN AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—It devolves upon me to support the second resolution. I have been desired to speak in English, but I have a great esteem for my vernacular—Marathi—in which I have the liberty of expressing myself more fully and emphatically. However, I will try my best to satisfy the audience by addressing in both.

For the sake of my own convenience and that of the subject under consideration, I may divide the subject into two parts, the first of which consists chiefly of our regret regarding matters mentioned in items *a, b, c* and *d* of the proposition, and the second of a suggestion to be made to our worthy Government. As to the first part, I have but very little to say as that part hardly requires any explanation or argument. But I will cite to you an instance whereby you will come to know at a glance the position we have been put in by the Public Service Commission. No doubt my way of explanation would at first sight seem to you a rural one, but upon consideration—I may say a deeper and impartial consideration—(*laughter*) of the same, the truth will be whispering itself into your ears and hearts.

The nation—our country India—has been long since suffering from a liver complaint in the form of the Civil Service question. It grew weaker and weaker day by day. A doctor—the Civil Service Commission—was brought in. The pulse and every other part of the body was ostensibly examined, and every diagnosis was had. Medicines were prescribed and remedies were suggested, but never administered. (*Laughter and cheers*.) Notwithstanding all the outward, rather external, remedies, the patient could find no cure. Not only were there no hopes of recovery, but the health which commenced to point its way to fate, could by no means be restored to its former state. Is it not, gentlemen, then wonderful to bring in a doctor for the relief of an impatient patient, and more wonderful to find the doctor's skill tending to accelerate the death of the sufferer? (*Cheers*). Oh, be assured that the patient is suffering from a certainly known disease, but that the doctor pretends not to know what he really does not intend doing, or knowing does not administer the proper remedy, or not administering the proper remedy finds himself in such a position that he feels inclined very naturally to conceal his own mistake, which he may colour otherwise. But you know we are not impatient patients and can patiently watch the movements of our too benevolent doctor. Is it fair and just, I ask, to take away from us that which we specially crave for, and to make us unjustly appear foolish by comparing our former position, when we had made no demand, with our present position? Can we be called guilty because we invoked the help of a doctor, and should we be made to suffer under the principles of contributory negligence? It would just be equivalent to the story of the lamb and the wolf, where the latter found pretence to kill the former by advancing a most absurd argument of the current of water going upwards from below, simply because the lamb had touched it for drinking. (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, such being the state of things, it would simply be dangerous and ridiculous to pray for any thing any more, beyond silently praying to the Almighty for a proper justification of things.

There is no use saying anything more on the first part, and so I now turn to the second part, which is really more important and a key to the whole fabric of secrecy. I cannot

now continue my speech in English for reasons other than personal, and I must now ride over my vernacular horse which will take me more safely to where I must go before this august assembly. (*A laugh*). Words do mean either this or that, but when they are heated they get in them some spirit by way of conduction. I must mainly support the second part of the proposition, for a part fully supported makes the whole supported by way of a witty system of arguments. Many of us may be under a mistake, the mistake of considering the permission to our children to appear in England for the competitive Civil Service Examination as a boon. I should like to say, it is quite otherwise. I come here from Nasik, a distance of about 700 miles. The journey has caused my voice to cheat me and I cannot prosecute it. (*Laughter*). I had been to Zanzibar in 1876, while in my prime, in a big civil case, and lived there for about a year, following the same profession that I do now. My travel to and from Zanzibar brought on me diseases, the continued ill-effects of which have invalidated me for the whole of my life. So I assure you from a personal experimental point of view that to send our children to England, a place at a distance of thousands of miles, would be to lose them for ever, in many cases though not in all. (*Hear, hear*). I have reason to say that many of our Native Civilians, who have been to England, enjoy a comparatively shorter life. The variety of difficulties in going to England, at all events, on either this or that ground, is insurmountable. I am not going to put forward before you the difficulty from a religious point of view, on which I have no occasion to express my opinion in this assembly.

Would any of you like to send your children away to Brahma Loka, or to Badri Kedar, to study the Yogas under the Himalayan Yogis for even a short term? I think not. It is a misery to have falsehoods covered over with a showy truth. The reason why simultaneous competitive examinations, in England and in India, are not liked by our Government is but an open secret. We are not insensible to the spirit of words or actions or gestures. Why should not English boys come over to India to compete with us here, especially when they would even here have some advantages over us in the matter of the examination? Their training here from the beginning would fit them, besides, much better for their duties, as they have to serve here just after passing the examination. (*Hear, hear*). We know what sort of Civilians they generally are when they first come here, as well as how stagnant some of them remain even after they have long been entrusted with responsible duties. Many of you have always occasions to appear before Civilians in the variety of your duties, and you must find, though you may not say so for reasons plain enough, that some of them are, in common sense and in human dealings, no better than our common people.

We have a natural right to compete here in India, and we have every facility for doing so. Why should we be deprived of it and driven to the forbidding alternative of transporting our children to a distant land, for no fault of theirs, in the very days of their prime, when there is every danger of their falling into the many temptations which would beset them there? (*Cheers*). We have our graduates here from our colleges. We have our lawyers and our doctors too, who have passed here, standing on the same level with the Europeans. What is there, then, more difficult to be accomplished in the Civil Service? Has the English Bishop the power like our ancient Rishis, to make an Indian youth know everything earthly and heavenly by merely placing his holy hand upon his head, and by sprinkling the holy water of the English Ganges—the Thames—upon him? (*Laughter*). I dare say, there is nothing required for success in the Civil Service Examination that cannot be accomplished here in India. (*Hear, hear*). But the notion that the observance of the sacred condition, namely, that of passing the test in England, as the real bestower of universal knowledge upon the brains of the student, must be cast to the ground. (*Cheers*).

As I have already remarked, I do not consider the privilege of competing for the Civil Service in England as a boon at all. Until the examination is held in our own land, it merely purports to be a sham show of a gift which the giver simply holds out in his hands but never intends really to part with. (*Loud cheers*). In short, the condition precedent is virtually the withholding the boon itself. Friends and gentlemen, what earthly reason there is for not holding simultaneous examinations in England

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and India, it is difficult to say. But I cannot help thinking that our rulers do not really wish to make us Civil Servants in the sense of European Civil Servants. (*Cheers*). It is not an instalment they have granted but a bit of infected bread thrown at a barking dog. So beware of the danger, and agitate, agitate, and agitate, honestly and most loyally, till you get what you want. (*Cheers*). Appeal to the good sense of the civilized British Public, without whose help we cannot move an inch from the pit we are fallen in. If examinations are held in India, Indian brain will doubtless surpass the European brain in some exceptional cases, it will equal it in ordinary cases, but will be inferior to it in none. (*Hear, hear*). In any case there will be a difficulty in maintaining the white guests of the land, on the field of the Civil Service, the provisions of the host being short of his own appetite. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). New posts cannot under the circumstances be created, having regard to the financial condition of the country, and hence springs the motive for confining the Civil Service examination to London. (*Cheers*).

Gentlemen, examinations in India would result in a thirteenth month in a famine year, for a high-salaried Famine Commissioner swallows up a mountain of food himself, which would otherwise be made use of in a famine year in saving the lives of the dying millions. (*Cheers*). In this way the second part of the proposition is a key to the secrecy and sacredness of the Government policy, and a key to the prosperity and welfare of India. (*Hear, hear*). And now, gentlemen, as I said at the commencement of my speech, I will give you a vernacular illustration and summary of the subject.

An old blind man of eighty having no estate and progeny performed austerities for a long time. God Shiva came down to him to give him a *wara* (gift or blessing). The old man bowed and prayed that he might see a *chhatra* (regal umbrella) on the head of his grandson. And our demand in the second part is to the same effect. (*Hear, hear*). And I hope that by the grace of the Almighty God, under the favorable auspices of the nineteenth century, and by the benevolence of the Liberal party and ministry, we may be given what is ours by natural right. (*Cheers*). Let Englishmen come here and let Indians go to England as they may like, for competitive examinations, and let fair justice be done to India by Britannia, proud of her unselfish and philanthropic benevolence as displayed in liberating millions of Negroes. (*Loud and prolonged applause*).

MOULVI UMRAO MIRZA HAIRAT, (*Delhi, No. 621, in list*), then spoke in Urdu thus.—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—

Yah kis dil-e-ghamdidā ki zarī-o-bukā hai	Jis se ki ghazab āj zamāne men hua hai.
Jo eiqāsh hai khunbar hai jo dil hai wah majrūh,	Jo sinā hai wah chāk ka bhī chāk hua hai.
Kyon āj barāsti hai yeh māyust-o-hirman,	Kyon āj zamāne men yeh wawāla hua hai,
Yah kaun si mahfil hai nazar āti hai wirān,	Sāqī ka nishān hai na surāhī ka patā hai.

(*Cheers*).

I am a Mahomedan, but not a Mahomedan whom Anti-Congress men might call a hired Mahomedan (*Laughter and cheers*). I am a Mahomedan who has joined the Congress after full deliberation. I have considered all its aims and objects, pondered over them and fully understood them before coming here to make my speech. (*Hear hear*). I am a Mahomedan who has always had in view the welfare and progress of India. I shall be happy to sacrifice my person and my property for the sake of my countrymen (*cheers*). I am a Mahomedan who desires to cement further the union of Hindus and Musalmans. (*Cheers*). So far as I understand it, the Congress movement is more beneficial to Mahomedans than to other communities, because it aims at the improvement of India's welfare and prosperity, and the Mahomedans being poorer than others must naturally derive greater benefits from it. (*Hear, hear and cheers*). To explain this let us take, for instance, a dining table at which two persons are sitting. The one who is more hungry will naturally and necessarily consume a greater portion of the food than the other. For this reason I consider the Congress to be an extremely good, or rather, I should say, the best movement for our welfare. (*Cheers*).

In the Congress of 1888 which was held on these very dates, in this very city, and nearly on this very spot, I came and delivered a speech. And I wish, Mr. President, with your permission, to enquire as to why some people are against this movement. It is to

me quite surprising and inexplicable. It seems that they have not perhaps fully understood the objects of the Congress. Had they properly understood them, it would have been clear to them that what we Congressmen want is only the fulfilment of the solemn pledges held out to us by Her Majesty the Empress of India. (*Cheers*). We ask for the same rights that our gracious mother Queen has so very kindly and generously promised to confer upon us. (*Hear, hear, and cheers*). Should we not, with due respect, implore her to fulfil those promises, and to thereby improve our present miserable condition? To whom shall we go for the redress of our wrongs and the satisfaction of our wants, if we are not to lay them freely before our Government? (*Hear, hear*). Should we ask for them from Russia, or implore France to befriend us, or expect help from any other power? No, that shall never be. (*Loud cheers*). We have the pride of being the subjects of the British Government, and, God willing, we shall not be the subjects of another power. (*Renewed applause*). We regard this Government as our benefactor, and therefore lay our grievances and wants freely before it, and ask it to remedy them. The Anti-Congressists perhaps look up to some other power, and hence they do not wish to bring the needs of the people to the notice of the Government, and try to lull it into the false belief that the people are happy and contented. (*Loud cheers*). They have tried to frighten us also into silence by misrepresenting our objects and our motives. But how can we honestly remain silent, and put on an appearance of content, when our hearts are aching, and increasing poverty is making life more and more burdensome day by day? (*Cheers*). We certainly do not like to cry out for help in any condition, but what shall we do if our sufferings do not allow us to remain silent? (*Cheers*). In our religion prayer is devotion, and he who lays his wants before the Almighty God is His favourite devotee. It rests with him to grant our prayer or not to grant it. It is our duty to lay our wants before him. (*Hear, hear*). Almost all religious systems inculcate prayer to God. Whenever we are in trouble, it comes spontaneously out of our mouth, "O God! deliver us from this affliction." Will He consider us undutiful for doing this, and suspect our good faith? No. Never. Those who do not humble themselves before Him, those who do not lay their wants before His gracious Throne, do not perhaps hold him to be the remover of difficulties. (*Cheers*). This illustrates our position in relation to our Sovereign also. We believe our government to be just, generous and merciful (*cheers*), and we further believe that it will redress all our grievances, and satisfy our just demands; and hence our request to Government. (*Cheers*). Those who do not so appeal to Government, do not probably consider it to be just and strong. Those who charge us with sedition and say that we conspire against Government, are themselves the real traitors. (*Cheers*). Fy! Fy! How can any man in his senses charge us with sedition? Is sedition spoken before a public assembly held in a public place, in a city which is the seat of Government?—before an assembly consisting of Europeans, reporters of newspapers, and thousands of persons of different castes and creeds? O God, save us from such infamous imputations! We merely seek justice, such justice as will promote the prosperity of India, and the glory of England (*loud cheers*),—by which I mean what I am going to say in English, so that you gentlemen may not think that I am ignorant of that language. (*Hear, hear*). I know English very well and can deliver speeches also in it. But being a Mahomedan, both in appearance and at heart, I thought it was incumbent on me to make my speech in my own language on this occasion. Justice may be defined as follows:—"Justice is neither an internal balance of the soul's faculties, nor a rule imposed by the will of the stronger; but a mutual agreement to abstain from aggressions, varying from time to time with the varying interests of society, but always determined by considerations of general utility." (*Hear, hear and cheers*).

The resolution which I stand here to support relates to the Civil Service. Before I proceed to deal with it, I must thank the Government for raising the standard of age for the Civil Service Examination. I should also like to ask the opponents of the Congress why they show such eagerness now to take advantage of that change, which has been brought about by the efforts of the Congress? (*Cheers*). To maintain their position, they ought to have stuck to the old limit of age and refused to derive any benefit from the new one. (*Laughter and cheers*). But no, they would not do so. They may well be compared to a fox

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who sits closely watching a tiger who is in search of prey. As soon as the tiger has come by it and has satisfied his hunger, and goes away leaving the refuse behind, the fox comes quickly in to feast upon it. But he shows his gratitude to the tiger by denouncing him all the same and warning the animals of the forest to beware of him. (*Laughter*). We have got one of our prayers granted after so many years of labour and expense, and our opponents are now coolly coming in to share the gain with us without any expression of gratitude. We do not grudge them this. (*Hear, hear*). We only say that it is the height of ingratitude on their part to stand in our way and oppose us any longer. (*Cheers*). But they are now silent, and from the fact of their silence, we may well conclude that they have at least half consented to our proposals. (*Cheers*).

The restriction as to the Civil Service examination taking place only in London means practically that Indians should not become Civilians. (*Cheers*). If we cast but a cursory glance at the diverse creeds and religious persuasions prevailing in this country, it would soon become manifest how fettered Indians are with religious restrictions and what their mode of life is. In the first place, Indian boys of 18 or 19 are scarcely in a position to compete for the Civil Service examination. In the second place, even supposing that they are fit, their religious restrictions stand in their way. (*Hear, hear*). Thus they must get over these insurmountable difficulties before they can reach England. And then what would it matter if out of thirty or thirty crores of people only a handful of them succeeded in getting into the Civil Service. Such being the circumstances, we beseech the Government to remove the restriction of the examination being held only in England. And we hope the Government will certainly listen to our prayers, and accede to our request. (*Cheers*). I conclude my speech with this prayer:—"O God! Bless thou our Government still further; incline its heart mercifully to our prayers; ever know us to be loyal and faithful to our Government, and make our Government kind and just towards us." Amen! (*Loud applause*).

RAI JOTINDRO NATH CHOUDHRY (*Calcutta, No. 189, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—After the very eloquent speeches which you have heard on this question, I have very little to add. But as I feel very strongly on the subject, I shall only very briefly give my views on the same.

To serve one's own country is a right inalienable from its people. So in this view I look upon all those appointments which can be safely given to the natives of the soil and which are filled by foreigners, as so many appointments robbed from the people to whom they belong by natural right, specially in India where we Indians are most cruelly debarred from all the higher employments. (*Cheers*). Our claim to the Civil branches of the Public Service rests on double grounds. The greater employment of the natives of this country in the Public Service of their own country can be supported on economic and political grounds also. When Indians will be employed, more largely than hitherto, in the higher branches of the Public Service, it will, I am sure, go a great way to solve the great question of the Indian poverty. On the other hand, the necessary suffering of the people under a foreign or alien rule will, to a large extent, be mitigated by the wider employment of the natives of the country in the higher branches of the Public Service, inasmuch as it will make, as nearly as may be, the Government a National one, and thereby will take away much of the grievances which must otherwise be the fate of the governed. But I do not understand why the Government should hesitate to grant the National prayer, I mean the desire of the Indians to be permitted to be employed in the higher branches of the Public Service of their own country, more largely than has hitherto been the case—a desire, which, as we have seen, is supported by justice and good policy alike. (*Cheers*).

We all know how the recommendations of the Public Service Commission were unsatisfactory in the extreme; but still unsatisfactory were the orders of the Government thereon. It will be impossible for me to describe *seriatim*, all the points of grievances which arise naturally out of those orders; I shall attempt here only to deal with the salient ones. As for example, we see it recommended by the Commission "that a provision should be inserted in the Statute 24 and 25 Victoria, Cap. 54, enabling the Secretary of State in Council, with the concurrence of a majority of members present at a meeting,

to remove appointments or classes of appointments from the schedule, or include them in the schedule, as may seem desirable from time to time, provided that no such order shall take effect until it has, with the reasons for making it, been laid for ninety days before both Houses of Parliament." Now if this concession were granted to the Indians, by a slight change in the Statute of 1861, it would have been a constitutional gain to us of the highest order, and, moreover, it would have been, for the matter of that, an extension and legislative embodiment of the policy which has been adopted by the Government since the days of the Statute of 1793. (*Hear, hear*). I would have liked to have this incorporated in the body of the resolution itself. As regards the necessity and bare justice of holding an examination in India for the Covenanted Civil Service simultaneously with the examination in London, it is unnecessary for me to say much. To deny this would be inconsistent with the liberal Statute of 1833 and the noble words of the Royal Proclamation of 1858. (*Cheers*).

In paragraph 11 of the letter of the Government of India, No. 1838, addressed to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, which was practically an answer to the memorial submitted by the Indian Association praying for the reconsideration of the resolution containing the orders of the Government regarding the Provincial Service, we find the reasons, or the so-called reasons, for the exclusion of a membership of the Board of Revenue and a Divisional Commissionership from the lists of offices thrown open to the Provincial Service. The so-called reasons are these—I shall quote here the exact words—"that it was not advisable," "that a definite proportion of Commissionerships could not be transferred to the Provincial Service," "that it was dissented from or only agreed to after much hesitation by a strong minority," and "that the mere fact of their being entered in the list could not have been held to give the Provincial Service any right whatever to either of them." All these reasons are perfectly unintelligible, at least to my humble self. (*Cheers*). The paragraph ends by saying "that the Government still retain the power to appoint any Native of India to either of the posts with the sanction of the Secretary of State for India." No body denies the power which the Government have in this connection, but the question is, is there any likelihood of a Native of India being ever appointed to either of these two posts under the present circumstances. ('None', 'None'.) It is for this reason absolutely necessary that we should insist upon having these two appointments, along with other appointments, detached from the scheduled appointments of the Covenanted Civilian, (*cheers*) and upon having them included in the list of appointments to be reserved for the Provincial Service. (*Cheers*). With these words I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution.

MUNSHI ROSHAN LAL (*Allahabad, No. 348 in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—

I do not propose to take up much of your time because sufficient has been said already. I shall only briefly say what I have to say on the subject of holding simultaneous examinations in England and in India. The speakers who have already spoken have dwelt more particularly upon the distance of India from England, but none of them have noticed the chief difficulty, and it is an insuperable one, namely, that of caste. (*Hear, hear*). Our Government has known it from the very beginning, because at the impeachment of Warren Hastings it was said that there was not one man from this country to find fault with him in England, and Mr. Burke said that that was owing to the prejudices of the people which prohibited them from going to England. What was the intention, then, in holding the Civil Service examination in England only? The intention was patent and clear; it was because prejudices were in the way of allowing Hindus to compete for these examinations that they were held in England only. (*Cheers*). This prejudice has taken such a strong hold upon the public mind here that even Mahomedans, till lately, thought it contrary to their religion to go to England. (*Hear, hear*). Government who knew full well that this country was possessed of such a prejudice, ought not to have, for one moment, thought of holding these examinations in England alone, and ought from the very beginning to have held the examination simultaneously in England and in India. (*Cheers*). Then, you know how easy it is to compete for an examination in one's own country. English students have the advantage of being in their own country, while those from here have to go so far as ten

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thousand miles in order to compete for the Civil Service examination. But this is not all. If the Government had passed a resolution that only those persons who paid taxes to the amount of Rs. 3,000 or Rs. 2,000 a year would be allowed to compete, I think I might have been content. This holding of the examination in England, means the shutting out of a mass of Indians from the competition, because it is well known that enormous sums are required to enable Indians to go to England and compete for this examination. This has not hitherto been brought to your notice, and I consequently think it my duty to submit it for your consideration, and for the consideration of a Government which is called just and benevolent, a Government full of good intentions towards those who are under its rule. (*Cheers*). I am not sure that the country is yet reconciled to the idea that Hindus can go to England without loss of caste. If these difficulties are in our way, let our competition with Europeans be equal and just and upon our own grounds. (*Cheers*).

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

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MR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR, (*Berar, No. 119, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The Resolution with which I am entrusted runs thus :—

That this Congress, seeing the serious mischief arising to the country from the combination of Judicial and Executive functions in the same official, once again puts on record its deliberate and earnest conviction that a complete separation of these functions has become an urgent necessity, and that, in its opinion, it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should, in some provinces, involve extra expenditure.

You all know that in that remarkable post-prandial oration which Lord Dufferin delivered in 1888 and in which he thought it necessary to make an attack upon the Congress, the only thing he could say about this proposed reform was that it was a counsel of perfection. (*Hear, hear.*) When the armour of irony could not furnish anything except this single phrase to his Lordship, the country naturally felt that this was a demand which the Government had made up its mind could not long be resisted, and that we were within a measurable distance of the accomplishment of one of our wishes at last. (*Hear, hear.*) Since that speech was delivered four years have elapsed, and except in Madras where a small beginning has been made, nothing has been done in any other part of the country. On the contrary we find a disposition manifested on the part of the Executive to extend their powers and to encroach upon the province of the judiciary. (*'Shame'*). It is therefore no wonder if a change has become necessary, and if the Congress, as representing the people, finds it necessary to pronounce its opinion clearly and in no mistakable manner in regard to a proposition which during the last three years was put along with others in what is called an 'omnibus resolution'. Our demand for the separation of the executive from the judicial functions is based not on any sentiment or mere theoretical grounds, but on grounds of expediency; because we perceive that the system in existence is productive of hardship and inconvenience to the people. I shall go further and say that it is productive in many cases of actual injustice. (*Cheers*). And after all, what is it that we ask? We ask for a very simple thing. We see here several functions combined in one individual. We say, "have a division of labour; assign criminal work and civil work to different officers." And no one would have supposed that this was a matter in which the Government would have thought it necessary to make any resistance or delay. But some excuse or other is put forward and we are obliged over and over again to repeat our demand. (*Shame, shame!*)

The present system, I need hardly say, is productive of actual hardship in several cases. (*Cheers*). Those who have any experience of court-life will know what the hardship is and to what extent it proceeds at times. I have practised for the last twelve years in a non-regulation province, where this combination of functions exists in a very aggravated form, and I may take credit for knowing something of the evils of the system. In that province we have a combination not only of executive and judicial functions, but we have there officers who are Civil Judges, Criminal Judges and revenue officers also; and we there feel the hardship more than you do here. This is the way in which this combination of functions tells on the disposal of cases and so often produces actual injustice. A case is

fixed for trial on a particular day, and the parties and their witnesses are present ; but unfortunately some urgent executive business crops up and the trial of the case has to be put off ; the parties have then to go away and have thus to incur unnecessarily fresh expense. But that is nothing, for in the meantime there is an opportunity afforded to those who are so inclined to concoct evidence, and those who know anything of the Police know that the opportunity is not rarely taken advantage of. (*Hear, hear*). But there is a great deal more. Most of these officers have to go on circuit, and I know what going on circuit means. People living in the south-eastern or in the southern parts of the district are taken to its far eastern limits inhabited by tigers. The executive work has to be done with tigers (*laughter*), and there not only our officers but a host of attendants and suitors have to find accommodation for themselves under the shadowy trees of the forest. (*Cries of 'shame'*).

Then in criminal cases also great injustice is perpetrated, because when an officer goes on tour the defendant is not seldom driven to sell or mortgage his house in order to raise sufficient money to induce an able man from the Bar to go out to defend him ; for otherwise he will have to dispense with all legal assistance and throw himself on the mercy of his Judge, and the mercy of the Judge is a matter of which we can never be sure. If these were the only considerations which I could have urged, I should have said that even upon these considerations, the system is one which stands condemned and should be corrected. (*Cheers*). But there are other things also. Law, in India, as everywhere, has become a science, and it is a very intricate science in India even now. One would expect that those who are to dispense justice should be up to the mark in it. But it is not the fault of the Executive Officers if they possess no such qualities. When they have to write a hundred letters a day and to settle boundary and other disputes, and to attend to multifarious duties of other kinds they cannot be blamed if they have no time to read the Law Reports. (*Hear, hear*). There are many who cannot even find time to read the Acts themselves (*laughter*), and so far as they are concerned we cannot justly blame them, although it means a real hardship to the people. The administration of justice is thus entrusted to persons who, to speak plainly, are not capable of properly discharging their duties, and therefore we have a right to ask that this system should be put an end to. (*Cheers*). Look again at the duties of an executive officer and of a Judge. Are they compatible ? Certainly not. The frame of mind necessary for an executive officer and the frame of mind necessary for a Judge are different. Executive officers ought to mix freely with the people, they ought to try to make friends with them, they ought to see this and to see that. A Judge, on the contrary, ought to shut his ears against everything except that which comes before him in Court. But an executive officer has, as such, to learn everything, and to do everything ; and when he comes upon the bench, he is expected to divest his mind of whatever he has heard elsewhere. Even the best officer of Government is after all a human being, and no one can blame him much, if, when he has come into contact with different people and has heard all sorts of rumours outside, he cannot divest himself of the bias which he has imbibed. It is not fair to the officials that this system should be allowed to exist, if, under it, Judges in many cases must come to a knowledge of facts from outside information. This objection is fatal to the system. It impairs the efficiency of the system, and makes justice in many cases an impossibility. Upon that ground alone the system ought to be condemned. (*Cheers*).

As the law exists in India, the powers which are given to Magistrates are something tremendous, and the present system is one which has been called dangerous, not by Congressmen only, but also by the most sedate body in the country, I mean the Judges of the Calcutta High Court. This is what they say :—“ In India the powers of the police in investigating cases and the powers of the Magistrate in the trial of cases are closely connected, and it frequently happens that it is combined in the same individual. It not unfrequently happens that the Chief Executive Magistrate practically becomes the prosecutor and may frequently become the Judge, though he may have formed a strong opinion on the case behind the back of the accused without having had the opportunity of hearing his explanation or defence.” (*Hear, hear*). I suppose no words that I can use can be stronger than the words these Judges of the Calcutta High Court have used. In fact the Government themselves admit the necessity of improving the present system and effecting a real

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reform. But say they, "where is the money to come from." Where is the money to come from? I should say, from the same treasury which supplies money for the Frontier defences and wars. (*Cheers, and a voice 'or from distilleries'*). I take Mr. Evans' explanation and say, or from distilleries (*Laughter*). I go further. Supposing all this costly military expenditure is absolutely necessary (*a voice, "no"*), supposing, I say, for the sake of argument that it is so—I am decidedly of opinion that it is not necessary—but supposing it is—even then I say that the measure that we advocate is one which is so imperative, the reform is so absolutely essential, that even if it is necessary that additional taxation should be imposed, the administration of justice should be rendered more efficient and more secure even by resorting to additional taxation. (*Cheers*). It is upon these considerations that I commend this proposition for your acceptance. (*Loud cheers*).

MR. AMBICACHARAN MOZUMDAR (*Furzedpore, No. 241, in list*),—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—It has been often said of the other propositions with which we have had to deal, that they are class propositions, but I believe that the proposition with which we are now dealing is not amenable to that sort of observation at all. It is a proposition which affects the nobility, the gentry and the peasantry alike. (*Hear, hear*). It is just four years ago, when, while assembled here, you shared in the regret so touchingly expressed by our distinguished countryman, your well-known omnibus driver, Babu Kally Churan Banerji, (*cheers*) that we had still to reaffirm this resolution. What then, gentlemen, must be our feelings to-day to hear after four years that, it is no longer a question of the separation but the emancipation of the Judiciary from the thralldom of the Executive. (*Hear, hear*).

In every circular order issued, in every notification passed, in every resolution adopted, there is always observable a distinct tendency to under-estimate and override purely judicial functions, and to emphasise the superiority of the executive. In every enactment passed there is always reserved a clause giving power to the local government to frame rules, and this clause is invariably made a loop-hole or pretext for encroachments on the sacred domains of judicial administration. (*'Shame'*). We are ostensibly governed by elaborate codes of Civil Procedure, but our Courts are practically guided by a set of circular orders emanating from the Executive Government. Now, gentlemen, I do not know how you fare under the Civil Procedure Code, but speaking for myself and for the place whence I come, I may tell you that we are in the midst of an awful convulsion in this direction. There we have the Civil Procedure Code, a code which provides a certain procedure for the conduct of civil trials, but there comes forth an edict from the Lieutenant Governor which smashes the procedure altogether, and you find that the latter edict prevails. (*'Shame'*). In criminal cases, too, we have certain modes prescribed for conducting criminal trials, but a fiat comes from the Government that the trial must not be proceeded with further than three adjournments. Now I should like to know whether the Executive Government would be prepared to hold that if after three successful adjournments the culprit succeeds in avoiding arrest, the case should not be proceeded with further. (*Hear, hear*). Now, gentlemen, this is the condition under which we live; and if we are to consider the opposition which the Government has itself displayed, and the attitude which it has assumed towards this movement, I believe you will all be struck with surprise. Of late we have got a Lieutenant Governor in Bengal who seems to be entirely possessed with the mania for wandering and knocking about the country. It was said by an Englishman that it was a characteristic of the Irish people that they were to be found everywhere except in Ireland; similarly our Lieutenant Governor is to be found everywhere except at his head quarters, Belvedere, and he wants all his subordinates to be everywhere except at their legitimate posts, at the head quarters. One of the District Magistrates in my part of the country, who, I know, is one of the ablest and most conscientious men in the Civil Service, had the boldness and courage to oppose this system, and he observed in one of his administration reports that it seriously interfered with his judicial duties at head quarters. Now, gentlemen, you will be all surprised to hear what umbrage he gave the Lieutenant Governor by taking such an attitude. Here I will read a resolution on the Administration Report published in the Calcutta Gazette of the 3rd November, 1892. The Magistrate to whom I refer is Mr. Hare, the District

Magistrate of Dacca. The resolution says:—"The Lieutenant Governor is surprised to read that an officer of Mr. Hare's ability and energy should protest against the length of tour imposed upon him and that the Commissioner of the Division should be inclined to support him. His Honour believes that if a Collector distributes his tour throughout the year, he will not find that it interferes with his work at the *sadar*; but at least the manner in which that work and those duties differ from the calls on the time of Collectors of other important districts should have been fully stated before the orders of Government were impugned; and in future if the period of tour falls short of that prescribed, a full explanation should be submitted." Now you know that man's poor Calendar consists of 365 days 15 minutes and 30 seconds, and no more. We have 52 Sundays and 32 close holidays during which the Criminal Courts never sit. The Lieutenant-Governor, however, wants twenty more days added to these in order that his injunctions may be carried out. There remain five months in the year for the discharge of Civil duties, and the exercise of judicial functions is one of them. (*Hear, hear*).

Now this being the attitude of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in regard to the Criminal side, I will show you how he has also been tampering with Civil justice in the foremost province of the empire. In reviewing the administration of civil justice for the year which has just closed, the Lieutenant-Governor has tried first of all to enunciate a novel measure or standard for judging the judicial capacities and industry of Munsifs and Subordinate Judges. He was anxious first of all to ascertain what he called the 'unit,' of a case. I cannot understand what this unit means, but he was anxious to establish this in order to ascertain the respective merits and demerits of Munsifs and Subordinate Judges. He first of all says that two Small Cause Court suits are equal to one ordinary suit; and three ordinary suits are equal to one appeal suit. (*Laughter*). What kind of weight was this weight? Troy weight it cannot be, nor can it be the Apothecaries' weight; it might be Avoirdupois weight, but for its shortness; nor can it be the N.-W. P. or Assam weight, for we know that Assam has become a successful academy for the training of judicial officers. (*Laughter*). He says the unit of cases must be taken at 1,000 a year, and he goes further and says that as has been done in one district, each Munsif should decide 2,500 cases. Gentlemen, I have the honour, most dishonourable, of belonging to that very district. Now having struck out that average, he goes out of the way of all known administrative reports and passes an encomium upon those Munsifs who have massacred 2,500 cases a piece. In his eagerness, however, he forgot the other figures; you have only to go lower down his report to find what was the result in appeal of these 2,500 cases. We find that in that district more than 53 per cent of these cases were reversed upon appeal, whereas in the neighbouring district the percentage does not come up to even 40 per cent! (*Hear, hear*). Then in regard to the mode in which the Lieutenant-Governor is dealing with this question, you can well understand that violent diseases are often contagious, and this contagion is spreading far and wide and contaminating many of the officials. (*Cries of 'shame'*).

I shall now give you some illustrations of the mischief which has been done by this unholy alliance of the judicial and executive functions. I shall not refer to the Salem riot case, nor the Sham Bazar riot case. But I shall refer you to more recent cases. The first of these cases is the case of the Empress *versus* Mahabut Ali. It was a case under Sections 408 and 463 of the Penal Code for breach of trust and forgery. In that case you will find that the Sessions Judge went out of his way and asked the enquiring Magistrate to commit the case to him. (*Cries of 'shame'*). So you see that this tendency of the Executive officers has permeated the mind of even District Judges. The result of that case is well known to my Patna friends. The jury acquitted the accused, but the Judge referred the case to the High Court, and the High Court, unfortunately for the Judge, confirmed the verdict of the jury. (*Hear, hear*). The second of these cases is the case of the Empress, on the prosecution of Watson and Co. *versus* Brajendronath Chatterjee. This case came from the Nuddea District. The accused was the Principal of a College in the mofussil of Bengal. I will not allude to the details of this case, but it is said that this unfortunate gentleman spoke something against the oppression of Watson and Co's servants, and he came to grief over it. A case under section 107 was instituted against him, and it was heard before the Sub-divisional

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Magistrate. Mr. Fisher was the District Magistrate of Nuddea, and in his supreme anxiety to maintain supervision over the acts of his subordinates, he issued written instructions to the Sub-divisional Officer, which ran as follows:—"Perhaps you are aware that a certain Professor is delivering lectures against Watson and Company. It is necessary that you should bind him down and nip him in the bud." (*Cries of 'shame' 'shame'*). I am sorry that I should have to speak against this Sub-divisional Magistrate, and I offer a sincere apology to any of his relatives who may be here. But the interests of truth and justice make it my duty to say what I am saying here. Brajendronath had not committed any riot or any thing of the kind; he had only delivered some speeches, and he was to be bound down to do—what? Not to make any speeches for the term of one year! (*Laughter*). If that were the law, I am afraid that our esteemed and learned friend the President would have to find life-long security, and I don't think that even the term of one life would suffice for my esteemed friend Babu Surendra Nath Banerji. (*Laughter*).

The last case to which I come is the well known case of Mr. H. A. D. Phillips *versus* Rajah Sooryakant Acharya of Mymensingh. (*Hear, hear*). This nobleman built a town hall in his district at his own expense, and he contributed largely towards the cost of providing an efficient system of water supply for the good of his townsmen as well as for the benefit of the District Magistrate, Mr. H. A. D. Phillips. (*Hisses*). Why do you hiss at Mr. Phillips? You should rather hiss at the vicious system of which he is the outcome. (*Hear, hear*). Well, Raja Sooryakant Acharya was hauled before the Assistant Magistrate, one Mr. Hallifax, but though the case was placed before Mr. Hallifax it was practically in the hands of Mr. Phillips himself. In fact the case, as it was conducted before Mr. Hallifax, was a solemn farce enacted before the public and before two eminent barristers of the Calcutta Bar, and, I may go further and say, within the cognizance of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal himself. (*'Shame', 'shame'*). Here was a case in which the possession of nobility, the exercise of public spirit and of private hospitality were not sufficient to protect a man from the terrible consequences of the unjust wrath of the executive head of the district! Rajah Sooryakant Acharya, for reasons best known to Mr. Phillips, was put into the prisoners' dock like an ordinary criminal, and, as if that was not sufficient, it seems that a common felon was introduced into that box at the same time to receive his sentence. (*'Shame', 'shame'*). And to whom do you think all this was due? Not to Mr. Hallifax, the presiding officer, but to the prosecutor Mr. H. A. D. Phillips, who openly and unblushingly declared that Mr. Hallifax was merely his "Post Office and conduit pipe." (*'Shame', 'shame'*). I could have quoted to you many more cases of this nature, but my time is up, and I ought not to abuse the indulgence which I have received from the chair as well as from yourselves.

Now as to the second part of this Resolution which states that the separation of judicial and executive functions should be effected without further delay, even if it should in some Provinces involve extra expenditure. I think I am able to show that so far as the Province of Bengal is concerned no additional expenditure will be needed. You will find from the Government Administration Report that there are in Bengal some forty District and Assistant Superintendents of Police. Now these gentlemen receive between them by way of salary no less a sum than Rs. 2,54,455 annually. But that is not all; they do something more; they travel, though for whose benefit I do not know and they receive in the shape of travelling allowance a sum which amounts to Rs. 22,386. In Behar, we have 17 District and Assistant Superintendents who draw Rs. 1,26,650 as salary, and a further sum of Rs. 18,651 as travelling allowance; and the total sum expended on account of these District and Assistant Superintendents of Police and their establishments amounts to Rs. 6,87,400. In Bengal, there are altogether only 47 Districts, and only 47 Additional officers are required to separate the judicial from the executive functions of the Magistrate, to have Judicial Magistrates as distinguished from and in addition to Executive Magistrates. A first grade Joint Magistrate whose pay is Rs. 900 a month will quite serve the purpose. The pay of 47 such Magistrates would amount to Rs. 5,31,600 per annum, and we would still have a saving of about Rupees 7,000, which according to Sir Charles Elliot's estimate of the proper pay of a clerk, from Rs. 25 to Rs. 30, would sufficiently cover the

cost of the necessary establishment. But the Government will ever be short of money for a reform which the people call for, while they have always money available to wage wars amongst mountain fastnesses and to maintain a scientific frontier. (*Shame*.) I submit, however, that in the interests of justice, the reform which we so earnestly pray for by this resolution ought to be carried out without delay. (*Cheers*.) And if the Government remain callous to our prayer, we ought to appeal to the people of England, by whom we may fully expect justice to be done. In doing so, we shall be pleading to a people who have judicial functions entirely separated from the executive in their country; to a people for whom 'Milton wrote and Sidney died', and by whom the *Magna Charta* was obtained; and I believe we shall not appeal to them in vain. (*Loud cheers*.)

MR. HEM CHANDRA RAI, (*Dacca, No. 191, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It has been pointed out that the administration of criminal justice, at least in one of the provinces, whose moral and material progress it behoves the Congress to watch and safeguard, has undergone such a change for the worse that something more than our ordinary vigilance must be called into requisition, and prompt steps adopted to arrest the further development of the policy of subordinating the judiciary to the executive, which, thanks to the mischievous activity of the ruler of one of the sister provinces, now obtains in Bengal, and coming from there, I cannot help expressing our heartfelt gratitude to our distinguished brethren from the other provinces, happily better circumstanced in this respect, for their determination to make common cause with us in earnestly pressing this suggestion of ours for the complete separation of judicial functions from executive ones, on the notice of the authorities, in the light of certain recent events, some of which it will be my duty briefly to indicate.

Sir, the Local Government in Bengal have, somehow or other, taken it into their head that there are more acquittals than are desirable. The fiat has gone forth, and the District Magistrates have begun to coerce the subordinate Magistracy into convicting persons against the plain dictates of justice. (*Shame, shame*.) What with this unwholesome official pressure, what with the persistent Anglo-Indian clamour against the supposed weakness of the Native Magistracy, aided partly by the indifference of the highest court in the land, to which, we cannot, as a fact look up always with hopeful confidence, the situation of our Deputy Magistrates has become anything but enviable. (*Cheers*.) Cases are not unfrequently referred to them with almost plain directions as to how they are to be decided, and do you think, gentlemen, that after such a strong expression of opinion from his chief, a Deputy Magistrate, in absolute dependence as he is upon his official superior for his future elevation in service, would have the high judicial probity to arrive at findings justified by legal materials and approved by the dictates of his conscience? No wonder, then, that this sneaking habit on the part of some of the District Officers of tampering with the independence of the Subordinate Magistracy has lowered the Criminal Courts in the estimation of the public, and has brought about a widespread feeling of alarm, which it is in the interests of good Government instantly to allay. (*Cheers*.)

I have referred to the prevailing mania for conviction. Is it to be at all wondered that when the ruler of a Province publicly approves of the work of and bestows praise upon those of the Magistrates, who are able to show a greater percentage of convictions than their other compeers, without caring to enquire what the nature of the instances have been in which the latter have acquitted persons,—is it to be at all wondered that the administration of criminal justice has arrived at a very bad pass, indeed, and has become a sham altogether? Fancy, the noble principles of justice almost unheeded, the efficiency of the administration of criminal justice gauged by gross arithmetical computation, and officers plainly told to help the police-prosecutions, and cynically ridiculed if they attempt to play the rôle of a Judge! (*'Shame,' 'shame'*). No, gentlemen, the indignation that prevails in my province in regard to this matter, cannot be adequately described by any words of mine. Cases have been cited to you, showing the pernicious interference of the District Magistrates with the judicial work of their subordinates, and I am not going to tread over the same ground again; but permit me to recount some of the instances of the public

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disapproval by the executive head of the province of purely judicial findings, a course unwarranted by the facts of the cases in point, unseemly in the extreme, and utterly subversive of judicial independence. (*Hear, hear*). You remember the Shambazar Riot Case. Well, there an experienced Civilian Judge, aided by an efficient jury, after a prolonged hearing came to the conclusion that the charge had not been satisfactorily brought home to the accused, and discharged them. The Lieutenant-Governor, on the *ex-parte* representation of the Commissioner of Police, the virtual prosecutor in the case, condemned the Judge in a way that even the *Englishman* newspaper, the sole apologist His Honor has in the press, was not able to approve of Sir Charles Elliott's action, and criticised it severely. (*Shame, shame*.) You have heard of the Dacca Bribery Case. Well, there the best Judge on the Calcutta bench pronounced the accused not guilty, and surely ordinary decency should have induced the Lieutenant-Governor to accept the verdict of the highest Court in the land as final; but he did nothing of the kind; he took an early opportunity of expressing his own belief in regard to the case. (*Shame*.) Therefore it is that I earnestly beg of you to unite with us in renewing our prayer for the separation of judicial and executive functions, and in respectfully praying that the adoption of the suggestion, which even Lord Dufferin was pleased to characterise as "a counsel of perfection", may no longer be deferred, even though it may lead to some extra expenditure. (*Cheers*.) Gentlemen, the system is already in vogue in the Presidency town, where the Magistrates are purely judicial officers, untainted by executive capacities; and it does seem to me anomalous that while the healthier system should prevail in places where we have an intelligent public, a strong bar, and an over-vigilant press to safeguard our liberties, the other arrangement should flourish in the Mofussil, where we have no such wholesome checks upon it. (*Hear, hear*.) I therefore commend the third resolution to your unanimous acceptance. (*Cheers*).

MR. K. G. NATU, (*Poona, No. 93, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—It is said that an error, however small, ought never to be allowed to stand uncorrected, and I must begin at the beginning by saying that my name is not K. A. Natu, as printed in the printed resolution, but K. G. Natu. (*Laughter*). Now without making any apology, I shall at once go to the subject and make one or two remarks. The subject has been exhaustively dealt with by the speakers who have preceded me, and they have left me very little to say. But I wish to notice this fact most prominently: that the tendency of modern legislation here is to subordinate the Judicial to the Executive. You will find that realised, so far as the Bombay Presidency is concerned, in the Land Revenue Code, the Hereditary Offices Act, the Income Tax Act, and a host of other Acts which give you no relief whatever. A small clause is added at the end of these enactments which provides that "no suit shall lie," and there is an end of the matter. You must keep quiet. The tendency in England is otherwise. There they generally subordinate the Executive to the Judiciary. I am really surprised to hear that so great a change takes place when Englishmen come here to India. Here they change their colours and their principles. This is a growing evil and it is therefore to be protested against. There is not the slightest doubt about it.

The second thing to which I wish to refer is the objection that the separation of the judicial from the executive is a transformation which is dangerous in some respects for the collection of revenue. Some are afraid of that, but when they hear that so far south as Tanjore and Madura they have made a beginning without any fear at all, that the Maharajah of Baroda has it under his contemplation to introduce the same reformed system, these critics will not be able to substantiate that objection, because they will find that there is really no danger in it. (*Hear, hear*.) Then as to the importance of the separation. I have, in the course of my practice, come across men who after having been Executive officers have become Judges, but they have still in them a legacy of their former ideas, a legacy of what they were before. On the Bench of Magistrates there are officers who spend their time in forming suspicions and directing arrests. When such an officer is made a Judge, he often sees that there is no evidence against the accused, and that the prisoner has established his innocence. The Pleader has said all he had to say, the Judge admits all his arguments, but still he says "yet there is something at the bottom of it for which the accused must be punished." (*Ironical cheers*.) There is no doubt that some officials would be

very sorry to have to make a choice between the two. They think when these two functions are divided all is gone. But it is, I say, for the benefit of all that these two functions should be separated. I will tell you of one case. When an Assistant Collector sanctions the prosecution of a *patei*, what does he do? He sends the papers with a letter to the Collector saying that in his own mind he was perfectly convinced of the man's guilt; so that it comes to be a reference not from Phillip sober to Phillip drunk but from Phillip drunk to Phillip more drunk! (*Cheers.*)

RAO SAHEB DEVA RAO VERAYAK, (*Berar, No. 134, in list.*)—MR. PRESIDENT, SISTER AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—

It is a curious coincidence in my case that I have to stand before you for the second time at the same place where I have stood once before, for the very same reasons, about the very same grievance, and to speak to the very same resolution; or rather to enter the very same protest against the present judicial administration of our country. When I stood before you on the last occasion, I thought it was the first and last time I should have to protest against the existing practice of combining the judicial with the executive functions in the same individual; but I am sorry that I have been obliged to stand up to speak a second time about it. (*Hear, hear.*) On that first occasion, I gave my reasons, and along with my reasons I added my twenty six years' experience, for protesting against the practice. Now I have simply to add four more years of my experience to what I said four years ago. I also gave illustrations to prove what I said, that the system was extremely faulty; and now again I have the misfortune to say the same thing.

You know that I come from the Berars, where we had the pleasure of receiving you as our guests last year. There, as most of you know, we have a Deputy Commissioner, as you have a Collector, who controls the administration of a whole district, and I may be permitted to say that he is all in all. In our province the designation has some special charm about it. For you will see that there he is not only the Magistrate and Collector, but he is also the Civil Judge of the district, though lately some of these civil powers have been taken out of his hands entirely. The powers exercised by other officers are called the powers of a Deputy Commissioner, so that you see there is a peculiar liking in our Province for the term "Deputy Commissioner." In criminal matters we have not made any advance; we are now just where we were four years ago. The system is productive of injustice and unfair results. But I need not dwell upon that part of the subject, because my predecessors have exhausted, or nearly exhausted it, and it is useless for me to take up your time in going over the same ground and giving a few more illustrations to illustrate the same thing. There, as everywhere else, there are noble exceptions, and we have noble exceptions amongst us, I am glad to say. (*Hear, hear.*) But with all our noble exceptions, I mean individual cases of impartial and fair-minded officers who mean to do justice, to be fair and unbiased towards persons going before them in the shape of party over party, the system itself is rotten at the bottom. (*Cheers.*) We cannot always rely upon noble exceptions. And I need not say that where people are living under a civilised Government, they expect a civilized method of judicial administration. What we claim is but fair justice; that fair justice ought to be done. (*Cheers.*) It is as much, if not more, in the interests of the government as in the interests of the people, that fair and impartial justice should be meted out. By administering justice to the people, the Government will acquire popularity, and the people will then be more loyal, more dutiful and more useful in times of need. (*Cheers.*) You have not seen, gentlemen, a more careful and a more astute statesman than Lord Dufferin; and what did Lord Dufferin say in regard to our prayer? He said it was a counsel of perfection. We want that counsel to be acted upon. (*Cheers.*) We want the reform to be introduced. We believe that our Government is a liberal Government and will do us justice. But you must go on agitating constitutionally and loyally, for what is due to you and you are bound to succeed. With these remarks I submit to you the resolution which has been proposed and seconded. (*Loud Cheers.*)

MR. MURLI DHUN, (*Umbalka, No. 612, in list.*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—My knowledge of the English language can be compressed into the smallest pill box,

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(laughter,) and I am really surprised that I should be called upon to support the present Resolution. I thought it was only the old, the infirm, the blind, the deaf and the mute that required the support of any body. The Resolution before the meeting is not deaf, but it falls flat upon deaf ears. (Hear, hear). It can see, but others don't see the inside of it. (Hear, hear). It is not dumb, it can speak and speak with silent tongue; but others don't hear it, because they are deaf; and really an old man like myself is not a proper person to support a Resolution which is old enough to take care of itself. (Laughter). It is 8 years old, but if you think it is a child then I will take it into my hands. (Laughter).

Well, gentlemen, the union has not proved a happy one, and therefore it is high time that there should be a judicial separation between the parties. Of course one of the parties desires to bring a case into Court, and as I belong to the side of the complainant, I appear on behalf of *Lady Justitia* before this august tribunal. (Hear, hear and cheers). She does not merely want a judicial separation, but she wants a complete divorce, and I hope her prayer will be granted. (Cheers.)

But I do not see what is your reason for asking for the separation of the judicial from the executive functions, unless it may be that you seem to think that thousands of innocent persons are now being sent to jail. But have you such a horror of a jail? Why? There all distinctions of caste and creed and colour are done away with; there you all dine at the same table. Brahmos and Theosophists are for universal brotherhood, and there is certainly universal brotherhood within the precincts of the jail. (Laughter). Of course there are separate quarters provided in the jail for different kinds of prisoners. Englishmen, for instance, are not quartered in the same place as 'niggers' are kept in. But there should be no distinction whatever, and perhaps they will come to the same level some day. (Laughter).

Now I will come to the point, and shall quote some instances of the kind of justice we get in the Punjab. The head of the district is the only officer of the district who combines all the functions in himself. He is the Commissariat Officer, the Chief Commissioner of Police, the Judge, the Magistrate, the Juryman, the Counsel, the Prosecutor and everything. Nothing more is desired to make him more formidable and irresistible. He is perhaps more irresistible than the Czar of Russia himself, (hear, hear,) and is it not cruel on your part to desire to deprive the lion of his claws and the tiger of his teeth? Surely you will not be so cruel, gentlemen. A man belonging to the (?) class in the Umballa district was actually *challanned* to the Magistrate by the Tehsildar for spending more money than was prescribed by the rules of his caste upon the marriage of his son. The man actually came with this *chalan* signed by the Tehsildar. I saw the *chalan* myself and I showed it to the District Judge, and the man actually thought he was to be criminally prosecuted. But it was not so; it was only a sort of threat held out to him. (Shame.) The Court, of course, could not hear his case at Amritsar, so the man followed the camp. I do not know what became of this man, but no criminal prosecution was launched against him, and he only had to follow the Magistrate's camp here and there. The spending of less money was all that was wanted; otherwise the reform was done. That is the sort of reform we have got in the Punjab! This is one instance of our reform.

Now I come to the criminal administration of justice. All the functions of the Civil Courts were at one time suspended from the Chief Judge downwards. The Magistrate of the district is a truly conscientious man, and is a gentleman who seeks the welfare of the people. And I tell you, sincerely and honestly, that he is the most sincere well-wisher of the people and devises means for their welfare. (Hear, hear). But unfortunately he is guided by the Police, who do not care a fig for the welfare of the people. He established Panchayet Courts throughout the districts and authorised Tehsildars and others to receive petitions on unstamped paper or on paper bearing a stamp of eight annas. They are called Nowsherwani petitions; and what is the nature of these petitions? They are in the nature of mortgage and sale-deeds which formerly used to be cancelled by third-class Magistrates. They had no Civil powers whatever, but they could deal with cases relating to property worth thousands of rupees. (Cries of 'shame'). These people used to sit in judgment upon

money-lenders, keep them in confinement, examine their books; and in one instance Mr. R. P. Warburton, to whom a similar petition was presented, examined the books, and when the man failed to attend in obedience to verbal orders, he was ordered to be prosecuted. (*Cries of 'shame'*).—(Here the President sounded his gong).—Gentlemen, my knell has sounded; the time of my dissolution is come; now I am a shadow and must disappear. (*Laughter and cheers*).

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

MR. D. E. WACHA, (*Bombay, No. 39, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The Resolution I am going to move for your approval is this—

"That having regard to the diversity of opinion that prevails on the Currency Question, and the importance of the question itself, this Congress desires to express its earnest hope that, unless its hands are forced by the action of any Foreign Power, necessitating a change in the currency, or the standard, which might prove injurious to the interests of the country, the Government of India will refrain from taking any steps, until the labors of the Brussels Conference have been completed: and, further, that the Government will lay before the Public, for discussion, the proposals which Lord Herschell's Committee may recommend, before definite action, if any, is resolved upon."

You are all aware that if at this moment there is a burning problem of the day—a burning problem in the practical and satisfactory solution of which all the great nations of the world—great in strength and great in wealth—are deeply interested, it is the problem of Currency. It looks simple enough how to give tolerable stability to the ratio between silver and gold; but it is superfluous for me to tell you, you who all well understand it, that though simple as the question looks, when you come to consider it seriously, you cannot help acknowledging it to be one of the most difficult and complicated of economic problems which the latter days of the nineteenth century have to deal with. Neither can you help acknowledging that it is one on the correct solution of which entirely depends the economic salvation in the near future of a country so peculiarly circumstanced as ours,—a country, subject to foreign yoke, raising its revenue in silver and paying almost one-fourth of its obligations in gold; a country whose trade is mostly with a powerful and gold using country; a country, in short, suffering at the present moment in an aggravated form all the evils arising partly from the selfish policy of its rulers and partly from a mischievous piece of legislation in States far away but on whose silver mines it is necessarily obliged to depend. (*Hear, hear*).

Some definite idea of the difficulties of the subject may be derived when I say that the ablest experts and the most experienced authorities broadly differ from each other, and that apart from the wide and radical differences of opinion prevailing among the greatest bankers and merchants of the West. Even the experts who were appointed by our gracious Sovereign as a Royal Commission on Currency in 1886, were unable to arrive at a unanimous decision on the subject. There was a majority report and a minority report, besides individual opinions and individual dissents. But the general tendency was to let the problem alone, lest a precipitate jump in the great unknown might lead to graver consequences, of a more far-reaching character than those which were to be witnessed at the date of the drawing up of the Final Report, namely, October 1888.

Such being the difficulties surrounding the problem, I take it for granted that you do not expect me here to descant on the causes of the present evils or to discuss at length the merits and demerits of the remedies proposed, specially those having reference to India, namely, the closing of the mint against the private coinage of silver and the introduction of a gold standard with or without a gold currency. It would be presumptuous for me to speak with anything like dogmatism on a matter on which the ablest experts in England and elsewhere are hopelessly at conflict. (*Hear, hear*.) From the tenor of the resolution just read to you, you will have understood what its sole aim and object is. It is this. We, the delegates in Congress assembled, earnestly desire at this critical juncture, when some action on the part of the Government is reported to be imminent, that it will refrain from

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either taking a leap in the dark or adopting precipitately a measure which might eventually prove to be infinitely worse in its consequences than the evils to be witnessed at present. (*Hear, hear.*) In doing so we are not going to commit ourselves to any particular panacea, proposition, or fad. We are not going to tell our rulers that we favour bimetallism or monometallism. Neither are we going to pronounce any decisive opinion on the proposal for a gold standard and gold currency or for closing the mint against private coinage. No. All that we do pray Government to consider is this. That having regard to the great divergence of opinion among experts themselves on the various proposals—one class confidently asserting that nothing but good can be their outcome, while another class asserting with equal confidence that nothing but greater evils can be the result,—having regard to this divergence, as wide asunder as the poles, it would be the part of wise and cautious statesmanship to pause before taking any rash steps which may involve the country in grave consequences from the effects of which it might become a formidable task to extricate it altogether. (*Hear, hear.*) Government cannot deny this wide divergence as revealed by the Royal Currency Commission, and, lately, by the Committee presided over by Lord Herschell, so far as we have been able to learn from the part evidence hitherto taken. Every remedy, when put to the test in the crucible, seems to be defective, that is to say, it presents, its good as well as its bad side. While to add to the gravity of the situation, *none* is able to assert with confidence that there is a preponderance of advantages over disadvantages in the several remedies proposed. (*Hear, hear.*)

Gentlemen, I do not speak without the book on this subject. I refer you to the text of the Currency Report itself in verification of my statement. I beg to refer you to the entire Chapter III, of Part I. of that report which is signed by *all* the members of the Commission. Under such circumstances, I am sure you will agree with me when I state that it would be wisdom on the part of a deliberative assembly like ours to refrain from pronouncing any definite opinion on the various remedial proposals and asserting that we approve these and we disapprove these. (*Hear, hear.*) I think there is yet time to exercise the virtue of patience, aye, Job-like patience. I am aware that there are those who say that the Indian Government has preserved patience enough, and that it is the height of folly on our part to counsel further patience as the only counsel of perfection. But, gentlemen, we must all remember that in a matter of such immense import as Currency—whose effects are always far-reaching and last for more than one generation,—it would be considered a want of true economic insight on our part to be impatient. For, after all, what are fifteen or sixteen years in a period of what may be called economic revolution. Surely, nobody denies that all the world over, not India alone, there is passing a great economic wave, the end of which we have not yet seen. As in matters physical, so in matters economical, the ordinances of nature stand good. You seldom have a clear sky while a hurricane is hanging on the horizon or actually brewing. It is only when the hurricane has spent itself, and probably done its worst, that the atmosphere again becomes clear and nature resumes her normal condition. And as there are physical hurricanes which no human ingenuity can avert, so there are economical hurricanes which no human wisdom can enable us to avoid. In my opinion, we have not yet seen the worst of the present economic revolution; and unless the worst which is now looming on the horizon is passed, we will not see the end of our difficulties. Evils of this kind have to be endured. And, I repeat, that it is the part of wisdom so to endure them than to face greater evils under the impulse of momentary alarm and under the delusion created by plausibilities the effects of which are an unknown quantity. (*Hear, hear.*) In the economic life of a nation, as in its political life, fifteen years are as a drop in the ocean. Posterity, in all probability, will condemn our impatience to reform the Currency in the dark, and curse us if we reform or improve it in a way which might entail on it greater evils than those we ourselves are enduring. (*Hear, hear.*)

Gentlemen, when I say that the virtue of patience should be exercised, I am not unaware of what a limited class of Anglo-Indians, mostly servants of the Crown, and a handful of non-officials (though not planters) who support the official classes, speak as to such a waiting policy. A well-known Official in Bombay characterised it as the "gospel of inertia," while another called it the "policy of drift." This limited class, and, I believe, I am right

in calling it "a microscopic minority," is no doubt very impatient. It thinks the evils are intolerable and should no longer be borne. It is this class which is too eager to force the hands of Government. Now, I do not deny the existence of the evils complained of. In fact none denies them. But at any rate, so far as my personal knowledge is concerned, I have not yet heard a single individual of that impatient minority boldly telling Government that if certain remedies propounded by it are carried out, it takes upon itself the responsibility of saying that no harm to the general interests of the people of this country, specially the producers, will come of their adoption. (*Hear, hear.*) It seems that each and all shrink from undertaking that responsibility. But if these irresponsible persons shrink, is there not the greater reason for a responsible Government to shrink? (*Hear, hear.*) The fact is, gentlemen, that there is at present only a choice of evils—evils certain and known and evils uncertain and unknown, but, according to all experts, of possibly greater magnitude. What, gentlemen, under such circumstances would practical wisdom suggest? Is it not prudent to prefer the lesser evils in order to avoid the greater and the unknown. (*Hear, hear.*)

The whole question of Currency, you will thus see, hinges on this *one* point, and I appeal to you all to realise the issues which hang on this momentous question. When you have realised their gravity, you will, I dare say, admit at once that it is a question in which precipitate action of any kind is wholly to be deprecated, aye, vigorously resisted.

We, therefore, wish that this Resolution be submitted to Government with the view of postponing action till the results of the final labours of the Brussels Conference (which has now postponed its sittings till May,) are made known, and till the Indian public has had the opportunity of considering the resolution at which Lord Herschell's Committee may arrive. We have full confidence in the wisdom of the Government of India that it will not take any hurried or rash step. Up to date, notwithstanding the agitation of the Indian Currency Association in the Presidential cities, Lord Lansdowne's Government has exercised great prudence and patience. The circumstance is, in my opinion, and I presume in your opinion also, not an unwarrantable assumption of its determination to take no action till it was reasonably satisfied that the proposed changes will in no way be prejudicial to the best interests of this great country. That it has been fully alive to the hardships and other embarrassments arising from the steady decline in the value of silver for years past, goes without saying. For the last sixteen years and upwards it has closely watched the dwindling rupee, and has half a dozen times earnestly drawn the attention of the India Office to the effects of low silver on the sterling remittances to the Secretary of State, and to the fact of the growing difficulty of bringing about an equilibrium in the annual balance sheet of the Empire.

Soon after the demonetisation of silver by Germany in 1873, there was appointed a Departmental Committee, at the instance of our Government, to investigate into the causes of the depreciation of that metal and its diminished exports to India, and to suggest remedies. It carefully went into the whole question, and had, I believe, the benefit of the counsel of the late lamented Professor Fawcett. (*Hear, hear.*) The conclusions it came to may be briefly recapitulated here. (1) That the total remittances actually made to India in Government Bills and treasure together, in the ordinary course of business, have declined, but only on a slight scale. (2) That except for other causes, and excluding the extraordinary years of the cotton famine, there is no evidence to show that the demand for silver would have materially fallen. (3) But that the supply of a different form of remittance, namely, Government Bills, has superseded to a great extent the necessity of remitting bullion. (4) That the effect of this cause has to be measured in very large figures, as the yearly amount payable by India for the disbursements of the Home Government has risen since the Indian Mutiny from £ 5,000,000 to £ 15,000,000, a difference of which the magnitude will be appreciated when it is remembered that it is considerably more than half of the total amount of silver annually produced. (5) That the full effect of this substitution has only been recently felt, as that effect was retarded by the construction of Indian Railways, which involved an expenditure in India of money raised in England, counterbalancing, therefore, an equal amount of expenditure in England of money raised in India. (6) That the amount of the disbursements which has just been stated appears to represent

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the present normal expenditure of the Home Government, and that, therefore, unless by some marked change of policy, no diminution of that amount can be looked for."

I need not wait to inform you, gentlemen, that the Departmental Committee hit the nail on the right head. It is the Home Charges which are such a dreadful source of evils. (*Hear; hear*). The Committee insinuated a change in the policy which has led to those charges, but you all know that those have been increasing instead of diminishing, principally owing to the "forward" policy in frontier matters, which has been in such feverish ascendancy for the last seven years.

Again, in 1878, the identical proposals which are now put forward by the Currency Association, namely, the closing of the mint to private coinage, and a gold standard, were submitted by the Indian Government to the Secretary of State. These were referred for consideration to a Departmental Committee also, who reported that they could not recommend them for adoption. The principal objections urged against them, and reiterated by the Currency Commission (*vide* Part I. of their Final Report—Section 176) were:—

(a) That by enacting a gold standard without a gold currency, it would be practically equivalent to the establishment of an inconvertible token currency.

(b) That the closing of the only mint now open to the free coinage of silver might have so serious an effect upon the market value of the metal, that it would be impossible to maintain the rate of exchange fixed upon.

(c) That it would not meet the real difficulty of the present situation in India, which is, that owing to the fall in all gold prices, a larger amount of produce has to be exported in payment of gold debts; and that consequently any apparent gain to the Government of India would be balanced by a corresponding loss to the people of that country.

(d) The danger of illicit coinage which would be greatly increased if the exchange value of the rupee were raised much above its intrinsic value.

An enormous mass of literature on the subject has, however, accumulated since the Currency Commission published their report. But I should not omit to remind you at this stage that that Commission was composed of the ablest experts, with Lord Herschell, than whom a more impartial and capable judge could not be found, as President. Our own able Finance Minister, Sir David Barbour, as well as the late Sir Louis Mallet, permanent Under Secretary to the India Office, were also on the Commission. Thus India's interests were ably represented in that body of experts. It took evidence of every class of witnesses. Anglo-Indian witnesses, official and non-official, were also examined; among the latter, such men as Mr. Bythell, Mr. Comber, Mr. Birkmyre, Mr. Maclean, Mr. Barr Robertson, Sir Evelyn Baring and many others. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji himself tendered evidence as the Indian representative. (*Applause*). So also Mr. E. Sassoon. Some of you may have read the evidence of some of these gentlemen and be aware of the general tendency of their respective inferences. Again, economists of the highest repute in Europe and the United States were invited to give an expression of their opinion on the general question, men like Professors Marshall and Dr. Soetbeer, Professors Nasse and Lexis, M. Lavelaye, Mr. David Wells, Mr. Dana Horton, and, lastly, Mon. Vandenberg, President of the Java Bank. Thus every variety of opinion and every shade of it was elicited. Those views were closely examined from every conceivable stand-point, and if any person, as President, could have sifted that tangled mass of conflicting evidence, and still more tangled mass of conflicting and imperfect statistics, it was Lord Herschell. How imperfect and conflicting the latter were may be learned from the 5th paragraph of the opening report. The Commissioners observe, "that there is hardly any fact connected with it on which there are not considerable differences of opinion. When we proceed from facts to inferences these differences naturally become more marked." (*Hear, hear*). The majority reported that it was not practical for any nation, *without united action*, to do anything to appreciate silver. They agreed that it was every way desirable and advantageous to the world at large to have an extended use of the metal, but unanimity was absolutely essential for the purpose. But the whole difficulty lies there. How can an extended use of silver be brought about? Great Britain, France, Germany and the United States thought one way because their interests lay in one direction.

Those are diametrically opposed to the interests of other countries, neither powerful nor great, who think another way. But it has been stated since, that inasmuch as the interests of the great nations are conflicting, India should be allowed an unfettered action to regulate her own Currency, apart from the exigencies of British-Indian finance! The interests of India, however, are, in my personal opinion, so indissolubly bound up with those of England that I, for one, fail to perceive how it is possible to treat the question of Indian Currency without reference to India's financial relations with that country. It would be absurd to expect England with her gold currency and her loans and advances to foreign countries, amounting to hundreds of millions sterling, to agree to a change which would bring about an extended use of silver. Neither could the countries of Latin Union do so. Nor for that matter could the United States, though for the present gold is leaving that country. The States are in reality suffering from the evils of their own creation,—I mean the Bland and Sherman legislation. In endeavouring to find market for the production of their silver mines they have really killed the goose that laid the silver eggs. The States sowed the wind and are now reaping the whirlwind, the effects of which are being felt here. (*Hear, hear*).

The Royal Commission carefully considered all the conditions which existed at the time it drew up its report, especially those of Indian exchange, and came to the conclusion that matters should be allowed to remain where they were, till further knowledge and experience were gained. Now Sir David Barbour was upon that Commission. In 1885 he published a book on Bi-metallism and propounded therein certain theories. But the knowledge and experience which he later on derived as a Commissioner must, I presume, have considerably modified his original opinions, and were he to re-edit the book, it would not be a matter of surprise to find him discarding some of those theories. Very few Indians and Anglo-Indians agree with him in the efficacy of the remedies he now advocates. He is, I admit, an excellent Finance Minister, who has consistently fought against the over-grown military expenditure of the empire, and deserves our thanks. (*Applause*.) The bogeyman of General Chesney has done us valuable service, for otherwise our military expenditure might have to-day mounted to even a higher figure than 22 crores, with a corresponding large amount to be paid in the shape of "loss by exchange." But his proposals on the reform of Indian Currency have, I fear, found few followers here or in England.

Matters remained quiet enough till the autumn of 1890, when the ill-fated Sherman Act came into operation empowering the United States' treasury to buy 4½ million oz. of silver per month. The American legislature in its hurry to appreciate silver legislated in a way which has not only defeated its object but produced results the very opposite of those which it fondly anticipated. After a temporary boom it landed the States in difficulties, and the influence of the operations of the legislation of 1890 are having their baneful effect on Indian Currency. But for that legislation, there would, in all probability, have been no occasion for the agitation of the Indian Currency Association. The rapid fall of silver to 39d. alarmed that microscopic minority whose leader is the Hon'ble Mr. Mackay. Now none denies the evils to which he drew public attention some months ago, though, it must be observed, in a spirit of wild exaggeration. Many of his statements were such as could not stand the test of a close examination. In fact they have been successfully combated since. He and his Association were seized with a panic. They sounded the tocsin of false alarm and took a blind jump into the great unknown. They did not retreat from their original position till their mistake was pointed out by the majority of the sober on-lookers. I am only speaking to the naked fact when I say that the Mackay propaganda went up booming like a rocket only to come down like a stick. (*Laughter*.) The Government had till then stood aloof. In Bombay, too, every one who fully understood the complexities of the problem, held themselves aloof. Messrs. Beaufort and Symon, two influential English merchants, had the courage to oppose the agitation. Mr. Mackay, thinking his case was hopeless here, proceeded to England with a light heart to see if Manchester would come to his aid. But that city gave him no encouragement whatever, and judging from what has lately appeared in the English papers, I for one should not be surprised if his propaganda comes to be rejected there wholesale. (*Hear, hear*.) Mr. Mackay went to England with the object of giving his evidence before Lord Herschell's Committee and convincing that body. But he returned

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to India a wiser and more sober man. He found his own level before the experts of the Committee. He was interviewed by the English press in Bombay in which, as you may have read from the papers, he was constrained to counsel his colleagues that they should for the present bear the evils as best they may for some time longer. (*Hear, hear.*)

All these facts, gentlemen, show how difficult it is even under present circumstances to find a safe remedy. No doubt each and every one of us are fully aware of the growing evils and temporary dislocation of trade under an unstable ratio. But we are also aware that these evils, however intolerable, have to be endured, and must be endured, till the hurricane of exchange has blown over. As you cannot stem the advancing tide, so it is not possible to stem the progress of this silver hurricane. (*Hear, hear.*)

Under the circumstances, we have formulated this Resolution asking the Government, in the first instance, not to be led away by the cry of a powerful and interested class and legislate in a hurry so as to create new evils of a greater magnitude. We also trust and hope that it will not be seized with the panic which has seized the Currency Association and its followers; that it will not act precipitately so as to make a change in the Standard or Currency leading to new disasters. Tampering with the Currency is a dangerous thing. The most mature consideration is imperative before a change is resolved upon, especially in a country like India where you have 300 millions of people to deal with, and where the entire revenue is raised in silver, while one-fourth of it has to be remitted in gold, with a foreign trade partly in silver and partly in gold. What the evils of the change may be I will not try to enumerate at this late hour (for I have already been long and our President has been courteously forbearing in allowing me double the time prescribed and more.) I could say a great deal on the subject for the next six hours. But I think I could not give you a more succinct idea of the evils to be apprehended than by reading a paragraph on the subject from the *Statist* of 5th November last, which I now hold in my hands. It really tells you all in a nutshell, so to say.

"Assuming that a gold standard were adopted, the rupee would be degraded in India to the position of the shilling in England, that is to say, the value of the rupee would not be fixed by the value of the silver in it, as at present, but by the manipulation of the Government. Now, it is contrary to all the traditions and all the principles of British Government to give to any official, no matter who he may be, powers so enormous as would be necessary to manipulate the Currency of a vast empire with a view to giving to it a fictitious value. If the Prime Minister were corrupt he would be able to enrich himself by disturbing the money market. If he were unwise he would throw all trade into confusion by his folly or his unskilfulness. That appears to us an unanswerable objection to all proposals for artificially maintaining the value of the rupee. But it is only one amongst a multitude of objections not less forcible. Suppose the rupee were degraded to the rank of one shilling—were made, that is to say, a mere token coin;—prices in future would be determined, not by the intrinsic value of the rupee, but by the value of gold, prices in India, that is to say, would cease to be silver prices, and would at once become gold prices. Let us assume that the advocates of the plan would shrink from attempting to raise the rupee to the value of 2s, that they would be moderate in their aims and would be content, let us say, to raise it to 1s-6d. The rise would amount to about 20 per cent., and there must in consequence be a fall in all prices of about 20 per cent. Between 1873 and 1880 there was a ruinous fall in prices in all gold-using countries of just about that percentage. Producers, manufacturers, and merchants suffered disastrously. Credit was shaken, trade was depressed, and all because the purchasing power of gold rose. India was exempted from the sufferings of the gold-using countries because she had a silver standard and a silver currency. There was no fall in prices in India, no shock to credit, no failures on a vast scale. Trade continued to improve, the resources of the country were developed, and its prosperity has since steadily increased. Now it is seriously proposed to deprive India by the act of her own Government of the immense advantages conferred upon her by her silver standard and her silver currency. We presume that the plan is based upon the mistaken notion that the value of gold is more stable than that of silver. We have seen that between 1873 and 1880 all gold prices fell ruinously. We have also seen that during the same period silver prices did not fall, in other

words, while a smaller quantity of gold year after year exchanged for a larger quantity of all other commodities, silver included, the same quantity of silver, or nearly the same, exchanged for the same quantity of all other commodities, gold excluded. Does it not necessarily follow that it was the conditions which determine the value of gold which altered, not the conditions which determine the value of silver; or to put the matter into, perhaps, plainer language, does it not necessarily follow that the value of silver during the past twenty years has been far more stable than the value of gold? The plan, then, is based upon an absolute error, upon a misreading of the history of the past twenty years and having its root in error its fruit cannot fail to be injury and disaster.

"We have seen above that the plan, if adopted and successfully carried out, would deprive India of an inestimable advantage her monetary system now confers upon her and would bring about a disastrous fall in prices. Let us try to realise what a fall in prices in a country like India to the extent, say, of 20 per cent. would actually mean. The land tax, which our readers will recollect is really a rent, is fixed for a term of years in rupees. If the purchasing power of the rupee were raised 20 per cent. or anything like so much, the land tax would be raised in exactly the same proportion, for every rupee would then represent 20 per cent. more of the produce of the ryot's land. Similarly the rents of houses and lands all over India would be raised to the same extent. All the other taxes payable to the Government would likewise be raised. So would all debts due at the time the change was made; in other words, every banker and capitalist, as well as every usurer, would find his property, so far as it had been lent out to others, increased 20 per cent., while every debtor throughout the length and breadth of India would also find his debts augmented by 20 per cent. Of course, likewise, officials' salaries would be enhanced in the same way. The result, therefore, would be that the Government, the official classes, bankers, landlords, and usurers, would all receive 20 per cent. more of the property of the vast population of India. There would be a sweeping transfer of property from the producing working millions who create the wealth and make the prosperity of the Empire to the servants of those millions and to the parasites who prey upon them. We would ask any sane man, whose brain has not been addled by currency disquisitions beyond his capacity, whether this is a project that ought to be listened to for a single moment? Whether it is to be thought of that the whole strength of the British Empire should be used to impoverish the hard-working millions, and to enrich usurers and Government officials? And if it is not, we would urge upon public opinion to reject so monstrous a proposal with contumely. The ordinary man must not think that it is a question for experts alone, which may be left to a hole-and-corner committee. It is one that affects the whole future of the British Empire. Whatever may happen we must defend India to our last shilling and our last man. We are at this moment spending large sums in preparing against a Russian attack. Will it strengthen us if an attack should come to have wide-spread distress and discontent created by the acts of our own Government?" These are the dire evils apprehended, but I may say that the effects of the closing of the mint would be infinitely worse than those above described. (*Hear, hear.*)

I need not inform you, gentlemen, that the *Statist* is a first-class economic journal, and bears a first-class reputation with its twin the *Economist*. The Anglo-Indian agitators say they are monometallists and write all in the interests of the great "gold bugs" of Lombard Street. That may be so. But what we have to see is whether their arguments have been successfully combated. Gentlemen, without being accused of egotism, I may say that I have been a close student of this Currency question for the last 12 years. I have not yet met with a single serious criticism in current Anglo-Indian or English literature on the subject in which the views of the two able journalists, so far as India is concerned, have been controverted. Meanwhile here is one of them, writing at the distance of 6,000 miles, in defence of the Indian ryots and the Indian tax-payers generally. A stronger defence in the interests of the people of this country I have not yet come across. I have seldom perused writings on such a subject so remarkably critical and wholesome in character, and I recommend each and all of you, brother delegates, to read, mark and inwardly digest all that has appeared about Indian Currency and Indian finance in the pages of the *Statist* and

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Economist for this year. I am sure it will repay perusal and will enable you to acquire a fair idea of the *pros* and *cons* of the whole controversy. You will also learn there how dangerous it is for our Government to legislate in panic or adopt other measures in a hurry and to repent of them afterwards. It is for this reason we earnestly appeal to Government to move cautiously in the matter, so as not to jeopardise the interests of millions of its subjects entrusted to its care. There should be, in the words of the late Mr. Bagehot, a "reasonable apprehensiveness" of the effects of the remedies now in the air and with which it is supposed to be closely identified. It has on its shoulders a solemn responsibility, which, it is to be trusted, it will conscientiously endeavour to discharge in the best interests of the governed. (*Applause.*) With these observations I now commend the resolution to your approval. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

CAPTAIN BANON (*Lahore, No. 609, in list*).—Gentlemen,—I am most unfortunate in coming after a speaker like Mr. Wacha, for he has so thoroughly exhausted the subject that he has left me nothing further to say. What we want is that Government should do nothing in a hurry, because the dangers of acting in a hurry, in a matter like this, are very great. (*Hear, hear.*) It is very easy matter for people to talk about the Currency, and there are no end to the fads and nostrums which are supposed to work all manner of miracles; but should they fail, the consequences may be terrible, and may even lead to national bankruptcy. (*Hear, hear.*) We want things to be left very much as they are at present; and it is not only the Congress, but other people also, who want things to be left alone. The greater portion of the non-official European community, to which I have the honor to belong, are desirous that nothing should be done; because if anything is done to increase the gold value of the rupee, it will act fatally on almost all the planting interests in India, as well as most of the manufacturing interests. There are tea and coffee planters, and indigo planters, and others who trade in wheat, rice, and oil-seeds, and if the gold value of the rupee is increased, all the capital which they have sunk in these industries will be depreciated, and these industries, perhaps, may no longer prove remunerative.

I hold in my hand a small pamphlet entitled "*A Gold Standard for India, critically examined*," by a Mr. Stoker of the Indian Civil Service. He is one of the rising Civilians in these provinces, and is now Commissioner of Excise; and I may here say, that I totally disagree with Mr. Evans' remarks on a former resolution. It is said that the Currency Question is a very hard question to understand, but in this pamphlet Mr. Stoker has gone a long way to make this question simple of comprehension. Of course, he, like many others, as I understand, thinks that the Government ought not to allow everybody to present their silver at the mint to be coined into rupees, and provided the gold value of the rupee falls lower, the free coinage of silver should be stopped, to keep up the gold value of the rupee. (*Hear, hear.*) The question really is this, does the fall in the gold value of the rupee affect the people of this country so much that it has become necessary to take this extreme measure? For, in this pamphlet Mr. Stoker shows that if you make the gold value of the rupee stable, you, at the same time, make the silver value of the rupee unstable, and our trade is not only with countries using a gold currency, but also with countries using a silver currency. Mr. Stoker writes as follows, in this very able pamphlet of his, which I have already brought to your notice. "It is true that the volume of trade with the East is inconsiderable compared with the volume of trade with the West. But still it is profitable in itself, and, as will presently appear, serves as a means of adjusting the Home Charges. • • • It appears from these figures that eastern countries pay India for nearly two-thirds of her goods by bills on London, and that these payments almost equal in amount the remittances which the Indian Government has to make to England." (*Hear, hear.*)

If the Indian Government think that in consequence of the failure of the Brussels Monetary Conference there is a danger of the rupee falling from fifteen pence to eight pence, ten pence, or even to a shilling, I think they would be justified in temporarily closing the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver, on the understanding, that they will be again opened when silver has regained its present value. (*Hear, hear.*) But as the depreciation of the rupee is entirely due to the Home Charges, I think a better way would be to render the Indian Government independent of the fluctuations to which the rupee is

subject. This can only be done in one way, and that is to collect Customs duties *in gold* at the Indian Ports equal in amount to the Home Charges. (*Hear, hear.*) From fifteen to twenty millions sterling would be required; but the English Government raise more than twenty millions by their Customs duties; and so the people of England can scarcely blame the Indian Government for doing what their own Government does for revenue purposes. (*Cheers.*) As the President has warned me that my time is up, I will, with your permission, resume my seat after having seconded this resolution. (*Cheers.*)

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PROFESSOR BHAGIRATHA PRASADA, (*Nagpur, No. 139, in list.*)—Gentlemen,—I rise to support the resolution which my learned friend Mr. Wacha has proposed and which Captain Banon has seconded. The chief object of this resolution is to request the Government of India not to hurry matters, and to place before the public any proposals which the Government might think proper to carry out, in order to save itself and the country from the disastrous effects of the Currency troubles, with this exception only, that its hands are forced by any foreign power by which it may be compelled to take action. But if it be forced by any association in India it should not do anything without consulting public opinion in India itself. My learned friend Mr. Wacha has told you what the effect of hasty action may be, and he has quoted to you the example of America. You remember the action taken by America on the silver question, and how it led to all the difficulties and disasters. It is absolutely necessary that this country should be consulted before any action is taken, because in case the Government failed to take all circumstances into account, the result might be very disastrous. (*Hear, hear.*) The case must be studied by people whose interests are concerned, for, as I have said, if all the circumstances are not considered, the solution of the difficulty may prove to be ruinous. A few years ago there was a special Factory Act passed, and at that time telegrams passed between the Secretary of State and the Indian Government. The Secretary of State said, "you must pass such a clause." The Government said, "we cannot do so because it is against the interest of India." Then the Secretary of State said—"O no! we have it here and you must do it." The Government of India said, "We cannot do it, because the majority of the Council do not agree." The Secretary of State pressed for the insertion of the clause in question, simply because the Lancashire merchants complained that unless the Government of India had the same factory legislation as existed in England, their interests would suffer, as the people of India would then be able to produce better cloth and undersell them. (*Hear, hear.*) For these reasons, it is necessary for us to go to the Government of India and pray that no action be taken until the Brussels Conference has concluded its sittings, and that in case any action is to be taken on the recommendation of Lord Herschell's Committee, it should first be made known to the public, and after public discussion is over and the Government has come to know what the views of the public are, then action should be taken. That being the case I heartily support this proposition and ask you to be good enough to adopt it. (*Cheers.*)

The PRESIDENT.—Before I put this resolution to the vote, I think it my duty to tell you that the Congress as a body are in no way bound, and are supposed not in any way to give countenance to the views which have been expressed by Mr. Wacha or by Captain Banon or by the last speaker, Professor Bhagirath Prasad of Nagpore. (*Hear, hear.*) They may be right in their views or they may not; we may agree with them individually or we may not; but the reason why we wish to pass this resolution is that it may not be taken that we are not alive to the importance of the question, and that the Government may know that what we desire them to do is so to act that our country may not in any way be made the loser by any measure which may be undertaken. (*Cheers.*) With these observations I put this resolution to the vote.

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

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, December 30th, 1892.

3rd Day.

The Congress re-assembled at 11 A. M.

Resolution
V.

Reduction of the Salt duty; raising of the Income-tax taxable minimum; reform of the excise administration; Judicial and Police reforms; modification of the Rules under the Arms Act; Military Colleges; Volunteering.

MR. G. S. KHAPARDE, (*Barar, No. 120, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,
—The resolution which I put forward for the favor of your adoption reads as follows:—

That this Congress concurs with its predecessors in strongly advocating—

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

I ask you not to be deterred by the length of this resolution which I propose, and do not imagine you have got a very hard task before you. On the contrary we have got a long bill of fare to-day, and I propose to give you some healthy and solid food in it. They

are all long resolutions, but they are all familiar to you, and to me many of them are like old friends. I have been dealing with them for the last four years, and I have to deal with them again. They do not all share the character of old friends, and I should have been very glad to drop some of them, only if I had been assured that they had reached their destinations. But as it is, we have to carry them with us year after year.

I wish to give you now a popular version of this long resolution. Imagine a poor man coming to this Congress and talking to you, and then you will see what he wants. Salt is the first and foremost necessity of life. Therefore his prayer is about salt in the first instance. (*Hear, hear.*) This poor man says, "You have taxed salt too much; you have lately increased the duty by eight annas, and I cannot have enough of salt. So if you cannot remove the duty on it altogether, then do away with at least this extra eight annas lately imposed upon it." (*Hear, hear and cheers.*) Then he talks about his income. A man who does not get enough of salt does not get enough of food; so he says—"I want a little more food and a little better food. (*Hear, hear.*) I don't wish to get any luxuries, and I surely don't want drink, so I want you to conduct the Excise administration as rigidly as possible, and to give effect to local option." Though, of course, we would like that there should be no drink at all, if the Government must have its revenue from liquor shops, let us have them only where we want them. (*Cheers.*) Having had a little more salt and a little more food, and not desiring any drink at all, he desires something more, and says—"Protect me from the Police. The Police give me a great deal of trouble." (*Hear, hear.*) The poor man cannot complain like the rich. Learned lawyers are very good people but they do not work for nothing. So the poor man cannot engage the services of these people, and he naturally desires to have protection from the police. (*Hear, hear.*) Supposing the Police do protect him. Then he says, now and then mistakes are made by the Police. Therefore he desires that native gentlemen who know him and his wants, should be appointed in the higher ranks of the Police. (*Hear, hear.*) Then he says—"In case I should have the misfortune to be charged with some offence, give me the right to have a jury of good native gentlemen who understand me to try me." (*Hear, hear.*) If you give him all these things, he feels a little hopeful. What does he desire next? He wants to go into his fields. But there are wild animals about it who come and do injury to his crops and cattle. He wants therefore to have a little rifle with him, (*hear, hear.*)—a smooth-bore will do just as well. Therefore he asks for a modification of the Arms Act. (*Hear, hear.*) He also likes to have bright colours upon him and to serve in the army. Therefore he asks you for a little bit of volunteering. But he cannot always go a long distance. Therefore he asks you to organise a militia. (*Hear, hear and cheers.*)

Looked at in this way, you will see that the whole resolution is connected from the beginning to the end. Among these subjects there are one or two which I wish particularly to speak to you about. I have been trained to drive the omnibus under an able master like Kalicharan Banerjee. He got me into it, with a few passengers in the omnibus. Two of these have come under great disfavor. One of them wanted to rule the whole of India, and to obtain supreme authority there, and we tried to introduce him. But what do you think the Government have done? They have confiscated seven of his large estates. Thus this poor man in endeavouring to extend his sphere to the whole of India has lost nearly all he had. There is another gentleman here amongst you all, of whom you would like to hear something, and that gentleman is POLICE REFORM. We have from time to time been speaking about him, and I suppose no subject comes more home or is understood better than this. (*Hear, hear.*) I am not permitted to mention names, but I know certain gentlemen, admirable detectives and Superintendents of Police, and they have always got kudos, but only one of them is an Indian. And what has been the consequence? He is senior by a year and a half and he has been placed below a junior. This is exceedingly bad. (*Hear, hear.*) Moreover detective duties require a knowledge of the languages of the people and their modes and habits of life. A detective should be able to mix with them and disguise himself as one of them. Do you think any English gentleman will be able to pass amongst us as a Brahmin, or a cooli or a koonby? It is impossible. We have a tremendous cry raised against juries. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal wants

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Resolution
V.

Reduction of the Salt duty; raising of the Income-tax taxable minimum; reform of the excise administration; Judicial and Police reforms; modification of the Rules under the Arms Act; Military Colleges; Volunteering.

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to blame juries for acquitting people. But he has not found out the real culprits. The Police bring up persons who are thoroughly innocent, and what can be the consequence? (*Hear, hear.*) Instead of condemning the jury-system, they should extend it to other districts where it does not at present obtain, and the higher grades of the Police department ought to lose some of their estates, and natives should be allowed to enter into them. Then the whole thing will be carried out properly. I am most anxious that these reforms should be carried out as speedily as possible. (*Hear, hear.*) With these remarks I commend this resolution to you. The subject is a large one and I commend it to your best consideration. (*Cheers.*)

REV. T. EVANS, (*Lahore, No. 608, in list.*)—Gentlemen,—My first pleasant duty is to convey the cordial compliments of my friend and your friend, and the friend of India,—Mr. W. S. Caine—(*cheers*), to the members of this Congress, and especially to that portion of the assembly who are honest *water-drinkers*. (*Applause.*)

My attention at present shall be given to the question of Abkari, or more strictly speaking "Shur-ab-kari." (*Laughter.*) "Shur" is a Persian word for *evil*, and it is a very appropriate term for the Excise Department in India. (*Hear, hear.*) I wish to impress upon this assembly the urgent need of a dual reform in this matter. First and foremost we require a radical reform among the *people* of India. (*Hear, hear.*)

Time was when drinking habits were almost exclusively confined to the lower classes, when indulgence in *shur-ab* was considered a low and a degrading and a vile habit, fit only for the very lowest classes of the people. (*Hear, hear.*) Those days are gone, and it is a sad fact that now all classes of people indulge, and it seems a stern fact that social advancement and English education go hand in hand with indulgence in strong drinks. Some students, I am told, think that they are not, and cannot be, full-fledged "gentlemen" (*laughter*) till they drink English made liquor—and that to be able to indulge in alcohol is "a sign of culture." (*Shame.*) Then we also see that in this matter religious grades are degraded. There was a time when Brahmins held *maddyam* or alcohol in utter abhorrence, and looked upon those who used it with disgust. But now we have Brahmins who not only drink but who traffic in the poison. (*Shame, shame.*) This I have found to be the case in a number of stations throughout India. It is true the *Veda* prohibits the use of liquor in strong words—"Muddyam ma peyam ma deyam ma grahyam," *i. e.*, intoxicants should not be drunk, given or taken. Among the five mortal sins of the Hindu religion for which there can be no atonement, to indulge in liquor is one. It is said to be a crime equal to that of killing a Brahmin or a cow. And yet none of these sacred prohibitions are regarded. The filthy flood of strong drink overleaps all bounds, social and sacred, and the Brahmin in these degenerate days has come down to the low level of the lowest castes, for all worshippers at the intoxicating altar of Bacchus, high and low, become "hail fellows, well met," as they unite in imbibing alcohol. (*Shame.*)

It is easy to say—"petition Government to shut the liquor shops."—A better plan would be to shut our own mouths and abstain from alcohol. (*Hear, hear.*) Some one has said:—"There is a little liquor shop which every man can close. It is that little liquor shop just beneath your nose." (*Cheers.*) Then I ask—*Who is to lead?* Is it not the leaders of society? Is it not the leaders of the National Congress? Where are the Brahmins—the Barristers—the graduates of the Universities? Will these not come down to rescue? Let all the noble Bonnerjees, Chatterjees and Mookerjees of Bengal;—all the Chariars, and Iyers and Ayengers of Madras;—all the Cowasjees, the Hormusjees and Naorojees of Bombay; and all Pundits and Purohits of the N. W. P. and Cashmere, with all the Moulvies and Syyeds of the Mahomedans, come forward to head the battle against the monster demon drink;—yea, and the Sirdars and Gooroos of the Sikhs, and the Missionaries and Ministers of the Christian religion, as well as all the delegates of the Congress, all should join hand to hand and heart to heart to attack the *Rakshas*—*i. e.* the demon of drink, and chase the hydra-headed monster out of the land. (*Cheers.*) Remember your responsibilities as men of light and leading. The lower orders look up to us, as we are, so will they be. "*Jas raja tas parja.*" "*Jaisa hap, taisa beta.*" "*Jaisa swami, taisa sevak.*" Gentlemen, you are leaders—see that you lead in the right way and set a proper example to the masses. (*Hear, hear.*)

I am hoping to be able to say that we have now over a hundred Associations throughout India in connection with the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association whose head quarters is in London. (*Hear, hear*). I have just been up to the north of the Punjab, where I have in one month organized 8 new societies with over 2,000 new members, and the friends in Lahore are all alive, and are moving to build a large Temperance Hall which is to cost Rs. 20,000, (*hear, hear*;) as well as to start a Temperance Journal in the vernacular. The work is going on, but the flood of drink is also on the increase. This you will see if you look at the leaps and bounds made by the Abkari Revenue. Take a few statistics. In Bengal, the normal rate of the excise revenue for many years was from 50 to 60 lakhs of rupees. Now it is 110 lakhs. (*Shame, shame*). In Madras the excise revenue has thus advanced.—In 1850 it was Ra. 21,73,500;
in 1860, " 29,70,722;
in 1870, " 50,18,364;
in 1880, " 61,13,402;
in 1887, " 91,66,476;
in 1888, " 97,38,896;

or an increase since 1880 of no less than 36 lakhs of rupees. (*Shame, shame*.) The increase in Bombay has gone on at an equally rapid rate, and the same is the case in the Central Provinces. As to the N.-W. P., in 1858, the excise revenue here was but 19 lakhs; now, it is over 50 lakhs. (*Shame, shame*.) Above 10 years ago the excise revenue of the Punjab was hardly 10 lakhs, it is now nearly 20. Eighteen years ago the excise revenue of the whole of India was 230 lakhs, it is now about 450 lakhs of rupees. (*Shame, shame*). This may be a grand thing for the Government, but it is most ruinous to the people. (*Cheers*). Therefore I say make a strong stand against the terrible evil before the land is flooded with a deluge of destruction. (*Hear, hear*.) "Charity begins at home," and the people of India must begin this reform by sweeping the curse clean out of their own homes and putting all who drink under the ban of social ostracism. You put those out of caste who drink water from the hands of the low caste people;—why then are they not put out of caste for drinking liquor made and mixed by dirty and degraded "*kulars*"? (*Hear, hear*).

Home reform first, and then we want—*Government reform*. Government has moved a little under pressure;—but we want it to move much more. (*Cheers*). If it be asked what we want the Government to do, I answer—first of all, we want the Government to be true to its own professed policy and promises, (*hear, hear and cheers*;) the professed policy of—"a maximum of revenue from a minimum of consumption." Is this carried out? I don't hesitate to say—No. Do you ask for proof? There are many. Take one just now.

If the policy is to supply the public demand only, I ask why does the Government sanction the manufacture of *much more* drink than the contractors with all their greed can sell? I visited last year most of the *Government distilleries* in the N.-W. P. and the Punjab, and without a single exception I found that there are *more* stills sanctioned than are required. Let me now give a few cases. In the Punjab at—

Gujranwalla	10	stills	sanctioned	..	..	..	only 5 at work;
Lahore	18	"	"	..	..	..	" 6 "
Ferozepore	8	"	"	..	..	..	" 3 "
Amritsar	15	"	"	..	..	..	" 13 "
Jullundhar	6	"	"	..	..	..	" 3 "
Umballa	6	"	"	..	..	..	" 3 "
Ludhiana	6	"	"	..	..	..	" 4 "

In the N. W. P. at Allahabad, 29 stills sanctioned—only 20 taken, and of these only 12 at work. A contractor who has been in the Allahabad distillery for many years, by name *Buddhoo*, told me that though the Government has always sanctioned 29 stills, he never saw more than 18 at work, and as a rule they do not use more than 10 or 12. Does this show that the Government wants "*minimum of consumption*"? No; but the trade is overstocked, and besides the extra stills, there are thousands of gallons of liquor kept in store in the godowns of the distilleries to be used in case of need;—and at the time of the

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"holer" festival Government allows the stills to work day and night, and the liquor shops are allowed to be opened for hours later than the demands of the Excise Law. (*Shame, shame*).

Again, why is the "minimum guarantee" system in vogue in Bombay by which the contractor for liquor is bound down to produce so many thousand gallons whether he is able to sell it or not? Why? Because he has to pay a duty on each gallon and the more the gallonage the greater the revenue. Further, why does not Government consult the public in opening grog shops and give effect to the principle of local option? In the *Gazette of India* for the 1st March, 1890, the Viceroy wrote:—"That efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of local public sentiments, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to such opinion when ascertained." On the 29th of March, 1890, Lord Cross, the Secretary of State for India in his Excise Despatch to the Viceroy, said:—

"That while absolute local option in Excise matters is not feasible, yet weight can be, and should be, and is given to local option in regard to licensing liquor shops." Now I ask—are these concessions granted? I do not hesitate to say—they are not. Only to-day I got a letter about a petition to remove a grog shop from an objectionable position in the district of Umballa. That petition was sent to the Deputy Commissioner four months ago—but no reply! (*Shame*.) In Madura, in Calicut, in Tanjore, in Sholapur, in Cuddapah, in Fureedpore, in Lahore, in Agra, in Mussooree, and in Dehra Doon, to my own positive knowledge, petitions of this nature have been rejected on paltry excuses, and as to making an effort "to ascertain the existence of local public sentiment" about grog shops, *no such effort is ever made*. (*Shame, shame*.) From pressure brought to bear by the British Parliament promises are made, laws are enacted; but if they tend to diminish the revenue, they are evaded, and the Government of India winks at their evasion for revenue reasons. (*Shame, shame*.)

This is the case not only with the liquor but also with the opium and *chandu*. Some-time ago the opium dens were condemned, and a law was made to shut them up. Now what do we find? Listen to a *Confidential* despatch from the head of the Excise Department in the N.-W. P. Here it is:—

"*Confidential. No. 1 of 1892. D/ 26 July, 1892.*

*From T. Stoker, Esquire, C. S., Commissioner of Excise, N. W. P. and Oudh,
To all Commissioners and Collectors, N. W. P. and Oudh.*

D/ 26 July, 1892.

Sir,—You are already aware that henceforth the *chandu* and *madah* smoking is absolutely prohibited on the premises licensed for the sale of the drug. It is impossible to doubt that this prohibition will be followed by the opening in many places of unlicensed places of resort where smokers can obtain the facilities which they require, and that such places will have to be kept under observation both for general reasons, and also with a view to prevent the use of illicit opium.

As the law now stands, the authorities have no power to suppress consumption on premises where opium or its preparations are not sold. There is nothing in the law to prevent any one opening a saloon for the accommodation of opium-smokers who bring their own *chandu*. He can supply pipes and lamps and service, and charge a fee for their use, and the law cannot touch him unless he is detected selling opium or its preparations, or found in possession of more than the legal quantity. On this point the opinion of the Board of Revenue is that it is not altogether advisable that such places should be suppressed. Collectors should watch such establishments carefully so as to prevent the sale thereof of illicit opium. The known conditions of *chandu* smoking render the maintenance of some common places for the consumption of the drug an almost absolute necessity. No efforts should be made to suppress such places, as it is better that they should be known, and thus be liable to supervision.

I have, &c.,

(Sd.) G. C. HAMPTON,

Hd. Asst. for Commissioner of Excise.

Now, I ask, is not this a shameful policy of shabby shuffling to try to evade the law in order to facilitate the sale of extra opium? Is such a condition worthy of the dignity of the British Government? (*Applause*). The root of the whole matter is the effort made to increase the revenue. But is it politic, is it expedient, is it just to replenish the revenue from the vice and the demoralization of the people?—yes, and to do so by resorting to ways and means that are mean and dishonorable? Let us then send forth floods of petitions to England to show the British public how the Excise administration is conducted here. We have strong friends and patriots there in the persons of Messrs. Cainc, S. Smith, Schwaan and others. (*Cheers*.) Supply them with shot and shell to destroy this citadel of iniquity, for the work must be done by the powerful and patriotic vote of the House of Commons—the paladium of English justice and fair-play. (*Loud applause*).

MR. OUDH BEHARI LAL, (*Allahbad, No. 416 in list*),—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I rise to support this resolution. I hold in my hand copy of an extract from instructions of the Court of the Directors of the East India Company issued so long ago as the year 1838. It runs as follows:—

“It cannot be too strongly urged upon Collectors that the object which Government has in view is to restrain and, if possible, to arrest and diminish the total actual consumption of spirituous liquor, whether clandestine or licensed, being fully persuaded that any amount of revenue that may be lost by the efficiency of the system to this end, will be repaid a hundred-fold by preservation and advancement of moral feelings and industrious habits among the people.” (*Hear, hear*). These are the noble words of the Directors of the East India Company, used in the year 1838, but what do we actually find now? Has this been the policy of the Government since? I say emphatically—no. (*Cheers*.) Instead of being true to their words, they have adopted a policy based only on financial considerations. (*Shame*). They do not seem to recognise that what is morally wrong cannot be politically right. It is certainly wrong on the part of individuals to yield to temptations, but it is no less wrong, especially on the part of the Government, to allow temptations to multiply before the masses of the people of this country. (*Cheers*).

Let it not be understood that we desire to make the people of India moral by means of resolutions of the House of Commons; that is impossible. They must be made moral by influences working at home. What we contend is that the Government ought to see that liquor shops are not forced upon the people in places where they are not wanted, and that distilleries are not established against the wishes and sentiments of the people. (*Hear, hear*). When sometime ago I went on a Temperance tour to Benares, I was sorry to hear in various places that it was generally believed that it was not the intention of the Government officials to close liquor shops, merely on the request of the people, for they think that if they were to yield to the demands of public opinion, it would show their weakness. From what has occurred in various places, I am inclined to think that the belief is not groundless. It is a shame and a scandal that some of the Government officials who come to this country forget their British instincts and become as despotic and autocratic as they can be. They not only defy the voice of the public here but try to ignore even resolutions passed by the House of Commons, and do not consider themselves responsible to anybody. If this is not despotism, I should like to know what it is. The interests of this country and the honor of England alike require that it should not be so, and that an earnest effort ought to be made by all concerned in the welfare of these great countries to stem the tide of drunkenness, which threatens to deluge this land and bring disgrace upon the English people. (*Cheers*).

[Munshi Sheikh Husain *alias* Sheikh Chand Wahid, (*Bombay No. 52, in list*),—This gentleman spoke next in support of the resolution in Urdu, but he has not supplied either a copy of his speech, or a translation thereof. Hence no report of his speech can be given, there having been no reporters for vernacular speeches.

MR. B. S. SAHASRABUDDHE, (*Poona, No. 70, in list*),—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—This resolution combines many propositions. My predecessors have spoken upon many portions of it, and I would confine my attention to those points only which I wish to bring

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particularly to your notice. It is proposed to introduce into the Code of Criminal Procedure a provision enabling persons in warrant cases to demand that instead of being tried by Magistrates they may be committed to the Court of Sessions. I will give you one instance which will convince you of the real necessity for this provision. A person was accused of committing theft; he was first of all sent before a second class Magistrate, and after evidence had been taken the District Magistrate was moved and thought it was his duty, in exercise of his powers of revision, to send the case to another Magistrate. Charges were then drawn up; and when the Pleader for the accused saw that the Magistrate was bent upon convicting the man, he made a representation to the Magistrate that it would be better in the interests of justice to send up the case to the Court of Sessions. If we had the right asked for here, he could certainly demand that the case should be sent up. Fortunately the case was sent up to the Sessions Court, and there, after careful enquiry by the Sessions Judge, the man was acquitted (*hear, hear*); and the Judge's remarks show that the case was a false one. If the good sense of the Magistrate had not induced him to commit the case to the Sessions, the man would have been convicted. (*Hear, hear*.) If we have a section introduced in the Criminal Procedure Code, enabling the accused in warrant cases to demand that his case should be sent up to the Sessions, it would be a great advantage. Therefore you see our humble prayer is that there should be a provision introduced into the Code of Criminal Procedure to enable a person to demand that he may, under certain circumstances, be committed to the Court of Sessions. (*Cheers*).

As to the reduction of the salt duty, this is one of the propositions which affects the masses very much, and we may therefore call this the poor man's proposition. (*Hear, hear*.) It is said that we never care for the masses, and that we are never anxious to protect their interests; but here is a case which will show that we have been agitating for years for some relief to the poorest of the poor (*hear, hear*), and we have to regret that there are no signs yet of that relief coming. All that we see is that the Viceroy has given some attention to the matter, for when he was at Madras he said that this would be the first tax which he would wish to see reduced. But we do not know when the tax will be reduced. (*Hear, hear*.) So that there is every necessity for our repeating this prayer in the interests of the masses; and we earnestly hope that it will be granted before long. (*Cheers*.) I hope you will all concur in carrying this proposition with acclamation. (*Loud cheers*).

MUNSHI ABDUL QADIR, (*Punjab, No. 614 in list*).—*This gentleman supported the resolution in a speech in Urdu, but he has not supplied either a copy of the speech or a translation of it in English, and hence no report of his speech can be given, there having been no reporters for vernacular speeches.*

THE PRESIDENT.—I have received two other applications from delegates for permission to speak upon this resolution. Is it necessary to have it further discussed?—(*Cries of 'no,' 'no,' 'vote, 'vote.'*)

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

Resolution VI.
Demands the withdrawal of the Jury notification and the extension of the system of trial by Jury.

BABU GURU PRASAD SEN, (*Bankipur, No. 259, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—In their letter dated 31st May, 1890, the Government of India asked the Government of Bengal for a report (1) as to 'how the Jury system has worked in the Lower Provinces, (2) what opinion is entertained as to its merits as a means for the repression of crime, (3) what improvements, if any, are called for in its application.' To clear the ground for the adoption of the resolution on the Jury question which I shall presently propose, it shall be necessary for us to examine these questions.

In my humble opinion, no amount of platitudes, or denunciation, but a careful examination of figures comprising the crime statistics for a number of years can alone help us in coming to a right conclusion regarding the matter. We have Jury trials and Non-jury trials in Sessions Court under the Government of Bengal, and the result of trials with jury as compared with the result of Sessions case trials without jury, will show the merit of each. Such a statement I now hold in my hand. It is a comparative statement of the above kind from 1877 to 1891 compiled from the Reports of the Administration

of Criminal Justice in the Lower Provinces. It will be tedious to read to you all the figures, even if our 16 minutes' rule will allow. I shall crave your permission to take it as read, and I shall hand over a copy to our Secretary for record as a part of this address. I shall however read to you the summary of the result.

From 1877 to 1891, barring the years 1879, 1880, 1881, and 1882 for which certain figures are not available, the number of trials with jury was 3,567; the number of verdicts agreed to by the Sessions Judges was 2,921; the number of verdicts not agreed to by the Sessions Judges was 632; the number of references disposed of, under Section 307, Criminal Procedure Code was 238; verdicts approved of by the High Court were 90; verdicts set aside by the High Court were 148. The percentage, therefore, of verdicts not agreed to by the Sessions Judges to the whole number of verdicts during these years, was 16·9. The percentage of verdicts actually set aside to the total number of verdicts, was 3·68. While, if all cases in which the Sessions Judges disagreed from the verdict of the jury, had been referred by them under Section 307, Criminal Procedure Code, to the High Court, and the verdicts set aside in the same proportion as in cases referred, the percentage of verdicts which would have been set aside, would be 11·8.

On the other hand, we find that during the same period the total number of Non-jury trials, i.e., trials with Assessors, was 12,141. The number of appeals disposed of by the High Court from the decisions of the Sessions Judges was 8,205; the number of cases in which there were no appeals, was 3,936; of the appeals disposed of, 6,632 were affirmed, and the number reversed, modified and sent back, was 1,603. The percentage of judgment, of Sessions Judges affirmed to the total number of appeals, was 81·6, and the percentage of judgments reversed, modified, and sent back, was 19·4. The percentage of judgments affirmed or not disturbed to the total number of trials was 86·7, while the percentage of judgments that would have to be corrected by the High Court, if there had been appeals in all cases to the total number of trials, would be 13·3.

It would, perhaps, be conceded that the cases not referred were such that if they were before the High Court there would be less chance of their being set aside. Under the present Code (Section 307, Cr. P. C.,) wrong verdicts may be set aside in every instance; it is not, therefore, an irremediable wrong. (*Hear, hear*). Again, there are doubtless cases in which no appeal against the sentence of the Sessions Judge is preferred, because the prisoner has no money or friends to take up his case before the High Court; and if appeals had been preferred in these cases the sentences would not have been affirmed; while, therefore, the mode in which the percentage has been worked out in column 9 of the Statement A. I have in hand, is unfavourable to the Jury, the mode by which the percentage in column 7 of the Statement B. also in hand, has been worked out, is very favourable to the Sessions Judge, and they have been worked out in this way to remove all hesitation in adopting them for the purpose of comparison.

Now, comparing these figures, we find that while the actual percentage of verdicts of juries set aside during these years has been only 3·68; the actual percentage of judgments of Sessions Judges reversed by the High Court in appeal, is 19·4. (*Hear, hear*). While if all disagreed verdicts had been referred to by the Sessions Judges to the High Court, under Section 307 of the Criminal Procedure Code, and these verdicts set aside in the same ratio as those referred, the percentage of verdicts set aside would have been only 11·8, but the percentage of judgments of the Sessions Judges that would have to be corrected by the High Court, to the total number of trials, treating cases not appealed against as affirmed, would be 13·3. (*Hear, hear*). [The Statement A. referred to above is published as *Appendix II.*]

These figures, I hold, conclusively prove that the Jury system has worked much better than the Non-jury or the Assessor system. (*Cheers*). Opinions, from whatever source they may come, would be of no weight if not based on facts, and isolated facts can scarcely furnish a correct basis for generalization. (*Hear, hear*).

Elsewhere the opinions on which the action of the Government of Bengal has been based have been sufficiently scrutinized, and it has been very satisfactorily shown that

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they do not support the conclusion, much less justify the action which the Government of Bengal has chosen to take in this matter. I shall not take time by repeating arguments there used.

It will be seen that the Jury system has been primarily condemned on the opinions of some of the Sessions Judges; but the figures reveal the rather astounding fact that there has been a steady deterioration of late years in the work of these Sessions Judges (*hear, hear*); thus:

Years.	Percentage of Judgments of Sessions Judges affirmed to the total number of appeals.	Percentage of Judgments of Sessions Judges, not disturbed to the total number of trials.
1877	81.5	89.1
1878	83.6	91
1879	85.2	89.6
1880	80.4	87
1881	80.7	88.3
1882	82.5	89.9
1883	83.8	89.1
1884	82.5	88.6
1885	79.9	84.1
1886	83	88.4
1887	80	86.3
1888	79.7	85.5
1889	78.1	85.6
1890	78.6	83.7
1891	77.4	83.5

There is, however, another set of figures which clearly indicates such depreciation, and is enough to excite consternation and alarm. (*Hear, hear.*) These figures are—

Years.	Total number of sentences of death passed by the Sessions Judges decided on reference by the High Court.	Confirmed.	Committed or set aside.	Percentage of sentences of death passed by the Sessions Courts, and set aside by the High Court.
1886	26	16	10	38.4
1887	34	23	11	28.2
1888	31	13	18	41.9
1889	22	11	11	50
1890	33	19	14	42.4
1891	48	32	16	33.3

The Jury system is condemned because of the prejudices of native jurors to convict in murder cases. Elsewhere it has been satisfactorily shown that the supposed reluctance does not exist; but in the face of the figures I have placed before you, the only action that should have been taken was not to take away the safeguard of a Jury trial but to extend

it to other places where it does not exist, specially in cases punishable with murder. (*Hear, hear and cheers*).

With reference to the second question, Mr. Justice Beverley observes:—“As to the merits of the system as a means for the repression of crime, it seems to me that it is difficult to form an opinion. I should think it extremely improbable that a murderer or a dacoit, before committing the offence, would sit down to consider whether in the event of his being apprehended he would be tried by a Judge sitting with Assessors, or by a Judge and Jury. On the other hand, the employment of juries to try criminal cases does tend to disseminate a knowledge of the criminal law, and such extended knowledge, it may be presumed, must have a tendency to repress crime. A statistical test of the merits or demerits of the Jury system as bearing upon the repression of crime, might be afforded by a comparison of the statistics of human crimes before and after the introduction of the system in 1862, or by a comparison of the statistics of such crime in Jury districts and those districts in which the system has not been introduced. But any such statistical comparison would be by no means conclusive.” (*Hear, hear*).

The Statements B. and C. which I hold in hand, have been compiled from Crime Statistics for a series of years, beginning with the year 1878, for the purpose of such comparison:—[These Statements are published as *Appendices III and IV*.]

It will be found at a glance,

- (1) That the offences under the Indian Penal Code have not at all increased;
- (2) That all other offences, excepting offences against property, have decreased;
- (3) That the slight increase in offences affecting property can only be traced to the inefficiency of the Police and the poverty of the people;
- (4) That as regards the Jury districts there has been a sensible decrease of all offences under the Indian Penal Code;
- (5) That this sensible decrease is decidedly marked with reference to all offences excepting offences affecting property;
- (6) That the number of offences in the Assessor districts has to a certain extent increased;
- (7) That this increase is marked both in offences affecting property and offences falling under other heads;
- (8) But that it is more marked in offences affecting property than in the other kinds of offences;
- (9) That the number of petty offences under Special Laws (infringement of Bye-laws of Municipalities and such like) have almost doubled from 1880 to 1890.

And the conclusion from the second of these Statements is that while in 1878 the proportion of our criminal population, *i.e.*, persons convicted under the Indian Penal Code to the whole population of Bengal, was one in 958, taking 66 millions as the population of the Lower Provinces, it was one in 1,155 in 1891 taking 66 millions again, as the basis of calculation, without taking into consideration the increase since then. (*Hear, hear*).

I have not at present in hand, figures giving such percentages for other countries, but from the comparison of the percentages in the Lower Provinces at two different periods, I ask what was the good of raising all this commotion? (*Cheers*).

Then as to the last point, it is generally assumed that the Jury system was an exotic institution brought in for the first time in India in 1862. There appears to be some misapprehension on this subject. It may be that we had no institution by this particular name in India previous to that year. It may be that to a certain extent, the spirit of Local Self-Government had been crushed out of us; but that no country was better fitted to receive the institution of Jury, and for the matter of that Local Self-Government of all kinds, than India, and that the institution of Jury came to be planted in a congenial soil in 1862, there cannot be any doubt.—(*Cheers*). The antiquity of the system

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of Jury trials in England cannot perhaps be traced back to a period anterior to the 11th century of the Christian era. But look to the *Sanhitas*, none of them later than the Christian era, and you shall find that in ancient India, the trials of all cases, Civil and Criminal, used to be in the Court of the King's Council, Assemblies of Townsmen, Companies of Traders, and Families. (*Hear, hear.*) You will find a complete account of it in *Yajnyavalka Sanhita* and its commentaries, the *Mitakshara* and *Viramitrodaya*. The Court of the King in Council used to be presided over, in the absence of the King, by the *Pradvivak* (Chief Justice), and composed of an uneven number of *Sabhasadas* (members of the assembly)—7 and 5 were the usual number—taken from 11 classes of people, while the other tribunals as their names indicate, were composed of the people themselves. The relic of all these, the *Punchayat*, still attests the vigour, with which Local Self-Government used to be carried on at one time in India. (*Cheers*). And even now the people say '*Punch muh Parmeshwar*'—the voice of the *Punch* is the voice of God. That indicates the kind of reverence and awe, with which our people even now look on the voice of *five* of themselves, and if any reform, short of reforming the Police and the Magistracy, and insisting on a better knowledge in our Sessions Judges of the language of the people, is needed here, it is in the selection of the people's *Punch*. (*Cheers*). Hundreds of such men are available in every town, nay in every important village, if one was to know where to find them out. And in this connection let me make a suggestion. If instead of the Police, the members of the District and Local Boards or Municipalities were to be entrusted with the duty of finding out men for selection, there would be no lack of good, honest and able men to fill up the Jury list. (*Hear, hear.*)

I beg now to propose the resolution, with which I have been entrusted, for your acceptance. It is as follows :—

That this Congress views with the deepest concern and alarm the recent policy of the Government of India and of the Governments of Bengal and Assam in withdrawing the right of trial by Jury in the majority of serious offences, and most respectfully, but firmly protests against such policy and action as retrograde, reactionary, and injurious to the best interests of the country, and prays that the same may be reversed by the Government of India and failing that, by the Government in England; and that as prayed for in resolutions of previous Congresses, the right of trial by Jury be extended to such parts of the country where it is not now in force, it being the only safeguard for the people in the present unsatisfactory condition of the administration of criminal Justice in British India. (Cheers).

We have this year separated the Jury question from our Omnibus Resolution because of the importance the question has assumed in Bengal and is likely soon to assume in other parts of India. The reference in the first part of this resolution is in one sense to a local matter affecting even not the whole of Bengal; but no apology is needed to introduce this to you, as you have in past years determined that the extension of the Jury system in criminal trials, wherever it does not prevail at present, lies at the very threshold of any reform in the administration of Criminal Justice in India, and thus any restriction of it in any part of India, in any form, you cannot but hold to be a retardation of a needed reform. (*Cheers*). Trial by jury, as I have shown to you, I hope conclusively, from the Criminal Statistics of Bengal, is a great safeguard for the protection of the life, liberty and property of the people. (*Cheers*). Again, the way in which the restriction on the Jury system has been imposed affects the general policy of good Government in India. (*Hear, hear*). It has certainly created much consternation and alarm; but I venture to hope there is no reason to distrust the motive of Government, and in that hope we pray that the present Jury policy may be reversed by the Government of India, and failing that, by the Government in England, and the Jury system introduced in parts, where it does not exist at present, it being the only safeguard for the people in the present unsatisfactory condition of the administration of Criminal Justice in British India. (*Cheers*).

BABU BAIKUNTHA NATH SEN, (*Murshidabad, No. 210 in list*),—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The subject before you must be looked at from the Congress point of view. The principle underlying the system of trial by jury was introduced in Madras and

Bombay in 1832, and in Bengal, by an Act of the Supreme Council, in 1861, and the Local Government, vested with the authority given by the act, selected 7 districts for the enjoyment of the privilege in respect of certain classes of offences. In 1867, Sir Cecil Beadon was for the extension of the system to other districts. (*Hear, hear*). In 1871, Commissioners recommended withdrawal, but the recommendations were rejected. (*Hear, hear*). In 1872, the Code of Criminal Procedure provided for a reference to the High Court by the Judge in case of disagreement between the Jury and the Judge. In 1884, there was a discussion of the question by Government, resulting in leaving things *status quo*. In 1892, came the Jury notification, under consideration, published in Bengal on the 26th of October last, and in Assam, a few days later. No previous notice, no reasons contemporaneously given! but certain correspondence published *after* the notification giving the opinions of some officials! (*Shame.*)

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Neither the Government of Bengal nor the Administration of Assam have yet published any resolution setting forth the grounds on which their action in withdrawing the trial of heinous offences by Jury is based. (*Hear, hear*). But it can be gathered from the correspondence published that the system has been condemned on the ground of failure of justice, it being borne in mind that the notification can be supported on two grounds only, *vis.*, political considerations and failure of justice. (*Hear, hear*). A privilege once granted and enjoyed for a period of 30 years ought not to be taken away without making out a very strong case for such a measure. (*Cheers*). The Government has therefore to establish clearly the alleged failure of justice in cases decided by the Jury to justify its action. (*Hear, hear*).

The statistics given by the learned mover of this resolution surely do not justify the action of the Government. If it could be shown that there has been a decline in the number of convictions for certain classes of offences, and that crime has increased in consequence, the position of Government would be strengthened; but how does the matter actually stand? Even the best apologists of the notification do not suggest that crime has increased in consequence of acquittals of really guilty persons. (*Cheers*). It would be interesting in connection with this to compare India with England, and some other European countries. From the statistics available from one of the best authorities, it would be found that the Prison population per one hundred thousand was 90 in England, in 1882; 158 in France, in 1885; 230 in Italy, in 1887; 120 in the United States, in 1886; 160 in Japan, in 1887; and 38 in India, in 1887. (*Hear, hear*). And I may here mention that eminent criminologists of England, of Germany, and of Italy, have expressed their surprise at the small ratio which the prison population bears to the general population in India. (*Hear, hear, and cheers*).

The number of trials, convictions and acquittals ought no doubt to be taken into consideration with reference to this particular point, in anticipation of any argument that might be urged by the supporters of the notification. There were in India in 1881,—11,72,000 trials, and 5,27,000 acquittals; in 1887,—13,77,000, trials, and 7,03,000 acquittals; that is to say, there was an increase in the 6 years of 19 p. c. in the number of cases tried, and of 4.5 p. c. in acquittals. (Population increased 4.5 per cent. in the six years.) This decline of 4.5 per cent. in convictions is not owing to a failure of justice in trials by Jury, but is attributable to many important factors, such as the poverty of the country, the vigorous action, and the unnecessary and unjustifiable action of the Police, the mismanagement of cases before Magistrates, the perfunctory and unsatisfactory commitments of cases to the Sessions Court. (*Hear, hear*).

As regards cases of homicide in England, the ratio of convictions is about 50 per cent, whereas of convictions in respect of other offences, the ratio is about 75 per cent. It becomes a question of grave importance why in England with an efficient Police and an intelligent and educated jury there is a larger percentage of acquittals in cases of homicide than in other cases. (*Hear, hear*). And here I cannot help bringing to your notice the fact that Mr. John Bright, in one of his speeches advocating the abolition of capital sentences, observed that the Jury naturally were over-scrupulous in weighing evidence in cases where the punishment

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might be death. (*Hear, hear.*) Now in India the percentage of acquittals in cases of homicide is far less than what it is in England, notwithstanding that the Indian Jury is supposed to be averse to capital punishment and is over-scrupulous in weighing evidence in cases where such punishment is possible. (*Hear, hear.*) Any decline in convictions in cases of heinous offences, even if assumed for the sake of argument, does not necessarily establish a failure of justice. A reform of the Police ought to precede any attempt to withdraw the system of trial by Jury. (*Cheers.*)

If the statistics do not justify the notification, can it be supported by the opinions of Subordinate Officials, or Commissioners of Divisions, Sessions Judges and Magistrates and some of the Judges of the High Court? Irrespective of the merit or demerit of those opinions, it is a fact that the opinions were neither asked for nor given with reference to the question of the withdrawal of the system of trial by Jury. (*Hear, hear.*) In certain cases they were only asked to express how far the system had been successful as a means for the repression of crime and what improvements could be made in it. It is, to say the least, unfair to the Hon'ble Judges of the High Court, unfair to the officials mentioned and unfair to the people at large, to use those opinions obtained ostensibly for one purpose for altogether a different one. (*Cheers.*) Sir Charles Elliott is credited with strength of mind and the courage of convictions, which seven Lieutenant-Governors preceding him are alleged to have been wanting in; if so, he ought to have put the question of the withdrawal of the system of trial by Jury in cases of certain heinous offences pointblank to those whom he thought fit to consult, and ought to have published his grounds for issuing the notification to give the public an opportunity to criticise those grounds.—But what did His Honor do? From the summits of the Darjeeling Hills, he suddenly hurled the notification down at the head of the people. The people were quite stunned, and when they recovered consciousness, they found that the notification had, only four days after its publication, come into operation, and that their cherished and valued right of trial by jury in heinous cases, had been taken away by His Honor by one single stroke of the pen in exercise of the authority given him under section 269 of the Criminal Procedure Code. (*Cries of 'shame, shame'*). A few days later, the Assam Administration published a similar notification in the official Gazette, with this difference only that the order is to come into force from the 1st of January next!

Now, gentlemen, at a peaceful time, when political considerations are not even suggested as having any thing to do with the notification, the manner of its publication cannot be too strongly condemned. (*Cheers.*) If a bill be introduced for the first time in the Legislative Council, it has to be published in the official Gazette and public criticism is to be considered. *A fortiori* when a vested right, exercised by a large number of Her Majesty's subjects for a period of thirty years, is intended to be taken away by the Governor of a country, the proposal ought to be allowed to be subjected to public criticism, by timely publication. Why this unseemly haste, this precipitancy in sending forth a fiat, which gives rise to so much irritation and excitement, and results in an agitation the like of which has scarcely ever been seen. (*Hear, hear.*) Is the expected good likely to counterbalance the discontent and dissatisfaction which has been caused by it among the most loyal of Her Majesty's subjects? No. The notification is the outcome of a policy which is retrograde and reactionary, and which is now being pursued by the Government of Bengal in utter defiance of public opinion. (*Shame.*) I won't say that the notification is meant to be a slap to Babudom; but what I do say is that the measure is a deliberate insult to this Congress, which has been year after year recording its resolution for the extension of the system of trial by jury in places where the same is not in vogue. This being so, the Congress must not be content simply with the withdrawal of the notification, but should re-double its efforts for the extension of the system of trial by jury; to places where it is not at present in force. And for this purpose, we should move the Government of India, and if necessary, the Government of England. (*Loud cheers.*)

MR. LAKSHMINATH BEZBARUA, (*Assam, No. 226 in list.*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN.—In supporting this resolution on behalf of the people of Assam, I have this much

to say, that the notification came upon the people of Assam in a very evil hour. It cannot be generally known that this privilege was given to the people of Assam long before the Bengal people had the good fortune of getting it. (*Hear, hear*). It is as old as the British rule in Assam, which began sixty years ago. All of a sudden, like a thunderbolt from a blue sky, this notification fell upon them, completely putting them out and surprising them. If there is any province in India which wants trial by jury more than another it is Assam. (*Hear, hear*). You know that Assam is a non-Regulation Province; it is in fact still in darkness, and the people are backward and poor. Education has not there made much progress, and civilisation has made but little advance. And it is also well known that raw and inexperienced Civilians are generally imported into Assam, who not only administer justice in a lawless manner, but tyrannise over the people, and often do things which you will be surprised to hear of, but not nine-tenths of which are ventilated in the columns of newspapers. (*Hear, hear*). We have got no good Barristers or Advocates in Assam to explain things to these young Civilians, who are generally scarcely out of their teens when there. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary for us to have the safeguard which trial by jury affords against miscarriages of justice. (*Cheers*). With these few words, I beg to support the resolution. (*Cheers*).

PANDIT SHAM NARAYAN, (*Lucknow, No. 541 in list*).—*This gentleman supported the resolution in a speech in Urdu, but as he has not sent either a copy of the speech or its translation in English, and as there were no vernacular reporters, we are unable to give a report of his speech here.*

MR. R. K. LIMAYE, (*Poona, No. 86, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—In supporting this resolution, I have to observe that the present is one of those instances in which the Government, with an honest desire to improve the administration of justice, thinks, but I believe wrongly, that it ought to mould its conduct by hearing one side of the problem only, *vis.*, the official side. In the present case, if the Government had taken the public into its confidence a little, it would have found reasons, not to curtail the system, but to develop and expend it. (*Hear, hear*). Mind the Panchayat or Jury system has not been imported here from abroad. It is an old institution of ours. (*Hear, hear*). But really we need not go so very far back. Let us examine the law as it stands at this day. The law lays down that the trial (of course, in some grave and serious offences and in some districts chosen by the Local Governments,) should be by jury. In such a trial, the majority of the Jury constitutes one Judge and the District Judge, another Judge. If they disagree, the case is decided by the High Court on a reference. If they agree, the Judge decides the case at once. There is no independent power in the Jury. (*Hear, hear*). If the Judge and the majority of the Jury acquit or convict an accused, you cannot say that the Jury were wrong. If the High Court decide the matter on a reference, justice is done there. Where is the occasion then for a failure of justice which might discredit the system? (*Cheers*.) I say if proper persons are selected to sit on the Jury by responsible officers, (I think the Government officials would not like to be told that they fail in this duty,) then how can the system fail at all? (*Cheers*). The statistics so far as they can be gathered from published reports, point to one conclusion only, *viz.*, that no case has yet been made out by the officials to discredit the system as a whole, but that one-sided and insufficient materials were placed before the Government, which, without pausing to hear the other side, passed erroneous orders. (*Cheers*).

Perhaps it may be said that there is no necessity for assisting a Judge by a Jury. To that the reply is simply this. Where the Sessions Judges as a rule are strangers to the habits, customs, language, &c., of the accused and the witnesses, it is imperatively necessary that they should be assisted by a strong and intelligent Jury, to avoid such appalling mistakes as some of the European Judiciary are found at times to commit. (*Cheers*). All the delegates of the Dekkan, and some from other parts also, full well know by this time the important murder of the meaning of the words *Karana* committed at Satara the other day. (*Hear, hear*). *कारणीय* was not understood by the learned Magistrate to mean "cause of" as it should have been, but was interpreted by him, with his great *aya* and *ooly*

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learning,—(*laughter*), to mean "*causing fiend*." (*Laughter*). I think I must stop here: I need not cite any more instances as they are too numerous. I heartily support the resolution and commend it to your favourable consideration. (*Cheers*).

MR. RAMANUJA CHARIAR, (*Madras, No. 568 in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The subject of this resolution is one about which I am aware there can hardly be any difference of opinion. My reason for speaking on this occasion is to show that although the presidency of Madras is unaffected by the recent Bengal Notification, yet the people of Madras heartily sympathise with their brethren in Bengal. (*Cheers*). The recent misfortune that has befallen that Presidency is a calamity which may be considered to be common to the whole country. (*Hear, hear*). But the remarks which were made by our President in his inaugural speech as regards the difference in the mode of recording evidence in civil and criminal trials in Bengal, do not apply to the procedure in our country. In civil cases in the Madras presidency the depositions are recorded in the vernacular by a clerk differently from the manner in which the evidence in criminal cases is taken down. Both in civil and criminal cases the Judge is empowered to record the depositions in English in brief, and the decisions are also recorded by the Judge himself in English. But leaving this difference in the mode of recording evidence aside, it cannot be denied that Juries have in the majority of cases rendered good service to the people in the trial of cases. Sometimes Judges display a desire to get rid of Juries, and in entertaining such a desire they have an object in view. There are some cases tried by Sessions Courts in which from the very nature of the offences, it is impossible to get any clear and positive evidence. For instance in cases of bribery, and in cases in which the offence is committed clandestinely and in private. In such cases some Judges, in the absence of strict legal proof, seem determined to convict the accused on the strength of their own moral conviction of the man's guilt, and in such cases it is convenient to get rid of the Jury and base the Judge's conviction on indirect evidence strengthened, by his own conviction of the probabilities of the case—which is a very wide term. It is for such reasons that some Judges have evinced a desire to abolish Juries, but that is no reason why we should not insist upon the retention of Juries. Juries in most cases agree with the Judge. In Madras Juries almost invariably follow the lead of the Judge. Therefore the allegation which has been made with regard to Juries being the cause of a failure of justice cannot apply to Madras. These are the reasons which I beg leave to advance against the abolition of trial by Jury in Sessions cases. (*Cheers*).

BABU TARAPADO BANERJEE, (*Nuddea, No. 195 in list*).—BROTHER DELEGATES,—It is with much diffidence that I rise to support this resolution which has been so ably proposed and seconded. I have no intention of figuring in the capacity of a speech-maker to-day. I wish only to say this that in the final decision of this important matter, are involved the interests of a large proportion of the people of India, and that upon it depends the future of our national advancement. (*Cheers*). We have been deprived of a valued right which according to all sound principles of criminal jurisprudence, even the humblest member of a subject race is entitled to claim and possess. It is an admitted principle of law that in accusations of a serious and grave nature, the accused should have the privilege of choosing his own judges. (*Hear, hear*). To be judged by one's own peers is a privilege highly valued as a safeguard against any failure of justice. And our Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Charles Elliott, has deprived us most unceremoniously of this privilege. (*Shame*).

As regards my own district, I am told that the Judges, with only one single exception, have borne testimony to the fact that Native Juries are not only fully competent to perform the duties of Judges of facts, but are above bribery and corruption. (*Cheers*). The facts and figures which have been placed before us to-day show that the Jury system has worked very satisfactorily in all districts in Bengal. I therefore fail to see why this notification should have ever been issued, and why the Government of India should not be able to revoke it. But recent events in connexion with what is called the 'compromise' show that we have very little hope of good from that quarter. I would therefore request you to organise a delegation to England to represent your grievance there. (*Hear, hear*).

The matter is of the utmost importance. It is not the concern of a day or an hour, but our perpetual happiness is involved in it, and I ask you all to unite in securing a satisfactory solution of this question. (*Cheers*).

MR. C. V. NAYADU, (*Nagpore, No. 143 in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I rise to support the sixth resolution, so ably put before you by my learned countryman of Behar. You have heard with regret how in Lower Bengal a single notification emanating from the Government there, has abolished the Jury system that was in vogue there ever since the year 1862. About Bombay and Madras you have heard ere this as to how unsatisfactorily Juries are treated in those Presidencies. I would now request you to hear something of the criminal administration of the Central Provinces. (*Hear, hear*).

It is nearly 40 years since the Criminal Law, as administered in other parts of British India, has been in force in our Provinces. We have a Judicial Commissioner doing the work of a High Court. We have in force in our Provinces all the Criminal Laws that are applicable to other parts of India. In almost every district we have Honorary Magistrates appointed from among the educated class, and there is no lack of educated gentlemen who can weigh the evidence of any criminal case heard by them and come to a correct finding. (*Hear, hear*). Several reforms have been introduced in the administration of our Provinces during the last 15 years, and the people there are not now what they were some years ago. We find a large number of educated gentlemen and graduates of various Universities in almost every district. We have Local Self-Government in our midst. The Municipal Acts are in force amongst us. The members of District Councils and Municipalities are acquitting themselves in such an excellent manner that questions of importance relating to the welfare of the country are very often referred to them for opinion. (*Hear, hear*). And we the delegates of the Central Provinces are clearly of opinion that the time has come when the system of trial by Jury may be safely extended to many of our districts. (*Cheers*). The principle involved in this system is simply this :—That an accused person should be tried by his countrymen, who know the customs, manners and the language of the accused. (*Hear, hear*). It cannot be urged by any body that there is a single district in our Provinces which cannot supply such men as can do justice to any criminal case that may be brought before them. (*Hear, hear*). We do not however at present wish that the Jury system be extended to all the districts in the Province, but we wish and pray that it be introduced at least in the districts of the head quarters of the four divisions of our Provinces, namely, Nagpore, Jabalpur, Hoshangabad and Raipur. (*Hear, hear*).

You have heard this subject urged from the Congress platform again and again. For want of a jury system hundreds of innocent men are sharing the ignoble quarters of a prison house, and hundreds who should have been there are gentlemen at large. (*Loud cheers*). In order to blot out the evil and to ensure the happiness of millions of our countrymen, the Government should, instead of turning a deaf ear to our representations, come forward, kindled with that fire of duty and with that love of justice that characterize every Englishman, to give us what we want and what we expect of them as our right. The fellow subjects of Windsor Castle will ever be bound together by the bonds of brotherhood; the proud banner of St. George, St. Andrews and St. Patrick of the British flag will ever wave gloriously in the air, as long as the sun and the moon remain in the firmament. (*Cheers*). The common subjects of one Sovereign, the common children of one fatherland will happily march onwards beating the drum gaily for the glory of our Queen-Empress. (*Cheers*).

MR. S. B. BHATE, (*Belgaum, No. 72 in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—In coming to this platform my object is simply to state to you that the policy which has been advocated by the Bengal Government, seems to have found favor with the Government in our Presidency also. There were communications made to many Sessions Judges where the system prevails, and these Judges were asked to report upon the kind of work done by juries. The Sessions Judges have in a hole and corner way reported to the Government that the system is at fault, and that juries have been doing their duties in a way of which the less said the better. But these statements are based upon facts which are not at all capable of proof (*hear, hear*.) and are based upon a one sided view of the matter. Belgaum is one of those districts where

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this system has been working for four or five years, and so far as the work of jurors is concerned, there have not been any flagrant instances of failures of justice. (*Hear, hear.*) Yet the Sessions Judges have ventured to report to Government without consulting the wishes of the people who are most intimately concerned with the matter, that the system has proved an unmitigated failure, and our Local Government seems anxious to follow this notification of Bengal by a similar one in three or four of our districts. (*Shame.*) Poona is one, Belgaum is another, and Surat the third. These three districts are being marked out for being deprived of the system of trial by jury. (*Shame.*) This is a matter against which a most emphatic protest must be entered in the most earnest and unmistakable language by us all, and I hope our protest will not go in vain. With these few words I commend the resolution to your unanimous acceptance. (*Loud Cheers.*)

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

Resolution VII.
Claim for an equitable contribution by England towards Indian military expenditure abnormally increased owing principally to the Imperial policy of Great Britain.

MR. D. E. WACHA, (*Bombay, No. 39, in list.*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, The resolution I am about to propose to you is one which, I am sure, will not only commend itself to your approval but be carried by acclamation—such is the admitted justice of its demand and such the unanimity on the subject. It is as follows:—

"That having regard to the fact that the abnormal increase in the annual military expenditure of the Empire since 1885-86 is principally owing to the military activity going on beyond the natural lines of the defences of this country, in pursuance of the Imperial policy of Great Britain in its relation with some of the great Powers of Europe, this Congress is of opinion, that, in bare justice to India, an equitable portion of that expenditure should be borne by the British Treasury, and that the revenues of India should be proportionately relieved of that burden."

You would no doubt, remember, gentlemen, that at previous Congresses, particularly at the one held last year at Nagpur, I expatiated at length on the enormous growth of the military expenditure since 1884-85. It has risen from 16 to 22 crores in seven years. But it is altogether needless for me on this occasion to tire your patience by referring to its particulars once more. You will, however, have understood from the drift of the resolution just read to you what is it that we now demand of the Home Government. It is acknowledged in all quarters, aye, even by those who are the unmitigated apologists of the "Forward policy" feverishly pursued by the Government of India, that the gross injustice of throwing on this country for years past, the *whole* burden of the military expenditure, a considerable portion of which should, in all fairness, be borne by the British Treasury, ought no longer to be tolerated, past endurance as it is, and entailing as it does oppressively heavy sacrifices on the already over-burdened tax-payers of the land. (*Hear, hear.*) That the demand for the reparation of such injustice should be heard, and loudly heard, in the hall of St. Stephen itself goes without saying. For it is an injustice against which the Indian Government has been protesting vigorously enough for the past fifteen years, but protesting in vain. (*Hear, hear.*) Responsible administrators at Calcutta and at Westminster have not only protested against the shameful injustice, but recorded their deliberate opinion as to the expediency of redressing it, considering that wealthy England partly defends herself at home at the expense of the revenues of impoverished India. (*Shame.*) Apart from the long-standing scandal of the charges in connexion with the Home depôts to which I drew pointed attention at the sittings of the First Congress, and apart from other unjust charges, such as those of transport, arrears of pensions, and so forth—apart from these, the Imperial policy of Great Britain in its relations with Russia, and its attitude towards the whole question, known as the Eastern question, (*hear, hear*) have foisted on India the annual permanent charge of 2 crores on account of the 30,000 additional troops maintained since the acquisition of Upper Burmah and the Penjdeh incident. That this additional burden is altogether unjustifiable is well-known. So, too, all the cost of the so-called "Special defences". You would remember my referring to these last year and reading to you a few extracts from the minutes of two of the members of the Government of India on the subject, namely, those of the Hon'ble Mr. C. P. Ilbert and Sir Auckland Colvin. They courageously protested not only against the unfairness of the burden, but against the policy

which led to that addition. I particularly read out to the Congress that part of the joint minute of those members of the Government in which it was observed that the addition of 30,000 troops to the then existing force, under the plea of safe-guarding the Empire against attack from without, was hollow, and that its veiled object was purely the kindling of the faggots of external aggression. That minute is so valuable an one and so remarkably prophetic every way, as subsequent events have demonstrated, that I could not do better than have it inserted as part of my speech for your benefit. And, with the permission of the President, I would place it on the table for the purpose. [*Vide* Appendix V.] Now, I say, that the warning of Mr. Ilbert and Sir Auckland Colvin was prophetic. This must be clear to you from the number of so-called punitive expeditions undertaken by the Government of India, under the mischievous advice of its military advisers (*Hear, hear,*) since 1855-56—expeditions which have enabled them to acquire the Zhob valley and that portion of Baluchistan which is now known as British, and such strategical places as Gilgit, Chalt, Hunza and Nagyar, and the probability, later on, of the occupation of Chitral, not to say anything of the continued bullying and baiting attitude adopted towards the Ameer of Afghanistan (*hear, hear,*) with the fixed determination to have a bold "spring forward" on a fitting opportunity. All the places I have alluded to, have been almost forcibly acquired (*shame*) under the plea of checkmating Russia in her nearer advance to India and carrying on a filibustering policy beyond the Hindu Kush. As I informed you, it is the policy of keeping Russia away from the Bosphorus, which is the sole object of Russia's advance nearer the confines of India. But for this Imperial policy of Great Britain, of which Russia's onward march is the logical sequence, all the events that have occurred on the North-West Frontier would have been nowhere, and this incubus of a large standing army, gnawing away the finances of India and eating into the vitals of the tax-payers would have never been known. (*Hear, hear.*)

Members of the Standing Committees of the Congress at various centres would remember that in 1888, Mr. Martin Wood, an honoured gentleman and a veteran, though now retired, Anglo-Indian journalist, who has been fully in sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of the Congress, and who is unostentatiously doing great service to the cause of this country at home, had addressed a most thoughtful letter to the Congress on the subject of this disastrous "Forward policy." Owing, unfortunately, to some technicality it yet remains unrecorded in your proceedings. But most of you are perfectly cognisant of the facts and arguments with which that letter bristles. These have not yet lost their value. If at all, their relevancy is a great deal emphasised and their importance enhanced by the events which have transpired and are transpiring since the date of the inditement of the letter. It must be in your recollection that the cardinal point to which Mr. Wood referred in that correspondence was this forward policy of the Government which is the dominant factor of the chronic embarrassment of Indian finances. It is also the key to the whole material condition of the country. I passingly referred to that cardinal point in my speech last year, but as it bears the closest relation to the subject-matter of the resolution now before you, I deem it advisable to quote the passage at whole length, and afterwards place this letter on the table also, with the permission of the President, as part of this day's proceedings. [*Vide* Appendix VI.] Mr. Wood observed:—

"It is a maxim acknowledged by our statesmen that expenditure depends on policy. In this instance the grievous addition to the unproductive outlay from Indian revenues is wholly due to the revolutionary change entered on in 1876, followed by the disastrous invasion of Afghanistan in 1878-80, 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 constructed. You are well aware that the policy has been adopted, and forced on India under cover of partisan counsels among certain English politicians; but this does not make it any more worthy of approval or lessen the need for its being checked, or, if possible, reversed." Thus it is *the policy* which is at the root of the expenditure, and all of you will agree with me in thinking that, next to seeing that expenditure controlled or its burden partially relieved by the British treasury, our constant aim should be to nag on at the

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Claim for an
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Resolution VII.

Claim for an equitable contribution by England towards Indian military expenditure abnormally increased owing principally to the Imperial policy of Great Britain.

mischievous policy, with a view to its reversal. (*Applause.*) But meanwhile let me further point out to you the broad considerations which we are sometimes apt to overlook or postpone, as Mr. Wood justly observes, amidst the stress of other current topics. These considerations are :

- (a) "The financial position of India dominates all its other material conditions.
- (b) "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 executive policy, and no reform in administration nor in the local Legislative Councils will avail to obtain a 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."

Gentlemen, I need not tell you how weighty are these considerations, and what is, therefore, the duty of the Congress in reference to them. I dare say you fully comprehend the drift of the extracts just read and clearly understand the position of Indian finance as dominated by the huge octopus of military expenditure. The Currency question becomes of secondary importance in comparison with it. For though you may remedy your Currency, the financial embarrassments arising from the burdensome military expenditure will continue to prevail until the policy which entails it is absolutely reversed. (*Hear, hear.*)

I am deeply of conviction, and, so too, I believe, you are, that were this policy to be reversed to-morrow, we would see an end to the "prolonged wail" of our Finance Ministers in succession touching the growing difficulty of bringing an equilibrium in the annual balance sheet of the empire. We would then at once see an end to the inspired statements put forth from time to time about the enhancement of old and the imposition of new taxation. (*Hear, hear.*) I am one of those who have long since felt that in the direct proportion that the Home obligations of all character are reduced, will India find greater stability in the ratio between silver and gold. As I stated to you last evening, that was the opinion of the Departmental Committee of experts in 1876. It is idle to say that many of our gold obligations, especially those in connection with guaranteed railways, could not be converted into silver. There are no insurmountable obstacles in the way of the needed conversion. So experienced a Finance Minister as Sir John Strachey was deliberately of opinion, as observed in his book of Indian Finance, that it was practical. It is the powerful vested and most selfish interests, coupled with the tenacious perversity of some of the men at the helm of affairs at Westminster, which are in the way of the solution. (*Hear, hear.*)

But this is somewhat of a digression from the subject proper. What I have to remind you about is this : that the military policy pursued since 1876 by the Government of India, notably since 1885-86, is the real difficulty of India, not the temporary evils arising from Currency. (*Hear, hear.*)

● I observed at the outset that not only is the entire Native press but even the Anglo-Indian press in favour of the demand made in the resolution before you. The Government of India itself has, since 1879, more than once bitterly complained in its despatches of the unjust burden saddled on the Indian Treasury in reference to that portion of the military expenditure which in all conscience and equity should be borne by the British Treasury. For it is incurred in consequence of the policy pursued by England towards

Russia in Europe. Even apart from the charges arising out of that policy, there are others which have been seriously objected to from time to time as being unjust,—charges of a variety of character which I enumerated at length in my speech at the First Congress and in support of which I submitted extracts from State despatches and other official returns of the Government of India itself. I will not, therefore, detain you by again reiterating them on this occasion, because there is an absolute unanimity on the point. The only thing now essential is to formulate our demand as definitely as possible, based on such unanimity. In so doing, we really support the Government of India and strengthen its hands. (*Hear, hear.*)

But, gentlemen, I may further request you to remember that it is not only the Government here that has protested against the injustice of the burden of military expenditure being laid by a rich country like England on so poor a country like India. (*Show.*) Members of the Council of India too have protested against it. When the entire cost of the unrighteous second Afghan war was at first attempted to be foisted on India, some of those members vigorously recorded their minutes against the scandalous injustice of the attempt. Some went into the broad question we are discussing to-day. These minutes, I believe, are so germane to the substance of the resolution before you that I would be wanting in my task if I did not acquaint you with them. They are all taken from the Blue Books on Afghanistan published by order of the House of Commons in 1879-80-81. The entire cost of the Second Afghan war was, as you are aware, 25 crores of Rupees. And it was after a memorable debate in the House of Commons that India was done paltry justice to by a contribution of 5 crores from the British Treasury at the rate of a crore per annum, though there was not an inconsiderable body of English opinion in favour of England bearing the whole cost.

This is what Sir Erskine Perry, one of the truest and staunchest friends of India in the India Council, whose loss we must for ever deplore, observed: "I deny absolutely that the interest of India demand a war. Lord Lytton has told us more than once that the Central Asian question is *not an Indian but a European question*, that it depends on the policy of the Cabinet. I bow to the reasoning the soundness of which I am not in a position to judge; but as our Indian politics are charged by Parliament with the protection of the revenues of India, I maintain that *it is unjust to throw any of the cost of an Imperial policy on the revenues of that extremely poor country.*" (*Hear, hear.*)

The late Sir Henry Durand, then Military Member of the Council and who was afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, minuted:—

"For the above reasons I should have been disposed to vote against the present charge on the revenues of India, but looking upon it only as an advance to the Imperial Government, feeling also that it is expedient that no time should be lost in providing for a necessity growing out of an actual war, and having been given the power under Section 23 of 21 and 22 Vict., Chapter 106, of recording my opinion, I have voted with my colleagues in the affirmative."

Sir Barrow Ellis recorded the following minute, and I ask you to listen to it most attentively as it has a great bearing on the general question. Sir Barrow Ellis, too, you may know, was a steadfast and true friend of this country and a just and most sympathetic Civilian, the type of whom is getting rare.

"It is not for me to justify the war, nor to seek to determine the causes that have led to it, except in so far as they bear on the question whether the charge ought to be borne by Indian revenues or by the Imperial Treasury. Had the war been undertaken on account of aggression by Shere Ali, or because the Afghans menaced the peace and security of India, then doubtless, at whatever cost, the charge would fairly have been debitable to India, but surely no one will allege these to be the causes of the war. It is not anything that Shere Ali has said or done that *per se* justifies the extreme step of declaring a war that must at least cost much money, and many valuable lives. *The war is clearly the outcome of events in Europe, and the necessity for it has arisen from the action of Russia, which action again was devised as a support to the schemes in Europe. It is thus in the interest of the Empire, and*

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Resolution VII

Claim for an equitable contribution by England towards Indian Military Expenditure abnormally increased owing principally to the Imperial policy of Great Britain.

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in furtherance of European policy, that the war has been brought about, and it is in these considerations that its justification must be found. I trust, therefore, that it will be borne in mind that the mere fact of the locale being on the Indian Frontier ought not to be made an excuse for placing a new burthen upon India. In any case substantial aid will be freely given by India in the supply of war material, and in meeting the ordinary cost of a large portion of the troops engaged; the additional charges involved ought to be accepted by the British Nation, and this liability, I doubt not will be generally recognised. The people of India are unrepresented, and it is the more incumbent, therefore, that the British Nation should impose on India no charge of this kind that is not just and beyond challenge. Taxation is already as heavy in India as it well can be, and the people will feel the more new taxes, which in any case would cause grave dissatisfaction, not to say discontent, when the imposition of such taxes is due to an expenditure which ought in fairness to be borne by the Imperial Exchequer, and not by the already over-weighted Indian tax-payer." (Hear, hear.)

Gentlemen, I ask you to consider whether the weighty reasons stated in the minute of Sir Barrow Ellis do not still hold good? Is it not time we should reiterate them at this juncture with all the strength legitimately at our command, especially, when the expenditure, which stood at 14 crores before the breaking out of the second Afghan war, now stands at 22 crores, and the burden of the additional cost is admitted on all sides to be intolerable?

But let us pass from the testimony of the Members of the Council of India (there is other evidence which for want of time, I refrain from referring to in this place) to that of another and distinguished official, of purely English training, who occupied the post of Finance Minister during the ever-memorable Viceroyalty of the beloved Lord Ripon, (*Loud applause*), one who by his conspicuous financial ability and appreciation of the real material condition of India, gave the greatest satisfaction to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects here, I mean Sir Evelyn Baring, now Lord Cromer, (*Applause*) whom we should all gladly welcome as Viceroy (*Loud applause*) if, as is rumoured, he is to succeed Lord Lansdowne. Minuting on the question of military expenditure, Sir Evelyn Baring observed (*vide Blue Books on Afghanistan, 1879-80-81*):—

"I do not think the financial condition of India is free from anxiety whose main source of revenue is derived from payments in silver, either fixed in perpetuity or only capable of increase at long intervals, while at the same time it owes a large sum annually in gold. *The Home charges have of late years been gradually increasing.* In 1881-82 they will amount to no less than 18 millions sterling. The charge is abnormally high, and moreover includes many remittances which are merely in the nature of banking transactions, *but when all reasonable deductions have been made, the amount which India must send home to meet her current wants is still very large.* Obviously under such conditions our essential element of State finance—stability—must be wanting."

Then, after referring to the precariousness of opium receipts and the necessity of keeping down the Salt duty as low as possible, and after reviewing other sources of revenue, Sir Evelyn further observed:—

"Lastly, the pressure of population upon the soil, which year by year increases in intensity, presents an economic difficulty of the first magnitude with which, indeed, I doubt the capability of Government to cope by any direct means, but which renders it imperative upon us to reduce in every possible way the pressure of taxation. *On these grounds I consider not only that it would be in the highest degree unwise to take any steps which could have for the result a large increase of a wholly unproductive nature, but I entertain a strong opinion that the reduction of present Military expenditure is of all others the financial question which most deserves the attention of the Government of India.*" (*Hear, hear.*)

Finance Minister after Finance Minister who succeeded Sir E. Baring has spoken in the same strain, so that I do not at all feel myself called upon to say aught more upon this subject after the authoritative opinions of all such experts and statesmen. I trust, therefore, that this resolution on which all India and even the Council of India are agreed, will be passed by acclamation. (*Loud applause.*)

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA, (*Ailakabad, No. 346 in list*),—GENTLEMEN—The resolution which is now before you is one of immense practical importance and deserves your heartest support. While the question of Exchange is troubling the minds of the Indian Government, we cannot do better than to lay this resolution before them in the hope that it will receive that attention from the Government in India and in England which it so manifestly deserves. If the Home Charges were reduced, the recruit depôts for India needlessly maintained in England at the expense of the former while actually serving as part of the defensive service of the latter, and if the other charges on account of military expenditure to which Mr. Wacha has referred were brought under the full control of the Government of India, I feel Indian treasury will be surely relieved to a considerable extent. England is in all honour bound to contribute her fair share of which she at present is unjustly depriving this poor country. There are no two opinions on the justice of our demand. Mr. Wacha has sufficiently brought the salient points in connection with it under your consideration. I will not, therefore, detain you any longer beyond expressing the hope that the Government in England will give their very best attention to this subject and afford to the finances of India that relief to which she is so equitably entitled. (*Cheers.*)

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

MR. BROJENDRANATH SEAL, (*Murshidabad, No. 211, in list*),—MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW DELEGATES,—Any display of personal modesty on my part, any rhetorical flourish of faltering diffidence, even if I were disposed to go through such graceful or graceless attitudinizing in obedience to custom, is effectually checked by the thought that I have been asked to review a policy which closely touches the vital interests of 200 millions of human beings in not more than a few brief minutes. A national system of education which moulds the minds and destinies of a seventh of the entire human race has something in it of the endless vista, something of the measureless tread of generations that we find in the awful mysteries and dispensations of Providence. A statesman with the creative gift, with the vision and the faculty divine, will find in the unrealised potencies of such a situation the *materia prima*, the unorganised matter, for educating a moral world peopled with the "fair humanities and intelligential essences" of the millenium. Something of the prophetic vision, an inspired sense of the glorious possibilities of an enlightened and puissant Federation of Nations in this dark Eastern Continent, filled the minds of the great pioneers of western education in India, among whom we find the illustrious names of Munro and Elphinstone, of Macaulay and Bentinck. (*Cheers.*) Excuse me, Sir, if in the presence of this vast national gathering which is the faint beginning of the realisation of their hope and their prophecy, I linger for a moment in fond illusion as with a sense of present reality over the constellated glory of that noble band, before I turn to contemplate the shadows that are now stealthily creeping over the fair vision of India's future enlightenment which fired their imagination and inspired their efforts.

The present educational policy of the Government may be described under the four heads of University, Secondary, Primary and Special (or technical) education. As regards University education, in the words of Sir Raymond West, President of the Indian Section of the last Oriental Congress, "the policy of withdrawal from University education has been steadily pursued" in recent years. In Bengal three State Colleges have been already transferred to private or Municipal management, and "the retrogression has been marked in 1889-90 by reducing the staff of European Professors at the Hoogly College, and by placing the Krishnagar and Rajshaye Colleges under a European Principal of the Subordinate Educational Service assisted by graduates of the Calcutta University." The two last Colleges now exist on sufferance, and their fate would have been sealed ere long had it not been for the large public endowments that led to their foundation and in a manner pledged Government to their maintenance. "The reduction of Collegiate expenditure will appear from the fact that the cost of each student to Government has fallen by 20 per cent." In Bombay the State grant to the University of Rs. 15,000 a year has been threatened, and higher fees will have to be imposed upon the candidates. "In the Punjab, of six Colleges only one remained under Government in 1890-91." In Madras, where, as in Bengal, there are

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Resolution VII.

Claim for an equitable contribution by England towards Indian Military Expenditure abnormally increased owing principally to the Imperial policy of Great Britain.

Resolution VIII

Deprecates diminution of grants for Higher Education and advocates increased expenditure on Education generally, and an inquiry into the industrial condition of the country with a view to promote Technical Education.

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Resolution VIII.

Deprecates diminution of grants for Higher Education and advocates increased expenditure on Education generally, and an inquiry into the industrial condition of the country with a view to promote Technical Education.

a number of aided and unaided Colleges, the same policy of withdrawal has been definitely kept in view. Shortly after the Viceroy's last visit, Dr. Duncan, the officiating Director of Public Instruction, Madras, declared that while the State would not abandon the cause of higher education, the people must themselves come forward to found or endow Colleges if they desired the extension of such education. This would be specially necessary as the State funds would be more and more applied to primary education, and as "the missionary societies that now maintain large colleges will in all probability withdraw from the field in India and employ their resources in Africa and other lands." This last remark of the learned Doctor applied to all the provinces of India, and the withdrawal of the missionaries from the field of secular instruction will only aggravate the difficulties of the situation which the retrogressive State policy is fast bringing on. (*Hear, hear*).

With regard to Secondary Education, the education imparted in our high schools, the same policy of withdrawal is everywhere manifest. (*Hear, hear*). The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has devised a definite scheme, beautiful in its simplicity and symmetry, for effecting this withdrawal, under which two Zillah Schools would be annually abolished where these exist alongside unaided institutions, and the education service would literally die out in course of time as vacancies would not then have to be filled up. (*Shame*). Indeed there is a probability of the education service being made non-pensionable, and this change will facilitate the abolition of the Government Colleges and Zillah Schools. Gentlemen, these proposals may appear to you very drastic, but you must remember that the evergrowing desire for high education in Bengal has been regarded in some circles as a disease which demands drastic remedies. (*Shame*). There are even desperate devices ingeniously adopted by those who control the State expenditure on Education. The Accountant-General is in the habit of deducting large sums as probable savings from the totals of sanctioned expenditure. In 1889-90 the deductions amounted to about 2 lacs, and in 1890-91, to about Rs. 1,70,000, or about one eleventh of the whole sanctioned expenditure. These large deductions are two-handed engines, they force on a reduction of educational expenditure, and they make a show, in the end, of State liberality, as the actual expenditure, to whatever extent reduced, cannot but exceed the curtailed estimate. "In 1889-90 grants-in-aid were refused to 413 Secondary Schools, and this was followed in 1890-91 by a decline of 2,000 in the number of pupils in these establishments. (*Shame, shame*). In Madras, in 1888-89, there were 147 Upper Secondary Schools of which only 4 remained which were directly supported and controlled by Government." The Municipalities are everywhere told that they must curtail their grants for secondary education, which must be left to take care of itself unsupported by state or local funds.

I now proceed to consider the attitude of Government towards Primary Education. The partial abandonment of collegiate and secondary education has been professedly made in the name of primary education. Gentlemen, the extension of elementary instruction among the masses is a matter of the highest importance from the politico-administrative as well as the socio-economic point of view. (*Hear, hear*). In India specially, where the machinery and modes of administration, the laws and the polity are not of indigenous growth, and are based on the most enlightened economic, sanitary, juristic and political views, the diffusion of primary education among the masses is a permanent State necessity, if the people and the Government are to be in touch with each other. (*Cheers*). But, gentlemen, I am sorry to find that the Government is desirous here also to shift the burden on the shoulders of others, (*shame*.) I mean the Municipalities and Local Boards. In Bengal we do not hear any longer of the State being compelled to curtail its expenditure on higher education in the interests of primary education; the cry is now different. It is that it is the Municipalities and the District Boards that must provide for the elementary instruction of the masses. The matter has an interesting history. When the reduction of State expenditure on high education was decided upon, the Director of Public Instruction recommended an addition of 10 lacs a year to the primary education funds, and was confident that this would place the State system of elementary instruction on a satisfactory basis. The Government held out hopes of such an expansion, but the 10 lacs exist only in imagination, and there is a talk of the imposition of a local cess. (*Shame*). The matter has now assumed a new

aspect. In the recent resolution of the Bengal Government on the working of Municipalities outside Calcutta, the Lieutenant-Governor notes that only 29 per cent. of the boys of school-going age receive primary education, and expresses his opinion that less than 50 per cent. cannot be considered satisfactory in the case of Municipal towns. Taking the population in Municipal towns according to the returns of the last Census, and counting the cost at 10 as. per head, the Lieutenant-Governor finds that 3.2 per cent. of the total Municipal income (outside Calcutta) will suffice for the end in view. Expenditure on secondary education does not come in Sir Charles Elliott's view within the legitimate scope of Municipal bodies, at any rate not until the claims of primary education and other paramount interests are fully met. Sir Charles Elliott holds the same views with regard to the responsibilities of District Boards for primary education. In his resolution reviewing the reports on the working of District Boards in Bengal, the Lieutenant-Governor notes that the general average expenditure on education is only 20.5 per cent. on the ordinary income of the Boards, and trusts that the report for next year will show a more liberal expenditure on this object. The state of things in Bombay with regard to primary instruction is best seen from the following extract:—"In the Bombay Presidency where perhaps public education has been the most earnestly pushed forward, one sixteenth of the land-tax is handed over to the Local Boards, and they are required to spend one-third of the amount on elementary education. (*Hear, hear*). The primary schools are treated as a first charge on the public revenue, whether local or provincial, and secondary schools have in some cases been even suppressed."

Now as regards special (including scientific and technical) training, with the exception of the Faculties of Law, Medicine and Engineering, very little provision is made for imparting Collegiate or secondary instruction of the special or technical kind outside the Bombay Presidency. There is however a general desire on the part of Local Governments that the science courses for the degree examinations should attract more students than the literary course. "In Madras, in 1887-88, there was a transfer of about 30 per cent of candidates from languages to the various optional subjects." In Bengal, the fact that a greater percentage of candidates are plucked year after year at the Philosophy and History examinations than at the science examinations might *prima facie* be expected to make the science course more attractive than the literary one, but the Director reports in 1890-91 that there has been a steady decline in late years in the number of students taking up science in aided and unaided institutions. In 1890-91 the proportion of B. Course to A. Course candidates was in Government Colleges 1 to 2½, in aided Colleges 1 to 18, and in unaided Colleges 1 to 6. The Government however have adopted another method in their commendable zeal for the encouragement of science studies, and have begun to abuse the A. Course men as inferior or third class men. In Sir Charles Elliott's opinion what the country wants most is a diversity of pursuits for its educated youth and not an adherence to the beaten path of literary careers. Personally Sir Charles Elliott has in many ways shown his earnestness in the cause of higher scientific education in this country, and his recent institution of medals for scientific research by a generous donation proves him a friend to scientific education, just as he is a friend to primary education, provided both can be extended and advanced without additional responsibilities being thrown upon Government. Sir Charles Elliott rejoices to see that there is a perceptible movement in all parts of his province in favour of the establishment of industrial schools. We do not hear a word however of the Polytechniques or Technological institutes, or even of the agricultural, commercial and industrial schools of the secondary grade, which among the Continental nations have borne such splendid fruit in equipping them for the struggle for existence all over the globe, and which England is now fast developing for the sake of her own most cherished and vital interests. (*Hear, hear*). This is a curious trait, gentlemen, of the educational policy of Government all over India. The anxiety and the alarm caused in high places by the overgrowth of literary education, the diversion of the energies and the intellect of the country to practical and technical subjects, and the disinclination to take real scientific or technical training in hand by establishing a net work of industrial, commercial or agricultural schools, are

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characteristic symptoms of the Government attitude and policy. (*Hear, hear*). Two good results are however already visible : the standard of University examinations or of admission to them is being materially raised, and this is as it should be ; and in Bombay, Madras and the Punjab practical or non-literary examinations have been instituted by the Government which are not intended to lead up to the University. These examinations are worse than useless in the absence of special schools of the secondary grade. Still these ends are so high and paramount in themselves that every sound educationist would welcome the reduction in the number of University students that may be due to the operation of such causes ; but whatever diminution there has been in Madras (and the diminution has been already in course of a year) or may be in Calcutta or Bombay from the raising of the examination fees must be held on all sides to be a source of the most profound regret. (*Cheers*). It is also a matter of painful surprise that in view of the fact that the science course is taught little, if at all, in the aided and unaided Colleges, the Government should not, with all its zeal for the diffusion of scientific knowledge, see the necessity of staying or checking its policy of withdrawal from the State Colleges, which are acknowledged on all hands to be the only properly equipped agencies for the diffusion of such knowledge. (*Cheers*). In England they have a Government Science and Art department for which the Parliament annually votes more than five-hundred thousand pounds sterling. (*Hear, hear*). I should state, however, that in Bombay a large impetus was given to scientific instructions under Lord Reay,—(*cheers*),—and that the expenditure in 1890-91 rose from Rs. 89,000 to Rs. 1,23,000 contributed by Government. The Victoria Jubilee Institute is doing most excellent work in this regard. While higher institutions either of the collegiate or of the secondary grade are, therefore, with the above exceptions, not thought to be within the scope of the State responsibilities in the matter of education, the Government are favorably disposed towards the establishment of lower schools of handicraft and mechanical industry under District Boards and Municipalities.

The recent educational policy may be briefly sketched thus :—Higher education of the University as well as the secondary grade tabooed as regards State or Municipal aid ; the attempted diversion of a large class of students from the academic or literary to practical or professional studies other than law, in the interests of the industrial development of the country, if not also with an ulterior political motive, combined with the non-provision of polytechniques or technological institutes, or even of commercial, industrial or agricultural schools of the secondary grade, to impart that very sound scientific and technical training which the Government is so very anxious to see diffused and extended in the material and economic interests of the country. (*Shame, shame*.) An anxious and watchful regard for the intellectual improvement of the masses, combined with a strange apathy to that higher education, which, in the language of Mountstuart Elphinstone, is the light that must touch the mountain tops before it can pierce to the levels and the depths. (*Hear, hear*.) And finally the non-expansion of the State system of elementary education for the masses, not because of the indifference of the people, but because the Government will not undertake the cost of extension, but would fain saddle the Municipal and Local Boards with it ; in one word, the practical denial of the responsibilities of the Government for any sort or degree of education whatever, in contravention of the theory and practice of all civilised states. (*Shame, shame*). This is the position to which we are reduced to-day in India !

Indeed, when in the shadow of the great modern ideas that are stalking abroad, the States of Mysore and Baroda are developing national systems of education ;—when, in the great struggle that has begun among the races of mankind, immobile China has begun to move, and besides adding Mathematics to the Chinese classics for the Civil Service examinations, has opened a great State College of Foreign knowledge, the *Tweng wen-Kwan*, where the English, French, German and Russian languages, the physical, the physico-mathematical and the natural history sciences (including such abstruse sciences as physical astronomy and meteorology) are taught by European and American Professors ;—when Japan has provided for a population of 40 millions a full-fledged national system of education after the Prussian pattern, providing a Minister of education and the

machinery of State Universities and compulsory instruction, so much so that Tokio can boast of a psychological laboratory such as Cambridge lacks, and a Professor of Psychology who has brought out a great work on this most modern of subjects; when the great post-medieval European Renaissance is likely to usher in the greater Renaissance of the world;—we in India are confronted to our dismay, our discomfiture, our shame, by this unique spectacle of a civilised Government with the noblest traditions, practically renouncing some of the gravest responsibilities and functions of all civilised Governments, and reversing its own just and enlightened policy of a hundred years, built up and codified by the statesmen who have bequeathed this priceless legacy of an Empire! (*Mournful applause*).

Before I proceed to show how the present policy is a reversal and a violation of our great Educational Charter, allow me, gentlemen, in passing, to notice, with the contempt they deserve, some glaring sophisms which we often meet with now-a-days in a certain class of writings and speeches.

It is often said that high education is a gratuitous state gift to our middle and upper classes,—that students here pay less than they have to do in European Colleges and Universities, and that an eleemosynary high education is a source of danger to the state.

Gentlemen, in reply let me read the evidence of Mr. Wordsworth, late Principal, Elphinstone College, Bombay, and Dr. Duncan, Officiating Director of Public Instruction, Madras, given before the Education Commission of 1882. Here is what Dr. Duncan says:—

“Compare these classes (the classes from which the students of the Madras Presidency College are drawn) and the fees they pay with the classes whose sons attended the Scotch Universities and the fees charged them. A Scotch Arts Student usually pays six or nine guineas a year, according as he attends the lectures of two or three Professors, whereas the Madras student pays Rs. 60, and the Calcutta student Rs. 144, a year. I protest against the practice of singling out the people of this country from those of all other countries in the civilised world as a people who receive an eleemosynary education at the hands of the State. I have compared India with Scotland. If we compare it with Germany it will be still more apparent that India is not so exceptionally dealt with as is commonly supposed. Mr. Lethbridge has recently shewn that the tuition-fees in some of our Government Colleges are high as compared with those of Oxford and Cambridge.” (*Hear, hear.*)

Principal Wordsworth's evidence runs thus:—“The fees paid for attendance or lectures at the Elphinstone College amount to Rs. 60 a term. I have a nephew who is a student of the University of Bonn. He is attending 18 lectures weekly this term, and he writes to me that his fees amount to 70 marks for the term, which one may estimate at Rs. 35. Most of the lectures he attends are gratuitous. The fees he is now paying are for lectures in law and Italian literature which are really extras. I fancy that the son of a small official or merchant in Germany enjoys the advantages of academic education at a much cheaper rate than the Hindu or Parsi in Bombay does, and has also, I must regretfully admit, a much superior article for his money. But it is not considered in Germany an injury to the rest of the community or a religious injustice that a superior education should be available at the public cost to the middle classes on whom the stability and improvement of every modern State depend.” (*Cheers*).

Another standing ground of alarm is the supposition that the Universities in India are turning out a disproportionately large number of educated young men who find no outlet for their energies and cultivated talents, and in their disappointed ambition sow broadcast the seeds of discontent over the country. A few facts and figures would be here apposite. In England, in 1891, the number of College students, exclusive of evening students and extension classes, was about 22,000 out of a population of 27 millions, or a male population of about 13 millions;—in India, the number was about 15,000 out of a total population of 220 millions, or a male population of about 110 millions. (*Hear, hear*). Look at the matter from another point of view. In British India 21 per cent. of the boys of school-going age attend school; in England 7.2 per cent. of the males were illiterate in 1890, giving certainly more than 93 per cent. of the boys at school; and since the Parliamentary grant of

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ten shillings per head to managers of elementary schools, we might put the figure still higher. Now the youths receiving secondary education, in the words of Sir Raymond West, amount after all to only five per cent. of the whole number recorded as under instruction in India, and the students in Colleges amount to no more than one per cent. In England the proportion is twice as great, in a German State four or five times as great,—of youths under secondary education. In a German town, from a third to a half of the children are in the High Schools." Now as the total number under instruction relatively to the male population is five times as great in England and Germany as in India, the proportion of youths receiving secondary instruction relatively to the male population is seen to be ten times as great in England, and twenty or twenty-five times as great in Germany, as in our country. (*Hear, hear.*)

The State grants for education in India are threatened with curtailment on the ground that India cannot afford to spend so much on education. Gentlemen, India spends just one per cent. of her revenue on education. No other civilised Government in the world shows a low proportion like this. (*Hear, hear.*) In 1889-90 the total expenditure on public education in India was Rx. 2,765,869 of which Rx. 488,403 came from local rates and cesses, Rx. 129,464 from municipal funds, Rx. 581,623 from subscriptions, endowments, &c., and Rx. 767,289 from provincial revenues. We find on the other hand that the annual grants to primary schools alone amounted in the United Kingdom in 1890 to £ 5,161,471, and the Parliamentary vote for the Government Science and Art department was £ 530,986. (*Hear, hear.*)

I shall now show, gentlemen, how the present policy is a reversal and a violation of our great Educational Charter, I mean the Court of Directors' Despatch of 1854 with the Revised Code of 1859. Before I describe the provisions of the Charter I shall have briefly to sketch the history of educational policy and organization under the British administration. It was on the occasion of the grant of the Company's Charter in 1813 that a clause was inserted providing that a sum of one lakh of rupees was to be set apart from the surplus revenues and applied to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of British India." (*Hear, hear.*) But for nine years the grant remained a grant on paper. From the evidence of Sir Charles Trevelyan, Mr. W. W. Bird and Mr. C. H. Cameron before a Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1852-53, we learn that the lakh of rupees was not drawn from 1813 to 1821. A Committee of Instruction was appointed in 1823, and "worked on the old lines devoting their energies to the promotion of oriental learning among the literary classes of Mahomedans and Hindus." Munro's minute on indigenous education and Elphinstone's on the encouragement of oriental learning advocating the continuance of the Dakshini grants of the Peshwas, are too well-known to need any but a passing mention. Macaulay's "zeal for useful, practical and scientific knowledge" brought on Lord William Bentinck's Resolution of March, 1835, which "decided in favor of English education to the entire neglect alike of oriental and vernacular instruction." From that time until we come to the Despatch of 1854, the control and supervision of education remained in the hands of bodies variously named Councils of Education, Educational Boards, University or Collegiate Boards in the various provinces. "It was after the reversal of the East India Company's Charter in 1853," I am quoting from a blue-book, "that the Educational Despatch of the Directors, dated 19th July, 1854, came out to India." The object of this great document was large and national. "It marked out the spheres of usefulness of all classes of institutions, Oriental, English and Vernacular, then working in the country, and it cared for the educational interests of the entire community." (*Hear, hear.*) The really comprehensive character of the Code is seen in the summary given of it in the 3rd paragraph of the Revised Code of 1859.

The improvement and far wider extension of education, both English and Vernacular, having been the general objects of the Despatch of 1854, the means prescribed for the accomplishment of those objects were (1) the constitution of a separate department of the administration for the work of education; (2) the institution of Universities at the

several Presidency towns; (3) the establishment of training institutions for raising up teachers for the various classes of schools; (4) the maintenance of the existing Government colleges and schools of a higher order, and the increase of their number when necessary; (5) the establishment of additional Zillah or Middle Schools; (6) increased attention to vernacular schools for elementary education, including the indigenous schools already existing throughout the country, and finally, (7) the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid under which the efforts of private individuals and of local communities would be stimulated and encouraged by pecuniary grants from Government, in consideration of a good secular education being afforded in the aided schools." The Blue-Book from which I quote, here adds:—"The objects of this Despatch were thus not one but many, not the limitation of State expenditure and efforts to elementary instruction, but the extension and improvement of education of every class." (*Hear, hear and cheers.*)

Gentlemen, I do not pretend that the Directors' Despatch, any more than the Magna Charta of the English people, is perfect. It laid down a policy that was capable of development. It was in some respects in advance of the English system that then obtained, and in other respects retrograde. It enunciates the responsibilities of the State for all the grades and kinds of education, and hence the State system that has been built upon it has included within its scope Universities, high schools, primary schools as well as technical institutions. In this respect it was an advance on the English system of the day, in other respects it was retrograde. It introduced the grant-in-aid system including in its scope higher education as well as lower and middle, to which last alone it was confined in England. No doubt the grant-in-aid system was intended by the Directors as an "auxiliary to the direct measures of our Government for the extension and improvement of general education." But altogether too much emphasis was placed on the future possibilities of the grant-in-aid system and on its applicability to all grades of education.

As a matter of fact the grant-in-aid system has only a limited applicability. It is totally unsuited to the institutions for the highest University education, whose watchword is centralisation, massive and august, the pomp and circumstance of knowledge enthroned, working through "the interwoven affinities of historic association and human imagination and sentiment," as embodied in venerable foundations and endowments, whether State-managed or State-chartered. The grant-in-aid system is also unsuited to the elementary education of the masses. I am personally of opinion that the Continental system which finds in local rates and cesses the resources for working the machinery of a national system of compulsory education, is the one to which we must ultimately tend in India, but in its earlier stages elementary instruction must not only be managed and supervised but also be maintained by the State, until the Municipalities and Local Boards become fit through the prior fulfilment of their primary responsibilities to undertake the work of popular education. (*Cheers*). The grant-in-aid system is suited and suited very well to secondary education. Under secondary education I include all institutions intermediate between the primary schools and the University Colleges. I have no hesitation in including also, under secondary education all Colleges that teach up to the standard of the F. A. or Previous Examinations of the Indian Universities. Here also there are two qualifying principles—(1) superior institutions of the secondary grade must be maintained to serve as a model for the aided institutions; these institutions would answer to the Lyceum and the Gymnasium of the Continent; (2) in backward communities and districts the full responsibility for secondary education must be retained by the State. These are the qualifications required to be borne in mind in interpreting the grant-in-aid system of the Despatch of 1854. As a matter of fact the inapplicability of the grant-in-aid system to elementary instruction was soon seen by the Directors and was corrected in the Code of 1859, which ordered that the means of such instruction should be provided by the direct instrumentality of Government Officers" and that the means for the diffusion of such education should be found by the levy of educational rates, if expedient. (*See Paragraphs 50, 51 and 52.*)

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The inapplicability of the grant-in-aid system to the University Colleges of higher standing (I do not include the second grade Colleges) has been established above by the most cogent considerations, but this is a point which remains to be embodied in our educational Code. The full and undivided responsibility of Government for the maintenance of an adequate number of such centralised bodies must be provided for by legislation. We want a fresh revision of the Code of 1854 to enforce action in favour of University education such as the revision of 1859 did in favour of elementary education.

But, gentlemen, whatever the defects of the Despatch of 1854, it never denied the responsibility of Government for undertaking any grade or kind of education, high or low. It sets out with the declaration that the education of the Indian people is to be undertaken as "a sacred duty" as a means of "conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge," (*hear hear*;) and if it introduced grants-in-aid they were intended to be not the sole or sufficient machinery but only an auxiliary one. But what shall we say of the present policy which denies not merely sole responsibility as regards University and secondary education, but would not even go so far as the grant-in-aid system, of a policy, which, not content with withdrawing from higher education, would paralyse it by placing it under the ban, as regards municipal and local aid, in the name of the education of the masses! (*Shame*). The Despatch of 1854, gentlemen, speaks not of the entire withdrawal of Government, but of partial withdrawal by the introduction of grants-in-aid when expedient. Again, the Despatch of 1854 does not stand in the way of municipal aid or aid of local bodies to secondary or higher schools. Indeed para 62 speaks of the future possible transfer of many of the existing institutions to the management of local bodies under the control of and *aided by the State*, and it has been subsequently held that municipalities and local boards come under the definition of local bodies. Neither does the Despatch of 1859 in providing that the funds for the extension of elementary instruction may be drawn from local cesses if expedient, forbid the employment of the funds of bodies like municipalities and local boards on secondary education. Gentlemen, this question of the duties and responsibilities of Government under the Codes of 1854 and 1859, in the matter of making an adequate provision for all grades and kinds of education came up before the Education Commission of 1882-84. Here are the recommendations of the Bengal Provincial Committee :

" We cannot close this report without adding to the recommendations therein put forward an expression of our deliberate opinion that, independently of any efforts which the people may hereafter make for the promotion of education in various directions, increased assistance on the part of Government is necessary, if education in Bengal is to progress at a rate corresponding to the advancing requirements of the country. For the spread and improvement of primary education, for a due increase in the machinery of inspection, for an enhanced provision of scholarships to enable boys to advance to higher stages of instruction, for a far wider spread of University Education, for a more liberal scale of grants-in-aid and for the promotion of education among girls,—for all these objects, more liberal assignments are urgently demanded, if the requirements of the time are to be met, and if a comparison with European standards is to be justified. The amount of any further grants that may be made by Government for the promotion of these objects depends, of course, upon financial and political considerations with which we have no concern; we have merely to express our opinion as to the need that seems to us to exist for an increased allotment. We have no means of knowing accurately what proportion of the State revenue is devoted to education of different classes in European countries and in America; but we have grounds for believing that the educational allotments in these countries are framed on a far more liberal scale than in Bengal. (*Hear, hear*). And we cannot refrain from expressing an earnest hope that means may be found either from Provincial revenues or from additional Imperial assignments, for meeting in a more adequate manner the necessities of this Province." (*Cheers*).

After this wise and weighty expression of opinion, I shall not need to make any further observation on this aspect of the question. With regard to the Commission on technical

education prayed for in the resolution I have to move, I have already, gentlemen, explained my views on the question. Briefly put, special or technical education is of three grades, corresponding to the three grades of general education: (1) primary grade, comprising schools of handicraft and mechanical industry introduced by a course of elementary general instruction; (2) secondary grade, comprising among others agricultural, industrial and commercial schools, and led up to by a course of secondary general education; and (3) University or facultative grade, comprising the Faculties of Law, Medicine, Engineering, Technology, and Agricultural Chemistry, &c., and working through colleges, academics, polytechniques or technological institutes and other institutions. The subject is of vast importance, and the best organization of a system of technical instruction suited to the economic needs of India can only be settled by the labours of a Commission of experts. (*Hear, hear.*) The urgency of such a Commission cannot be gainsaid. Remember, gentlemen, that in India about 87 per cent. of the population depend for subsistence upon agricultural labour and the produce of the soil, only 13 per cent. being given to industrial and manufacturing pursuits; and that as established by statistical economy, the greater the percentage of agricultural labourers in any old and populous community, the deeper the poverty. (*Hear, hear.*) Remember also the fact of the growing sterility of the soil in India, where throughout vast tracts, from 300 to 500 souls on the average live on the produce direct and indirect of a square mile, including both cultivated and uncultivated areas; and that the only way of staving off sterility and starvation is to relieve the pressure on the soil by means of the industrial and commercial development of the country. (*Cheers.*)

With these words I beg to move the resolution entrusted to me, which runs thus:—

That this Congress is of opinion, that it is highly inexpedient in the present state of Education in the country, that Government grants for High Education should in any way be withdrawn, and, concurring with previous Congresses, affirms in the most emphatic manner, the importance of increasing the public expenditure on all branches of Education, and the expediency, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, i. e., the technical, of appointing a mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country. (Cheers.)

BABU HERAMBA CHUNDR A MAITRA, (*Calcutta, No. 179; in list.*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It was said by an eminent Englishman that in order that a cause might prosper, it must be opposed by the *Times*. Similarly, I think it might almost be said that in order that a political principle may be proved to be sound, it must be violated by the Government of India and upheld by the National Congress. (*Hear, hear.*) At the time when the dispute between England and America on the question of taxation was at its height, it was said by Edmund Burke, the greatest of political philosophers, that the American people felt the pulse of their freedom in this: if in the matter of taxation they were free, they considered themselves free; if in that they enjoyed no freedom, then they thought themselves bondsmen. In judging of the enlightenment of a Government, we must feel its pulse in its educational policy. (*Hear, hear.*) If there it is going right, then its heart is sound; if there it is going wrong, there is disease and rottenness in the heart. (*Hear, hear.*) Applying this test to the proceedings and policy of the Government of India in the matter of Education, we see from indisputable facts and figures that, however liberal the Government may be in its professions, in its actions it is utterly illiberal. I will here refer to certain figures which I have noted down. In the year 1890, while the total expenditure of the Government of India came up to 82½ crores, its expenditure on education came up only to 76 lakhs or 14 per cent.—not even one per cent. of the whole, and in the same year the military expenditure was 20½ crores, or 25 per cent. of the whole. (*Shame, shame.*) Now let us go back to the year 1885. In that year, while the total expenditure was 71 crores 36 lakhs, the expenditure on education was only 79 lakhs or 1½ per cent. of the total. But what is the state of things in England? The Government profess to rule us according to English ideas and principles, but I undertake to show that they withhold English principles and sentiments from us when they like, and apply them when they are grievously burden-

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some and oppressive to us. (*Hear, hear*). When they talk of the excise revenue, they say—"Oh! the incidence of the taxation in England is much greater than in India, and you ought to be satisfied,"—forgetting that we are a sober people, and that an ounce of liquor in this country means infinitely more shame and wickedness than a gallon in England. But in education they do not compare the state of things here with that in England. We find that in 1891, in the United Kingdom, out of a total expenditure of 89½ millions sterling, 6½ millions was devoted to education, that is to say, in their own country they spend 7 per cent. of the whole on education. But when they come to our country, they spend not more than 1 per cent. of the revenues in the diffusion of knowledge. (*Shame, shame*). I have already referred to the figures of 1885 and 1890. In the revised estimate of 1891, and in the Budget of 1892 also they give us 1 per cent. of the total expenditure for education. So that in this respect, we are indeed living in paradise, for the fruit of the tree of knowledge is forbidden fruit to us. (*Hear, hear*.) Why is it that in the matter of education the Government of India adopts a policy so different from the course followed in England? Does truth become untruth, justice become injustice when it comes to this country? In this age of Congress and Conferences, I would suggest a Conference of scientists and psychologists sitting together to discuss whether the eternal verities, abstract notions, the moral principles which are our birthrights as the children of a most righteous God,—whether even these undergo climatic variations.

With regard to the relation between primary and high education, I will not waste your time by trying to prove that, though the Government says it is necessary to reduce the expenditure on high education in order to promote primary education, there is really no hostility between the two, but primary education must advance in proportion as high education is advanced. (*Cheers*.)

I must draw your attention to the proportion of military expenditure to the expenditure on education in this country. The former comes up to 25 per cent. and the latter to only 1 per cent. of the total expenditure. In 1891, we find from the revised estimate for that year, out of a total of 82½ crores, 21 crores 41 lakhs were spent on the maintenance of the army and on defensive military works. In the Budget for 1892, out of a total of 85 crores, 21 crores 84 lakhs or nearly 22 crores are allotted to military expenditure. In the face of these facts, what becomes of the glorious prophecy of Victor Hugo, that the pen will kill the sword, and intellectual controversies will banish sword and bloodshed from the earth? As far as we are concerned, we see that the sword is killing the pen, and that military barbarism is going to extinguish culture and refinement. (*Loud cheers*). There never was a bridal day more glorious in its dawn and more vernal in its melodies, than that which witnesses the marriage of the human mind with knowledge,—the marriage of man, made after the image of God, with light, the eldest child of God according to the Hebrew legend. Woe unto the Government which effects a divorce between them, and woe unto the people that silently acquiesces in such a divorce! (*Cheers*.) With these words, I commend the resolution to you, appealing to you to see that its spirit is followed. (*Loud cheers*.)

MR. K. V. JOSHI, (*Nagpur, No. 145, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I rise to support this Resolution. We wish to know why high education is so much at a discount with the Government of India. It is a surprise to us that the Government of India should be acting as they have been acting in the matter of high education. Is it right for the Government of India to say that they shall not allow us to enjoy the blessings of high education? That is the question. Gentlemen, because we are poor, Government should not withdraw its aid from high education but should increase it. (*Cheers*). What progress can you expect of a people who are only half educated? I submit that the claims of high education should not be sacrificed to those of primary education, any more than the manager of a mill should be sacrificed to the claims of the mill hands. The manager must be there before the great engines can be worked properly. (*Hear, hear*). Therefore I submit that the claims of high education should never be subordinated to those of primary education.

There is another point to which I desire to call attention, and that is that only a few years ago, Government expressed its opinion that education should be so regulated as to fit the educated for the pursuit of commercial and industrial undertakings. We ask the Government to carry out that policy, but that cannot be well done without the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the industries and trades of the country. Hence we ask for the appointment of such a Commission. The rebellion of the belly is worse than all other rebellions; and therefore we beseech the Government not to curtail the expenditure upon education, but to increase it, and thereby to fit the people better to earn their living. (Cheers.)

There is one thing more. We must show the Government how this can be done. Where are the funds to come from? With regard to that, I need only say that where there is a will there is a way. (Hear, hear and cheers.)

[The President's gong having been here sounded, the speaker, in obedience thereto, stopped speaking.]

BABU HARI PRASAD CHATTERJEE, (Krishnagore, No. 196, in list).—GENTLEMEN,—I rise to support this resolution, and I support it most heartily on behalf of the community I represent. (Cheers.)

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

BABU BAIKUNTH NATH SEN, (Moorshidabad, No. 210, in list).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The resolution which I have to propose runs as follows :—

That this Congress emphatically re-affirms Resolution III of the Congress of 1893, and having regard to the fact that fully fifty millions of the population, a number yearly increasing, are dragging out a miserable existence on the verge of starvation, and that in every decade several millions actually perish by starvation, deems it imperatively necessary that the cost of administration, especially in the military branch of the Public Service, should be greatly reduced, and that measures should at once be taken to give, as was promised by the British Government over thirty years ago, fixity and permanence to the land revenue demand, and thus permit capital and labour to combine to develop the agriculture of the country, which, under the existing system of temporary settlements, in recent times often lasting for short periods, in some cases only extending to ten and twelve years—is found to be impossible; and to establish Agricultural Banks. And this Congress, again, most earnestly entreats the people of Great Britain and Ireland, not to permit any further sacrifice of life owing to the shortcomings of the existing, doubtless well-intentioned, but none the less unsatisfactory, administration, but to insist, and that speedily, on the reforms, then and now, so earnestly advocated.

With a new face, but with a face little powdered, you must have noticed that the main question involved in this proposition is the question of the fixity and permanence of the Government demand upon land. Now in the fifth Congress I had occasion to move, and in the sixth Congress to second a resolution on this very subject, and what I had to say on it, I have already said. I need not take up your time now, because time is very valuable at the present moment, and repeating those arguments will be only wasting time. This much only shall I say, that in referring to the millions of deaths from starvation, we appeal most earnestly to the humanity of our rulers, and entreat them to adopt measures which will prevent these deaths, or at any rate reduce their number. (Cheers.) We suggest that the Government should reduce the burden of taxation. We also suggest that a certain fund should be set apart to establish banks for the benefit of the agricultural classes, and that fixity and permanence should be given to the land revenue demand in places where it is not so fixed; and we appeal to the people of Great Britain and Ireland not to allow the existing sad state of things to go on any longer, but to insist upon the reforms we advocate being speedily carried out. And I hope that our appeal will not go in vain. (Cheers.) With these remarks I place the resolution confidently before you for your acceptance. (Cheers.)

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Resolution IX.

Grievous distress amongst the people of India Urgent necessity for a reduction of the cost of administration, an extension of the system of Permanent Settlement, and the establishment of Agricultural Banks.

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Resolution
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Banks.MR. PETER PAUL PILLAY,—(*Madras, No. 9, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN—

In seconding the resolution that has been just read to you I have to make this observation that the agricultural classes of the country, at least as far as the Madras Presidency is concerned, are in great poverty and wretchedness. Those that are well acquainted with their condition will not deny the truth. But certain people would not believe that so much poverty and semi-starvation prevails among the agricultural population. I shall therefore lay before you certain figures which will incontrovertibly prove that the ryot population in the Madras Presidency are deeply sunk in indebtedness, poverty and wretchedness. (*Hear, hear.*) The figures are taken from the Administration Reports of the Department presided over by a gentleman who lately wrote a flattering memorandum to establish that the ryot is materially prospering since forty years.

According to last year's rent roll, the number of ryots, single puttadars, and joint puttadars, is 32,50,000. For these ryots the total number of sales and mortgages of immovable property for the past 10 years, from 1882-1883 to 1891-1892, is 44,95,432. The average for 10 years is thus about 4,50,000. (*Hear, hear.*) Besides the ryots in Government villages, there are ryots or tenants in zamindari and proprietary villages which cover one fifth of the area of the whole Presidency. Immoveable property includes house property the transfer of which by sale or mortgage forms a very small percentage of the proportion of sales and mortgages. Taking all these into consideration, the number of sales and mortgages of immovable property will form not less than 10 per cent. of the number of ryots on an average during the last 10 years. (*Hear, hear.*) The number of sales and mortgages is steadily increasing by leaps and bounds. In the year 1882-1883 there were 3,14,948 sales and mortgages; but in 1891-1892 there were no less than 6,08,907 sales and mortgages. (*Hear, hear.*) Confining myself to the Tinnevely district to which I belong, and which contains 2,68,000 ryots, I find that there were no less than 74,087 sales and mortgages last year. Considering all circumstances, the number of mortgages and sales is about 25 per cent. of the number of ryots. (*Hear, hear.*) During the last year there were no less than 39,83,067 notices of demand. Notices of distraint or attachment numbered 1,82,940, and the number of defaulters was 1,61,871. The figures of sales and mortgages and the coercive measures adopted for recovering land revenue, clearly show that the people are driven to the hardship of selling and mortgaging their immovable property. (*Hear, hear.*)

There are several causes that contribute to the growing poverty of the agricultural population. The conditions and circumstances under which the operations of agriculture have to be carried on are growing hard. Even the different influences that work the social revolution resulting in the disturbance of the labor market of the country, are highly injurious to the agricultural prosperity of the land. The excellent resolution of the Poona Industrial Conference that caste should be protected as an industrial institution correctly represents the state of things. By various influences that work at the destruction of the fabric of Indian society labour is disturbed, and the country is losing valuable hardy and skilled labourers whose loss cannot easily be supplied under the present circumstances of Indian society. (*Hear, hear.*) From this cause alone, let alone others for the moment, I fear that Indian agriculture is fast sinking like that of Spain. In addition to this the ryots' difficulty is increasing owing to the rigorous working of the Forest Laws, which are obstructive and injurious to the very materials necessary for agriculture. (*Hear, hear.*) I spoke about this last year.

The rigour of the Government in collecting revenue is also increasing. Twenty or thirty years ago the Collectors of revenue had the patience to wait for the close of the *Fasli* year before they resorted to coercive measures, as the land for which the tax might be due is the best security for the arrears. But since the passing of Act II of 1864, the rigour has increased. Whether the ryot is prepared at the time or not, the collection is cleared for every instalment of the *kistbands*. If the instalment be not paid within three days after demand, the ryots' property is attached and sold, and the ryot is obliged to sell and mortgage his property, movable or immovable, in order to meet the demand. (*Cries*

of 'shame.') It is a virtue on the part of the Government to observe strict punctuality in the demand of the land revenue. But it is a misfortune to the ryot to be unable to equally exercise the virtue of punctuality in responding to the demand. (*Hear, hear.*) I know of instances where even wealthy and respectable land-holders, being unprepared at the nick of time, were unnecessarily subjected to coercive measures by distraint and attachment by low-paid *ameens*. (*Shame.*) A little courtesy in such cases will spare a lot of unnecessary pain of mind and mortification without causing the loss of a single pie to the State. (*Hear, hear.*)

However, as I have said, there is increasing hardship in the growing demand of the land revenue. All the direct and indirect taxation which the ryot has to pay is a direct charge upon the income derived from his land. (*Hear, hear.*) The land revenue is increasing as a general rule by periodical settlements. The village and local cesses too are direct enhancements of the land revenue by 12½ per cent. (*Hear, hear.*) There is nothing practically to check the settlement officer in enhancing the revenue upon land arbitrarily. This keeps the ryot population in great distress and uneasiness, which prevent the agricultural classes from improving their lands. (*Hear, hear.*) When the land has undergone improvement at great cost and labor, towards which the State has contributed nothing, it is an unreasonable and cruel hardship to saddle the enterprise of a diligent ryot with increased assessment. (*Cheers.*) But when high or enhanced assessment is fixed for lands that have not been improved, but have, on the contrary, deteriorated, it becomes a gross absurdity and monstrous injustice. (*Cheers.*) Yet such an absurd and unjust procedure is a very common incident in these periodical settlements. (*Shame.*) The decisions of the Settlement Officer are practically final and unappealable. Such being the case, the system is naturally productive of corruption among the Subordinate Officers of Settlement departments, who are entrusted with enormous but practically irresponsible power. (*Hear, hear.*) The Settlement departments are absolutely independent of District Revenue Officers whose local knowledge is not taken into account.

One necessary incident to lands that are not permanently settled is that they are subject to a remission of taxes in bad seasons, which may be due to either insufficiency of rain water or to its excess. Only on extraordinary occasions is any remission given for dry lands, but remissions are given ordinarily for wet lands. When the crops fail remission of taxes for failure of crops is nothing but just. Before 1860 the actually cultivated area only was taxed and the uncultivated portion was untaxed, whether the want of cultivation was owing to the negligence of the ryot or not. The ryot consulted his convenience to cultivate a portion or the whole of his puttah lands. There was no pressure put on the ryot this way, and by allowing a portion of his land to lie fallow, the land was not exhausted and the cattle had some grazing over such lands. (*Hear, hear.*) But since 1860 all lands are indiscriminately assessed whether cultivated or not. When a plot of land lies uncultivated the burden of proof to show that the want of cultivation was not owing to the neglect of the ryot lies with him. This is very difficult to prove. As a matter of course all uncultivated puttah lands are taxed in ordinary seasons. Then certain rules regarding the granting of remissions are open to serious objection. According to the Madras Revenue Board standing orders, remission is to be given, when an entire Revenue field is left waste, and when the crops on the entire area have totally failed, and not in portions only of the fields, provided that the excess or deficiency of water has not been occasioned by any neglect of the persons to whom the land belongs, or is not due to the neglect on the part of the ryots concerned to carry out the customary repairs to the irrigation work which forms the source of supply. If any supply of water is received during the year, though the lands may have been irrigated entirely by well water, the full compounded rate will be charged for double crop lands and single wet rate for single crop lands. When no supply of water is received the dry rate is leviable. For remission and for water supply, every thing depends upon the *ex parte*, irresponsible, and generally untrustworthy village accountants. Prohibitory assessments are levied often arbitrarily and upon *ex parte* representations. When nature is unkind to the

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Grievous distress amongst the people of India.

Urgent necessity for a reduction of the cost of administration, an extension of the system of Permanent Settlement, and the establishment of Agricultural Banks.

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ryot, it is only humane and just that the ryots should be exempted from taxation for lands that could not possibly be cultivated in bad seasons and yield large revenue in good seasons. (*Hear, hear*). So many excuses or pretexts are invented to refuse remission. On my way here I heard of an extraordinary instance of the whole District of Sholapore being granted a remission of the magnificent sum of Rs. 23 only last year, when there was a serious drought there, (*shame, shame*), and when the Government found it necessary to open relief works at a large cost for the relief of the sufferers. There is no reason whatever for the rigorous recovery of local cesses on lands, as roads are for the benefit of all classes and particularly for the benefit of trade, which must be taxed always to make up the deficiency during seasons of drought.

Whether in the proposed reform for the permanent settlement of the land revenue there would be room for remission I cannot say, but one thing is certain that small landholders will feel it a great hardship if there be no remission during bad seasons, as they cannot be expected to store the superfluity of the years of plenty for years of scarcity and famine while they are paying land revenue uniformly for good seasons and bad seasons. (*Hear, hear*). The land revenue administration as far as it affects the ryotwari landholders, is conducted in such a way as to be productive of great indebtedness, poverty and ruin, leading to increase of ruinous litigation, the inevitable consequence of abnormal transfers of immoveable property, and to crimes, to which the poor people would resort when fair means of living fail, and to great dissatisfaction throughout the land. (*Hear, hear*.)

With these remarks I would second the resolution praying for reforms in the Land Revenue administration which are so urgently needed. (*Cheers*.)

MR. HARI MAHADEO PUNDIT, (*Nagpore, No. 144, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I come to support this resolution which deals with the important subject of a permanent settlement, but as time is very short and the importance of the subject is patent to all, I shall not take up more than three minutes in supporting the resolution. The question is a simple one. A layman can understand it; the agriculturists understand it, and not only do they understand it but they feel the hardships of the present system bitterly to their cost. (*Hear, hear*). And it will be wasting your time and my energies if I were to attempt to enlighten you by entering into a detailed history of the subject. I have only to say one word on behalf of the Central Provinces which are being crushed by the effects of temporary settlements. (*Hear, hear*.) The duration of the settlements has come down there from 30 years to 20 years, from 20 years to 15 years, and from 15 years to 12 years, and God only knows whether it will not come down to 3 years, and perhaps to a few months; though representations have been made on behalf of the dumb millions, those Provinces being inhabited mainly by the aboriginal tribes, yet the Government has turned a deaf ear to those representations. (*Shame, shame*). And, gentlemen, while on this resolution, I may be allowed to express my regret that at the Nagpore Congress, owing perhaps to the modesty of the delegates of the Provinces, this subject was not given that prominence which it deserved but was placed in what is called the 'Omnibus' Resolution. Gentlemen, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces observed that as the subject was placed in an omnibus Resolution, the Congress did not consider it to be of great importance. But as the subject has now been given a prominent place, I hope the Chief Commissioner will recognise that the Congress considers the subject to be of first rate importance, and I hope he will endeavour to secure to us the boon that we pray for. (*Cheers*.) I have only to add that I thank you heartily on behalf of the people of the Central Provinces for emphasising the necessity and importance of this reform. (*Cheers*.)

MR. DAJI ABAJI KHARE, (*Bombay, No. 40, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution. I am here to speak in reference to the Bombay Land Administration. It has been often asserted by different Revenue authorities that the Bombay Land revenue administration is the best of its kind in India. But you will see that the enhancements which have of late been laid upon land on our side

have in a great many parts of that Presidency amounted to a confiscation of private property. (*Hear, hear*). In the Ratnagiri district, there is a class of landholders not in the good books of the Government, and the Government tried to remove them from their lands; but having failed to do so they resorted to putting such heavy assessments on their holdings that these holders must be out of pocket to the amount of about 1,000 per annum. (*Shame, shame*). In another part of the same Presidency, the Government has adopted 33 per cent. as the standard of increase which might safely be put upon land assessments, and no one knows how this percentage has been arrived at. But what we do know is that this 33 per cent. is not always stuck to. And it is notorious that in fixing this standard they have not taken into calculation the increased cost of cultivation. Where certain revenue officers were questioned the reply they gave was that no inquiries had been yet entered upon and that the increased cost of cultivation was a thing which need not be taken into consideration. (*Shame.*)

The Bombay system has done mischief in another respect. Though the Government profess not to tax improvements made by the people in their own lands, in every enhancement we find that indirectly improvements and other things are included in the assessment. All these circumstances have effected more injury in Bombay than they have done in any other part of India, and we on our side would be very glad to get the benefit of this proposition if the Government be pleased to adopt it. (*Cheers*). It has been said that if the Government gave up its power of increasing assessments, they will lose their revenue. But as has been suggested, if the Government were now to take twenty years' assessment, and secure the people against any assessment for the future, the money which would now come in would be sufficient to compensate the Government against any loss of the kind that is apprehended. With these observations I support the resolution. (*Cheers.*)

MUNSHI SADAR-UD-DIN AHMAD,—(*Allahabad, No. 430, in list*).—Supported the resolution in Urdu. He said :—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—It is extremely appropriate to pass a resolution praying for a permanent settlement of the land revenue at a meeting of the Congress at Allahabad, because Allahabad is a district, where owing to the excessive assessment of land made by a *merciful* officer,—whose sacred name I dare not utter without performing my ablutions, but for whom I pray God, he may be protected from Captain Hearsy's attacks,—(*laughter*)—many villages have been ruined or have passed into the hands of the money-lenders. Well, gentlemen, this is not the first time that we are considering this question of a permanent settlement of the Land Revenue. At two previous sessions of the Congress, the question has been very fully discussed, and it has been shown by the most cogent of arguments that the well-being of the people, on which depends the prosperity of the Government, (*hear, hear*) demands that the system of a Permanent Settlement should be extended to those parts of the country where it is not at present in force. The Government itself has long laid it down that whenever in any *Mahal* (parish) eighty per cent. of the whole culturable area has been brought under cultivation, the land revenue of that *mahal* should be settled permanently. In support of this view of mine, I would refer you to the despatches No. 14, dated July 9th, 1862, and No. 11, dated the 24th March, 1865, from the Secretary of State for India to the Governor-General of India in Council; to the Rules of settlement, prepared by a member of the Viceregal Council and published under date January 22nd, 1865, to Circular No. 24, dated 27th November, 1867, and Circular No. 10, dated 26th July, 1865, of the Board of Revenue of these Provinces, issued in compliance with the orders of the Government of India, dated 19th June, 1865, and the despatch of the Secretary of State, No. 11, of 24th March, 1865. Many more official authorities might be cited in support of the same view. And it is a matter of surprise and regret to us, that notwithstanding these explicit declarations of the opinion of Government regarding the desirability of a Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue, wherever eighty per cent. of the whole culturable area has been brought under cultivation, the system of permanent settlement is not yet extended to those places which fulfill the above condition. (*Cheers.*) I can find no plausible reason for this, except it may be that an insignificant part of some of the *Mahals* (parishes) remains still uncultivated. If that be the only reason, I do not hesitate to say that it is clearly unjust not to settle the land revenue permanently of places which virtually fulfill

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Resolution IX.

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the above requirements. Really, if this is the only reason for withholding the benefits of a permanent settlement from the people, the officers of Government seem to me to be acting as wisely as would a dentist who would refuse to affix a new set of teeth until all the old ones have dropped out. (*Hear, hear*). Of what benefit would a permanent settlement be to the people when the land has been thoroughly deteriorated under the mischievous influences of temporary settlements. (*Cheers*.) The increasing poverty of the agricultural population, which is in no small measure due to this system of temporary settlements, under which the assessments of the revenue are being always increased, should induce the Government to extend the system of Permanent Settlement without any further unnecessary delay. (*Cheers*.)

[The speaker closed his speech with a few pathetic verses composed by him in memory of the late Hon'ble Pandit Ajoodhia Nath in Urdu, but he has not supplied us with a copy or an English translation of them, and hence they are not published here.]

MR. BISHAN NARAYAN DAR, (*Lucknow, No. 532 in list*),—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution which has just now been proposed. The resolution is composed of two parts. The first part emphasises the question of the poverty of India, and the second part suggests certain remedies for that poverty. Now in regard to this part of the resolution which deals with military expenditure, much has been said in former years, and a good deal has been said on the subject to-day also by Mr. Wacha. But I think that before we talk of the remedies, we have to contend with the assertion made by the Government organs that India is not a poor country and therefore needs no remedies. This is not a bare assertion. I will draw your attention to a very important State paper, and by referring to that you will see that the Government in its wisdom has come to the conclusion that whatever we do or do not in regard to this poverty question, we are all wrong; that India has improved in trade, in manufactures and in the condition of the masses. At least we are told by Sir John Strachey that the present Government of India does not take half as much land revenue from the people as was taken by former rulers. I say that before we go to the remedies for the evil, it is necessary to combat the assertions of those who support the Government view that India is not poor. (*Hear, hear*.)

India is an agricultural country, and in order to judge of the prosperity of India, it is of the utmost importance to see what the material condition of the agricultural classes is. I hold in my hand a report of some official enquiries which were held in the year 1888 by the Government of India into the material condition of the masses. The Report is a report issued by the Local Government upon the enquiry to which I have alluded. It will be observed that in all matters of the utmost vital importance to the well being of this country Government carries on things secretly, under the cover of darkness and without the light of public opinion. (*Shame*). This is the way of the Government. Wherever there is any important matter, anything regarding the condition of society or the public, Government manages it secretly and privately. The very results of the inquiry are kept concealed and hermetically sealed. (*Shame*). This Report while discussing the question of the poverty of the agricultural classes and of the masses, generally divides them into four classes. First, the agriculturists having a right of occupancy in the land and holding over five acres. Eight agriculturists of this class were examined by Mr. Cadell, seven of whom were found to have been living for some months upon only one meal a day. The second refers to agriculturists, who having the right of occupancy, were holding less than five acres. In regard to them the Report says that the majority of them go on for months and years on one meal a day only; and the Report adds, with great satisfaction, that the people do not mind it. (*Cries of "shame"*). The third class were agricultural laborers. Now in regard to them the Report is almost unanimous in saying that the condition of these labourers is far from being what it should be and that a considerable majority of them live for months and months upon one meal a day. Now when these starved and emaciated people came before these Magistrates and Collectors, when they saw them, they described them as "thin but happy"—(*shame, shame*)—"thin but decent-looking and humorous." (*Laughter*.) Thus the Report is not lacking in humour. I think the time has long past in India when the story of Nero fiddling when Rome was burning should be re-

peated. (*Hear, hear.*) Here you have English officials who have all the sympathies and affections of men, writing in this way! The man's thinness means that he was pining away, and it has no humorous side about it. I think it was Mr. Irwin who himself got so much disgusted with this official cynicism that he said that being thin and happy was a paradox to him. Unless thinness was the result of some medicines or low diet, it would be a paradox to me also to believe that men looking like these were also happy. In regard to the fourth class, the outside artisan class, it is said that upon the whole they do not suffer from insufficiency of food. These are results stated after an inquiry instituted by the Local Government under the orders of the Government of India; and they bear out the melancholy dictum of Sir W. W. Hunter that forty millions of the people are constantly living upon the verge of starvation.

I must submit to you the opinions of one or two officials. Mr. Harrington, Commissioner of the capital of the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, admits the woful poverty of the people, and in regard to the question whether it is true or not that a considerable portion of the population of India suffer from an insufficiency of food, he says :—

"The assertion that the greater proportion of the population of India suffer from a daily insufficiency of food is perfectly true as regards a varying but always considerable proportion of the population, for a considerable part of the year in the greater part of India." (*Hear, hear.*) Mr. Irwin, another high authority on the subject and not altogether free from the bias of official optimism, says in his "*Garden of India*," "The great evil of rural Oudh is, as has been already observed, the insufficiency of the produce of the soil to maintain the population in comfort, after defraying their rent and the cost of cultivation. While this is so, of what use is it for Government to devote its energy and its resources to any thing but direct action on the sources of the evil. While the millions suffer from chronic hunger, it would be as easy to make a pyramid stand upon its apex as to regenerate them by ornamental legislation or by anything but putting them beyond the ceaseless pressure of physical want." (*Hear, hear.*)

Now in the face of these opinions the Local Government says in its Report that there is no such habitual insufficiency of food in the case of the majority, or any considerable section of the population. (*Cries of "shame."*) This is the conclusion to which they have come! The Government of India endorses the statement, the Secretary of State probably says ditto, and the Blue book is left to moulder upon the shelf. (*Shame, shame.*)

This is the question before you. Whatever remedy is proposed, whether a reduction of military expenditure or something else, unless you succeed in convincing the English people of the serious character of the problem pressing upon us, unless you succeed in impressing upon them the necessity of finding some satisfactory solution of it, all your resolutions are in vain. This is a resolution which may well be called the people's resolution. (*Cheers.*)

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

MR. R. P. KARANDIKAR,—(*Satara, No. 69, in list.*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—Having considered all the above questions, I think it is but right and proper that your attention should be directed to the question of the laws relating to the Conservation of Forests. The Resolution which I have the honor to move is this:—

That this Congress entirely adopts Resolution XI of the Congress of 1891, and reiterates its prayer, that having regard to the very serious discontent created, particularly in Peninsular India, by the practical administration of the Forest Laws, the Government of India do investigate this matter carefully, and endeavour to mitigate the harshness of such administration, and render it less obnoxious to the poorer classes.

In speaking on this subject, I feel the force of the voice of the eight thousand people who have sent me here, (*hear, hear*), urging me to press this subject on the attention of the Congress. Meetings were held, one at Belgaum, where about 6000 persons attended, and the other at Dahe where 3000 people were present, where the desire was expressed that this question should once more receive the attention of the Congress. (*Hear, hear.*) This circumstance alone will show you the gravity of the question and the necessity for this resolution.

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Resolution IX
Grievous distress amongst the people of India. Urgent necessity for a reduction of the cost of administration, an extension of the system of Permanent settlement, and the establishment of Agricultural Banks.

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

3rd Day.

Resolution
X.
Necessity
for mitigat-
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Forest Laws.

On this occasion the people have been specially fortunate in having for their spokesmen the body of the Government itself. This year, in considering the reports submitted by the Forest Officers, the Government passed a resolution containing some strictures on the administration of forests by the Officers of the Department, taking them to task and calling upon them to obey the orders which had been issued by the Government really and without cavil. (*Hear, hear*). That is the wording of the last paragraph of the Resolution submitted by the Bombay Government. Here are spokesmen of the grievances suffered by the people whom the people never expected at all. With this admission of the discontent created by the Forest Administration, I think I shall not be justified in going over the same ground. We did ask the Government of India on the last occasion to investigate this matter carefully and to endeavour to mitigate the hardships which are experienced by the people by the improper administration of the Forest laws. And it is a matter of the purest gratification that unasked the Government of Bombay has taken upon itself the gracious task of enquiring into the grievances of these people. (*Cheers*.) If I were to quote to you certain facts which I have gathered from the recent Administration Report of 1891-92, they would go distinctly to prove the necessity of such an investigation by higher authority. When this Resolution was passed by the Bombay Government, the Officers of the Department were not satisfied with it as it was a very bitter pill for them to swallow, and it was taken up by the Press on behalf of the Officers concerned. While this was the attitude of the Bombay Government their Resolution was sent to the Government of India, who in their gracious appreciation of the circumstances of the country were satisfied that what the Bombay Government had placed before them was true and they stigmatised the conduct of the officers charged with the administration of the Forest laws, and at the same time expressed their regret that the matter was not investigated earlier. (*Cheers*.) Therefore in our Resolution we entirely adopt the Resolution of the Congress of 1891, and reiterate our prayer for investigation into these matters. If the grievances of the people had been removed, there would have been no necessity for further enquiry; but those grievances still exist, and therefore we call upon the Government of India to enquire into the matter. I have arranged these grievances under several heads. The first of those grievances is that during the year 1891-92, the number of cattle killed by snakes rose from 1095 to 1187, and the number killed by wild animals and snakes together amounted to 2,820. Having regard to the fact that the habitations of these poor people are begirt on all sides by Forests, it is the duty of the Government to keep the inhabitants of the Forests within their own bounds also. Then what as the number of the cattle impounded?—3,39,296 as against 3,31,491. When I remarked on the last occasion that the Government itself was sometimes helpless against its own officers, I did not think I should have to refer again to the same fact; but the Government was alive to the fact and saw that its officers were growing rather independent. And another fact is that there is a decline in the number of cattle throughout the Presidency except Sindh. The decline has taken place chiefly in Sholapore and Sattara, and the want of fodder is undoubtedly responsible for that decline. In this state of circumstances one would have expected that the Government would have allowed the Forests to be opened, just as we have heard of the Nizam's Government opening its closed Forests to cattle. (*Hear, hear*.) I will give you figures to show how the revenue is rising gradually, and especially in Sattara. In 1873 the revenue was Rs. 11,871; in 1880 it rose to something like Rs. 45,000. These are facts, and I have a number more, which will prove the necessity of strengthening the hands of a benevolent Government and the fallacy of condemning the Government for the acts of its officers. We feel the oppression not on account of the acts of the Government but of its officers. We pray the Government of India to enquire into the matter, and we also congratulate the Bombay Government in having in a straightforward manner taken their officers to task. (*Cheers*.) We hope next year to come out successfully in regard to this matter, and I hope to give you a better account next year if you are pleased to accept this Resolution. (*Cheers*.)

MR. P. KESHAVA PILLAI (*Goody, No. 37, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—We are fully alive to the advantages of preserving forests from indiscriminate denudation, but the hardships and harassments the Act and the rules cause to the ryots and the poor may be avoided by some modification of the Act as well as the Rules. (*Hear, hear*.)

The Officers of the Special Department vie with each other in enhancing taxes on various forest produces but also in adding one after another under the taxable forest produces, thus abolishing gradually almost all the communal rights of the villagers.

Contrary to all the principles of law, that under the Forest Act if a head-load, or hand-load of firewood or other wood, were seized in any place, no matter where, it may be in the midst of a town far away from the precincts of a forest, reserved or unreserved, the presumption is that until the contrary is proved by the defendant, the seized property is forest produce. This provision in the Act has been a source of much oppression and hardship to the people, at the hand of Forest Subordinates.

The High Court of Madras so long ago as 1885 observed in their report on the administration of Criminal Justice in the Presidency as follows:—

“These facts (the increase in offences under the Abkari, Forest, Police and Salt Acts and the decrease in the number of offences under the Hackney Carriages Act and the Municipal Acts) indicate that while sanitary rules have either been less rigorously enforced or less frequently infringed, increased activity has been exhibited in the working of those special Acts—Abkari, Forest and Salt—where care is most necessary, that injudicious zeal should not be permitted to lead to prosecutions which cannot be supported or to harass the people unnecessarily.” (*Hear hear.*) So all the excesses committed by the Forest officers are attributed to zeal.

Even His Excellency the Governor of Madras seems to be actuated by zeal in this respect. While His Excellency was touring through the Cudappah District, it would appear he came across a man taking a handful or a little more of *Sunt-sa* leaves from a tree, if I may so call it, for the purpose of using it as medicine; and His Excellency was pleased to order that that man should be prosecuted under the Act. (*Shame, shame*) The man was tried and punished to pay a fine of a few Rupees for mischief. I can quote worse instances if there were time for doing it.

Well, as it is we cannot expect the Departmental officers to be more lenient or generous in the treatment of all such so-called offences when the Governor himself is of such a frame of mind. (*Hear, hear.*)

But I think that it ought to be acknowledged with thankfulness that the Government of Madras was pleased during the last year to withdraw the restriction placed on loose stones, mud, sand, &c. in unreserved forests, if we can call them forests at all. This was done on a reference made by the Honorable Mr. Grose of the Board of Revenue, whose attention was drawn to the subject by the *Hindu* of Madras. The Government was generous enough to acknowledge that the grievances complained of in the *Hindu* were not imaginary, said that certain Collectors misunderstood its intentions, ordered the immediate withdrawal of the orders of the Collectors, and directed the Board of Revenue to frame a new set of rules in consonance with the wishes of the Government. We hope it will be liberal and just enough to justify our expectations raised by the resolution. (*Cheers.*)

The Government and the Board admit in the said resolution that the Revenue Inspectors, village officers and such other people are not to be trusted, and that they would feather their own nests instead of benefiting the Government if powers were invested in them to collect soignorage in all such articles.

Knowing this as they do, why do they not exempt the necessaries of life for the ryot and the cattle, the green wood for agricultural implements, thatching grass, vegetable manure, and grass from the control of such petty officers and redress a grievous wrong, the poor ryot and the poor man are suffering from in silence and misery? (*Cheers.*)

The policy of reserving *Parumboke* lands near villages when they exceed 100 acres, and in some places even 50, is a great injury done to the cattle. The absurdity of it is that in many so-called reserved forests even shrubs do not grow. It is all then harassment and trouble to the ryot, and the starvation and deterioration of the cattle. There remains very little pasture ground unrestricted for the cattle of the ryot population. The ryots are obliged to exhaust their dry fodder such as straw, rholum, stalk, &c., in feeding

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Resolution
X.

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

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Resolution
X.

Necessity
for mitigat-
ing the
harshness of
the practical
administra-
tion of the
Forest Laws.

them even in good seasons, and thus it becomes difficult for them to maintain them in the times of scarcity. Of course he cannot shoot down all the cattle, other than the ploughing cattle, as generously suggested by a Forest Officer ?

The prevention of people from collecting even dried wood in the forests reserved and unreserved, without a pass, gives scope to the forest subordinates to cause annoyance and suffering to the poor, and especially the honor of poor women, who resort to these places for collecting firewood, is not at all times safe at the hands of the ruffianly and low paid class of guards and Tanadars. (*Hear, hear.*)

Even the Departmental Officers were obliged to say in their Report of 1884-85 in this wise—"Forest guards and Tanadars have been strictly warned against interfering with villagers found collecting brushwood, &c., for firewood from unreserved areas."

Further, the prohibition to remove fuel from the forests compels the ryots to make use of such useful manure as cowdung as fuel, and this coupled with the difficulty experienced in getting vegetable manure, tends to impoverish the land. The policy of reserving even cultivated and cultivable land by making forced settlements with the ryots, restricts the area of cultivation which is a danger in the face of growing poverty and increasing population. (*Cheers.*)

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

Resolution
XI.

Appoint-
ment of a
committee
to prepare a
petition to
Parliament
regarding
the results
of the Pub-
lic Service
Commission.

MR. A. NUNDY (*Agra No. 497, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The resolution which I have to propose runs as follows :—

That Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Mr. P. M. Mehta, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, and Rai Bahadur Anunda Charlu, be appointed a Committee to prepare a petition on the lines indicated by the petition printed at foot, and that the President be authorised to sign it, on behalf of this Congress, and send it to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M. P., for presentation to the House of Commons.

To

The Hon'ble The Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

*The humble petition of the President and Members of the Eighth Indian National Congress, held at Allahabad, on the 28th, 29th and 30th of December, 1892,
Respectfully Showeth,*

(1). *That in conformity with a resolution adopted at the Eighth Indian National Congress, your humble petitioners beg to bring to the attention of your Hon'ble House, the deep disappointment which prevails in all parts of Her Majesty's Indian Empire at the orders passed upon the labours of the Public Service Commission.*

(2). *That the Commission was instructed by the Government of India to submit a scheme which might reasonably be expected to possess the elements of finality and to do full justice to the claims of the Natives of India to higher and more extensive employment in the Public Service. Neither object has been secured by the labours of the Public Service Commission. The Statutory Service, under which appointments had been made, has been abolished, and nothing has been done to secure to the people the full enjoyment of the boon conferred upon them by the Act of 1870. The Government of India, in their resolution appointing the Commission, observed, "that the Statute of 1870 is one of remarkable breadth and liberality, and it empowers the Government of India and the Secretary of State, acting together, to frame rules, under which Natives of India may be admitted to any of the offices hitherto reserved for the Covenanted Civil Service." But the result of the Commission's enquiry has been a reduction in the number of offices open to Indians.*

(3). *That in respect likewise to Simultaneous Examinations in England and in India for appointment in the Civil Service, the Report of the Commission, endorsed by the Government of India, has given no satisfaction whatever. The weight of the evidence taken by the Commissioners was distinctly in favour of simultaneous exami-*

nations. Among the witnesses examined, there was a very large preponderance of those who were in favour of simultaneous examinations.

(4). That the disappointment which is everywhere felt at the resolution of the Government of India on the Public Service Commission, is of such a character that the Congress has felt constrained to lay the matter before the Hon'ble House, and to pray that it will direct the Government of India to give full effect to the Act of 1870, in the matter of appointing Natives of India to the Public Service of their country.

And your petitioners will, as in duty bound, ever pray.

I must confess it was with a certain amount of hard feeling towards our distinguished President that I left this hall last evening. And it was for having thrust on me a duty I was unwilling to undertake—that of moving this resolution.

But I am glad now the President gave me an opportunity of standing on this platform, for I am thereby enabled to explain a matter which might otherwise give rise to misapprehension. The number of Indian Christian Delegates attending the Congress this year is very small, and the enemies of this National movement might get hold of this fact and say that so far at least as the Indian Christians are concerned their interest is diminishing and they are quietly withdrawing their support from a cause which they had at first warmly espoused. This is not so, the absence of most of the Christian Delegates is due to the fact that they are at the present moment attending a Christian Conference which is now assembled in Bombay and which meets only once in ten years. (*Hear, hear.*) I am glad to avail myself of this opportunity for asserting in emphatic terms that the Christians are still as warmly interested in the Congress movement as they at any time were, that we strongly feel that our fate is bound up with the fate of our fellow countrymen, and that we consider it a privilege to be associated with them in the common cause of agitating in a legitimate manner to remove the disabilities and grievances from which we are all suffering. (*Cheers.*)

The resolution committed to my charge is a necessary corollary to a previous resolution which has been fully discussed and unanimously passed by you—I mean the second resolution. In that resolution you have deplored the fact that the recommendations of the Public Service Commission have not been carried out in their integrity, that the number of appointments for the Provincial Service have been reduced from 108 to 93, that the number of Judgeships have been reduced from one-third to one-fifth, and you have further recorded your opinion in that resolution that full justice will never be done to the people of this country until the competitive examination for the Civil Service of India is held simultaneously in England and in India. It is therefore unnecessary, and indeed it would be beyond my province, to enter into the questions arising from the Report of the Public Service Commission, which have already been discussed and passed. The only point that I have to put before you is whether you think it desirable or not that we should carry our grievances with reference to the admission of the Natives of the country in to the Civil of a Petition to the British House of Commons.

A few weeks ago the late Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces, in the last public function in which he took part, *i. e.*, the opening of the Benares Water-Works, volunteered a certain amount of paternal and parting advice. Even he had to concede that it was possible for the people living under the benign rule of the British Government to suffer from grievances of which they might reasonably complain. (*Hear, hear.*) But what was the advice Sir Auckland Colvin gave for the redress of these grievances? Ninety-nine out of a hundred Englishmen would have said, agitate, and agitate strongly, till you attain your object. Not so the ex-Lieutenant-Governor. He expressed a pious horror of agitation, and stigmatised in bitter terms what he called the professional agitator, but wound up by advising his hearers if they had a grievance to do what—to lay them before the District Magistrate! (*A laugh.*) Evidently Sir Auckland thought a man had only to go to the District Magistrate with his grievance and it would be immediately redressed, a curious commentary on facts as they really exist. But even he admitted the possibility of people going to a District Magistrate being disappointed, for he went on to add—'if the Magistrate fails

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Resolution XI.

Appointment of a Committee to prepare a petition to Parliament regarding the results of the Public Service Commission.

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Resolution
XI.Appointment of a
Committee
to prepare a
petition to
Parliament
regarding
the results
of the Public
Service
Commission.

you go to the Commissioner.' And here he thought there was almost a certainty of a speedy redress of all grievances. But still he went on—if by any mischance there was a denial of justice by that official, then as a last resource, there was an appeal to the head of the Local Government. The Lieutenant-Governor's advice ended there;—he could not conceive any remedy beyond that. He could not conceive it possible that the Lieutenant-Governor would ever fail to redress any grievance brought before him. He must have said to himself that if a ruler of a sister province, in his tender solicitude for the people under his charge, is actually engaged in redressing a grievance which never existed, and to remove which no one had ever asked, surely it could never happen that a real grievance could be brought before a Local Government without its being immediately redressed.

Well, gentlemen, our experience is unfortunately otherwise, and if I may be permitted to take the liberty of supplementing the profound utterances of a Lieutenant-Governor, I would add—if you fail to obtain redress from a Lieutenant-Governor go to the Viceroy, and if you fail there go to the Secretary of State, and if you are disappointed there, lay your grievance by means of a petition—before the House of Commons. (*Hear, hear.*) And this is precisely what the resolution before you asks you to do. In doing so you will not only avail yourself of the only remedy now remaining to us, from which we can hope, sooner or later, to obtain a redress of our grievances in this matter, but you will also thereby be carrying out the advice of our venerable and distinguished countryman—Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee, (*cheers*) who has advised us strongly to support his hands by means of a petition to the British House of Commons. With these remarks I commend the resolution for your acceptance. (*Cheers.*)

BABU KALI PROSANNO KAVYAVISHARADA, (*Calcutta No. 185, in list*).—GENTLEMEN,—In seconding the resolution I think the less I say the better it will be for you. Year after year this Congress has passed resolutions, and now in the present session this is only a corollary to the resolutions previously passed. Our only means of redress is to present a petition to the House of Commons, and who can prepare a better petition than those whom we propose to entrust with that duty. (*Hear, hear.*) Such a petition will tend to strengthen the hands of our illustrious country man, Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee, in Parliament. Not that I am sanguine in my expectations that this petition will have the desired effect, but I fully believe that we cannot appeal in vain to that noble nation who have won renown for themselves for spending thousands of pounds out of their own pockets for the liberation of negro slavery of Africa. (*Cheers.*) It is dangerous to be a prophet, but I see the hand of Heaven laid upon the wheels of time. Despot, thy days are numbered; thy sceptre has been wrested from thy hands and given to nobler statesmen who have a higher sense of duty in conformity with the nationality to which they belong. (*Cheers.*)

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

Resolution
XII.Legislative
Council for
the Punjab.

MR. KANHAYA LALL, (*Lahore No. 615 in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The Resolution, that I have to propose runs as follows:—

That this Congress, in concurrence with the first Congress held at Bombay in 1885, considers that the creation of a Legislative Council for the Province of the Punjab is an absolute necessity for the good Government of that Province, and, having regard to the fact that a similar Council has been created for the United Provinces, hopes that no time will be lost in creating such a Council.

You have heard this resolution which asks for the creation of a Legislative Council for the Punjab, just as we have in the United Provinces of the N.-W. P. and Oudh. I must say it is with great hesitation that I propose this resolution, because I feel it is a speculation in the present state of things, the Legislative Council being filled by members nominated or selected, whatever you may call it, from the people, but not on the representative principle. People who accept seats notwithstanding their incompetency to hold such a responsible charge, do so simply to aggrandize themselves, and to add another name "honourable"—dishonourable would be more appropriate,—to their titles. So it is a speculation, because if those rules which we expect are not sanctioned for a long time to come and the Council is constituted upon the same lines as the existing Councils, then we

shall be in a worse position than we are in at present. The present machinery for enacting laws for us is to some extent a reliable one, I mean, the Supreme Legislative Council of India where able men sit. They have some regard for a sense of duty. But if people are selected from our Province without representation, then there will be the danger of harm. Some four or five years ago a Tenancy law and a Revenue law were enacted for the Punjab, and passed in the same year. It was the opinion of the Financial Commissioner and the Board of Revenue that these laws affecting important rights in property, should sweep away the prevailing local practices which were to be excluded altogether. But it was the wisdom of the Legislative Council of the Government of India which prevented their agreeing with the opinion of the Revenue authorities, and a right of appeal was left in these important cases. Therefore I say that I feel hesitation in moving this resolution. But as this Congress has by a resolution in 1885 committed itself to such a resolution and demanded a Council for the Punjab, and because there is the expectation of getting such rules by which real representation may be secured, therefore I propose this resolution. (*Hear, hear.*) I also propose it because it is not a wise thing to say that I shall not acquire property or build a house because it may be occupied by bad tenants. There may be a time when it may be occupied by a good tenant if it exist. For these reasons I commend the resolution to you for your acceptance. (*Cheers.*)

MR. MURLIDHAR (*Umballa, No. 612, in list.*).—MR. PRESIDENT LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—There are cotton manufactures in Bombay, art industries in Poona, flour mills in Delhi, and if this legislative mill had been like all other mills, then we would not have been under the necessity of working for its reform. For this mill we would have got ordinary laborers to work. But this is not a windmill, because if it had been a windmill we would have found Don Quixotes to work it. These are found in India in large numbers, but such a mill is not to be found in England because there are no Don Quixotes there; these are only to be found in India. (*Laughter.*) If the Councillors are to sit only like dumb creatures, then I say make a statue of Liberty and simply place it upon the Legislative stage, and then you will see what a beautiful spectacle it will be. (*Laughter and cheers.*) It will be noble to look at. But as long as these illiterate and dumb people who do not understand a word of English, the language in which the proceedings are conducted, will sit mute and dumb, I do not see the least difference between these honourables and dumb statues. (*Cheers.*) It is therefore that you have called these Legislative Councils a sham. Why then do you inflict this sham upon us? Oh! but we have not even the satisfaction of having this sham in our province, and therefore we hunger for it. We hope we shall not have to wait long; that there will be a reformation, and that the time is coming when we shall have a real representation. (*Cheers.*) If I had dared to give utterance to such feelings in regard to honourable members, and if I had been a native of some Native State, then perhaps you would have found my head off my shoulders. I would have been a headless ghost, and you would not have seen my shadow. (*Laughter.*)

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

MR. D. N. BANERJEE, (*Allahabad, No. 337, in list.*).—GENTLEMEN,—The resolution that I have to propose runs as follows:—

That this Congress hereby tenders its most grateful acknowledgements to Sir W. Wedderburn and the members of the British Congress Committee, for the service rendered by them to India during the past year, and entirely approves and confirms the re-construction of the British Committee of the Congress which has been effected by them, as also the new arrangements which they have made in regard to their office establishment, and the journal "India;" and that this Congress also tenders its thanks to Mr. W. Digby, C. I. E., for the services which he rendered to the cause during his tenure of office as Secretary to the British Committee.

I am exceedingly sorry for you all because I feel sure that I am bound to disappoint you. Probably you have seen me very closely associated with Babu Surendro Nath Banerjee during these days here; and probably you think that I have been able to borrow something from him of that inestimable gift which he possesses, or that he has been able

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Resolution
XII
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the Punjab

Resolution
XIII.
Thanking
the British
Committee
and Mr
Digby Con-
firming new
arrange-
ments about
the office of
the Com-
mittee and
the Journal
"India."

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 Resolution
 XIII.
 Thanking
 the British
 Committee
 and Mr.
 Digby. Con-
 firming new
 arrange-
 ments about
 the office of
 the Com-
 mittee and
 the Journal
 "India."

to give me some of it. But he has done nothing of the kind. The fount of eloquence which was in our family, has descended, according to the law of primogeniture, to the eldest branch of which my, dear nephew Babu Surendro Nath Banerjee is a worthy member. So pardon me, gentlemen, if I do not come up to your expectations.

But still I have some thing to say and must say in support of this resolution. It is a very simple task to rise and express our gratitude to those who have done something for our benefit; and it was only that idea which has encouraged me to appear before you.

We have undertaken a very grave cause; it is admitted that the ultimate success of the great undertaking depends a good deal upon the sympathy and support of the British public. (*Hear, hear*). It is therefore our duty, I think, to record our gratitude to those men who are now engaged in the British Committee of the Congress, working in England in order to interest the people of England in our behalf. (*Cheers*). Seldom do we find English gentlemen, after having retired from the service, after life-long labour, devote themselves to the cause of the people of the country without private purposes of their own to serve. But that is not the case with the distinguished gentlemen who are now upon that Committee and working there. (*Hear, hear*). Gentlemen, I think we should be guilty of the highest ingratitude if upon an occasion like this you do not record your deep appreciation of the valuable services these gentlemen are rendering to our cause. I do not think I need single out any one out of the names which are there for any special praise, for, I think even the chief among them would be after all a chief among equals; and with these observations I will retire with a credit of three minutes in my favor which I leave as a start on behalf of the first man who will follow me. (*Cheers*).

MR. K. B. MULLICK, (*Kalna, No. 222, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The task which has been entrusted to me, you will all concede, is a most gracious and pleasing one. I am called upon to support the vote of thanks which has been proposed to be given to the British Committee. Gentlemen, you are aware that that Committee is a most important adjunct of this Congress. (*Hear, hear*). The European gentlemen who are on that Committee are your mouthpiece, and as such they discharge most important duties connected with this Congress. I have therefore very great pleasure indeed in seconding the resolution moved by my predecessor. In this connection I shall make only one remark with regard to Mr. Digby's services to the Congress. You are aware that his connection has now been severed, not because he did not like to work for you, but it has been owing to circumstances over which he had no control; and I can assure you, gentlemen, that although his connection has been severed, he continues to take the same earnest interest in the Congress as before. (*Hear, hear*). As Secretary to the Committee he discharged his duties loyally, with spirit and zeal, not to say that he did it to the entire satisfaction of this Congress and the members of the Committee; and it is therefore that we record this expression of our gratitude. (*Cheers*). With these few remarks I have to express my own great pleasure in being able to second this resolution. (*Cheers*).

The President here stated that the Hon'ble Sunkar Nair, of Madras, was to have moved this resolution, but through an oversight, it had been moved by another speaker. He offered an apology to Mr. Nair for the mistake, and requested him to support the resolution.

THE HON'BLE SUNKAR NAIR, (*Madras, No. 2, in list*).—who on rising was greeted with cheers, said:—GENTLEMEN, I suppose I must say something now. You are aware that agitation here in India alone is hardly sufficient for our purposes; and that it is necessary to educate English public opinion upon the questions at issue between ourselves and our opponents. It was therefore necessary that there should be a committee of European gentlemen like the British Committee at London, to impress upon the English public and upon the House of Commons the necessity of effecting some of the reforms which we have

been advocating. And it is only meet therefore that we should return our most cordial and grateful thanks and acknowledgements to the members of the British Committee for the services they have so voluntarily and sincerely been rendering in that direction. *(Cheers)*.

My predecessor Mr. Mullick has already referred to Mr. Digby's services; but there is one fact I should like to mention, and that is, the fact of Mr. Digby having resigned the Secretaryship of the Congress Committee. We all know what his labors have been, and what he has done for us. It would indeed be too much to recapitulate them here. *(Cheers)*. Consequent upon his resignation we have been called upon to make other arrangements, and I have no doubt that you will agree with me in approving the recommendations which have been made to you. With these few remarks I support this resolution. *(Cheers)*.

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

CAPTAIN BANON, (*Punjab, No. 609, in list*),—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The resolution that I have to propose for your acceptance is as follows :—

That this Congress is thankful that the House of Commons is vigilant in regard to the recent purity legislation by the Government in India, and desires, once again, to enter its protest against all State-regulated immorality in India.

In moving this resolution it is necessary for me to say only a very few words. When the Congress passed this resolution four years ago at this very place, Allahabad, they supposed that no doubt would ever again be felt as to what view they took of this matter, and so they never troubled to re-affirm this resolution since. But we are now obliged to ask you to once more pass this resolution, for it has been said that the India Office have been hinting that as the Congress have not reaffirmed this resolution, they have since changed their opinion concerning it. Besides this, our reaffirmation of it at the present moment, will very considerably strengthen the hands of the Anti-C. D. Acts party in England, who are about to move in this matter as soon as Parliament reassembles next month. Under these circumstances we again ask you to pass this resolution unanimously. *(Cheers)*.

MR. V. N. BHIDE, (*Poona, No. 85, in list*),—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I gladly second the resolution which you know requires very little to be said in support of it. This is a resolution which I think we need not dwell much upon, because to do so would be to suppose that our Government and the Government in England are interested in regulating immorality, which is a thing I cannot believe. *(Hear, hear.)* But sometimes improbabilities happen, and possibly this might be one of them. I second the resolution in the hope that this is the last time we shall have to bring such a resolution before so honourable and respectable a body of delegates as are assembled here from all parts of India. *(Loud Cheers)*.

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

THE PRESIDENT.—GENTLEMEN,—In moving the next resolution one word of explanation is necessary. We have heard from friends in England that Parliament would be so busy in the ensuing Session with domestic legislation, that the Congress would not then be able to get a hearing in England. Therefore it has been considered desirable to postpone the sitting of the Congress which it was proposed to hold in England in 1893, and I consequently move the following resolution :—

That, regard being had to the present political situation in England, the provisional arrangements set on foot, in pursuance of the resolution passed at the Calcutta Congress, 1890, for holding—all things being convenient—a Congress of not less than hundred delegates in England, in 1893, be now suspended, until after the Session of the Congress in 1893.

The Resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

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Resolution XIII.

Thanking the British Committee and Mr. Digby. Confirming new arrangements about the office of the Committee and the Journal "India."

Resolution XIV.

Protests against State-regulated immorality in India.

Resolution XV.

Postponement of the English Session until after the Congress of 1893

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Resolution
XVI.
Thanking
Central Fins-
bury, and ap-
pointing Mr.
Naoroji as
India's re-
presentative
in the House
of Commons.

THE PRESIDENT.—I shall now move the sixteenth resolution which runs as follows :—
That this Congress most respectfully and cordially tenders, on behalf of the vast population it represents, India's most heartfelt thanks to the electors of Central Finsbury for electing Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji their member in the House of Commons ; and it again puts on record its high estimate and deep appreciation of the services which that gentleman has rendered to this country, re-iterates its unshaken confidence in him, and looks upon him as India's representative in the House of Commons.

I do not think it needs seconding, and feel sure you will carry it by acclamation. (Loud Cheers).

The Resolution was put and carried by acclamation.

Resolution
XVII.
Financial arrange-
ments of the
Congress.

THE PRESIDENT.—GENTLEMEN,—We have a permanent fund of Rs. 35,000 in the Oriental Bank, and I hope that fund will increase in the course of time. In addition to that we have a sum of Rs. 1,900 and odd also locked up in that Bank. But hopes are held out to us that we shall get 75 per cent. of our money. Sometimes it is not very easy to collect money as it is required, and therefore if you will empower the trustees to send to England not more than £500 out of these sums, it will save a great deal of trouble, and as subscriptions come in, the money will be refunded to the permanent fund, and thus your permanent fund will remain intact. With this explanation I move—

That this Congress hereby empowers the Trustees of the Congress Permanent Fund—now locked up in the "New Oriental Bank Corporation, Ltd.," at present in liquidation—to send at least five hundred pounds out of it to the British Committee, to be recouped by subscriptions from the Standing Congress Committees.

The Resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Resolution
XVIII.
Contributions to the
Congress
Fund.

BABU SURENDRA NATH BANERJI, (Calcutta, No. 188, in list.),—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have been entrusted with what might be called a purely formal resolution; but nevertheless it is a resolution which, affecting as it does the highest and best interests of the Congress, because it affects its financial interests, is of the greatest importance to that body. Let me in the first place read out the words of the resolution :—

That, regard being had to the representations received from the British Committee, this Congress is of opinion, that a sum equivalent in Rupees to two thousand eight hundred pounds sterling, be allotted for the expenses of the British Committee, for the year 1892-93; that deducting the money which has been received up to now, the balance be allotted amongst the different Standing Congress Committees, in accordance with the arrangements come to with them; and that the sum be remitted to England as soon as practicable.

I have remarked that this is a purely business resolution, and it needs a word or two of explanation. You know perfectly well that the British Committee have reduced their expenses. I need not offer any explanation in regard to that measure of the British Committee, for it is fully explained in the admirable and lucid note which has been addressed by Sir William Wedderburn to the various Standing Committees of the Congress. Our expenses for the next year will come up to £2,800. If you have read that note which I hold in my hands, you will find that out of this £2,800, £900 represents the unrealised balance due for this year. Therefore, practically, the expenses of next year will be £1,900, or £100, less than the estimate of the British Committee. You will also have noticed, if you have read this memorandum, that this sum of £1,900 includes a very large item of £1,100 representing the expenses which have to be met for the purpose of keeping up and maintaining our journal *India*. Well, there will be a balance to our credit, as far as that item is concerned. There will be subscriptions coming forth, and I hope and trust in increasing numbers in future years. I hope and trust it will be our privilege to wipe off this item of expenditure in the not distant future as soon as *India* becomes a self-supporting journal. *India* must be maintained. It is the right hand and the organ of the Congress; it is our foundation, our right arm of strength, to fight the constitutional battle in which we are engaged at the present moment. It is not enough that we should hold a great demonstration here and there once in the course of a year; but it is necessary that we should keep

ourselves *in evidence* before the British public, because after all they are the great tribunal to whom we appeal with hope and confidence for the redress of our grievances, for the vindication of our rights, and for the vindication of that gracious Proclamation which we regard as the *Magna Charta* of our rights and privileges. (*Loud applause*).

If it is your wish, if it is your verdict that the British Committee should be maintained, it is necessary also that *India* should be maintained, and maintained in the highest state of efficiency. Well, gentlemen, if you are able to get subscribers to the tune of 5,000 copies, then the journal becomes self-supporting, and not only so, but you yourselves are relieved of a part of the expenses of the British Committee. Five thousand subscribers at the rate of six rupees a year amounts to Rupees thirty thousand per annum, and if you are able to send from this country Rupees thirty thousand as subscriptions for *India*, you will be relieved from further expenses either of *India* or for the British Committee of the National Congress. (*Hear, hear*). How many of us are here—I suppose eight or nine hundred delegates; how many are here as sympathisers and how many as visitors? Expectant *India* is looking upon the scene which is being enacted within this pavilion, and I hope and trust it will be an easy task not only to procure five thousand subscribers, but if necessary, five times five thousand. (*Loud applause*).

Why, gentlemen, in Bengal to-day I find (my friend opposite shakes his head over there) we have a vernacular journal which shall be nameless at the present moment, whose principles and precepts I for my part hold in perfect abhorrence,—that vernacular journal has a circulation as I am told of twenty thousand, and is it impossible for us, for you assembled delegates with all the vast influence which I am sure you possess over your countrymen, to secure for *India* at least as many subscribers as that nameless journal possesses at the present moment? I hope and trust therefore that efforts will be made by us on our return home to secure this circulation for *India*.

Gentlemen, you will permit me to repeat the hope I have already expressed that there will be no difficulty in raising the sum of forty thousand. Rs. 40,000 spread over a population of 280,000,000 of human beings—why, it does not come to a pie per head. Is there any difficulty in raising a sum like this amongst all this vast, *multitudinous*, in the words of Mr. Gladstone, *community*? I do not think there ought to be any difficulty whatever. It is a matter of arrangement, and partly a matter of organisation, and it is a matter of rational allotments made to the various Standing Committees. I have received an admirable report sent to me by a Bengal delegate, Babu Girja Sunkur Mozumdar, in which he makes certain suggestions in regard to the organisation of Bengal districts and sub-divisions. I commend that note to my friend Mr. Ghosal for the consideration of the Standing Committee of the Congress. It is a note well worthy to be reflected upon and given effect to; and in case effect is given to it, we will not be under the necessity of going to our Rajas and Maharajas to beg of them for donations, and they in their turn of begging of us for God's sake not to allow their names to be published in the newspapers. Therefore if it is a matter of organisation, why should we put ourselves in a position to beg for this money. In Bombay, in response to an appeal which I made, when I had the honor of addressing one of the sittings of the Congress, in the course of a couple of hours the meeting responded to that appeal in a munificent manner and a large subscription of Rs. 65,000 was voted on the spot, and half of that amount was put down there and then. Have that fervour and that enthusiasm dwindled? Are the men of 1893 different from the men of 1889? We are told by a journalist, who of course thrives and prospers in the capital of the N. W. Provinces, that ours is a discredited movement, and that our enthusiasm is on the wane! Brother delegates, I call upon you on behalf of this great Congress, I call upon you for the protection of your honor, for the protection of your own good name, to give the lie direct to our opponents (*loud applause*), to give a practical manifestation of your sincerity in a way which no Englishman can ignore. I was very much interested in reading the other day the vaticinations of another journal also published in this city; truly they are twin journalists, the *Castor and Pollux* of Allahabad, who seek to enlighten not only this city but the whole of the North-Western Provinces, and who seek to be the spokesmen of

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the Government of India and of the Government of the North-Western Provinces. One of the two was good enough to devote half a dozen lines, and no more than half a dozen lines, to that splendid oration which was delivered from the chair upon the opening of the Congress, and in commenting upon that speech, this journal was pleased to say that it was a "colourless speech." Very colourless indeed, when the President denounced in scathing terms the system of the administration of Criminal Justice that prevailed in Bengal! Very colourless indeed, when he condemned in emphatic language the Jury notification issued by Sir Charles Elliot? Very colourless indeed, when he pointed out the utter absence of responsibility on the part of the Government of India! Forsooth, it was a very colourless speech! And it was this veracious truthful Journalist who after having endeavoured, vainly, I hope and trust, to delude the public, proceeded to observe that it was a colourless speech in keeping with the colourless character of the Congress, and that all life and vitality had departed from this movement. Life and vitality departed from this splendid organisation, this noble Congress which has done us so much valuable service in the past and which, under God's providence, is yet destined to achieve so much more! Let it not be said, however, that we can talk by the yard but that we perform by the inch. This is the particular charge which we bring against the Government. We tell the Government and their officers that the measure of their performances falls infinitesimally short of the measure of their promises. Let that not be said against us, men of the Congress, men of the forward party, men of the progressive party. If we do talk by the yard and are liberal in our promises, then we should return home to act and not to fall asleep like *Kumbhkarno* of old. Bear this fact in mind that if you wish to succeed with Englishmen, you must show that you are in earnest, and the measure of your earnestness will be judged by the measure of your sacrifices. I call upon you, brother delegates, once again to put your hands into your pockets, to unloose your purse strings, to devote your time to the service of the Congress, and to silence the calumnies which are scattered broadcast against us, by practically demonstrating the fervour of your enthusiasm. Show to the world, show to every body, friends and foes alike, that the enthusiasm which inspired us in the early days of the Congress has not abated. If you are true to the principles of this noble institution, if we are firm and loyal in our attachment to the standard of the Congress, then I am perfectly certain that we shall establish our claims to that measure of political rights and liberties which are identified with the name of the Congress and which are identified with the political regeneration of the multitudinous inhabitants of this great Empire. (*Loud applause*). Once again I ask you to come forward, and by your personal sacrifices to show your devotion to the Congress, and to silence the calumnies of its enemies and to make the Congress the great success, which, under the providence of God, it is destined to be in the history of this vast Empire. (*Loud and continued applause*).

SWAMI ALA RAM, (*Allahabad, No. 386, in list*).—BROTHER DELEGATES,—In the first instance, I must give ten thousand thanks to the citizens of Allahabad, inasmuch as they, have surpassed the past seven Congresses in the amount of work they have accomplished this year. I mean that the last Congresses received the invaluable help of the indefatigable Mr. Hume, and some of them had no inconsiderable amount of encouragement from the presence of Members of Parliament, so that their promoters used to be inspired with hope and confidence in a special manner. In this, the Eighth National Congress however, neither Mr. Hume nor any member of Parliament is present; and the Joint General Secretary of the Congress, the Hon'ble Pandit Ajudhia Nath, has also most unfortunately disappeared from the scene. Such being the case, the residents of Allahabad were not free from misgivings as to its success. But as time rolled on, they girded up their loins with such enthusiastic devotion to the sacred national cause, that they forgot even their food and drink, and made the present Congress outshine its predecessors. (*Cheers*). Subscriptions too, be it said to the credit of the donors, have been liberally contributed.

Now I must address myself to the resolution in hand. I have the greatest pleasure in seconding it. The Indian National Congress is a garden the produce of which 30 crores of the people of India will enjoy to the permanent stability of the British rule for all time to come. (*Cheers*). The British Congress Committee is a fountain built for the purpose of keeping the Congress garden fresh and green (*hear, hear*); and it is the duty of the people

of India to see that the streams of subscription continue to flow freely and uninterruptedly, so that the Congress garden may not suffer from want of proper nourishment. (*Cheers*). What is now needed for this purpose is to raise a fund of £2,800, which, I think, is equivalent to Rs. 45,000 and if this amount is realised once for all, there will not be the necessity of repeating similar appeals year after year. Efforts should be made without delay. Mr Surendranath Banerjee is, in my opinion, the proper person to undertake the task. Money is the most essential requisite. Nothing can be achieved without it. A poet has truly observed:—A mother curses her child who has no pice, a father regards his penniless son as a plague; being without a pice, a person is ignored by his friends; without it, a brother and a sister are no relations; a nephew in need is looked upon as a stranger; "who are you?" says a sister to her own brother in straits; the mother-in-law wishes her daughter to be released from the conjugal ties of an impecunious husband, and the father-in-law disowns an indigent son-in-law; a wife regards her poor husband as dead to her and thinks him to be a burden on her neck". (*Laughter and Cheers*). So you see that the question of funds should receive the first consideration. In a word, for the success of the Congress movement you must effectually set in motion the British Congress Committee water-works by your supplies. The people of India are about 30 crores in number, and if every one pays a pice, it will amount to lacs. (*Cheers*).

A certain sage has said:—"There are four sharers of our wealth - (1). Religion, (2). thieves, (3). the King, and (4). the fire. If not diverted to religion, it will eventually fall to the lot of the other three. The Indian National Congress is a sacred cause; it is a grand religion by which 30 crores of the people of India are to be benefited; and the wealth of men who neglect their duty towards this religion, will surely prove a curse to them. (*Cheers*). For this reason, you should subscribe heartily for the protection and promotion of the Congress religion. I must now conclude by calling on you to say three times "*Congress hi jay*." (May the Congress be victorious.) (*Loud applause*).

The appeal was heartily responded to. As the President got up to put the Resolution to the vote, notes, silver and copper coins and promises to pay began to pour in thick and fast from every quarter. For the next half of an hour, the Secretaries on the President's table were busy receiving money and recording names of subscribers to *India* and the Congress Fund. But it had already got late, lights had to be brought in, and some business had still to be gone through before the Congress could dissolve, and the work of collection had therefore to be stopped. When later on the money came to be counted and the promises classified, it was found that Rs. 906-15-3 had been paid in cash, Rs. 12,515 promised, and 925 new subscribers registered for *India*, making a total contribution of over Rs. 18,000 in support of the Congress Cause.

THE PRESIDENT.—GENTLEMEN,—You know that when our lamented friend Pandit Ajoodhia Nath died, it was put upon me to take his place as Joint General Secretary, and I submitted. But it was with the greatest possible difficulty that I was able to carry on the work. In the first place my health is not what it used to be; and in the second place, I have to make frequent visits to England to look after the education of my children. It became necessary for me to go to England in July last and I remained there for some time, and asked permission to place my duties in the hands of Babu Surendra Nath Banerji. He was overwhelmed with work, and it was only his devotion to the Congress cause and his great friendship to me, which induced him to accept the duty. But, gentlemen, we must not work our willing horses too much, we are willing and ready enough to do all that we can, but you must put somebody else in his place, and I don't think you will differ with me when I propose to insert the name of Mr. Anunda Charlu as Joint General Secretary. (*Cheers*) It took a great deal of time to persuade him to accept the office, but I was at him and he could not refuse. The resolution which I have to move is this:—

That this Congress re-appoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B., to be the General Secretary, and appoints Rai Bahadur P. Anunda Charlu, to be the Joint-General Secretary of the Congress for the ensuing year.

The Resolution was put to the vote and carried by acclamation

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Re-election of the General Secretary. Appointment of a Joint General Secretary.

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Resolution
XIX.

MR. ANUNDA CHARLU,—(*Madras, No. 1, in list.*)—GENTLEMEN,—I have submitted to your wish in the full belief that I shall have your valuable assistance—active assistance from every one of you, so as to lighten the labours which I have undertaken at the earnest request of our worthy and learned President. (*Cheers*).

Resolution
XX.

The Ninth
Congress
to be held
at Amritsar.

THE PRESIDENT.—GENTLEMEN,—I now move—

That the Ninth Indian National Congress do assemble on such day after Christmas, 1893, as may be determined upon, at Amritsar. (Cheers)

MR. KANHAIYA LAL,—(*Amritsar, No. 615, in list.*)—GENTLEMEN,—After the Congress which was held in 1888, we expressed the desire that the following meeting of the Congress should be held at Lahore. I am glad that we are in a position again to do so, and we now invite the Congress to meet at Amritsar, because we consider it very necessary that they should do so. (*Cheers*). It is a feeble heart that does not beat well and the circulation from which does not go to the extremities. Our Congress has not got a weak heart and its circulation should therefore reach the extremities. We want the help and succour of our brethren in Bengal in matters of education and politics, so that we may have the same high sense of duty which they possess. We invite our brethren in Madras to put us in the way of properly organising practical subjects; and we invite gentlemen from Bombay to give us lessons in political economy so that we may thoroughly utilise our means and our resources; and for these purposes we invite you all to the city of Amritsar, which means the 'Lake of immortality'; as every one individually wants immortality, so the Congress collectively wants immortality, and after the Congress has been held in Amritsar in the Punjab, it will, I hope, gain immortality, not only because the name "Amritsar" denotes immortality, but because it is also the frontier province of India. (*Cheers*).

The Resolution was carried by acclamation and with ringing cheers.

Resolution
XXI.

Thanking
H. H. the
Maharaja
of Dar-
bhanga.

THE PRESIDENT.—GENTLEMEN,—I now move—

That this Congress hereby tenders its best thanks to His Highness the Maharaja of Darbhanga, for having so kindly lent his Castle and grounds for the holding of this Congress.

The motion was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

Resolution
XXII.

Appoint-
ment of a
Trustee.

THE PRESIDENT.—GENTLEMEN,—The Trustees of the Congress Permanent Fund were the two Joint Secretaries, the three Standing Counsel and the late Pandit Ajoodhya Nath. At his death the remaining Trustees asked Pandit Bishumbher Nath to take the vacant place. Gentlemen, I don't think we could have made a better selection, and I ask you therefore to confirm the action of the Trustees. I therefore move—

That this Congress confirms the appointment of Pandit Bishambar Nath, in place of the late Pandit Ajudhia Nath, as one of the Trustees of the Congress Permanent Fund.

The motion was put and carried by unanimously.

The
President's
concluding
address.

THE PRESIDENT.—GENTLEMEN,—My attention has been called to an omission in my address in opening this Congress, namely, that I did not refer to the death of the Revd. R. C. Bose. I fully intended to refer to it. I think the same feeling of regret must be felt by us at his loss as a member of the Congress as must be felt by us individually at the loss of a friend, and I shall include his name in the print of my speech, if it is ever printed. (*Cheers*).

THE PRESIDENT.—The last duty which I have to perform is a very pleasant one. It is on your behalf to tender our best thanks to the Reception Committee at Allahabad for the great trouble they have taken on our behalf, and I will ask special thanks to be given to Pandit Bishambar Nath (*cheers*) who was in such a state of health that I thought he would not be able to open these Congress proceedings; but the spirit of the Congress upon him is such that he left a sick-bed and came here. He is a man of advanced years and he is not a Bengalee. But I wish he had been, because we should have been proud to call

him our countryman. But as he happens not to be a Bengalee, I can only say that when a gentleman of his position, of his age and his infirmities, leaves his sick-bed and comes here not only on the first day but day after day, it is wicked to say that we have no life in us. (*Loud Cheers.*) Let us again give three cheers for Pandit Bishambhar Nath. (*Three hearty cheers were here given for Pandit Bishambhar Nath.*)

Next after him who have worked heart and soul for the sake of this Congress are the gentlemen whose names I shall mention as they have been given to me, not intending by reading one name before another to convey any idea that that gentleman deserves more credit than his fellow. Those names are: Raja Rampal Singh (*cheers*), Lala Ram Charan Das (*cheers*), Babu Charoo Chandra Mitter (*cheers*), Mr. J. Ghosal (*cheers*), Pandit Moti Lal Nehru (*cheers*), Pandit Baldeo Ram Dave (*cheers*), Munshi Madhava Prasad (*cheers*), Pandit Madao Mohan Malaviya. (*Cheers.*)

Now, gentlemen, in this country, try as we may, it is not possible to get on without the assistance of English gentlemen. Mr. Hume is not here but his spirit is here. (*Loud cheers.*) But on the Reception Committee there has been a gentleman who was Mr. Hume's co-adjutor for many years, and who has worked in almost every Congress for us. His energy, his devotion and love of this work are well known to you. I need hardly mention the name of Captain Banon. (*Three cheers were given for Captain Banon.*) He has helped us with true English determination, and we have to tender him also our most heartfelt thanks. (*Cheers.*)

THE HON'BLE SANKARA NAIR, (*Madras, No. 2, in list*) then moved a vote of thanks to the President.—The motion was carried by acclamation, and three hearty cheers were given for MR. W. C. BONNERJEE.

THE PRESIDENT.—I thank you, gentlemen, for the way in which my name has been received; and now only one thing more. Before we separate, let us unite in giving three deafening cheers for Her Most Gracious Majesty the QUEEN-EMPRESS VICTORIA.

Loud and enthusiastic cheers were given for Her Majesty, and repeated again and again, and then the assembly dissolved rather late in the evening.

3rd day.

The President's concluding address.

Vote of thanks to the President.

Cheers for Her Majesty the Queen-Empress.

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

EIGHTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT ALLAHABAD, DECEMBER, 1893.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected
1	Madras.	Madras.	Madras Mahajana Sabha.	Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charla, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin, Vaishnava.	Vakil, High Court, Madras, Fellow, M. University, Joint Genl. Secy., I. N. Congress.	Public Meeting of the Sabha held on 19th December, 1893.
2	"	"	"	The Hon'ble C. Sankara Nair, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Member, Legislative Council, Madras.	do.
3	"	"	"	Mr. S. Viraswamy Iyengar.	Hindu Brahmin, Vishnavite.	Landholder.	do.
4	"	"	"	" K. Natraju Iyer, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin	Teacher, Aryan High School.	do.
5	"	"	Madras, Triplicane.	" M. Viraraghava Charlar, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin, Vaishnava.	Managing Proprietor and Joint Editor "Hindu," Secretary, Standing Congress Committee.	do.
6	"	"	"	" Viraraghava Charly, S.	do.	Merchant, Triplicane	Public Meeting on 4th December, 1893.
7	"	"	"	" Viraraghava Charlar, S.	do.	P. W. D. Contractor	do.
8	"	"	"	" Krishnamachary, G....	do.	Merchant, Triplicane	do.
9	"	"	"	" Peter Paul Pillay, ...	Vellala Protestant.	Agent, Landowners' Association, Madras.	do.
10	"	"	Shivaganga, Madurai District.	" Narayan Swamy Iyer, S.M.	Brahmin.	Assistant Master, Raja's High School, Shivaganga.	Public Meeting at Shivaganga on 27th November, 1893, and Public Meeting at Hindol on 10th December, 1893
11	"	"	Kuvempuch (N. Arcot.)	" Narsimha Chary, T	Hindu Brahmin, Vaishnava.	2nd Grade Pleader, Ranipet.	Public Meeting on 22nd December, 1893.
12	"	"	Chingleput	" Raghuram Row, D.	do.	First Grade Pleader.	Public Meeting on 16th December, 1893.
13	"	"	N. Vizagapatam.	" Rao Sahib J. Viazarasimha Raja.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Landholder, Vizianagram	Public Meeting at Vizianagram held on 22nd November, 1893
14	"	"	Parvatipur and the Parvatipur Mahajana Sabha.	" P. Venkat Rao Pantala.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Parvatipur, Viragapatam District.	Elected at a Public Meeting on 21st November, 1893.
15	"	"	"	" Venkat Jagannatha Shastr.	do.	First Grade Pleader, Northern Circles, Memoor, Taluk Board, Parvatipur, Secretary, Mahajana Sabha, Parvatipur	do.
16	"	"	Palghat.	" K. A. Vythinatha Iyer Avergal, B.A.	do.	Teacher, Brennan College, Tellicherry.	Public Meeting on 18th December, 1893
17	"	"	"	Rao Sahib S. Viraraghava Iyer Avergal.	do.	Landholder and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
18	"	"	Rajamahendri Literary Association.	Mr. Ch. Venkataswamy.	do.	Pleader.	Association's Meeting on 26th December, 1893

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
19	Madras.	Madras.	Salem.	Mr. P. S. V. Chettiar ...	Hindu Shaiva Vaishya.	Mirasidar and Merchant, Jalakantapara.	Public Meeting on 24th December, 1892.
20	"	"	"	" J. Nagalinga Chettiar.	do.	do.	do.
21	"	"	"	" C. Venkatachariar ...	Hindu Vaishnava Brahmin.	Landholder and Member, District Board, Salem.	do.
22	"	"	"	" C. Vijayaraghavachariar, P.A.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
23	"	"	"	" Venkata Row. ...	Hindu Brahmin Shaiva.	Money-lender and Merchant.	Public Meeting on 19th December, 1892.
24	"	"	"	" M. Ponnusami Chettiar.	Hindu, Shaiva Vyasa.	Shroff, Shivapet, Salem.	Public Meeting on 24th December, 1892.
25	"	"	"	" Md. Abdul Qadir Sahib.	Mahomedan, Sunni.	Mirasidar and Merchant.	do.
26	"	"	"	" Kamaswami Chettiar.	Hindu Shaiva Vaishya.	Merchant.	do.
27	"	"	"	" V. Vyathi Iyer ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Government Pleader.	do.
28	"	"	Arni (Chittoor.)	" D. V. Narsinhachary, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin Vaishnava.	Contractor and Landholder.	Public Meeting held on 11th December, 1892.
29	"	"	Guntur Town and Tax Payers Association, Guntur.	" S. Ramuswamy Chetty.	Hindu Vaishnava Vaishya.	Merchant and Assistant Secretary, Taxpayers' Association.	Public Meeting on 21st November, 1892.
30	"	"	Chittoor.	" Damal Willivalum Rajagopal Chariar.	Brahmin, Vaishnava.	First Grade Pleader, Chittoor, North Arcot, and Landholder.	Public Meeting on 24th November, 1892.
31	"	"	Bellary (Town and District.)	" C. Annamalai Mudaliar, Graduate of the College of Agriculture.	Hindu, Shaiva Vitthalo.	Agent of Messrs. A. Subhapaty Mudalliar and Co., Merchants and Landholders at Bellary.	Public Meeting on 11th December, 1892.
32	"	"	"	" C. S. Krishnaswamy Iyer.	Hindu Brahmin Shaiva.	Landholder.	do.
33	"	"	Wallajah-nuggur, Town.	" P. Seshachella Pillai.	Hindu Karnama Caste.	Contractor, Wallajahnuggur.	Public Meeting of Wallajahnuggur Association on 20th December, 1892.
34	"	"	Vijivada Sabha.	" Devaguptam S e s h a Chalapati Row.	Hindu Brahmin.	Commission agent and Merchant and Editor "Krishna News", Anglo-vernacular fortnightly, and Vernacular Secretary Vijivada Sabhas.	Public Meeting under the auspices of the Vijivadasabha on 23rd November, 1892.
35	"	"	"	" Juhuri Subharayudu Garu.	Hindu Vaishya.	Merchant and Contractor.	Public Meeting at Rajmandry on 4th December, 1892.
36	"	"	Nellore.	" P. Balakrishna Pillai.	Hindu Karnama Caste.	Contractor, Nellore.	Public meeting held on 23rd December, 1892.
37	"	"	Gooty People's Association, Anantpur.	" Rao Sahab P. Kesava Pillai.	Hindu Karnama.	Pleader, Gooty.	Public meeting held at Anantpur Town on 16th December, 1892.
38	Govt. of Indus.	"	Secundrabad.	Lala Dhatama Chandra.	Jain Hindu.	Photographer Artist.	Public Meeting on 14th December, 1892.
39	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay Presidency Association.	Mr. D. E. Wacha. ...	Parsee Zoroastrian.	Mill Agent, Journalist, Municipal Commissioner, Honorary Secretary Presidency Association, &c.	General Meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association held on 15th December, 1892.
40	"	"	"	" Daji Abaji Khare, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, Girgaum, Bombay.	Do., and General Meeting of Nasik Sarvajanik Sabha held on 4th December, 1892.
41	"	"	"	Dr. S. W. Kane. ...	do.	Medical Practitioner	General Meeting held at Ratnagiri on 7th December, 1892.
42	"	"	"	Mr. Jag-nohan Das Vandravandas.	Hindu.	Merchant	General Meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association held on 15th December, 1892.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religion, denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
43	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay Presidency Association.	Mr. Raschordas Vallabhi.	Brahmin.	Merchant	General Meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association held on 17th December, 1892.
44	"	"	"	" Mahadeo Vaman Bhat B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court.	do.
45	"	"	"	" Purushottama Parasurama Khate, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court, Thakurdwar, Bombay.	do.
46	"	"	"	" Gangadhar S. Gokhale, L.C.E.	do.	Architect and Engineer, Apollo Street, Bombay.	do.
47	"	"	"	" T. T. Mumdar.	Nagar Brahmin.	Barrister-at-Law, High Court, Bombay.	do.
48	"	"	"	" Chenni Lal Lalibhai Parekh.	Hinda Vanyas.	Merchant.	do.
49	"	"	"	" Ghuman Lal H. Saravaid, B.A., LL.B.	Hinda.	Pleader, High Court, Girgaum, Back Road.	do.
50	"	"	"	" Morvhar Gopal Deshmukh, B.A., B.Sc., M. B.	do.	Medical Practitioner, Fellow, Bombay University, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Girgaum, Bombay.	Public Meeting Ahmedabad held on 29th December, 1892 and Public Meeting at Ahmednagar held on 17th December, 1892.
51	"	"	"	" Paramananda Jiwandas.	do.	High Court Vakil, Vice-President Taluqa Local Board, Municipal Commissioner.	At a General Meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association held on 17th December, 1892.
52	"	"	"	Munshi Sheikh Hussein Sheikh Chand.	Mahomedan.	Islam Missionary, David Sassoon's Silk Mill, Bombay.	do.
53	"	"	"	Dr. John de Cunha.	Christian Portuguese.	Medical Practitioner, Bombay.	At a Special Public Meeting of the Association on 21st December, 1892.
54	"	"	"	Mr. L. DeSouza, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court, Bombay.	do.
55	"	"	Mumbai.	" Mahadeo Bhikaji Oke.	Brahmin.	Taluqa Mohad, Colaba, District Bombay.	Public Meeting held at Mohad on 2nd December, 1892.
56	"	"	Dapoli (Ratnagiri District.)	Rao Sahib Dhoondo Mahadeo Barve.	do.	Vice-President Taluqa Local Board, Dapoli; Municipal Commissioner, Khot; Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Ratnagiri.	Public Meeting held at Dapoli on 2nd November, 1892.
57	"	"	"	Mr. Makrud Waman Barve.	do.	Inamdar, Dapoli, District Ratnagiri.	do.
58	"	"	Basseri.	" Hari Laxman Patil.	do.	Pleader, Basseri, Bombay.	Public Meeting held at Basseri on 4th December, 1892.
59	"	"	Chiploon.	" Wasudeo Gopal Chitale.	do.	Pleader, Indore.	Do., and General Meeting of the Chiploon Association held on 1st November, 1892.
60	"	"	Sindh. Sindh Sabha.	" Pecumal Zokeiram.	Hinda Luddhans.	Pleader, Sukkur, in Shikahn District.	Elected by Sindh Sabha on 17th December, 1892.
61	"	"	Ahmednagar.	" Balwant Bhas Nagarkar.	Brahmin.	Editor of "Cohere," a religious and social monthly, and Bhandoo Prachar, Bombay, Tardoo Road, Vakil, Ahmednagar.	Public Meeting of the inhabitants held at Ahmednagar on 10th December, 1892.
62	"	"	"	" Krishnaji Wasudeo Joshi.	do.	Vakil, Ahmednagar.	do.
63	"	"	Sholapur.	" Dinkar Ballal Chakradeo.	do.	Pleader and landholder, Sholapur.	At a Public Meeting held under the auspices of the Association on 18th October, 1892.
64	"	"	"	" P. L. Nagarkar.	do.	Pleader, Sholapur.	do.
65	"	"	Bhamburda.	Rao Sahib Naram Mahadeo Barve.	do.	Pleader, Member of the District Local Board and also of Jalgaon Municipality.	At a Public Meeting held at Jalgaon on 2nd November, 1892.
66	"	"	"	Mr. Abeji Ragho Mahaldas.	do.	Subordinate Government Pleader and Chairman, Jalgaon Municipality.	do.
67	"	"	Satara.	" Dattatreya Balawant Parmann.	Brahmin.	Editor and Proprietor "Mahatantara Kosh."	Public Meeting at Satara on 2nd November, 1892, Public Meeting at War on 27th November, 1892, and Public Meeting at Sangam on 5th December, 1892.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
68	Bombay.	Satara.	Satara.	Rao Sahib Ramchandra Krishna Kothawale.	Brahmin.	Inamdar and landholder, Member of the District Local Board, Satara, and Chairman, Municipal Committee, Wai.	Public Meeting at Borgaon on 5th December, 1892. Public Meeting at Wai on 27th November, 1892.
69	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Panduranga Karandikar.	do.	Pleader, High Court, Satara...	do.
70	"	"	"	Rao Sahib Balawanta Shridhara Sahasrabudhe.	do.	District Pleader, and Municipal Commissioner, Satara.	do.
71	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Ganesh Pandurang Apte.	do.	Inamdar, Vice-President District Board and Municipality, Satara.	do.
72	"	Belgaum.	Belgaum.	Mr. Sadasiva Balkrishna Bhate.	do.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Member District Local Board; Joint Secretary District Association, Belgaum.	General Meeting held at Belgaum on 18th December, 1892.
73	"	"	"	" Bhim Rao Ramjee Guthkar.	do.	Pleader.	do.
74	"	Ichalkaranji.	Ichalkaranji.	" Ramchandra Baladev Apte.	do.	Member of A. V. School Committee, Ichalkaranji, in charge of I. N. Congress Hall of Ichalkaranji, Member of Poona Industrial Conference.	Public Meeting held at Ichalkaranji on 14th December, 1892.
75	"	"	"	" Ramchandra Ballal <i>alias</i> Baba Sahib Ranade.	do.	President, Sarvajanic Sabha, Ichalkaranji.	do.
76	"	Deccan.	Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.	" Krishnaji Sakharan Joshi.	do.	Pleader, Karandwar State. ...	General Meeting of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha held on 6th December, 1892.
77	"	"	"	" Naro Bhaskar Deodhar.	do.	Pensioned Deputy Educational Inspector, Member Poona Sarvajanic Sabha and Member Local Board, Taluka Sirur.	Do. and Public Meeting held at Poona on 20th November, 1892.
78	"	"	"	" Ranganatha Bapuji Melay.	do.	Member of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha and Sowkar, Poona.	do.
79	"	"	"	" Vasudeo Laxman Athavale.	do.	Member of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, Joint Secretary Deccan Standing Congress Com., Sowkar, Inamdar, Narayan Peth, Poona.	do.
80	"	"	"	" Raghunath Narayan Pandit.	do.	Member of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha and Sowkar, Kesava Peth, Poona.	do.
81	"	"	"	" Vinayak Narayana Apte.	do.	Member of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha and Merchant Shanwarpeth, Poona.	do.
82	"	"	"	" Gopala Krishna Gokhale, B. A.	do.	Professor, Fergusson College; Superintendent New English School, Hon. Secretary and Member, Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, Editor of the "Quarterly Journal" of the Sabha.	do.
83	"	"	"	" Shivarama Hari Sathé.	do.	Member and Hon. Secretary Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, and Editor "Nyayashraya," Mehoonpoora, Poona.	do.
84	"	"	"	" Raghunatha Daji Nagarkar.	do.	Member of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, Municipal Commissioner, District Pleader, Budhwar Peth, Poona.	do.
85	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Vishnu Moreshwara Bhide.	do.	Pensioned First Class Sub-Judge; Chairman, Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, Sadashiwa Peth, Poona.	do.
86	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Kesava Limaye.	do.	District Pleader, Sadashiwa Peth, Poona.	Public Meeting held at Poona, 20th November, 1892.
87	"	"	"	" Madhusudan Wasudeo Athalye.	do.	Landholder, Poona ...	do.
88	"	"	"	" Raghunatha Ramchandra Agasti.	do.	Pensioned Sub-Engineer, Municipal Commissioner, Member, Arbitration Court; Kalewaver, Poona.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Divi- sion.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Reli- gious, deno- mination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
89	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Wamana Balakrishna Kanade.	Brahmin.	Member, Poona Sarvajani Sabha; Member, Nashik Sarvajani Sabha, Editor of "Dnyan Chakra," Poona.	Public Meeting at Poona on 20th November, 1892, and General Meeting of the Nashik Sarvajani Sabha on 4th December, 1892.
90	"	"	"	" Mahadeva Rajarama Bodas, M. A.	do.	Editor of the "Maharatta," English Paper.	Public Meeting held at Poona on 20th November, 1892.
91	"	"	"	" Keshava Rao Chiman Rao Dhole.	do.	Municipal Commissioner, Banker; member, Poona Sarvajani Sabha.	do.
92	"	"	"	Shrimant Narhar Balakrishna Paranjpe.	do.	Banker; Proprietor of Fatoor Ginning Press and Secretary and Treasurer Basarkot Spinning and Weaving Co.	do.
93	"	"	"	Mr. Kashinath Gorinda Natu.	do.	Pleader and Secretary, Deccan Standing Congress Committee, Sadashiva Peth, Poona.	do.
94	"	"	"	" Narayana Bapuji Kanitkar.	do.	District Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and joint administrator, Chinchwada Sansuttar.	do.
95	"	"	"	Shrimant Narhar Rao Trimbaka Rajmukhikara, B. A.	do.	Inamdar and Sirdar; Proprietor of "Nyayashree" Shanwar Peth, Poona.	do.
96	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Mahadeo Ballal Namjoshi.	do.	Municipal Commissioner; Editor, "Industrial Review"; Secretary, Industrial Conference, Mehobopura, Poona.	do.
97	"	"	Poona Arbitration Court.	Mr. Vinayaka Sadasbiva Yerawadikar.	do.	District Pleader, Kasba Peth, Poona.	General Meeting of the Arbitration Court held on 12th December, 1892.
98	"	"	Sarvajani Sabha, Nashik.	" Krishna Rao Jayrama Gupte.	Parbhoo.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Malegaon, zilla Nashik.	General Meeting of the Sabha held on 4th December, 1892.
99	"	"	"	" Vajjanatha Jijji Ranaprekhe.	Brahmin.	Contractor, Taluka Nandgaon, zilla Nashik.	do.
100	"	"	"	" Trimbaka Sadasbiva Gokhale.	do.	Pensioned Government Servant, Malegaon, zilla Nashik.	do.
101	"	"	"	" Janardan Raghu Nath Nimkar.	do.	District Pleader, Member of Nashik Taluka Local Board.	do.
102	"	"	"	" Vishwa Nath Bapuji Pande.	do.	Private Clerk, Srinar, Zilla Nashik.	do.
103	"	"	"	" Anant Raoji Kawle.	do.	Municipal Commissioner of Srinar, Member of Taluka Local Board and Nashik District Local Board; Srinar, zilla Nashik.	do.
104	"	"	"	" Balwant Ganesh Navale.	Hindu Shimp.	Municipal Commissioner, Srinar, Wakil Srinar, District Nashik.	do.
105	"	"	"	" Gangadhar Narsingha Ketkar.	Brahmin.	District Pleader, elected member of the Nashik District and Taluka Local Board.	do.
106	"	"	"	" Tokarama Hanmant Patel Morare.	Mahratta.	Farmer, Contractor, Mhasul, Taluka Nashik, District Nashik.	do.
107	"	"	Dhulia.	" Vinayak Narayana Paranjpe, B. A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Money-lender, Chalingaon.	Public Meeting presided over by Rao Bahadur G. R. Gokul.
108	"	"	Dharwar.	" Ramachandra Trimbaka Kutane, B. A., LL. B.	Do.	Pleader, Dharwar.	Public Meeting held on 15th December, 1892.
109	"	"	"	" Jivat Rao Hanwant Rao Betigudi, B. A., LL. B.	Do.	Pleader and landed proprietor.	do.
110	"	"	Hu'di (Dharwar District), Gayaon Poona.	" T. Swaminath Iyer.	Do.	Railway servant; Locomotive Department, S. M. Ry., Hu'di.	do.
111	"	"	"	" Parushottama Ganesh alias Anna Ghorjare.	Do.	Professor of Music, Mehobopura, Poona.	General Meeting of Gayaon held at Poona, 20th November, 1892.
112	"	"	Bhimthudi.	Rao Saheb Phlari Ananda Rao Dabjandor.	Brahmin.	Pleader of the District Court, Poona, Inamdar; Chairman of the Baranathi Municipality and Member of Local Board, Bhimthudi.	At a Public Meeting held at Baranata, 5th December, 1892.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
113	Bombay.	Deccan.	Rui (Kolhapur.)	Mr. Kashi Nath Ranga Nath Joshi.	Brahmin.	Land-holder, Rui, Kolhapur District.	As a Public Meeting held at Rui, 25th December, 1892.
114	"	"	"	" Appaji Vishnu Kulkarni.	do.	Land-holder, Rui, Kolhapur District.	do.
115	"	"	"	" Krishnaji Dadaji Kulkarni.	do.	do.	do.
116	Hyderabad Assigned Districts.	Berar.	Amraoti.	" Keshav Balwant Deshpande.	Marhatta Brahmin.	Land-holder ...	At a Public Meeting held at Amraoti on 6th November, 1892.
117	"	"	"	" Vasudeo Narayan Jog.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
118	"	"	"	" Moreshwar Bapuji Marathe.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
119	"	"	"	" Kanganath Narasinha Mudholkar, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court, and Land-holder.	Do. and General Meeting of the Berar Sarvajanik Sabha on 6th November, 1892.
120	"	"	"	" Ganesh Shrikrishna Khaparde.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Malguzar, Vice-chairman Municipal Committee and Chairman District Board.	At a Public Meeting at Amraoti on 6th November, 1892.
121	"	"	"	" Panduranga Govinda.	do.	Vakil, High Court, and Land-holder.	At a Public Meeting held at Amraoti on 6th November, and a Public Meeting at Akola on 11th December, 1892.
122	"	"	"	" Vinayaka Savlaram Oak.	do.	Pleader ...	At a Public Meeting held at Amraoti on 6th November, 1892.
123	"	"	Ellichpur	" Bapu Mahadeo Pandse.	do.	District Court Pleader ...	Public Meeting held at Ellichpur on 13th November, 1892.
124	"	"	"	" Gangabara Narayana Jagdall.	do.	do.	do.
125	"	"	"	" Vasudeo Krishna Dange.	Hindu Krishna Pakshi	do.	do.
126	"	"	"	" Shripat Mahadeo Kerkar.	Hindu Brahmin.	District Court Pleader and Land-holder.	do.
127	"	"	Akola	" V. R. Mudholkar ...	do.	Municipal Commissioner and Editor, "Vaidartha," Akola, Agriculturist and Banker ...	Public Meeting at Akola, 11th December, 1892.
128	"	"	"	" Ramachandra Vishas Mahajana.	do.	do.	do.
129	"	"	"	" Ram Rao Gopal Deshpande.	do.	Deshpande and Land-holder.	do.
130	"	"	"	" Rama Rao Jagirdar ...	do.	Jagirdar of Babulgaon ...	do.
131	"	"	"	" Shankara Govinda ...	do.	Banker ...	do.
132	"	"	Mangrol Pir Taluq.	" Ram Krishna Balirama Khlay.	do.	Savakarkarniya ...	Public Meeting held on 21st November, 1892.
133	"	"	Berar Sarvajanik Sabha.	" Lakshmana Atmaram Mahajana.	do.	Merchant, Money-lender, and Vice-President, District Board, Bassein.	At a General Meeting of the Sabha held on 5th November, 1892.
134	"	"	"	Rao Sahib Dev Rao Vinayak.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Land-lord and Municipal Commissioner.	Do. and at a Public Meeting of the Akola people at Akola, held on 11th December, 1892.
135	"	"	"	Mr. Kondo Balaji Purekar.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Amraoti.	At a General Meeting of the Sabha held on 5th November, 1892, and Public Meeting held at Amraoti on 6th November, 1892.
136	"	"	Malkapur Taluq.	" Vasudeo Balaji Pimpalikar.	do.	Pleader, Malkapur ...	At a Public Meeting held at Malkapur on 24th December, 1892.
137	"	"	"	" Sampat Rao Parvata Rao Deshmukh.	Hindu Marhatta.	Land-lord ...	do.
138	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Jabalpore.	" Ram Gulam Avasthi.	Hindu Brahmin.	Teacher, Mission School, Jabalpur, Editor of "Shubha-chintaka," a weekly Anglo-Hindi paper.	At a Public Meeting held at Jabalpur on 17th December, 1892.
139	"	"	Nagpore.	" Bhagiratha Prasad, B.A.	Hindu.	Professor of Mathematics, High School, Nagpur; Municipal Commissioner, Nagpur, Secretary, Total Abstinence Association and President of Young Men's Association; Secretary, Reception Committee, 7th Indian National Congress, and Secretary, C. P. Standing Congress Committee, Nagpur.	At a Public Meeting held in the City School, Nagpur, on 20th November, 1892. At a Public Meeting held at Damoh on 22nd December, 1892.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religion, denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
140	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Nagpur.	Mr. Mahadeva Sakharam.	Goldsmith.	Contractor, Cash and Pay Office, B. N. R., Nagpur.	At a Public Meeting held in the City School, Nagpur, on 20th November, 1892.
141	"	"	"	" C. Narnin Swamy Nayadu.	Hindu, Madras Kshatriya.	Member, Central Provinces and Berar, Nagpur; Chairman, Reception Committee, 7th Indian National Congress, Nagpur; Municipal Commissioner and President, Nagpur Municipal Board; Secretary, District Board, Nagpur; President Theosophical Society, Nagpur, &c.	do.
142	"	"	"	" C. S. Nayadu, B.A., (Canah.)	do.	Barrister-at-Law, Nagpur ...	do.
143	"	"	"	" C. V. Nayadu.	do.	Do.	do.
144	"	"	"	" Hari Mahadeva Pandit.	Maharashtra Brahman.	Editor, "Deshasevak," an Anglo-Mahrathi weekly.	Public Meeting at Ichal Karant on 14th December, 1892.
145	"	"	"	" Kemva Vinayak Joshi, B.A.	Brahman.	Head Master, City Aided School, Nagpur.	Public Meeting held at the City School, Nagpur, on 20th November, 1892.
146	"	"	Raipur.	" Kedarnath Bagchi, M.A.	Bengali Brahman.	Member, Raipur ...	General Meeting held at Raipur on 27th November, 1892.
147	"	"	"	Pandit Nandahl	Gujrati Brahman.	Member, Raipur ...	do.
148	"	"	"	Mr. Gajaram Ragho Bagchi.	Maharashtra Brahman.	Member, Raipur ...	do.
149	"	"	"	" Govind Prasad Dube.	Hindustani Brahman.	Do.	do.
150	"	"	Bilaspur.	" Nagendranatha De.	Bengali Kayastha.	Barrister-at-Law, Hon. Magistrate and Municipal Secretary, Bilaspur.	Public Meeting held at Bilaspur on 17th November, 1892.
151	"	"	"	" Thakur Bial Singh.	Rajput.	Zamindar, M. P., Bilaspur.	do.
152	"	"	"	" Sheikh Qhwaja Rukhs.	Mahomedan Sunni.	Agent to the Zamindar of Sola, Bilaspur.	do.
153	"	"	"	Pandit Nandlal Tiwari.	Hindustani Brahman.	Mukhtar of Champu, Zamindar, Bilaspur.	do.
154	"	"	Sagor Hita-Sabha.	" Damodara Rao Shrikhande.	Maharashtra Brahman.	Member, Sagor ...	By a General Meeting of the Hita Sabha, Sagor, held on 20th November, 1892. Public Meeting held at Hita on 21st December, 1892.
155	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayak Ganasa Vaidya.	do.	Member, Sagor ...	By a General Meeting of the Hita Sabha, Sagor, held on 20th November, 1892.
156	"	"	Harda.	" Balawant Kasbinath Agnihotri.	Arya Vaidic Maharashtra Brahman.	Magistrate, Harda	Public Meeting held at Harda on 20th November, 1892.
157	"	"	"	" Govinda Rao Narayan Parulkar.	do.	do.	do.
158	"	"	"	" Krishna Rao Narayana Kumbay.	do.	Jagirdar, Harda	do.
159	"	"	"	" Vithan Damodar Quidarkar.	do.	Patwar, Harda ...	do.
160	"	"	Hoshangabad.	" Kaji Govinda Khirwarkar.	do.	Member, Harda ...	do.
161	"	"	Raj Nandgaon.	Pandit Shankara Prasad.	Hindustani Brahman.	Member, Raj Nandgaon ...	Public Meeting held at Raj Nandgaon on 8th November, 1892.
162	"	"	"	Swami Brahma-nand Sarawati.	Hindu Nanayati.	Hindu Preacher, Raj Nandgaon.	do. on 21st December 1892.
163	"	"	"	Pandit Shrinivas Rao Mudak.	Maharashtra Brahman.	Member, Raj Nandgaon	Do. on 8th November, 1892.
164	"	"	"	Mr. V. Saangpant Mandliar.	Mahrani Talang.	Municipal Commissioner, Nagpur, "Balram Press," Proprietor of "Raj Nandgaon Gazette" and General Contractor, Raj Nandgaon.	do.

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165	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Chhindwara.	Mr. Prabhakara Sridhara Raday.	Brahmin.	Land-owner, Chhindwara ...	By a Public Meeting held at Chhindwara on 20th November, 1892.
166	"	"	"	" Mathuraprasada.	Kayastha.	Pleader and Land-owner, Chhindwara.	do.
167	"	"	"	" Vinayak Rao Ganesha Wazalwara.	Maharashtra Brahman.	do.	do.
168	"	"	Wardha.	" Keshava Rao Mahadeva Kawlay.	do.	Malguzar, Banker and Pleader. Wardha.	By a Public Meeting held at Wardha on 27th November, 1892.
169	"	"	"	" Laxman Govinda Deskar.	do.	do.	do.
170	"	"	"	" Narayana Shripat Patel.	Hindu Kunbi.	Malguzar and Cultivator of Mouza Takli, Tahsil Wardha.	do.
171	"	"	District Association, Wardha.	" Balkrishna Pandurang Kalyani.	Hindu Brahman.	Malguzar and Cultivator, Wardha.	At a General Meeting of the Wardha District Association held on 16th November, 1892.
172	"	"	"	" Ganpata Rao Kashinath Meghay.	Hindu Kunbi.	Malguzar and Banker of Tukli, Tahsil Wardha.	do.
173	"	"	"	" Balirama Chansaji ...	do.	Malguzar and Cultivator Takli, Tahsil Wardha.	do.
174	"	"	Balaghat.	" Sham Rao Keshav Mazumdar.	Maharashtra Brahman.	Municipal Commissioner for the town of Burha, Landholder, Malguzar, Balaghat.	By a Public Meeting held at Balaghat on 20th November, 1892.
175	"	"	"	" Moreswara Jagannatha.	do.	Municipal Commissioner for the town of Burha, and Malguzar, Balaghat.	do.
176	"	"	"	" Narayana Krishna Kelkar.	do.	Municipal Commissioner and Secretary for the Town of Burha; Pleader, Balaghat.	do.
177	"	"	Burhanpur.	" Raghunath Rao Balkrishna Bhide.	do.	Manager, "Arya Baibhava" Press, Burhanpur.	By a Public Meeting held at Burhanpur on 10th December, 1892.
178	Bengal.	Calcutta.	The Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee ...	Bengali Brahmin.	Barrister-at-Law, 6, Park Street, Calcutta.	At a Public Meeting held at the Albert Hall, Calcutta, on 22nd December, 1892.
179	"	"	"	Babu Heramba Chandra Maitra, M. A.	Bengali Brahmo.	Professor, City College, Calcutta.	do.
180	"	"	"	" Kshitendra Nath Tagore.	Bengali Brahmin.	Zamindar, 6, Dwarka Nath Tagore's lane, Calcutta.	do.
181	"	"	"	" Amoy Nath Bose ...	Bengali Kayastha.	Private service, 13, College Square, Calcutta.	do.
182	"	"	"	" Tarak Nath Palit, B. L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Bechoo Chatterjee's Street, Calcutta.	do.
183	"	"	"	" Nalin Behari Sircar.	do.	Merchant, Municipal Commissioner and Port Commissioner, 21, Beadon Street, Calcutta.	do.
184	"	"	"	" Monmotho Mohan Bose.	do.	Assistant Professor, Physical Science, Metropolitan Institution, 38, Muktaram Babu's Street, Calcutta.	do.
185	"	"	The Southern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Pandit Kali Prasanna Kavyabisharad.	Hindu.	Editor, "Cosmopolitan" and Proprietor "Secular Press," Bhowanipur.	At a Meeting of the Division held on the 8th December, 1892.
186	"	"	"	Babu Basanto Kumar Bose, M. A., B. L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.	do.
187	"	"	British Indian Association.	Mr. J. Ghosal ...	Bengali Brahmin.	Zamindar, Merchant, Vice-President, Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner, Calcutta.	At a Committee Meeting of the British Indian Association. At a Committee Meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, and at a Public Meeting held at the Albert Hall on the 22nd December, 1892.

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188	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Indian Association, Calcutta.	Babu Sorentra Nath Banerjee, B. A.	Bengali Brahmin.	Principal, Ripon College, Hon. Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Chairman, North Barackpore Municipality and Editor, "Bengalee."	At a meeting of the Committee held on the 4th of November, 1892.
189	"	"	"	Rai Jotindra Nath Choudhry, M. A., B. L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zamindar, and Hon. Magistrate Barahnagar, (24 Parganas)	do.
190	"	"	"	Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, B. A.	Bengali Brahmin.	Superintendent, City College and Editor, "Sanjiban."	do.
191	"	"	"	" Hem Chandra Rai, M. A., B. L.	Hindu, Bengali Vaidya.	Pleader, Judge's Court, 24 Parganas.	do.
192	"	"	"	Dr. Mohini Mohan Bose, M. D., L. R. C. P.	Bengali, Brahmin.	Zamindar, Hon. Magistrate, Physician and Surgeon 64/1 Mechua Bazar Street, Calcutta.	do.
193	"	"	24 Parganas, Barahnagar.	Babu Haridas Mukerjee.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zamindar, Barahnagar (District, 24 Parganas.)	At a meeting held on the 4th December, 1892, at Barahnagar.
194	"	"	"	" Mohit Chandra Bose, M. A., B. L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court, Barahnagar, (24 Parganas.)	Do.
195	"	"	Krishnagar (Dt. Nuddes.)	" Tarapada Banerjee, B. L.	Bengali Brahmin	Vakil, Judge's Court, and Municipal Commissioner, Nuddes	At a public meeting held on the 1st December 1892.
196	"	"	"	" Hari Prasad Chatterjee, B. L.	Do.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Nuddes	Do.
197	"	"	Chakdah (District Nuddes.)	" Akahoy Kumar Mitra.	Hindu Kayastha.	Vice-chairman, Municipality, Taluqdar, Chakdah (District Nuddes.)	At a public meeting held at Chakdah Bazar on the 13th November, 1892.
198	"	"	Khulna.	" Jadab Chandra Das.	Hindu Barui.	Pleader, Land-holder, Khulna.	At a public meeting held at the Khulna Town Hall on the 3rd of December, 1892.
199	"	"	"	" Beni Bhushan Ray, B. L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Honorary Secretary, Khulna Loan Office, and Secretary, Khulna Trading Company, Limited.	Do.
200	"	"	Jessore Branch Committee.	" Kaligopal Mazoomdar	Do.	Taluqdar, Jessore	At a meeting of the Jessore Branch Congress Committee held on the 4th December, 1892
201	"	"	Midnapur.	Mr. K. B. Dutt	Bengali Kayastha.	Barrister-at-Law, Advocate, Midnapur.	At a Public Meeting at Midnapur held on the 27th of November, 1892.
202	"	"	"	Babu Jotindra Nath Mallick.	Hindu Tamul.	Zamindar	do.
203	"	"	"	" Upendra Narayan Pal.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zamindar, Dharinda, (District Midnapur).	do.
204	"	"	"	" Nava Kumar Mitra.	do.	Pleader, Judge's Court and Member of the Local and the District Boards, Midnapur.	do.
205	"	"	Bally.	Rai Avinash Chandra Banerjee.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Hardware Merchant, Honorary Magistrate, Chairman Bally Municipality, Secretary Bally Samity, Bally, 7 K. S. Uthman's Street, Calcutta.	At a Public Meeting held on the 24th November, 1892
206	"	"	Serampur (District Hooghly).	Babu Hari Mohan Gosain, B. A.	Bengali Brahmin.	Head Master, Serampur Union Institution.	At a Public Meeting held on the 27th of November, 1892
207	"	"	"	Mrs. A. S. West.	European Christian.	Land-holder, Serampur.	At a Public Meeting held on the 13th November, 1892.

Number.	Presidency of Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
208	Bengla.	Calcutta.	Hughly Chinsurah and Chandernagore.	Babu Keshav Chandra Sadhu.	Bengali Hindu.	Trader, Rai Bagan, British Chandernagore.	At a Public Meeting held at Chinsurah on the 11th December, 1892.
209	"	"	"	" Romesh Chandra Mandal.	Bengali Hindu Subarna-banik.	Zamindar and Municipal Commissioner. Kamarpara Road, Chinsurah.	do.
210	"	"	Murshidabad.	" Baikuntha Nath Sen B.A., B.L.	Bengali Hindu Vaidya.	Vakil, High Court, Chairman, Barhampur Municipality, President, Murshidabad Association, Honorary Magistrate and Zamindar.	At a Public Meeting of the Murshidabad Association held on the 4th December, 1892.
211	"	"	"	" Brojendra Nath Sen, M.A.	Bengali (Brahmo Sadharan).	Principal, Barhampur College, Bengal.	do.
212	"	"	"	" Mohendra Nath Mukerjee.	Bengali Brahman.	Pleader, Zamindar and Honorary Magistrate.	do.
213	"	"	"	" Gourballabh Sen, M.A., B.L.	Bengali Kayastha Hindu.	Pleader and Zamindar ...	do.
214	"	"	"	" Nafardas Roy ...	Bengali Hindu Kshatriya.	Zamindar, Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, and Honorary Secretary, Murshidabad Association.	do.
215	"	"	"	" Hemendra Nath Sen, P.A., B.L.	Bengali Hindu Baidya.	Pleader ...	do.
216	"	"	"	Kumar Umesh Chandra Roy.	Bengali Brahman.	Zamindar ...	At a Public Meeting of the Murshidabad Association held on the 12th December, 1892.
217	"	"	"	Babu Harasankar Bhattacharya.	do.	Pleader, Zamindar, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
218	"	"	"	" Dinbandhu Sanyal.	do.	Retired Deputy Collector ...	do.
219	"	"	Bankura.	" Ramanaod Chatterjee, M.A.	Bengali Brahmo.	Professor, City College, Calcutta.	At a Meeting of the inhabitants held on the 4th December, 1892.
220	"	"	Hirbhum.	" Dhan Kanto Ghose, M.A., B.L.	Bengali Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Zamindar, and late Chairman, Soory Municipality.	At a Meeting held at Soory on the 22nd November, 1892.
221	"	"	Kalpa.	" Jogendro Nath Sen.	Hindu Vaidya.	Land-holder and Physician, Kalpa.	At a Public Meeting held on the 27th of November, 1892.
222	"	"	"	Mr. K. B. Mallick ...	Bengali Kayastha.	Journalist ...	do.
223	"	"	Comilla.	Babu Chare Chandra Mitra, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Bengali Kayastha.	Pleader, Judge's Court and Land-holder, Tipperah.	At a Public Meeting of the People's Association, Comilla, held on the 4th December, 1892.
224	"	"	Tipperah.	" Hardayal Nag ...	Bengali Hindu.	Pleader, Land-holder, Vice-Chairman, Local Board, Chandpur, Tipperah.	At a Public Meeting at Chandpur held on the 4th December, 1892.
225	"	"	Assam, Gauhati.	" Bholanath Baruah ...	Assamese Hindu Kayastha.	Merchant, Gauhati ...	At a Meeting of the Assamese Residents of Calcutta held on the 12th December, 1892.
226	"	"	"	" Lakshmi Nath Bezbarua, B.A.	Assamese Hindu Brahman.	Editor of "Janoki," 18, Savaram Basak's lane, Calcutta.	do.
227	"	"	Dibrugarh, Assam.	" Radhanath Changkakoti.	Assamese Brahman.	Proprietor "Radhanath" Printing Press, Secretary, Upper Assam Association, Municipal Commissioner and Member Local Board, Dibrugarh, Assam.	At a Public Meeting of the Upper Assam Association held on 7th December, 1892, at Dibrugarh.
228	"	Mymensing.	Mymensing.	" Revati Mohan Guha, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Mymensing.	At a Meeting held on the 3rd December, 1892.
229	"	"	"	" Kailash Chandra Nag.	Hindu.	Taluqdar, Sherpur town, Mymensing, Chairman, Sherpur Town Municipality.	do.
230	"	"	"	" Anath Bandhu Guha, B.L.	do.	Pleader and Taluqdar, Member of the District Board, Honorary Magistrate, Secretary, Mymensing Association.	do.
231	"	"	"	" Srinath Rai, B.L.	Bengali Kayastha.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Secretary, Mymensing Association.	do.

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232	Bengal.	Mymensing.	Kishoregunj, District Mymensing.	Babu Rajani Kanta Rai.	Hindu Kayastha.	Talukdar, Post Office Jorahola, Kishoregunj, Mymensing.	At a meeting held on the 27th November, 1902, at Kishoregunj.
233	"	"	Tangail.	" Prasanno Kumar Bose.	Hindu Brahma.	Talukdar, Alisakandar ...	At a meeting of the inhabitants of Tangail resulting at Calcutta held on the 25th December, 1902.
234	"	Pubna.	Pubna.	" Mahendra Narain Chakravarti, B. A., B. L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Pubna, and Landholder.	At a public meeting held on the 6th November, 1902, at the local Town Hall.
235	"	"	"	" Jnyana Gobind Chakravarti, B. A., B. L.	Do.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Pubna, and Honorary Magistrate, Independent Bench, Pubna.	At a public meeting held on the 6th November, 1902, at the local Town Hall.
236	"	"	"	" Mohini Mohun Lahiri, M. A., B. L.	Do.	Pleader Judge's Court, Pubna, and Landholder.	At a public meeting held on the 6th November, 1902, at the local Town Hall.
237	"	Dacca.	Munshigunj.	" Kishori Mohun Bose.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zamindar and Member, Local Board, Munshigunj, Dacca.	At a public meeting held at Munshigunj, on 9th December, 1902.
238	"	"	"	" Jagat Chandra Roy.	Do.	Pleader and Member, Local Board, Munshigunj, (Dacca).	Do.
239	"	"	Dacca.	" Sarat Chandra Bose, B. L.	Bengali Brahma.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Secretary, Dacca Congress Committee.	At a meeting held on 19th December, 1902.
240	"	Furridpore.	Furridpore Sudder Division.	Mr. Girja Shankar Mozumdar, M. A., B. L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Zamindar and Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.	By the Furridpur Subriol Sahas on the 4th December, 1902, and at a public meeting held on the 21st November at Gosalunda.
241	"	"	"	" Amrita Charan Mozumdar, M. A., B. L.	do.	Zamindar and Pleader, District Court, Furridpore.	At a public meeting held at Furridpore, on the 4th December, at Manikjaha on the 11th December, and at Madaipur, on the 29th November, 1902.
242	"	"	"	" Amrita Lal Roy Chaudhary.	Hindu Brahman.	Zamindar ...	do.
243	"	"	"	" Nilkanth Chatterjee, M. A., B. L.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Mymensingh.	At a public meeting held at Furridpur, 4th December, and at Manikjaha, on 29th December, 1902.
244	"	"	"	" Prithis Chandra Roy Chaudhury.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zamindar, Olapore, District Furridpore, Sub-Division Gopalgunj.	At a public meeting held at Furridpur, on the 4th December, and at Tangail on the 22nd November, 1902.
245	"	Dinajpur.	Dinajpur.	Babu Malhava Chandra Chatterji, M. A., B. L.	Bengali Hindu Brahman.	Pleader and Vice-Chairman of the Dinajpur Municipality.	At a public meeting held on the 14th November, 1902.
246	"	"	"	" Umesh Chandra Khasnawi.	Bengali Hindu Kayastha.	Mukhtar, Zamindar and Municipal Commissioner, Dinajpur.	do.
247	"	Rungpore.	Rungpore.	" Satish Kamal Sen, B. A., B. L.	Bengali Hindu.	Pleader, District Court, Rungpore.	do. and on the 14th December, 1902.
248	"	Bansal.	Backergunge.	" Harakanta Sen ...	Bengali Hindu Vaidya.	Assistant Secretary, Bansal Peoples' Association, Secretary Loan Office, Bansal.	At a general meeting of the residents of Backergunge held on the 27th November, 1902, and at a meeting of the Peoples' Association held on the 22nd December, 1902.
249	"	Chota-Nagpur.	Harri-bagh Giridha Sub-Division.	Munshi Khubal Peshkar.	Hindu Kayastha.	Peshkar, Palgunj Raj Estate, (Giridha).	At a public meeting held on 19th December, 1902.
250	"	"	"	Munshi Davi Churn Lal.	"	Pleader, Giridha ...	do.

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251	Bengal.	Chota Nagpore	Hazari- bagh Sudder Sub- Division.	Babu Hanuman Prasad	Hindu Kayastha.	Government Pensioner. Hon- orary Magistrate, Hazari- bagh.	At a public meeting held at Hazaribagh, on the 26th November, 1892.
252	"	"	"	Mirza Imdad Ali ...	Mahome- dan.	Landholder, Honorary Magis- trate and Municipal Com- missioner, Hazaribagh ...	do.
253	"	"	Hazari- bagh.	Babu Narendra Nath Muk- herjee.	Bengali Hindu, Brahman.	Landholder, Hazaribagh ...	At a Committee meeting of the Hazaribagh Asso- ciation, held on 23rd December, 1892.
254	"	"	Lohar- donga.	" Parbhu Narain ...	Hindu Bihari Kayastha.	Mukhtar and Zamindar Ran- chi.	At a public meeting held at Ranchi, on 15th No- vember, 1892.
255	"	"	"	" Radha Gobind Chaudhari, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Bengali Vaidya.	Pleader " "	do.
256	"	Behar.	Patna.	Moulv' Basharat Hosain.	Mahome- dan.	Zamindar, Bankipur ...	At a General Meeting held at Patna on the 25th November, 1892.
257	"	"	"	Moulvi Abdul Hamid, B.A., B.L.	do.	Zamindar, Pleader, Secretary, Standing Congress Commit- tee, Hon. Magistrate, and Member, Local Board.	do.
258	"	"	"	Babu Udit Singh ...	Hindu Brahman.	Zamindar, Sultangunj, Patna City.	do.
259	"	"	"	" Guru Prasad Sen, M.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Municipal Commissioner, Zamindar, Se- cretary, Behar Land-holder's Association and Editor, "Behar Herald."	do.
260	"	"	"	" Bisheswar Singh ...	Hindu Kshatriya.	Zamindar, Pleader, Hon. Ma- gistrate, Bankipur, and Mem- ber, Local Board.	do.
261	"	"	"	" Gadadhar Prasad ...	Hindu Behari Kayastha.	Pleader, Zamindar, Chairman, Local Board, Member, Dis- trict Board, and President 5th Kayastha Conference.	do.
262	"	"	"	" Purnendu Narayan Singh, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zamindar and Pleader, and Secretary, Patna Ratepayer's Association.	do.
263	"	"	"	" Mahabir Sahay, B.A., B. L.	Hindu Behari Kayastha.	Vakil High Court, Calcutta, and Zamindar.	do.
264	"	"	"	" Saligram Singh, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Zamindar, and Vakil High Court, 119, Ripon Street, Calcutta.	Do: & by the British Indian Association on the 22nd December, 1892, and the Indian Association on the 4th November, 1892.
265	"	"	Bankipur.	" Bhagwat Prasad Singh.	Hindu Brahman.	Zamindar ...	At a meeting held at Patna on the 25th November, 1892.
266	"	"	Darbhanga	Babu Durga Prasad ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Zamindar, Darbhanga ...	At a Public Meeting held on the 4th December, 1892, at Darbhanga.
267	"	"	"	" Bhavani Dhar Palit, B.A.	Bengalee Kayastha.	Head Master, E. B. School, Darbhanga.	do.
268	"	"	"	" Mewalal Saha ...	Hindu Banya.	Merchant, Darbhanga ...	do.
269	"	"	"	" Ameer Singh ...	Hindu Kshatriya.	Proprietor "Hari Prakash Press," Benares.	do.
270	"	"	Gaya.	" Nand Kishore Lall, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil and Zamindar, Gaya ..	At a Public Meeting held at Gaya on 15th Decem- ber, 1892.
271	"	"	"	Hakim Syed Altaf Ho- sain.	Mahome- dan Sayyed	Hakim (Medical Practitioner) 1st Road, Gaya.	do.
272	"	Mozaffar- pur.	Mozaffar- pur.	Babu Shorashi Charan Mitra, B. L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Mozaffarpur ..	At a Public Meeting held in Mozaffarpur on the 27th November, 1892.
273	"	"	"	" Rameshwara Narayan Mehta.	Kshatriya.	Hon. Magistrate, Zamindar and Banker, Nandipati Road, Mozaffarpur.	do.
274	"	"	"	Syed Afzal Hosein ...	Mahome- dan.	Mukhtar, Mozaffarpur ...	do.

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275	Bengal.	Bhagalpur.	Bhagalpur.	Mr. S. C. Mookerjee ...	Bengalee Brahmin.	Barrister-at-law, 6, Park Street, Calcutta.	At a public meeting held on the 23rd November, 1892.
276	"	"	"	Haba Siva Shanker Sabay	Hindu Behari Kayastha.	Pleader, Bhagalpur ...	do.
277	"	"	"	" Hira Jha, B. A.	Brahmin.	Cultivator ...	do.
278	"	"	"	" Srimohan Thakur ...	do.	Zamindar, Municipal Commissioner, Member, District Board, and Local Board, Hon. Magistrate, Bhagalpur.	do.
279	"	"	"	" Rashbehari Mandal	Hindu Behari Gope.	Zamindar, Hon. Magistrate, Member District Board.	do.
280	"	"	Purneah.	" Jogendra Nath Mookerjee, M. A., B. L.	Bengalee Brahmin.	Pleaser, Judge's Court, Municipal Commissioner, Purneah.	At a public meeting held on the 30th November, 1892.
281	"	"	"	" Kamikha Nath Ghose, L. M. S.	Bengali Satgope.	Medical Practitioner, Municipal Commissioner, and Hon. Magistrate, Purneah.	do.
282	"	"	"	" Parbotty Churn Das, B. A., B. L.	Brahmo Vaidya.	Pleaser, Judge's Court, Purneah, Member of the District Board and Land-holder.	do.
283	N. W. P.	Benares.	Benares.	The Hon'ble Babu Ramkali Chaudhri.	Bengali Brahman.	Member, Legislative Council, N. W. P. and Oudhi Municipal Commissioner, Hon. Magistrate and Retired Judge, Small Cause Court, Benares.	At a public meeting held at Benares, on 23rd October, 1892.
284	"	"	"	Pandit Uma Shankar Dube.	Hindustani Brahman.	Pensioner, Benares ...	do.
285	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Rao ...	Dakshini Brahman.	Zamindar, Benares ...	do.
286	"	"	"	Pandit Narain Shastri ...	do.	Acharya in Sanskrit Grammar, late Officiating Professor of Sankhya Philosophy in the Benares College.	do.
287	"	"	"	Babu Mokshadadas Mitra.	Bengali Kayastha.	Zamindar, Benares ...	do.
288	"	"	"	" Upendranath Basu, B. A., LL. B.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Benares...	do.
289	"	"	"	" Nilratan Banerji ...	Bengali Brahman.	Zamindar, Kodai Chowki, Benares.	do.
290	"	"	"	Munshi Shankar Lal ...	Gujrati Nagar Brahman.	Rais, Zamindar, Hon. Treasurer, Union Club, Benares.	do.
291	"	"	"	Babu Chintamani Mukerji, B. A.	Bengali Brahman.	School Master, Benares ...	do.
292	"	"	"	" Ananda Charan Das, B. A.	Bengali Kayastha.	Pleaser, Benares ...	do.
293	"	"	"	Babu Narsingh Das ...	Hindu.	Vakil, Benares	At a general meeting of the Sujan Samaj, Benares, held on 17th December 1892.
294	"	"	Sujan Samaj, Benares.	" Satish Chander Munsundar.	Bengali Brahman.	Pleaser, Judge's Court, Benares.	do.
295	"	"	"	Pandit Chhanno Lal Joshi	Brahman.	Pleaser, Benares ...	do.
296	"	"	"	Goswami Janga Bahadur Puri.	Hindu Gosain.	Zamindar and Banker, Benares	do. and public meeting at Nagpur held in City School, Nagpur, on 20th November, 1892.
297	"	"	"	Goswami Ramacharan Puri.	do.	do.	At a general meeting of the Sujan Samaj, Benares, held on 17th December 1892.
298	"	"	"	Babu Mathura Das ...	Gujrati Banaya.	Banker, Allahabad	do.
299	"	"	Ghaziipur.	" Bholanath Kay, B. A., B. L.	Brahman.	Zamindar, Pleader High Court, Member and Secretary Municipal Board, Ghaziipur.	At a public meeting held at Ghaziipur, on 13th November, 1892.
300	"	"	"	" Damri Rai ...	do.	Zamindar and Pleaser, Ghaziipur.	do.
301	"	"	"	" Kuber Nath ...	Kayastha.	do.	do.
302	"	"	"	" Khudi Rai ...	Bhoihar Brahman.	do.	do.
303	"	"	"	Munshi Udit Narain Lal	Hindustani Kayastha.	do.	do.

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304	N. W. P.	Benares.	Ghazipur.	Babu Shrinath Deva ...	Hindustani Brahman.	Zamindar, Ghazipur ...	Public meeting held at Ghazipur, on 13th November, 1892.
305	"	"	"	Babu Govind Narain Singh.	do.	Talukdar, Ghazipur ...	do.
306	"	"	"	Moulvi M. Usman Khan	Mahomedan.	Zamindar and Pleader, Ghazipur.	do.
307	"	"	"	Babu Bishwanath Singh	Hindustani Brahman.	Zamindar, Ghazipur ...	do.
308	"	"	"	Munshi Aditya Prasad ...	Hindustani Kayastha.	Zamindar and Pleader, Ghazipur.	do.
309	"	"	Azamgarh.	Babu Mukteshwar Ray...	Bhuinbar Brahman.	Pleader, Member, Municipal Board, and Secretary Standing Congress Committee, Azamgarh.	Public meeting held at Azamgarh, on 4th December, 1892.
310	"	"	"	" Brij Bihari Lal ...	Sunnar.	Pleader, Azamgarh ...	do.
311	"	"	"	" Sunder Das ...	Agarwala Baniya.	General Merchant and Zamindar.	do.
312	"	"	"	" Gouri Shankar Singh	Hindu.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Zamindar.	do.
313	"	"	"	Munshi Basudeo Sahai ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Teacher, Church Mission High School.	do.
314	"	"	"	Moulvi Muhammad Zainul-Abdin.	Mahomedan.	Pleader and Member, District Board.	do.
315	"	"	"	Mirza Muhammad Naim,	Mahomedan.	Pleader and zamindar ...	do.
316	"	"	Gorakhpur.	Thakur Ghumai Ram ...	Hindu.	Pleader ...	Public meeting held at Gorakhpur, on 5th December, 1892.
317	"	"	"	Pandit Bindeshwari Prasad.	Brahman.	Pleader and zamindar ...	do.
318	"	"	Mirzapur.	Babu Sree Ram ...	Hindu Khatri.	Zamindar, Banker, Pleader, Member, Municipal and District Boards, and Secretary, Arya Samaj.	Public meeting held at Mirzapur, on 25th December, 1892.
319	"	"	"	Babu Mahadeo Prasad Sinha.	Hindu Brahman.	Rais, Zamindar, pargana Kerait.	do.
320	"	"	"	Setha Laduram Poddar,	Hindustani Marwari Agarwala.	Banker ...	do.
321	"	"	"	Babu Badrinath Setha ...	Hindustani Kshatriya.	Stone-contractor and Honorary Secretary, Saraswat Kshatriya Hit Karini Sabha.	do.
322	"	"	"	" Jadu Nath Sinha ...	Hindu Kshatriya.	Zamindar and Banker, Gopiganj, pargana Bhadohi.	do.
323	"	"	"	" Nanhu Lal ...	Hindu Khatri.	Service, President Arya Samaj.	do.
324	"	"	"	" Kedarnath Bhattacharji, B. A.	Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
325	"	"	"	Chowdhari Wasudeva Sharma.	Hindu Brahman.	Zamindar ...	do.
326	"	"	"	Pandit Ghansham Sharma.	do.	Panditai ...	do.
327	"	"	"	Pandit Ram Prakash Sharma.	do.	Preacher ...	do.
328	"	"	"	Babu Kedarnath Muzumdar.	do.	Medical Practitioner ...	do.
329	"	"	"	Babu Beni Prasad ...	Bhargava.	Honorary Magistrate, Merchant, Zamindar, and Member, Municipal and District Boards.	do.
330	"	"	"	Chowdhari Badri Narain Sharma.	Hindu Brahman.	Zamindar ...	do.
331	"	"	"	Setha Bihari Lal ...	Agarwala Marwari.	Banker ...	do.
332	"	"	Ballia.	Babu Yamuna Prasad ...	Mahajan Kandu.	Mahajani, Ballia ...	By a public meeting held at Ballia, on 2nd December, 1892.

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333	N.-W.P.	Allahabad.	Allahabad.	Pandit Bishambhar Nath	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, President, Vakil Association, Fellow, Allahabad University, and Chairman, Reception Committee of the 5th L. N. Congress, Allahabad.	At a Public Meeting held at the Kayasba Hall on 29th October, 1911.
334	"	"	"	Raja Rampal Singh ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Talukdar of Rampore, Oudh, Honorary Magistrate, Member, District Board; Vice-President, Reception Committee.	do.
335	"	"	"	Pandit Sundar Lal, B.A.	Hindu Gurrati Nagar Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Fellow, Allahabad University, and Member of the Council of Law Reporting, N.-W. P., Allahabad.	do.
336	"	"	"	Lala Ram Charan Das, Rai Bahadur.	Hindu Khatri.	Banker, Land-holder, Honorary Magistrate, Senior Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board, Allahabad, and Member, Reception Committee.	do.
337	"	"	"	Mr. D. Banerji ...	Hindu Brahman.	Barister-at-Law, Canning Road, Allahabad.	do.
338	"	"	"	Mr. T. P. Crowley ...	European Christian.	Of the firm of Messrs. Crowley and Co., Mechanical Engineers and Contractors, Member, Municipal Board.	do.
339	"	"	"	Pandit Moti Lal Nehru...	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Hon. Secretary, Reception Committee, Elgin Road, Allahabad.	do.
340	"	"	"	Pandit Baldev Ram Dave.	Gurrati Nagar Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W.P., Allahabad.	do.
341	"	"	"	Babu Charoo Chandra Mitter.	Hindu Bengali Kayastha.	Zamindar, Municipal Commissioner, Hon. Secretary, Reception Committee, Mirasram, Lowther Road, Allahabad.	do.
342	"	"	"	Pandit Lakshmi Narayan Vyasa.	Hindu Brahman.	Vaidya, President, Hindu Samaj, Allahabad.	do.
343	"	"	"	Munshi Madhava Prasad.	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court, Hon. Magistrate.	do.
344	"	"	"	Munshi Jwala Prasad ...	do.	Vakil High Court, N. W. P.	do.
345	"	"	"	Munshi Kashi Prasad ...	do.	Vakil High Court, and Secretary Hindu Samaj, Moolthurgunge, Allahabad.	do.
346	"	"	"	Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil High Court, N.-W. P., Hon. Secretary Reception Committee, Allahabad.	do.
347	"	"	"	Babu Parball Charan Chatterji, C.E.	Bengali Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, N. W. P., Kuldunge, Allahabad.	do.
348	"	"	"	Munshi Roshan Lal ...	Arya Samajist.	Barister-at-Law, Stanley Road, Allahabad.	do.
349	"	"	"	Babu Khetara Mohan Bose.	Hindu Kayastha.	Tradesman, Allahabad ...	do.
350	"	"	"	Babu Pranoath Chatterji.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad.	do.
351	"	"	"	Munshi Mathura Prasad.	Hindu Kayastha.	Plender, Allahabad ...	do.
352	"	"	"	Babu Abinash Chandra Banerji, L.M.S.	Bengali Hindu Brahman.	Medical Practitioner, Allahabad.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
353	N. W. P.	Allahabad.	Allahabad.	Babu Dattee Lal, B. A. ...	Hindu Khatn.	Vakil, High Court, Mahajanitola, Allahabad.	At a Public Meeting held at the Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad, on 29th October, 1892.
354	"	"	"	Babu Lal Behari Lal ...	do.	Trader, Guzrati Mohallah, Allahabad.	do.
355	"	"	"	Lala Sheo Churan Lal, B. A., LL. B.	Jain.	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad.	do.
356	"	"	"	Lala Badri Prasad ...	Hindu Agarwala.	Pleader Jouburitola, Allahabad.	do.
357	"	"	"	Lala Ram Lal Jouburi ...	do.	Mahajan, Jouburitola, Allahabad.	do.
358	"	"	"	Mr. M. Corbett ...	European Christian.	Merchant, Municipal, Commissioner, Canning Road, Allahabad.	do.
359	"	"	"	Lala Kanhya Lal ...	Hindu Agarwala.	Mahajan, Mirganj, Allahabad.	do.
360	"	"	"	Munshi Mahesh Prasad...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Allahabad ...	do.
361	"	"	"	Lala Ganesh Das ...	Hindu Marwaree.	Banker and Municipal Commissioner, Katra, Allahabad.	do.
362	"	"	"	Pandit Govind Rao Goray	Hindu Brahman.	Pensioner, Daraganj, Allahabad.	do.
363	"	"	"	Munshi Sheombhar Lal...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Allahabad ...	do.
364	"	"	"	Babu Raghubar Dyal ...	do.	do. ...	do.
365	"	"	"	Pandit Jay Krishna Vyas	Hindu Brahman.	Medical Practitioner, Ahiyapur, Allahabad.	do.
366	"	"	"	B. Tinkuri Mukerji, L. M. S.	do.	Medical Practitioner, Allahabad.	do.
367	"	"	"	Pandit Jagannath Sarma.	do.	Vaid, Editor, Prayag Samachar, Allahabad.	do.
368	"	"	"	Babu Beni Madhub Rai Chaudhri.	do.	Zamindar, Kidganj, Allahabad.	do.
369	"	"	"	Pandit Beni Madhub Bhattacharji.	do.	Government Pensioner, Municipal Commissioner and Honorary Magistrate, Daraganj, Allahabad.	do.
370	"	"	"	Pandit Deeki Nandan Tiwari.	do.	Proprietor, Rampataka, Ahiyapur, Allahabad.	do.
371	"	"	"	Lala Ramdhan Lal ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Mukhtar, Allahabad ...	do.
372	"	"	"	Babu Nitai Charan Mitra.	do.	Druggist, Johnstonganj Road, Allahabad.	do.
373	"	"	"	B. Govind Chandra Basu, M. B.	do.	Medical Practitioner, Ranikimandi, Allahabad.	do.
374	"	"	"	Babu Durga Charan Banerjee, B. A.	Hindu- Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad.	do.
375	"	"	"	" Rajaram Bhargava	Hindu.	Zamindar and Municipal Commissioner, Allahabad.	do.
376	"	"	"	" Mahesh Prasad ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Karelalbagh Road, Allahabad.	do.
377	"	"	"	Lala Bhawani Prasad ...	Hindu Khattri.	Banker, Allahabad ...	do.
378	"	"	"	" Brij Mohan Lal ...	do.	do. ...	do.
379	"	"	"	Pundit Kedar Nath Choudhary.	Hindu Brahman.	Vaidya, Ahiyapur, Allahabad.	do.
380	"	"	"	" Balkrishna Bhutta	do.	Editor, "Hindi Pradip," Allahabad.	do.
381	"	"	"	Babu Shama Churan Mukerji.	do.	Pleader and Mill-owner, Karbala, Allahabad.	do.
382	"	"	"	Syed Abdul Raof ...	Mahomedan.	Barrister-at-Law, Elgin Road, Allahabad.	do.
383	"	"	"	Dr. S. P. Roy, M. B. M. R. C. S.	Hindu Brahman.	Medical Practitioner and Municipal Analyst, Muthiganj, Allahabad.	Do. and at a Public Meeting of the Rajshahi Association held on 3rd December, 1892.
384	"	"	"	Mr. Fateh Chaud ...	Jain.	Barrister-at-Law, Johnstonganj, Allahabad.	At a Public Meeting held at the Kayastha Pathshala Allahabad on 29th October, 1892.
385	"	"	"	Lala Mohan Lal ...	Hindu Khatri.	Contractor, Allahabad ...	do.
386	"	"	"	Swami Alaram ...	Hindu.	Preacher, Allahabad ...	do.
387	"	"	"	Pundit Shivaram Panday	Hindu Brahman.	Vaidya, Mahajanitola, Allahabad.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religion, denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
388	N.-W.P.	Allahabad.	Allahabad.	Lala Baboo Lal	Hindu Khatri.	Banker, Allahabad	At a Public Meeting held at Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad, on 29th October, 1892.
389	"	"	"	Pandit Brij Mohan Doobay.	Hindu Brahman.	Trader, Ahiyapur, Allahabad.	do.
390	"	"	"	Mr. Madan Mohan Pragwal.	do.	Pragwal, Allahabad.	At a Public Meeting held at Tej Pal Gohal Das Dharmanika, Allahabad, on 20th December, 1892.
391	"	"	"	Mr. Anaritakrishna Bose.	Hindu Kayastha.	Medical Practitioner, Landholder, Calcutta, Allahabad.	Do. and at a General Meeting of the Nivaran Mission held on 17th December, 1892.
392	"	"	"	Lala Mewa Lal	Hindu	Banker & Zemindar, Mootbegunge, Allahabad.	At a Public Meeting held at Tej Pal Gohal Das Dharmanika Allahabad on 20th December, 1892.
393	"	"	"	Babu Hari Mohan Roy B. A.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Allahabad.	do.
394	"	"	"	Lala Ganesh Prasad	Hindu Agarwala	Banker and Zemindar, Allahabad.	do.
395	"	"	"	Mr. Ajudhia Prashad Pragwal.	Hindu Brahman.	Pragwal, Allahabad	do.
396	"	"	"	" Behary Lal Pragwal	do.	do.	do.
397	"	"	"	" Brij Nath Pachbhaia	do.	do.	do.
398	"	"	"	" Sitaldeen Pandey	do.	do.	do.
399	"	"	"	" Sitaram Pragwal	do.	do.	do.
400	"	"	"	Babu Jogendra Nath Mukerjee.	do.	Plender, Kidgunge, Allahabad.	do.
401	"	"	"	Pandit Luchmi Narain Choubay.	do.	Trader, Allahabad	do.
402	"	"	"	" Sree Gobind Choubay.	do.	Contractor, do.	do.
403	"	"	"	Babu Jagadiah Narain	Hindu Khatriya.	Zemindar, do.	At a Public Meeting held in Gunga Das ka Chook on 6th December, 1892.
404	"	"	"	Lala Madari Lal	Khatri.	Zemindar, Gungadas ka Chook	do.
405	"	"	"	" Mahadeo Prasad Kapur.	do.	Banker, Allahabad	do.
406	"	"	"	Pandit Ram Narayan Proha.	Brahman.	Prohita, Allahabad	do.
407	"	"	"	Lala Govind Prasad	Khatri.	Trader Allahabad	do.
408	"	"	"	" Choonilal	do.	Banker & Zemindar, Allahabad.	do.
409	"	"	"	" Durga Prasad	do.	Merchant, Allahabad	do.
410	"	"	"	Chambe Gobind Deo	Brahman	" "	do.
411	"	"	Allahabad. Hindu Samej.	Babu Vaidya Nath Das.	Agarwala Bania.	Banker	At a General Meeting of the Samej held on 27th December, 1892.
412	"	"	"	" Hem Chandra Chatterjee.	Bengali Brahman.	Plender, Allahabad	do.
413	"	"	"	" Nityaranjan Mukerjee.	Hindu Brahman.	Landholder, Allahabad	do.
414	"	"	"	Rai Bahader Niranjan Mukerjee.	do.	do.	do.
415	"	"	"	Pandit Sarja Prasad	do.	Teacher, Divinity School, Allahabad.	do.
416	"	"	"	Mr. Oudh Behari Lal, M.A.	Hindu Kayastha.	Teacher, Allahabad	do.
417	"	"	"	Pandit Brij Nath	Hindu Brahman.	Preacher, Allahabad	do.
418	"	"	"	Swami Parachottama Ch.	do.	Hindu Ascetic	do.
419	"	"	"	Pandit Sheo Ram Chandra Tewary.	Hindu	Nahajan, Allahabad	do.
420	"	"	Allahabad.	Hakim Mahomed Hossain	Mahomedan Sunni.	Zemindar, Allahabad	At a Public Meeting held at Allahabad on 24th December, 1892.
421	"	"	"	Syad Meerjan	do. Shia.	do.	do.
422	"	"	"	Meer Akhtar Hossain	do.	do.	do.
423	"	"	"	Hakim Mahomed Anwar.	do. Sunni.	do.	do.
424	"	"	"	Mirza Kulb Ali Beg	do. Shia.	do.	do.
425	"	"	"	Moulvi Ameer Ali	do.	do.	do.
426	"	"	"	Meer Anwar Hossain	do.	do.	do.
427	"	"	"	Mirza Tufel Ali Beg	do. Sunni.	do.	do.
428	"	"	"	Hafiz Karimbox	do.	do.	do.
429	"	"	"	Mr. Bhagwan Das, B.A.	Hindu.	Head Master, Colongunge School, Allahabad	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
430	N. W. P.	Allahabad.	Allahabad.	Munshi Sadruddin ...	Mahomedan.	Zamindar ...	At a Public Meeting held at the Kavashta Patsbala on 29th October, 1892.
431	"	"	Kara.	Mir Mohammed Taqi ...	Mahomedan, Sunni.	Zamindar, Kara ...	At a Public Meeting held at Kara, on 17th December, 1892.
432	"	"	"	Mir Munauwar Ali ...	do.	do.	do.
433	"	"	Ujahini.	Mir Mahomed Hadi ...	do.	Zamindar, Ujahini ...	At a Public Meeting held on 22nd December, 1892.
434	"	"	"	Sheikh Abdul Rahman ...	do.	do.	do.
435	"	"	Manjhanpur.	Syad Tawangar Ali ...	Mahomedan, Sunni.	Zamindar, Manjhanpur ...	At a Public Meeting held in Manjhanpur on 19th December, 1892.
436	"	"	"	Syad Mubaraq Husain ...	do.	Zamindar, do.	do.
437	"	"	"	Syad Ahmed Husain ...	do. Shia.	do.	do.
438	"	"	"	Syad Karim Buksh ...	do. Sunni.	do.	do.
439	"	"	Karari.	Syad Ikbal Husain ...	Mahomedan.	Zamindar, Karari ...	At a Public Meeting held at Karari, on 31st December, 1892.
440	"	"	"	Syad Zafar Husain ...	do. Sunni.	do.	do.
441	"	"	"	Syad Ibbi Husain ...	do.	do.	do.
442	"	"	"	Syad Fida Husain ...	do. Shia.	do.	do.
443	"	"	"	Syad Munawar Ali ...	do. Sunni.	do.	do.
444	"	"	"	Syad Fyaz Husain ...	do.	do.	do.
445	"	"	"	Syad Nadir Husain ...	do. Shia.	do.	do.
446	"	"	Sohila.	Syad Amir Husain ...	Mahomedan, Sunni.	Zamindar, Sohila ...	At a Public Meeting held on 20th December, 1892.
447	"	"	"	Syad Shamshad Husain ...	do. Shia.	do.	do.
448	"	"	"	Mir Aulad Husain ...	do. do.	do.	do.
449	"	"	"	Mir Nazim Husain ...	do. do.	do.	do.
450	"	"	Kanihar.	Mir Ghulam Mahomed ...	Mahomedan Shia.	Zamindar, Kanihar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Kanihar on 21st December, 1892.
451	"	"	Cawnpore.	Pundit Munna Lal ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Agent of the Firm of Gobind Prasad and Co., Cawnpore.	At a Public Meeting held on 22nd December, 1892.
452	"	"	"	Lala Govind Prasad Mhrottra.	Khuttree.	Merchant and Contractor, Cawnpore.	do.
453	"	"	"	Maharaj Doorgaprasad Bajpai.	Brahman.	Zamindar and Rais, Cawnpore.	do.
454	"	"	"	Hakim Asgar Hossain ...	Mahomedan.	Physician, Cawnpore ...	do.
455	"	"	"	Babu Manmath Nath Mukerji, B. A., B. L.	Bengali Brahman.	Vakeel, High Court, Cawnpore.	do.
456	"	"	"	Babu Gangadhar Dayal ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleaser, Cawnpore ...	do.
457	"	"	"	Aga Abdul Qasim Shirazi,	Mahomedan.	Arab Horse dealer ...	do.
458	"	"	"	Mr. Sidh Gopal Mishra ...	Brahman.	Zamindar, Honorary Magistrate, and Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board.	do.
459	"	"	"	Lala Gopi Nath ...	Khuttree.	Export and Import Agent ...	do.
460	"	"	"	Babu Nabig Chandra Bose.	Bengali Kayastha.	Pleaser, Cawnpore ...	At a Public Meeting held at Cawnpore on 11th December, 1892.
461	"	"	"	Rai Devi Prasad, B. A., B. L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakeel, High Court, and Zamindar, Cawnpore.	do.
462	"	"	"	Babu Sheo Narain ...	Arya Samajist.	Banker and Member, Municipal Board, Cawnpore.	do.
463	"	"	"	Babu Sriah Chandra Gupta.	Bengali Vaidya.	Merchant ...	do.
464	"	"	"	Mr. Janki Nath ...	Arya Samajist.	Zamindar, Cawnpore ...	do.
465	"	"	"	Lala Ram Dhun ...	Hindu Vaishya.	Zamindar, ...	do.
466	"	"	"	Lala Narayan Das ...	do.	Merchant, ...	do.
467	"	"	"	Lala Debi Das ...	Hindu Khuttree.	" " ...	do.
468	"	"	"	Lala Chumuka Prasad ...	Hindu Vaishya.	Cloth Merchant, Cawnpore ...	do.
469	"	"	"	Lala Madan Chand Khunna.	do.	Merchant and Contractor ...	do.
470	"	"	"	Babu Trailokya Nath Banerji.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleaser and Municipal Commissioner, Cawnpore.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Divi- sion.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Reli- gious deno- mination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
474	N.-W.P.	Allah- bad.	Cawnpore.	Baba Gopal Chandra Banerji.	Bengali Brahman.	Chemist, Manager of the Naisar Soap Manufacturing Company, Cawnpore.	At a Public Meeting held at Cawnpore on 14th December, 1892.
475	"	"	"	Pandit Hriday Narayan Koul.	Kashmiri Brahman.	Pleader, Joint Secretary, Reform Association and Divisional Congress Committee, Cawnpore.	do.
476	"	"	"	Pandit Pirthi Nath	do.	Pleader, Secretary, Divisional Congress Committee, Reform Association, and Temperance Association, and Municipal Commissioner, Cawnpore.	do.
477	"	"	"	Baba Banaldhar	Arya Sama- jist.	Banker and Zemindar	do.
478	"	"	"	Pandit Janki Nath	Kashmiri Brahman.	Pleader	do.
479	"	"	"	Bhai Harnam Singh Varma.	Panjabi Khatri.	Late Government Military Officer, Proprietor of the "Cawnpore Gazette."	do.
480	"	"	"	Lala Kejarnath Kerya	Hindu Vahhya.	Merchant	do.
481	"	"	"	Lala Suntock Chand Bhandari.	Jain.	Banker and Merchant	do.
482	"	"	Farrukha- bad.	Pandit Gopal Rao Hari...	Arya, Ma- heshwara Brahman.	Secretary, Vedic Sabha and Divisional Congress Com- mittee, Farrukhabad.	At a Public Meeting held at Farrukhabad on 20th November, 1892.
483	"	"	"	Chowbey Harsarak Lal...	Brahman.	Vakil and Zamindar	do.
484	"	"	"	Mr. S. P. Mukerji	Bengali Brahman.	Service, Camp Fatehgarh	do.
485	"	"	"	Mr. Sarup Narain	Kayastha.	Pleader, Farrukhabad	do.
486	"	"	"	Seth Mina Mall	Bhuch.	Merchant, do.	do.
487	"	"	"	Mahomed Yakub Ali	Mahomed- dan.	Zamindar, do.	do.
488	"	"	"	Mr. Akbar Hussein	do.	do.	do.
489	"	"	"	Mr. Hifant Hussein	do.	do. and Member of the District Board, Farrukhabad.	do.
490	"	"	Banda.	Lala Raghubar Dayal	Hindu Kayasth.	Legal Practitioner and Secre- tary Kayasth Sabha,	At a Public Meeting held on 6th November, 1892.
491	"	"	"	Manohi Mata Prasad	Kayasth.	Legal Practitioner and Zamindar and President, Kayasth Sabha, Banda.	do.
492	"	"	Jhansi.	Babu Shiva Pala Ghosh.	Bengali Kayasth.	Pleader, Jhansi	At a Public Meeting held at Jhansi on 10th November, 1892.
493	"	"	"	" Kali Prasanna Biswas.	Bengali Vaidya.	Medical Practitioner, Progress- iver Medical Hall, Jhansi.	do.
494	"	"	"	" Basant Kumar Sanyal.	Bengali Brahman.	Pleader, Jhansi	do.
495	"	"	"	Pandit Prag Das	Arya Brahman.	do.	do.
496	"	"	"	Mr. Kesho Das, B. A.	Hindu.	Pleader and Zamindar, Jhansi.	do.
497	"	"	Agra.	Pandit Mohan Krishna Das.	Hindu Kashmiri Brahman.	Trader, Agra	At a public meeting held at Agra on the 15th November, 1892.
498	"	"	"	Mr. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, B. A.	Hindu Madras Brahman.	Professor of Mathematics, St. John's College, Agra.	do.
499	"	"	"	Mr. N. B. Wadekar	Hindu Brahman.	Merchant, Agra	do.
500	"	"	"	Mr. A. Nandy	Christian.	Barrister-at-Law, Agra	do.
501	"	"	"	Pandit Jagannath	Hindu Kashmiri.	Kais and Pleader, Agra	do.
502	"	"	"	Pandit Tulairam Misra, M. A.	Hindu Brahman.	Professor, St. John's College, Agra.	do.
503	"	"	"	Lala Dwarka Das	Hindu Vaidya.	Pleader and Municipal Com- missioner, Agra.	do.
504	"	"	"	Pandit Kamta Prasad	Kashmiri Brahman.	Ram and Pleader, Agra	do.
505	"	"	"	Babu Kejarnath, B. A., B. L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Vakil, High Court, Agra	do.
506	"	"	Matra.	Pandit Rodha Charan Goswami.	Brahman.	Print, Radharaman Street, Benisalan, District Matra.	At a Public Meeting held at Matra on 17th November, 1892.
507	"	"	"	Mr. Chote Lal	Hindu Kayasth.	Municipal Commissioner and Member of Kayasth Sabha, Pleader, High Court, Matra.	do.
508	"	"	"	Babu Jagannath Prasad	Bhargava.	Pleader, Merchant and Mem- ber, Municipal Board, Lohi ki mandhi, Matra.	Do. and at a meeting at the Vaidya Charan pracharak Sabha on 31 December, 1892.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
506	N.-W. P.	Allahabad.	Muttra.	Kuar Hukam Singh ...	Jat.	Resaldar of Angai, Member of the Local Board and General Treasurer of the fat Sabha of India.	At a Public Meeting held at Muttra on 17th November, 1892.
507	"	"	"	Mr. Radhe Lal Sharma...	Arya Brahmin.	Vedic Upadeshak ...	do.
508	"	"	Aligarh.	Babu Kishori Lal ...	Hindu, Vaishya.	Pleader and Zamindar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Aligarh on 18th December, 1892.
509	"	"	"	Thakur Kalyan Singh ...	Hindu, Rajput.	do.	do.
510	"	"	"	Hafiz Abdul Rahim ...	Mahomedan.	do.	do.
511	"	"	"	Babu Ram Narayan ...	Hindu Vaishya.	Zamindar and Banker ...	do.
512	"	"	"	M. Mahomed Mustajaba-ul-la Khan.	Mahomedan.	Zamindar, Aligarh ...	do.
513	"	"	"	Pandit Udai Ram ...	Brahmin.	Service, Aligarh ...	do.
514	"	"	"	M. Mahomed Amanat-Ulla Khan.	Mahomedan.	Zamindar, Aligarh ...	do.
515	"	"	"	Syad Mushtak Ali ...	Mahomedan.	do.	do.
516	"	"	"	Sheikh Mushtak Ali ...	Mahomedan.	do.	do.
517	"	"	"	Muhammad Sarfaraz Khan.	Mahomedan.	Pleader, Aligarh ...	do.
518	"	"	"	M. Muhammad Zafar Ali Khan	do.	Pleader, Aligarh ...	do.
519	"	"	"	M. Umrao Khan ...	do.	Zamindar, Aligarh ...	do.
520	"	"	Meerut.	Babu Prahlad Singh ...	Hindu Vaishya.	Vakil, High Court, and Zamindar, Meerut.	At a Public Meeting held at Meerut on 16th December, 1892.
521	"	"	"	Lala Baburam ...	Hindu, Vaishya.	Pleader, Meerut ...	do.
522	"	"	"	Babu Hira Lal ...	do.	do.	do.
523	"	"	"	Pandit Ram Prasad, M.A.	Hindu Kayasth.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P., Meerut.	do.
524	"	"	"	Lala Ghansayam Das ...	Vaishya.	Pleader and Zamindar, Meerut.	do.
525	"	"	"	Babu Abhayapada Bose, B. A.	Agarwal, Bengali.	Budhana Gate, Meerut City ...	do.
526	"	"	"	Babu Dindyal ...	do.	Banker ...	do.
527	"	"	Saharanpur.	Mr. Madan Mohan Lal, B. A., LL. B.	Hindu, Vaishya.	Vakil, High Court, Saharanpur.	At a Public Meeting held at Saharanpur on 17th December, 1892.
528	"	"	Dehra Dun	Pandit Anunda Narain ...	Kashmiri Brahman.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Landholder.	At a Public Meeting held on 18th December, 1892, at Dehra Dun.
529	"	"	"	Captain A. W. Hearsey.	European Christian.	Retired list, H. M. S. ...	do.
530	"	Oudh,	Lucknow.	Babu Bansilal Singh ...	Hindu Khatri.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P., Lucknow.	At a Public Meeting held at Lucknow on 9th December, 1892.
531	"	"	"	Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma.	do.	Editor and Proprietor of the "Advocate" and the "Hindustani," Lucknow.	do.
532	"	"	"	Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Barrister-at-Law, Lucknow ...	do.
533	"	"	"	Mr. Hamid Ali Khan ...	Mahomedan.	Barrister-at-Law, Lucknow ...	do.
534	"	"	"	Prince Mirza Faraidon Qadir Bahadur, of the Royal Family of Delhi.	Mahomedan.	Wasiqadar, Lucknow. ...	At a General Meeting of the Anjuman-i-Muhammadi held at Lucknow on 23rd December, 1892.
535	"	"	"	Prince Yunus Qadir Bahadur, of the Royal Family of Delhi.	do.	do.	do.
536	"	"	"	Nawab Zaighamuddaula Bahadur.	Mahomedan.	Rais and Wasiqadar, Lucknow.	At a Public Meeting held at Lucknow on 9th December, 1892.
537	"	"	"	Pandit Lachman Prasad	Brahman.	Brahmo Missionary, Lucknow,	do.
538	"	"	"	Pandit Jagat Narain ...	Brahman.	Pleader, Lucknow ...	do.
539	"	"	"	Rabu Bhuban Mohon Rai,	Hindu.	do.	do.
540	"	"	"	Hakim Syed Husain Jalar.	do.	Merchant, Aminabad, Lucknow.	do.
541	"	"	"	Hakim Syed Husain Jalar.	Mahomedan.	Editor "Jubilee Paper," Lucknow.	At a Public Meeting held at Lucknow on 9th December, 1892.
541	"	"	"	Pandit Shyam Narain Musladan.	Kashmiri Brahman.	Land-holder and Municipal Commissioner, Lucknow.	At a Public Meeting held at Lucknow on 9th December, 1892.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
542	N.-W. P. & Oudh.	Lucknow.	Lucknow.	M. Abdul Basir Haasr ...	Mahomedan.	Service, Lucknow	Public Meeting, 9th December, 1892.
543	"	"	"	Nawab Hashmat Hussain.	do.	Wauqadar, Lucknow.	do
544	"	"	"	Babu Kedarnath. ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil, Lucknow	do
545	"	"	"	Babu Bipin Behari Bose, M. A. ...	Kshatriya Bengali Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court, and Secretary, Rifah-i-Am-Association, Lucknow.	At a Meeting of the Association held on 1st December, 1892.
546	"	"	"	Rai Suraj Narain Bahadur, B.A. ...	Kashmiri Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Lucknow.	At a public Meeting held at Lucknow on 9th December, 1892.
547	"	"	Lucknow. Anjuman-i-Muhammadi.	Syed Kazim Hussain ...	Mahomedan.	Service, Lucknow.	At a General Meeting of the Anjuman-i-Muhammadi held at Lucknow 21st December, 1892.
548	"	"	"	Nawab Muhammad Hassan.	do.	Govt. Pensioner, Lucknow	do
549	"	"	"	Syed Ashiq Hussain ...	do.	Secretary, Anjuman-i-Muhammadi Mansuring, Lucknow and Editor of the "Qaul."	do
550	"	"	"	Mirza Muhammad Hussain.	do.	Service, Lucknow	do
551	"	"	"	Maulvi Syed Murtaza Hussain.	do.	do.	do
552	"	"	"	Nawab Ali Mumammad Khan.	do.	Late President Anjuman-i-Muhammadi, Govt. Pensionholder and Wauqadar, Lucknow.	do
553	"	"	"	Maulvi Faqar-ud-din ...	do.	Merchant, Lucknow.	do
554	"	"	"	M. Muhammad Taqi Khan.	do.	Head Munshi, C. M. School, Lucknow.	do
555	"	"	"	Mirza Kaza Hussain.	do.	Merchant, Lucknow	do
556	"	"	"	Baqur Mirza Sahib ...	do.	Wauqadar, Lucknow.	do
557	"	"	"	M. Aga Syed Ali Khan.	do.	do.	do
558	"	"	"	M. Aga Ahmed Ali Khan.	do.	do.	do
559	"	"	"	M. Baqar Mirza Khan.	do.	do.	do
560	"	"	"	M. Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan.	do.	do.	do
561	"	"	"	Syed Hussain alias Syed.	do.	Service, Lucknow.	do
562	"	"	"	Syed Muhammad Naqi ...	do.	do.	do
563	"	"	"	Syed Muhammad Mehdi.	do.	Pensioner, Lucknow	do
564	"	"	"	Mirza Aga Hussain Sahib.	do.	Nawab and Kazi, Lucknow	do
565	"	"	"	M. Aga Sajjad Ali Khan.	do.	Wauqadar, Lucknow	do
566	"	"	"	Aga Muhammad Hussain Sahib.	do.	Service, Lucknow	do
567	"	"	"	Syed Baqar Ali Khan ...	do.	do.	do
568	Madras.	Madras.	Madras.	Ramanuja Chary ...	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Member District Board, Chingleput.	At a Public Meeting.
569	N.-W. P. & Oudh.	Lucknow.	Sitapur.	Babu Pitam Rai ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Judicial Commissioner's Court, Sitapur, Municipal Commissioner, II in Magistrate and Zamindar, Sitapur.	At a Public Meeting held on 9th December, 1892.
570	"	"	"	Babu Chail Behari Lal, B.A. ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil, Sitapur	do.
571	"	"	"	Munshi Mutli Dhar ...	do.	Pleader and Zamindar, Sitapur	do.
572	"	"	"	Babu Sitaram Thetha ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Banker, Sitapur.	do.
573	"	"	Fyzabad.	Babu Baldeo Prasad ...	Hindu Kshatriya.	Vakil and Honorary Secretary to the Municipal Board, Fyzabad.	At a Public Meeting of the students of Fyzabad and Ajlath held at Fyzabad, on 26th November, 1892.
574	"	"	"	Babu Ram Saran Das, M.A., F.A.U. ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Secretary and Manager of the Oudh Commercial Bank Limited; Zamindar, and Honorary Magistrate, Fyzabad.	do.
575	"	"	"	Munshi Ali Hussain ...	Mahomedan.	Zamindar, Vakil and Secretary District Board, Fyzabad	do.
576	"	"	"	" Intiaz Ali, B. A. ...	do.	Vakil, Fyzabad.	do.
577	"	"	"	Babu Gokal Chand ...	Hindu Kshatriya.	Vakil, Zamindar, Honorary Magistrate and Chairman of the Municipal Board, Fyzabad.	do.
578	"	"	"	Pandit Radha Kishen ...	Hindu Kashmiri Brahman.	Vakil and Zamindar, Fyzabad.	do.
579	"	"	"	Munshi Sarfaraz Ali ...	Mahomedan.	Zamindar and Kazi, Fyzabad.	do.
580	"	"	"	" Balak Ram ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil and Land holder, Fyzabad.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
581	N. W. P. & Oudh.	Lucknow.	Sultanpur.	Babu Shambhunath ...	Hindu.	Vakil, Sultanpur ...	At a Public Meeting held on 10th December, 1892.
582	"	"	Partabgarh	Munshi Ramchandra, M.A.	Hindu. Kayasth.	Vakil, High Court, N. W. P., Partabgarh.	At a Public Meeting held at Partabgarh on 4th December, 1892.
583	"	"	"	Pandit Kirpa Shankar ...	Hindu Nagar Brahman.	Pleader Partabgarh ...	do.
584	"	"	"	Pandit Balraj Sahai Upadhyia.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader and Zamindar, Partabgarh.	do.
585	"	"	Bahraich	Pandit Sitala Prasad Misra.	do.	Vakil, Bahraich ...	At a Public Meeting of the residents of Bahraich held on 19th December, 1892.
586	"	"	"	Munshi Jugul Kishore ...	Hindu Kayastha.	do	do.
587	"	"	Kalakankar	Pandit Biseshar Dayal Sukul	Hindu. Brahman	Pleader. land-holder and banker, Kalakankar.	At a Public Meeting held at Kalakankar on 27th December, 1892.
588	"	"	"	P. Sital Prasad Upadhyia,	do.	Landholder and Joint Manager of the "Hindustan" Kalakankar.	do.
589	"	"	"	Thakur Basant Singha ...	Hindu Khsatriya.	Land holder, Kalakankar ...	do.
590	"	Rohilkhand.	Shahjahanpur.	Babu Baikunth Nath Sirkar.	Hindu	Pleader, Shahjahanpur ...	At a Public Meeting held at Shahjahanpur on 20th December, 1892.
591	"	"	"	Munshi Bakhtawar Singh,	Arya Agarwal.	Editor and Proprietor of "Arya Darpan."	do.
592	"	"	"	Lala Saligram Sheth ...	Hindu Kahatry	Zeminder, Banker ...	do.
593	"	"	"	Babu Radha Krishna ...	Hindu.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
594	"	"	Barcilly.	Mr. Ram Sarup, B. A., LL. B.	Hindu, Khatri	Vakil, High Court, N.W.P., Barcilly.	At a public meeting held at Barcilly on 9th December 1892.
595	"	"	"	Babu Preonath Bauerji.	Hindu Brahman	Vakil, High Court, and Municipal Commissioner, Barcilly.	do.
596	"	"	"	Lala Kalka Prasad ...	Hindu, Kayasth	Pleader, Barcilly. ...	do.
597	"	"	"	Lala Janki Prasad, M.A.	do	do	do.
598	"	"	Almora.	Pundit Jwaladatta Joshi.	Brahman	Vakil, High Court, Almora...	do.
599	"	"	"	Pundit Badridatta Joshi, LL. B.	Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Almora ...	At a Public Meeting held at Almora on 10th November, 1892.
600	"	"	"	Pandit Kamalapati Joshi.	do.	Pleader, Dt. Court, Almora...	do.
601	"	"	"	Sheikh Manulla ...	Mahomedan.	Trader and Merchant, Almora.	do.
602	"	"	Moradabad.	Babu Narendra Chandra Bose, B. L.	Hindu Kayasth	Vakil, High Court, and Zamindar, Moradabad.	At a Public Meeting held at Moradabad on 17th December, 1892.
603	"	"	"	Babu Sunder Lal ...	Hindu Kayasth	Pleader, Moradabad ...	do.
604	"	"	"	Babu Brijnandan Prasad, M.A., LL. B.	Hindu, Khatri	Vakil, High Court, Moradabad.	do.
605	"	"	"	M. Mohammad Nabi Khan.	Mahomedan, Pathan.	Service.	do.
606	"	"	"	Sheikh Wahabuddeen ...	Mahomedan.	Pleader and Zamindar ...	do.
607	Punjab.	Lahore.	Lahore.	Lala Ram Chandra ...	Panjabi Hindu.	Proprietor. "Anglo-Sanskrit" Press.	Public Meeting held at Lahore on 4th December, 1892.
608	"	"	"	The Rev. T. Evans ...	European Christian.	Missionary and Temperance Preacher.	do.
609	"	"	"	Captain A. T. Banon ...	European.	Late Bengal Staff Corps, Zamindar Kulu-Kangra. ...	do.
610	"	"	"	Mr. N. Gupta ...	Bengali Vaidya.	Editor of the "Tribune." ...	do.
611	"	"	"	Dr. Parmanand ...	Panjabi Hindu.	Surgeon Dentist, Lahore ...	do.
612	"	"	Umballa.	Lala Martidhar ...	Hindu Vaishya.	Pleader, Umballa ...	Public Meeting held at Umballa, 17th December, 1892.
613	"	"	"	Bhai Mahar Singh Chauhan.	Panjabi Sikh.	General Merchant, Lahore ...	Public Meeting held at Lahore on 4th December. 1902.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
14	Punjab.	Lahore.	Umballa.	Munshi Abdul Qadir Taib.	Mohamedan.	Manager, "Harrin Gazette."	At a Public Meeting held at Umballa on 17th December, 1892.
615	"	"	Amritsar.	Lala Kanhaiya Lal ...	Hindu Bhatia.	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab.	Public Meeting held at Amritsar on 11th December, 1892.
616	"	"	"	Mr. Usha Shankar ...	Hindu.	Barrister-at-Law, Amritsar ...	do.
617	"	"	"	Raba Narain Singh ...	Sikh.	Pleader, Amritsar ...	do.
618	"	"	"	Mr. Bulaki Ram ...	Hindu.	Barrister-at-Law, Amritsar ...	do.
619	"	"	"	Babu Nandkishore Kakker.	Hindu	Head Master, Hindu High School.	do.
620	"	Delhi.	Delhi.	Lala Sultan Singh ...	Jain.	Rais and Banker	Public Meeting held at Delhi on 21st December, 1892.
621	"	"	"	Moulvi Mirza Umroo Harat.	Mohomedan.	Literary pursuit, Delhi ...	do.
622	"	"	"	Mr. Balawant Singh ...	Hindu	Medical College, Lahore ...	do.
623	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Dass ...	Hindu Khattree.	Barrister-at-Law, Delhi. ...	do.
624	"	"	"	Lala Gokul Chand ...	Hindu Vaishya.	Banker, Delhi ...	do.
625	"	"	"	Lala Giridhari Lal ...	Hindu Khattri.	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab, Delhi.	do.

APPENDIX II.

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

Statement (A.)

Years.	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
	Number of trials with Jury.	Number of verdicts agreed to by the Sessions Judges.	Number of verdicts not agreed to by the Sessions Judges.	References disposed of under Sec. 307 Cr. P. C.	Verdicts approved of by the High Court.	Verdicts set aside by the High Court.	Percentage of verdicts not agreed to by the Sessions Judges to the whole number of verdicts.	Percentage of verdicts set aside by the High Court to total verdicts.	Percentage of verdicts which would have been set aside if all cases in which the Sessions Judges had disagreed had been referred by them to the High Court and the verdicts set aside in the same proportion as in cases referred.
1877	342	285	57	25	8	17	16.6	4.9	11.3
1878	399	352	47	25	10	15	11.8	3.7	7
1879									
1880									
1881									
1882									
1883	344	292	52	16	3	13	15.1	3.7	12.2
1884	346	263	69*	27	12	15	19.9	4.3	11
1885	348	282	66	25	4	21	18.9	6	15.9
1886	284	239	45	24	9	15	15.8	5.2	9.9
1887	339	263	76	19	10	9	22.4	2.6	10.6
1888	305	240	65	25	11	14	21.3	4.6	11.9
1889	285	235	50	13	7	6	17.5	2.1	8.1
1890	285	230	55	19	6	13	19.2	4.5	13.2
1892	290	240	50	20	10	10	17.2	3.4	8.6
Total ..	3567	2921	632	238	90	148	16.9	83.1	

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 purpose of comparison.

* 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.

N.B.—Average of Jury verdicts that would have been set aside in 11 years (1877, 1878 and 1883 to 1891) if reference had been made in cases of all verdicts dissented from by the Sessions Judge and the verdicts set aside in the same ratio, as in cases referred, is 11.8. Average percentage of verdicts actually set aside to the total number of verdicts in 11 years is 3.68.

Statement—(B.)

Years.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	Number of trials with assessors.	Number of appeals disposed of.*	Number of cases not appealed against.	Affirmed.	Reversed, modified and sent back.	Percentage of Sessions Judges affirmed to the total number of appeals.	Percentage of judgments affirmed or not disturbed to the total number of trials with assessors.	Percentage of judgments corrected by the High Court to the total number of trials.
1877	1087	640	447	522	118	81.5	89.1	10.9
1878	1165	635	528	533	104	83.6	91	9
1879	..	..	..	..	..	85.2	89.6	10.4
1880	..	..	..	..	..	80.4	87	13
1881	..	..	..	..	..	80.7	88.3	11.7
1882	..	..	..	..	..	81.5	89.9	10.1
1883	765	667	329	559	108	83.8	89.1	10.9
1884	1075	692	383	571	121	81.5	88.6	11.4
1885	1047	796	251	626	170	79.9	84.1	15.9
1886	1046	696	350	578	118	83	88.4	11.6
1887	1064	725	319	580	145	80	86.3	13.7
1888	1157	833	124	664	169	79.7	85.5	14.5
1889	1171	770	401	602	168	78.1	85.6	14.4
1890	1100	838	202	659	179	78.6	83.7	16.3
1891	1283	911	322	708	203	77.4	83.5	16.5
Total	8205	3936	6002	1003	81.6	19.4	86.7	13.3

* 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 result favourable or otherwise affects the merit of the decision of Sessions Judges alone—and as separate figures are not available, they may very well be taken for the purpose of comparison.

(ANN)

N.B.—Average percentage of judgments that would be reversed in 11 years (1877, 1878 and 1883 to 1891) if all judgment not appealed from were treated as affirmed is 13.3.

Average percentage of judgments reverse = notified and sent back to the total number of appeals during the 11 years (1877, 1878 and 1883 to 1891) is 19.6.

Explanation of Statement (A):—Figures in columns 1 to 6 are from the Reports. Figures in column 7 show the percentage of verdicts not agreed to by the Sessions Judge to the total number of verdicts of Juries. Figures in column 8 show the percentage of verdicts of Juries set aside by the High Court to the total number of verdicts. Figures in column 9 show the percentage of verdicts that would have been set aside, if all the cases in which the Sessions Judges had differed from the Jury, had been referred by them under Section 307 Cr. P. C. to the High Court, and the verdicts set aside in the same ratio as in the cases referred. It would perhaps be conceded that in cases not referred were such that if they were before the High Court there would be less chance of their being set aside. Under the present Code (Section 307 Cr. P. C.) wrong verdicts may be set aside in every instance; it is not therefore an irremediable wrong.

Explanation of Statement (A) :—Figures in columns 1, 2, 4 and 5 are from the Reports. Figures in column 3 give the difference between columns 1 and 2, and show cases in which no appeals have been preferred. The percentage 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 cases not appealed against plus cases actually in appeal and affirmed by the High Court. There are doubtless cases in which no appeal against the sentence of the Sessions Judge is preferred, because the prisoner has no money or friends to take up his case before the High Court; and if appeals had been preferred in these cases the sentences would not have been affirmed: while therefore, the mode in which the percentage has been worked out in column 9 of Statement A is unfavourable to the Jury, the mode by which the percentage in column 7 of the Statement B. has been worked out is very favourable to the Sessions Judges, and they have been worked out in this way to remove all hesitation in adopting them for the purpose of comparison. The figures in column 8 shew the percentage of verdicts set aside 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.

Secondly.—The result of trials by Jury has been much better than that of trials by the Sessions Judge with the aid of Assessors.

Years.	Percentage of judgments of Sessions 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 verdicts set aside in the same ratio as in cases referred,
1877	81.5	89.1	1877	16.7	4.9	11.3
1878	83.6	91	1878	11.8	3.7	7
1879	85.2	89.6	1879	14.1	"	"
1880	80.4	87	1880	16.8	"	"
1881	80.7	88.3	1881	15.8	"	"
1882	82.5	89.9	1882	16.7	"	"
1883	83.8	89.1	1883	15.1	3.7	12.2
1884	82.5	88.6	1884	19.9	4.3	11
1885	79.9	84.1	1885	18.9	6	15.9
1886	83	88.4	1886	15.8	5.2	9.9
1887	80	86.3	1887	22.4	2.6	10.6
1888	79.7	85.5	1888	21.3	4.7	11.9
1889	78.1	85.6	1889	17.5	2.1	8.1
1890	78.6	83.7	1890	19.2	4.5	13.2
1891	77.4	83.5	1891	17.2	3.4	8.6

(LXXX)

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	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891
10.9	9	10.4	13	11.7	10.1	10.9	11.4	15.9	11.6	13.7	14.5	14.4	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 :—

1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891
11.3	7	"	"	"	"	11.8	11	15.9	9.9	10.6	11.9	8.1	16.3	8.6

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 verdicts 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.

1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891
+ 4	- 3	"	"	"	"	+ 9	- 4	0	- 1.7	- 3.1	- 2.6	- 6.3	- 3.1	- 7.9

2. The following table 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 Jurors show reluctance to convict persons of murder because they are afraid of extreme sentences of death by Sessions Judges, the Sessions Judges show a tendency to pass capital sentences where people should have been absolutely acquitted or sentenced in other ways. The figures of the earlier years are not available.

Years.	Total number of sentences of death by the Sessions Judges decided on reference by the High Court.	Confirmed.	Commutedor set aside.	Percentage of sentences of death passed by the Sessions Courts and set aside by the High Court.
1886	26	16	10	38.4
1887	39	28	11	28.2
1888	31	18	13	41.9
1889	22	11	11	50
1890	33	19	14	42.4
1891	48	32	16	33.3

APPENDIX III.

Years.	Total number of offences under the Indian Penal Code reported as true.	Total number of offences affecting property.	Total number of other offences under the Indian Penal Code.	Total number of offences in the Jury districts:	Total number of offences in the Jury districts affecting property.	Total number of other offences under the Penal Code.	Total number of offences in the Assessor districts.	Total number of offences in the Assessor districts affecting property.	Total number of other offences under the Penal Code.	Total number of offences under Special Laws.
1890	1,36,611	68,294	68,317	34,050	14,416	19,634	102,561	53,878	48,683	75,686
1889	1,41,254	72,950	68,304	34,604	14,669	19,935	106,650	58,281	48,369	69,603
1888	1,34,746	65,757	68,989	33,703	12,781	20,920	101,043	52,876	48,067	62,502
1887	1,34,498	63,704	70,794	34,379	12,798	21,581	100,119	50,906	49,213	53,595
1886	1,40,263	67,291	72,972	37,631	15,020	22,611	102,632	52,271	50,361	53,843
1885	1,38,032	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
1883	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	52,110	51,638
1881	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	67,871	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	52,226	43,709	33,200

APPENDIX IV.

Years.	Total number of persons convicted for offences under the I. P. C..	Total number of persons convicted under the I. P. C. for offences against property.	Total number of persons convicted under the I. P. C. for offences against the public tranquillity.	Total number of persons convicted under the I. P. C. for other offences.	Total number of persons convicted under the I. P. C. for offences in the Jury Districts.	Total number of persons convicted for offences against property in the Jury Districts.	Total number of persons convicted for offences against the public tranquillity in the Jury Districts.	Total number of persons convicted for other offences in the Jury Districts.	Total number of persons convicted for offences under the I. P. C. in Assessor Districts.	Total number of persons convicted for offences against property in assessor Districts.	Total number of persons convicted for offences against the public tranquillity in assessor Districts.	Total number of persons convicted for other offences under the I. P. C. in Assessor Districts.
1878	68,836	30,733	6,027	32,076	21,094	8,037	1,630	11,427	47,742	22,696	4,397	20,649
1879	65,283	28,532	6,034	30,717	20,545	8,374	1,620	10,551	44,738	20,158	4,414	20,166
1880	64,043	25,012	5,902	33,129	18,985	6,878	1,579	10,528	45,058	18,134	4,323	22,601
1881	59,916	23,008	6,002	30,906	16,958	6,059	1,437	9,462	42,958	16,949	4,565	21,444
1882	60,312	23,301	5,495	31,516	17,159	5,934	1,274	9,951	43,153	17,367	4,221	21,565
1883	58,679	23,107	5,842	29,730	16,306	5,470	1,545	9,291	42,373	17,637	4,297	20,439
1884	60,093	27,003	6,039	26,951	15,629	6,220	1,444	7,965	44,464	20,283	4,595	18,986
1885	59,705	26,773	6,451	26,481	15,883	6,459	1,506	7,918	43,822	20,314	4,945	18,563
1886	58,219	24,104	6,667	27,148	15,244	6,008	1,440	7,796	42,975	18,396	5,227	19,352
1887	55,416	21,846	7,007	26,563	13,756	4,986	1,445	7,325	41,560	16,860	5,162	19,238
1888	56,731	23,063	7,257	26,411	13,811	4,663	1,311	7,837	42,920	18,400	5,946	18,574
1889	50,400	25,649	7,420	26,331	14,136	5,328	1,418	7,190	45,264	20,221	6,002	19,142
1890	57,188	23,696	8,224	25,268	14,007	5,449	1,465	7,093	43,181	18,247	6,795	18,175
1891	53,856	21,372	7,896	26,598	14,355	5,448	1,459	7,418	44,501	18,914	6,407	19,180

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.

[From Return. 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 organisation 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 of 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 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 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, they 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 Army, 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

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 perhaps 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 than it then was. On the contrary our honourable military colleague, in a Minute dated 10th September 1884, which was forwarded to the Secretary of State under cover of a Despatch dated the 10th of March last, expresses himself as follows in respect of these points: "Until she (Russia) is much 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 10,000 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:—

"Thus the general result of what was effected in 1882 has been that the strength of the Native and British troops remains what it was before the changes were made; but the Army is organised on a more economical, 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 most experienced 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 1882 did not bring about a reduction in the total strength of our fighting power in India." (Paragraph 34).

The contingency which the Army Commission, 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 us 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 their occupation, an increase to the India Army of 27,000 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.]

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 to

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the adoption, of projects for the extension of our present frontier. The question then narrows itself to this : Is it the duty of the Government of India to maintain 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.

11. 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, and a force for exterior use. The necessary 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 reserves 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 Government 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 supply 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 10,000 to our English and 17,000 to our Native

troops, that the total ultimate cost will be less than about 1,500,000 *l.* a year. There can be no doubt that, to meet this cost, we shall be compelled to resort to taxation of a considerable 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 22nd September, 1884. 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 principle which has been admitted by all Governments foreign to their subjects, and that it has been uniformly recognised and adopted by our predecessors in the administration of British India. It seems an axiom which at the present time it is singularly incumbent on the Government of India to bear in mind. If it was important when India had no European neighbour, it becomes much more so when she has at her frontier a power whose agents will make the most of all our mistakes, and 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, when called upon, of meeting our requirements. But there is 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 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. ILBERT.

Simla, 14th August, 1885.

THE INDIAN MILITARY AND TRANS-FRONTIER EXPENDITURE QUESTION.

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 representative assembly.*

Owing, probably, to the late date at which it was 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 as 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 under 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 described 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 suggestions 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:

b. The Trans-frontier policy since 1875, which has been the chief cause of that increase:

c. The Financial arrangements between England and India.

4. Let us briefly review the first of these. In 1863-4 your army expenditure was only 14½ millions; and so recently as 1874-5, under Lord Northbrook, the estimate was again about the same, though the account shewed 15½ 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-

mense sums (estimated in the Financial Statement of 1886; at twelve millions sterling) 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 India 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 10,000 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 outlay 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 constructed. 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 1867-9 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 1878-9, when raising their protest against 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 1858. 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 adverse 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 Statements of 1886-7*. (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 should be realised. It seems 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 annexation of Upper Burmah; also the continuous addition to that cost entailed by the egregious 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 as may seem expedient.

7. In connection with these subjects I desire to draw your attention to certain broad considerations that may be overlooked or postponed amidst the current topics of detail

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.

b. 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 executive 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, (besides the railway debt.) Why 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 home 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 a 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 briefly

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 proceedings of its predecessors.

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

*West Kensington,
November 23rd, 1888.*

APPENDIX VI.

SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS.

PASSED AT THE

FIRST, SECOND, THIRD, FOURTH, FIFTH, SIXTH AND SEVENTH CONGRESSES.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FIRST CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

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

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

RESOLUTION IV.

Resolved—That in the opinion of this Congress the competitive examinations now held in England for first appointments in various civil departments of the public service should henceforth, in accordance with the views of the India Office Committee of 1860, "be held simultaneously, one in England and one in India, both being as far as practicable identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit," and that the successful candidates in India should be sent to England or further study, and subjected there to such further examinations as may seem needful. Further, that all other first appointments (excluding peonships, and the like) should be filled by competitive examinations held in India, under conditions calculated to secure such

intellectual, moral, and physical qualifications as may be decided by Government to be necessary. Lastly, that the maximum age of candidates for entrance into the Covenanted Civil Service be raised to not less than 23 years.

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

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

RESOLUTION VII.

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

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

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

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SECOND CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

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

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

Resolved—That this Congress do, emphatically, re-affirm the 3rd Resolution of the Congress of 1885, and distinctly declare its belief that the reform and expansion of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws and of the Provincial Legislative Councils therein suggested, have now become essential alike in the interests of India and England.

RESOLUTION IV.

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

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

and in the case of local Governments they shall report the circumstances and explain their action to the Government of India, and in the case of this latter, it shall report and explain to the Secretary of State; and in any such case on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretary of State by the overruled majority, it shall be competent to the Standing Committee of the House of Commons (recommended in the 3rd Resolution of last year's Congress which this present Congress has affirmed) to consider the matter, and call for any and all papers or information, and hear any persons on behalf of such majority or otherwise, and thereafter, if needful, report thereon to the full House.

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved—That a Committee composed of the gentlemen named in the margin* be appointed to consider the Public Service Question and report thereon to this Congress.

*Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji (<i>Bombay</i>).	Mr. Guru Prasad Sen (<i>Patna</i>).	
„ S. Subramania Iyer (<i>Madras</i>).	Pundit Prannath (<i>Lucknow</i>).	
„ Peary Mohun Mukerjee (<i>Calcutta</i>).	Munshi Kashipershad (<i>Allahabad</i>).	
Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (<i>Madras</i>).	Nawab Reza Ali Khan (<i>Lucknow</i>).	
Babu Motilal Ghose (<i>Calcutta</i>).	Mr. Hamid Ali (<i>Lucknow</i>).	
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (<i>Calcutta</i>).	Lala Kanhyalal (<i>Amritsar</i>).	
„ Gungapershad Varma (<i>Lucknow</i>).	Rao Sahib Gangadhar Rao Madhav Chitnavis (<i>Nagpur</i>).	
„ Ramkali Chaudhuri (<i>Benares</i>).	Mr. Rahimatulla M. Sayani (<i>Bombay</i>).	

RESOLUTION VII.

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

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

***REPORT.**

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

- 1.—That the open Competitive Examination be held simultaneously both in India and in England.
- 2.—That the Simultaneous Examinations thus held be equally open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects.
- 3.—That the Classified lists be prepared according to merit.
- 4.—That the Congress express the hope that the Civil Service Commissioners will give fair consideration to Sanskrit and Arabic among the subjects of examination.
- 5.—That the age of candidates eligible for admission to the open Competitive Examination be not less than 19, nor, as recommended by Sir C. Aitchison, more than 23 years.
- 6.—That Simultaneous Examinations being granted, the Statutory Civil Service be closed for first appointments.
- 7.—That the appointments in the Statutory Civil Service, under the existing rules, be still left open to the Members of the Uncovenanted Service and to professional men of proved merit and ability.
- 8.—That all appointments requiring educational qualifications, other than covenanted first appointments, be filled by Competitive Examinations held in the different Provinces, and open in each Province to such natural-born subjects of H. M. only as are residents thereof.

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

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

30th December, 1886.

RESOLUTION IX.

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

RESOLUTION X.

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

RESOLUTION XI.

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

RESOLUTION XII.

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

RESOLUTION XIII.

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

RESOLUTION XIV.

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

RESOLUTION XV.

Resolved—That, copies of these Resolutions be forwarded to His Excellency the Viceroy-in-Council, with the humble requests that he will cause the 1st Resolution to be submitted in due course to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, that he will cause all the Resolutions to be laid before Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and that he himself will be graciously pleased, in consultation with his colleagues, to accord them his best consideration.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE THIRD CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

Resolved—That a Committee is appointed, consisting of the gentlemen (marginally enumerated*) to consider what rules, if any, may now be usefully framed in regard of the constitution and working of the Congress, with instructions to report thereon to the Congress, on the 30th instant.

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

thereon to the Congress, on the 30th instant.

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

RESOLUTION IV.

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

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

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

RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved—That, having regard to the poverty of the people, it is desirable that the Government be moved to elaborate a system of Technical Education, suitable to the condition of the country, to encourage indigenous manufactures by a more strict observance of the orders, already existing, in regard to utilizing such manufactures for State purposes, and to employ more extensively, than at present, the skill and talents of the people of the country.

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

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

RESOLUTION X.

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

RESOLUTION XI.

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

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FOURTH CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

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

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

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

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

RESOLUTION IV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

does now, hereby, affirm the same respectively.

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

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

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

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

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

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

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

does now, hereby, affirm the same respectively.

RESOLUTION VII.

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

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

Resolved—That this Congress being of opinion that it is the first duty of the British Government in India to foster and encourage education, as well general as technical, in all its branches, and that the declaration made in the recent resolution of the Government of India on the subject of education is calculated to encourage the tendency to reduce imperial expenditure on education, and to withdraw from the control of it, respectfully urges upon Government the extreme importance of increasing, or at any rate of not decreasing, the present expenditure on education, and of the Government continuing to control the Educational Institutions of all kinds now existing.

RESOLUTION X.

Resolved—That, having regard to the poverty of the people, the importance of encouraging indigenous manufactures, and the difficulty of practically introducing any general system of technical education with the present imperfect information, Government be moved to delay no longer the appointment of a mixed commission, to inquire into the present industrial condition of the country.

RESOLUTION XI.

Resolved—That the foregoing Resolutions be submitted for the favourable consideration of His Excellency the Viceroy, and for transmission by him to Her Majesty's Government, with the humble request of this Congress that the reforms suggested in the said Resolutions (based as most of these are on Her Gracious Majesty's Proclamation of 1858) may now be effected; and that should it be deemed necessary first to institute any enquiry into any of the matters forming the subjects of these resolutions, such enquiry may be made, as speedily as possible, by a Parliamentary Committee.

RESOLUTION XII.

Resolved—That this Congress, having watched with interest and sympathy the exertions that are being made in England for the total abrogation of laws and rules relating to the regulation of prostitution by the State in India, places on record its appreciation of the services thus rendered to this country, and its desire to co-operate by all means in its power in the attainment of this laudable object.

RESOLUTION XIII.

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

RESOLUTION XIV.

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

RESOLUTION XV.

Resolved—That this Congress puts on record its disapproval of the recent enhancement of the Salt Tax, as involving a perceptible increase to the burthens of the poorer classes, as also the partial absorption, in a time of peace and plenty, of the only Financial Reserve of the Empire.

RESOLUTION XVI.

Resolved—That the Fifth Indian National Congress do assemble in the Bombay Presidency (either at Bombay itself or at Poona, as may be settled hereafter) on the 26th of December, 1889.

RESOLUTION XVII.

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

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FIFTH CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

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

RESOLUTION II.

Resolved—That the following skeleton scheme for the reform and reconstitution of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations, and the Provincial Legislative Councils, is adopted, and that the President of this Congress do submit the same to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M. P., with the respectful request of this Congress that he may be pleased to cause a Bill to be drafted on the lines indicated in this skeleton scheme and introduce the same in the British House of Commons :—

SCHEME.

- (1) The Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils to consist respectively of members, not less than one-half of whom are to be elected, not more than one-fourth to sit *ex-officio*, and the rest to be nominated by Government.

- (2) Revenue districts to constitute ordinarily territorial units, for electoral purposes.
- (3) All male British subjects above 21 years of age possessing certain qualifications and not subject to certain disqualifications (both of which will be settled later) to be voters.
- (4) Voters in each district to elect representatives to one or more electoral bodies, according to local circumstances at the rate of 12 per million of the total population of the district, such representatives to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.
- (5) All the representatives thus elected by all the districts included in the jurisdiction of each electoral body, to elect members to the Imperial Legislature at the rate of 1 per every five millions of the total population of the electoral jurisdiction, and to their own Provincial Legislature at the rate of 1 per million of the said total population, in such wise that whenever the Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus are in a minority, the total number of Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus, as the case may be, elected to the Provincial Legislature, shall not, so far as may be possible, bear a less proportion to the total number of members elected thereto, than the total number of Parsees, Christians, Hindus or Mahomedans, as the case may be, in such electoral jurisdiction, bears to its total population. Members of both Legislatures to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.
- (6) All elections to be by ballot.

RESOLUTION III.

Resolved—That this present Congress does hereby ratify and confirm the resolutions passed by previous Congresses as to—

- (a) the urgent necessity for the complete separation of executive and judicial functions, such that, in no case, shall the two functions be combined in the same officer ;
- (b) the expediency of extending into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, the system of trial by jury ;
- (c) the necessity of withdrawing from the High Courts, the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal by juries ;
- (d) the necessity of introducing, into the Code of Criminal Procedure, a provision enabling accused person, in warrant cases, to demand that, instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions ;
- (e) the highly unsatisfactory character of the existing system of Police Administration in India, and the absolute necessity of a fundamental reform therein ;
- (f) the expediency of both, establishing Military Colleges in India, where at the Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army, and of authorising, under such rules and restrictions as may seem necessary, such a system of volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country as may qualify them to support the Government in any crisis ;
- (g) the extremely unsatisfactory character of the Income Tax Administration, especially as regards incomes below rupees one thousand, and the expediency of raising the taxable minimum to this amount ;
- (h) the extreme importance of increasing, instead of diminishing, as the present tendency appears to be, the public expenditure on education in all its branches, and the necessity, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of the appointment of a mixed commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country ;
- (i) the impolicy and injustice involved in the late increase of the Salt Tax in a time of profound peace, and the urgent necessity for an immediate reduction of this tax, and the reimposition, to balance the deficit thus caused, of light *ad valorem* import duties ;
- (j) the necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual increase to, the military expenditure of the country.

RESOLUTION IV.

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

been done by some of the local Governments towards the improvement of their systems of Excise and Abkari, desires to express the earnest hope that no further time may be lost in giving full effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons.

RESOLUTION V.

Resolved—That this Congress, while thanking Her Majesty's Government for raising the age for the Indian Civil Service Competitive Examination from 19 to 23, does hereby put on record an emphatic expression of the universal disappointment which has been created by the rest of that Government's orders in regard to the Public Service Question, (the net result of which orders is to place the people of India in a worse position than they previously held), and reiterates the national conviction that no real justice will be done to India, in this matter, until the simultaneous holding in India, and in England, of all examinations, for all Civil branches of the Public Service in India, at present held only in England, be conceded.

RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved—That, in view of the loyalty of the people, the hardships, that the Arms Act (XI of 1878), as at present administered, entails, and the unmerited slur which it casts upon them, the Government be moved so to modify the rules made under this Act that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India; that licenses to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and generally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops; and that these and all licenses issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.

RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved—That the Government be urged to take the subject of a Permanent Settlement once more under consideration in view to practical action thereon, such that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revenue demand without further delay, at any rate, in all fully populated and well cultivated tracts of country.

RESOLUTION VIII.

Resolved—That, in view of the fall that has already occurred in the price of silver and in the exchange value of the Indian Rupee, it is impolitic on the part of the British Government to maintain any hindrances whatever to the consumption of silver for manufacturing purposes; and that this Congress strongly urges upon Her Majesty's Government that, not only as an act of justice to India (a matter which has been repeatedly brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Ministers), but also as an act of expediency in the interests of Her Majesty's British as well as Indian subjects, the plate duties should be immediately abolished, and Hall-marking be made a voluntary institution.

RESOLUTION IX.

Resolved—That this Congress respectfully expresses the earnest hope that, in the interest of the people of India, the House of Commons will forthwith restore the right, formerly possessed by members of that Honourable House, of stating to Parliament any matter of grievance of the natives of India, before Mr. Speaker leaves the Chair, for the presentation in Committee of the Indian Budget statement, and earnestly trusts that the House of Commons will, in future, take into consideration the Annual Indian Budget statement at such a date as will ensure its full and adequate discussion; and further authorizes the President, Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., to sign a petition in the name and on behalf of this Congress for presentation to the House of Commons in accordance with the terms of this Resolution.

RESOLUTION X.

Resolved—That, in view to his approaching departure, this Congress puts on record an expression of the high sense entertained, not only in the Bombay Presidency, but throughout India, of the ability, integrity and impartiality that have characterised Lord Reay's administration, as also of the gratitude which the whole country feels to be his due for the sympathy that he has ever extended to Indian aspirations and efforts.

RESOLUTION XI.

Resolved—That the Subjects Committee be instructed to settle the question, (left open in the skeleton scheme for the reconstruction of the councils, embodied in Resolution II.), of the qualifications requisite for, and the disqualifications which should debar from, becoming—

- (a) a Voter ;
- (b) a Representative ;
- (c) a Member of a Provincial Legislative Council ; and
- (d) a Member of the Imperial Legislative Council ;

and to submit their Report thereon to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M.P., for the purpose of the Bill which he has been requested to have drawn.

RESOLUTION XII.

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

RESOLUTION XIII.

Resolved—

- (a) That in view of the large number of delegates this year assembled and the probability arising from past experience, of their number continuing to increase year by year, henceforth the number of delegates to be allowed from each Congress circle be limited to five per million of the total population of the circle : the Standing Committee of each circle allotting the number which their jurisdiction, as a whole, is entitled to elect, amongst their several electoral divisions, as may seem most expedient.
- (b) That from the date of Mr. Hume's departure for England, the Hon'ble Pundit Ajoodhianath be appointed Joint General Secretary, and that Rs. 5,000 be assigned for the payment by him of such Assistant Secretaries as he may find it necessary to employ, clerical assistance, postage, telegraphs and printing ; and further that Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee be appointed Standing Counsel for Bengal, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, Standing Counsel for Bombay, and Mr. Ananda Charlu, Standing Counsel for Madras, to the Joint General Secretary.
- (c) That the tentative rules for the constitution and working of the Congress, which were first considered at Madras, and in regard to which various addenda have from time to time been circulated, be thoroughly considered during the coming year by the several Standing Congress Committees, and definitely dealt with by the Congress at its next session.
- (d) That this Congress does hereby confirm the appointment of Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart., and Messrs. W. S. Caine, M.P., W. S. Bright Maclaren, M. P., J. E. Ellis, M. P., Dadabhai Naoroji and George Yule, as a Committee (with power to add to their number) to guide and direct the operations and control the expenditure of the National Congress Agency in England, and does further tender its sincere thanks to these gentlemen, and to Mr. W. Digby, C.I.E., the Secretary for the service which they are rendering to India.
- (e) That this Congress does formally appoint Mr. George Yule, Mr. A. O. Hume, Mr. Adam, Mr. Eardley Norton, Mr. J. E. Howard,* Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, Mr. Surendrannath Banerjee, Mr. Mono Mohan Ghose, Mr. Shurfuddin, Mr. R. N. Mudholker, and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee to represent its views in England and press upon the consideration of the British Public the political reforms which the Congress has advocated.
- (f) That a sum of Rs. 45,000 be raised for the expenses of the Congress work in this country and in England during the ensuing year, and that the different Standing Committees do send their res-

* By some oversight, this gentleman's name was omitted, when the Resolution was read to the Congress ; the error has been rectified with the consent of the several Standing Congress Committees.

pective apportioned amounts to the General Secretary, the one half in three, and the balance in six months.

RESOLUTION XIV.

Resolved—That the Sixth Indian National Congress do assemble at some City in Bengal, the exact place to be fixed hereafter, on the 26th of December, 1890.

RESOLUTION XV.

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

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SIXTH CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

Resolved—That this Congress, having considered the draft Bill recently introduced into Parliament by Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, entitled "an Act to amend the Indian Councils Act of 1861," approves the same as calculated to secure a substantial instalment of that reform, in the Administration of India, for which it has been agitating, and humbly prays the Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to pass the same into law; and further that its President, Mr. J. M. M. M. M., is hereby empowered to draw up and sign, on behalf of this assembly, a resolution to the House of Commons to the foregoing effect, and to transmit the same to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh for presentation, thereto, in due course.

RESOLUTION II.

Resolved—That this present Congress does hereby ratify and confirm the resolutions passed by previous Congresses as to—

- (a) the urgent necessity for the complete separation of executive and judicial functions, such that, in no case, shall the two functions be combined in the same officer;
- (b) the expediency of extending into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, the system of trial by jury;
- (c) the necessity of withdrawing from the High Courts the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal by juries;
- (d) the necessity of introducing, into the Code of Criminal Procedure, a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate they be committed to the Court of Sessions;
- (e) the highly unsatisfactory character of the existing system of Police Administration in India, and the absolute necessity of a fundamental reform therein;
- (f) the expediency of both, establishing Military Colleges in India, whereat the Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army, and of authorising, under such

rules and restrictions as may seem necessary, such a system of volunteering, for the Indian inhabitants of the country, as may qualify them to support the Government in any crisis ;

- (g) the extremely unsatisfactory character of the Income Tax Administration, especially as regards incomes below rupees one thousand, and the expediency of raising the taxable minimum to this amount ;
- (h) the extreme importance of increasing, instead of diminishing, as the present tendency appears to be, the public expenditure on education in all its branches, and the necessity, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of the appointment of a mixed commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country ;
- (i) the necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual increase to, the military expenditure of the country ;
- (j) the necessity, if any real justice is to be done to the people of India, of holding, simultaneously in India and England, examinations, at present held only in England, for the Civil branches of the Public Service in India ;
- (k) the expediency of so modifying the rules made under Act XI of 1878 (the Arms Act) that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India ; that licenses to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and generally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops ; and that these and all licenses issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.

RESOLUTION III.

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

RESOLUTION IV.

Resolved—That, while recognizing the action taken, in response to its previous prayers, in the matter of Excise Reform by H. M.'s Secretary of State for India and the Supreme Government here, and noting with pleasure the increase to the import duty on Spirits, the taxation imposed on Indian-brewed malt liquors, the decision of the Bengal Government to abolish the outstill system, and the closing of over 7,000 liquor shops by the Madras Government in 1889-90, this Congress regrets that it is still necessary to urge the Government of India to insist on all Provincial Administrations carrying out in their integrity the policy in matters of Excise enunciated in paras. 103, 104 and 105 of the despatch published in the *Gazette of India* of March 1st, 1890, especially as to sub-section 4 of para. 103, *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.”

RESOLUTION V.

Resolved—That the condition of the Finances of India having materially improved, and those special circumstances on which the Government relied to justify the recent enhancement of the Salt Tax having practically ceased to exist, this Congress considers it essential that the enhancement referred to should be remitted at an early date, and empowers its President to submit a special memorial on the subject in its name and on its behalf to H. E. the Viceroy in Council.

RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved—That having reference to the expectations created throughout the country by the Despatch of Her Majesty's Secretary of State in 1862, the principles of which were re-affirmed in a subsequent Despatch of 1865, promising the extension of a Permanent Settlement to all temporarily settled tracts in which certain conditions were fulfilled, and to the fact that throughout large portions of the country those conditions have long since been fulfilled, this Congress respectfully submits that the Government of India is now in honour bound to take up this question of Permanent Settlement, without further delay, in view to practical action thereon such that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revenue demand as explicitly promised, by Her Majesty's Secretary of State, more than a quarter of a century ago.

RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved—That this Congress, having observed with surprise a notice, apparently official, in various Calcutta newspapers which runs as follows :—

THE CONGRESS.

"The Bengal Government having learnt that tickets of admission to the visitors' enclosure in the Congress pavilion have been sent to various Government officers, and heads of departments subordinate to it, pointing out that, under the orders of the Government of India the presence of Government officials, even as visitors at such meetings, is not advisable, and that their taking part in the proceedings of any such meetings is absolutely prohibited :—"

and having also considered a letter addressed by the Private Secretary of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to the Secretary of the Reception Committee, of which the following is an exact copy :—

BELVEDERE, 26th December, 1890.

"DEAR SIR,—In returning herewith the seven cards of admission to the visitors' enclosure of the Congress pavilion, which were kindly sent by you to my address yesterday afternoon, I am desirous to say that the Lieutenant-Governor and the members of his household could not possibly avail themselves of these tickets, since the orders of the Government of India definitely prohibit the presence of Government officials at such meetings.

"To

J. GHOSAL Esq.,

Secretary, Congress Reception Committee."

Yours faithfully,

P. C. LYON,

Private Secretary.

authorizes and instructs its President to draw the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to the declaration embodied in these papers that Government servants are prohibited from attending any meetings of this Congress even as spectators, and to enquire, most respectfully, whether His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has, or has not, correctly interpreted the orders of the Government of India.

RESOLUTION VIII.

Resolved—That the best thanks of this Congress be tendered to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M. P., for the invaluable services rendered by him during the past year, as also to Sir W. Wedderburn, Mr. W. S. Caine, Mr. J. Bright Maclaren, M. P., Mr. J. Ellis, M. P., Mr. George Yule, and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for the unselfish zeal and ability with which

they have presided over the British Agency of the Congress ; further that they put on record an expression of their high appreciation of the manner in which Mr. Digby, C. I. E., Secretary of the Agency, and Messrs. Surendra Nath Banerjee, R. N. Mudholkar, W. C. Bonnerjee, Eardley Norton, and A. O. Hume, delegates to England, respectively, discharged the onerous duties imposed upon them, and of their gratitude to all those members of the British public who so kindly welcomed and so sympathetically gave audience, in a fifty public and a far larger number of private meetings, to one or more of these delegates.

RESOLUTION IX.

Resolved—That a vote of thanks be recorded to Kumar Debendra Mullick and brothers, proprietors of the Tivoli Gardens, Mr. N. C. Bose and Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose, proprietors of Mohan Bagan Villa, and to the Hon'ble Sir Romesh Chandra Mitra, Mr. T. N. Palit, Babus Janokee Nath Roy, Gopee Mohan Roy, Harendra Nath Roy, Kissory Mohan Roy, Ramanath Ghose; and Jamadar Ghasiram, owners of houses kindly lent for the use of delegates.

RESOLUTION X.

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

RESOLUTION XI.

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

RESOLUTION XII.

Resolved—That of the funds now in the Joint General Secretary's hands and about to be received, a further sum of twenty thousand rupees be added to the Permanent Fund and placed in fixed deposits, and that the rest of the funds accruing on account of this current year, 1890, be held by him available for the immediate purposes of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, but to be replaced as the subscriptions for 1891 are received, and ultimately, also added to the Permanent Fund.

RESOLUTION XIII.

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

RESOLUTION XIV.

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

RESOLUTION XV.

Resolved—That this Congress does formally appoint Messrs. G. Yule, Pherozshah Mehta, W. C. Bonnerjee, J. Adam, Mono Mohan Ghose, A. O. Hume, Kali Charan Banerjee, Dadabhai Naorojee, D. A. Khare, and such other gentlemen as may volunteer for the duty with the sanction and approval of the Standing Congress Committees of their respective circles, to represent its views in England, and press upon the consideration of the British Public the political reforms which the Congress has advocated.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SEVENTH CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

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

EX-OFFICIO MEMBERS :

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

ORDINARY MEMBERS :

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

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

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

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

That this unhappy condition of affairs is largely due to—

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

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

That hence it has become imperatively necessary—

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

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

RESOLUTION IV.

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

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

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

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

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

RESOLUTION VII.

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

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

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

Read the following telegram from General Booth :—

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

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

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

RESOLUTION X.

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

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

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

RESOLUTION XI.

Resolved—That having regard to the very serious discontent created, especially in Peninsular India, by the practical administration of the Forest 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 members of the British Congress Committee, for the services rendered by them to India during the past year, and respectfully urges them to widen henceforth the sphere of their usefulness, by interesting themselves, not only in those questions dealt with by the Congress here, but in all Indian matters submitted to them, and properly vouched for, in which any principle accepted by the Congress is involved.

RESOLUTION XIII.

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

RESOLUTION XIV.

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

RESOLUTION XV.

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

RESOLUTION XVI.

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

RESOLUTION XVII.

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

RESOLUTION XVIII.

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