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INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS :  
NINTH ANNUAL SESSION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS  
BY

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI, M.P.  
DELIVERED AT LAHORE ON THE  
27<sup>th</sup> DECEMBER 1893

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27TH DECEMBER, 1893

*With an Appendix containing the Resolutions passed by the Congress.*

LONDON :

PUBLISHED BY THE BRITISH COMMITTEE  
OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

41, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I need not say how deeply I feel the honour you have done me by electing me a second time to preside over your deliberations. I thank you sincerely for this honour. In the performance of the onerous duties of this high position I shall need your great indulgence and support, and I have no doubt that I shall receive them.

PLEASURE OF PRESIDING AT THE FIRST CONGRESS IN PUNJAB.

I am much pleased that I have the privilege of presiding at the very first Congress held in Punjab, as I had at Calcutta in 1886. I have taken, as you may be aware, some interest in the material condition of Punjab. In my first letter to the Secretary of State for India in 1880 on the material condition of India I took Punjab for my illustration, and worked out in detail its total annual income and the absolute wants of its common labourer. As to the loyalty of the Punjabis—Hindus, Sikhs, or Muhammadans—it has proved true through the most fiery ordeal on a most trying and critical occasion.

PECULIAR FEATURES OF THIS CONGRESS.

The occasion of this session of the Congress in Punjab has been a most happy coincidence. On Punjab rests a double responsibility—one external and one internal. If ever that hated threatened invasion of the Russians comes on, Punjab will have to bear the first brunt of the battle, and contented under British rule, as I hope India will be, Punjab will fight to her last man in loyalty and patriotism—loyalty to the British power, and patriotism to protect the hearths and homes of her beloved country of India.

INTERNAL RESPONSIBILITY.

The internal responsibility which at present rests upon the Punjabis and other warrior races of India is this. I have always understood and believed that manliness was associated with love of justice, generosity and intellect. So our British

tutors have always taught us and have always claimed for themselves such character. And I cannot understand how any one could or should deny to your and other manly races of India the same characteristics of human nature. But yet we are gravely told that on the contrary the manliness of these races of India is associated with meanness, unpatriotic selfishness, and inferiority of intellect, and that therefore, like the dog in the manger, you and the other warrior races will be mean enough to oppose the resolution about Simultaneous Examinations, and unpatriotic and selfish enough to prevent the general progress of all India.

Can offence and insult to a people, and that people admitted to be a manly people, go any further? Look at the numbers of Punjabis studying in England. Now this happy coincidence of this meeting in Punjab: you, considering every son of India as an Indian and a compatriot, have invited me—not a Punjabi, not a Muhammadan, nor a Sikh—from a distance of thousands of miles to enjoy the honour of presiding over this Congress, and with this gathering from all parts of India as the guests of the Punjabis, you conclusively, once for all and for ever, set the matter at rest that the Punjabis with all other Indians do earnestly desire the Simultaneous Examinations as the only method in which justice can be done to all the people of India, as this Congress has repeatedly resolved. And, moreover, Punjab has the credit of holding the very first public meeting in favour of the Resolution passed by the House of Commons for Simultaneous Examinations.

#### THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

When I use the words English or British, I mean all the peoples of the United Kingdom.

#### MR. JUSTICE TELANG.

It is our melancholy duty to record the loss of one of our greatest patriots, Justice Kasinath Trimbak Telang. It is a heavy loss to India; you all know what a high place he held in our estimation for his great ability, learning, eloquence, sound judgment, wise counsel and leadership. I have known him and worked with him for many years, and I have not known any one more earnest and devoted to the cause of our country's welfare. He was one of the most active founders of this Congress, and was its first hard-working Secretary in Bombay. From the very first he had taken a warm interest and active part in our work, and even after he became a Judge his sound advice was always at our disposal.

#### APPOINTMENT OF MR. RANADE.

I am glad Mr. Mahadhev Govind Ranade is appointed in his place. It does much credit indeed to Lord Harris for the

selection, and I am sure Mr. Ranade will prove himself worthy of the post. I have known him long, and his ability and learning are well known. His sound judgment and earnest work in various ways have done valuable services to the cause of India.

I am also much pleased that an Indian, Mr. Pramad Charan Bannerji, succeeds Mr. Justice Mahmud at Allahabad.

THANKS TO LORD KIMBERLEY.

I feel thankful to the Local Governments and the Indian Government for such appointments, and to Lord Kimberley for his sanction of them, among which I may include also the decision about the Sanscrit Chair at Madras. I feel the more thankful to Lord Kimberley, for I am afraid, and I hope I may be wrong, that there has been a tendency of not only not loyally carrying out the rule about situations of Rs. 200 and upwards to be given to Indians, but that even such posts as have been already given to them are being snatched away from their hands. Lord Kimberley's firmness in not allowing this is therefore so much the more worthy of praise and our thankfulness.

Lord Kimberley also took prompt action to prevent the retrograde step in connection with the Jury system in Bengal for which Mr. Paul and other friends interested themselves in Parliament; and also to prevent the retrograde interference with the Chairmanship of Municipalities, at the instance of our British Committee in London. I do hope that in the same spirit Lord Kimberley will consider our representations about the extension of the Jury system.

MESSAGE OF GOODWILL FROM CENTRAL FINSBURY.

Before proceeding further, let me perform the gratifying task of communicating to you a message of sympathy and goodwill which I have brought for you from Central Finsbury. On learning that I had accepted your invitation to preside, the Council of the Central Finsbury United Liberal and Radical Association passed a Resolution, which I have now the pleasure of placing before you, signed by Mr. Joseph Walton, the Chairman, and forwarded to me by the Honorary Secretary, Mr. R. M. H. Griffith, one of my best friends and supporters:—

*The Central Finsbury United Liberal and Radical Association send a Greeting to the forthcoming Indian National Congress.*

The Central Finsbury United Liberal and Radical Association, in view of Mr. Naoroji's visit to India at the end of November next, have passed the following Resolution:—

“1. That the General Council of the Central Finsbury United Liberal and Radical Association desire to record their high appreciation of the admirable and most exemplary

manner in which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has performed his duties as representative of this constituency in the House of Commons, and, learning that he is, in the course of a few months, to visit India to preside over the Ninth Session of the Indian National Congress, request him to communicate to that body an expression of their full sympathy alike with all the efforts of that Congress for the welfare of India, and with the Resolution which has been recently passed by the House of Commons (in the adoption of which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has been so largely instrumental) in favour of holding Simultaneous Examinations in India and in Britain of candidates for all the Indian Civil Services; and further express the earnest hope that full effect will, as speedily as possible, be given by the Government to this measure of justice which has been already too long delayed.

"2. That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

"(Signed) JOSEPH WALTON,  
"Chairman of Meeting."

The Resolution has been sent to Mr. Naoroji with an accompanying letter, which says :

"Central Finsbury United Liberal and Radical  
Association,  
"20, St. John Street Road, Clerkenwell,  
London, E.C.

"DEAR SIR,—I have been directed to forward to you the enclosed copy of Resolution passed at the last meeting of the Council of this Association.

"Joining in the hope of my colleagues that the result of our efforts may be of material and lasting good, and wishing you a fruitful journey, with a speedy return to us, the constituents you so worthily represent in Parliament,

"I am, yours faithfully,

"R. M. H. GRIFFITHS,  
"Honorary Secretary.

"The Honourable DADABHAI NAOROJI, M.P.,  
"House of Commons, Westminster.  
"August 7th, 1893."

HAS THE CONGRESS JUSTIFIED ITS EXISTENCE?—THE BRIGHT  
SIDE OF BRITISH RULE.

It has been my good fortune and happy privilege of being present at the first Session in 1885 with about eighty delegates. Eight years have since passed away, and we meet to-day for the ninth time. The first question which naturally now arises is—Has the Congress justified its existence? Has it borne any



good fruit? I say that it has done both. But it is more. Its existence is also the justification and the best proof of the bright side of the British Rule. If any proof were wanted that British Rule has not been altogether without good results, the British people may well point with pride and satisfaction to the unique phenomenon of this Congress as the result of the beneficent part of their work in this country.

#### ITS JUSTIFICATION.

Dealing with its own justification of itself, we may look back to the Resolutions which were formulated at its first session and see what has been accomplished therefrom.

#### THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

The Legislative Councils have been reformed, if not even to the moderate extent and in the manner in which we desired, still some advance has been made in their constitution and mode of work. Representation, though small and very imperfect, is, even as it is, a vital step for our future progress and for the consolidation of British Power. The right of interpellation will enable us, with much advantage and relief to Government itself, to ask some explanations directly and immediately without having to wait for the circuitous process of questions in the House of Commons.

#### REPRESENTATIVE CHARACTER OF THE CONGRESS.

These small reforms in the Legislative Councils have, by their operation, indirectly brought out prominently, and undeniably proved, the truly representative character of our Congress. Most of those who have found admission as representatives are members of this Congress. In the Viceroy's Council we have the Hon. Mr. Pheroze Shah M. Mehta, the Hon. the Maharaja of Durbhanga, and the Hon. Mr. G. M. Chitnavis, and in the Provincial Councils the Hon. Messrs. W. C. Bonnerjee, Surendranath Bannerjee, Lalmohun Ghose, Maharaja Jagadindranath Roy (of Bengal), the Hon. Messrs. Rangia Naidu, Kalyansundram Iyer, Vashyam Iyngar (of Madras), Hon. Messrs. P. M. Mehta and Chimunlal H. Setalvad (of Bombay), and the Hon. Raja Rampal Singh and the Hon. Charu Chunder Mitter (of Allahabad). In the late Hon. Mir Humayun Jah, C.I.E., of Madras, we have lost one of our most distinguished representatives and staunch supporters. Hon. Mr. Vishnu Raghunath Natu, B.A., LL.B., Pleader, High Court, Bombay (Bombay Legislative Council), elected by District Local Boards of Southern Division.

#### ELECTORS' NATIONAL FEELING.

It has also proved to us the gratifying and encouraging feature that the Electors have made no differences of creed,

but have voted on the only right principle of fitness and of common Indian nationality and welfare.

THE EDUCATED ARE THE NATURAL LEADERS.

The fact is, and it stands to reason, that the thinking portion and the educated, whether in English or in their own learning, of all classes and creeds, in their common nationality as Indians, are naturally becoming the leaders of the people. Those Indians, specially, who have received a good English education have the double advantage of knowing their own countrymen as well as understanding and appreciating the merits of British men and British rule, with the result, as Sir Bartle Frere has well put it: "And now wherever I go I find the best exponents of the policy of the English Government, and the most able co-adjutors in adjusting that policy to the peculiarities of the Natives of India, among the ranks of the educated Natives."

Or as the Government of India has said: "To the minds of at least the educated among the people of India—and the number is rapidly increasing—any idea of the subversion of the British power is abhorrent."

And as Lord Dufferin, as Viceroy of India, has said in his Jubilee Speech: "We are surrounded on all sides by Native gentlemen of great attainments and intelligence, from whose hearty, loyal and honest co-operation we may hope to derive the greatest benefit."

It would be the height of unwisdom, after themselves creating this great new force, "which is rapidly increasing" as "the best exponents and co-adjutors," as "abhorring the subversion of the British power," and from whose "hearty, loyal and honest co-operation the greatest benefit can arise," that the Ruling authorities should drive this force into opposition instead of drawing it to their own side by taking it into confidence and thereby strengthening their own foundation. This Congress represents the Aristocracy of intellect and the New Political Life, created by themselves, which is at present deeply grateful to its Creator. Common sense tells you—have it with you, instead of against you.

SIMULTANEOUS EXAMINATIONS—ASSURANCE BY THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

With regard to your other most important Resolution, to hold examinations simultaneously both in India and England for all the Civil Services, it would not have become a practical fact by the Resolution of the House of Commons of 2nd June last had it not been to a large extent for your persevering but constitutional demand for it made with moderation during all the years of your existence. I am glad that in the last Budget

debate the Under-Secretary of State for India has given us this assurance :

“ It may be in the recollection of the House that, in my official capacity, it was my duty earlier in the Debates. Vol XVII., 1893, p. 1835. Session to oppose a Resolution in favour of Simultaneous Examinations, but the House of Commons thought differently from the Government. That once done, I need hardly say that there is no disposition on the part of the Secretary of State for India or myself to attempt to thwart or defeat the effect of the vote of the House of Commons on that resolution.”

We all cannot but feel thankful to the Secretary of State, Lord Kimberley, and the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. George Russell, for this satisfactory assurance.

#### CIVIL, MEDICAL AND ENGINEERING SERVICES.

I may just remark here in passing that I am not able to understand why the higher Civil and Educational Medical Services are handed over to Military Medical Officers, instead of there being a separate Civil Medical Service, dealt with by Simultaneous Examinations in India and England, as we expect to have for the other Civil Services. I also may ask why some higher Civil Engineering posts are given to Military Engineers.

#### BRITISH INTEREST IN INDIAN AFFAIRS, AND DESIRE TO DO JUSTICE.

One thing more I may say: Your efforts have succeeded not only in creating an interest in Indian affairs, but also a desire among the people of the United Kingdom to promote our true welfare. Had you achieved in the course of the past eight years only this much and no more, you would have amply justified your existence. You have proved two things—that you are moderate and reasonable in what you ask, and that the British people are willing to grant what is shown to be reasonable.

#### PAST RESOLUTIONS ADVANCING.

It is not necessary for me to enlarge upon the subject of your justification further than this, that all the Resolutions you have formulated have more or less advanced; that they are receiving attentive consideration is testified by the continuous discussions that have been going on in the press and on the platform both here and in England. In England itself many a cause, great or small, has to agitate long before making an impression. What struggles have there been in Parliament itself and out of Parliament for the Corn Laws, Slavery Laws, Factory Laws, Parliamentary Reforms, and many others, in

short, in every important Legislation? We must keep courage, persevere, and "never say die."

RETURN OF AN INDIAN TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

One more result, though not the least, of your labours, I shall briefly touch upon. The effect which your labours produced on the minds of the people of the United Kingdom has helped largely an Indian to find his way into the Great Imperial Parliament, and in confirmation of this, I need not go further than remind you of the generous action of Central Finsbury and the words of the Resolution of the Council of its United Liberal and Radical Association which I have already placed before you.

FIRST ATTEMPT BY THE HON. MR. LAL MOHAN GHOSE.

As you are all aware, though it was long my wish, my friend the Hon. Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose made the first attempt, and twice contested Deptford, with no little chances of success, but adverse circumstances proved too strong for him. We owe a debt of gratitude to Deptford, and also to Holborn, which gave me the first lift, and in my contest there, though a forlorn hope, the Liberal electors exerted their utmost, and gave me a very satisfactory poll.

FRIENDS IN UNITED KINGDOM.

My mind also turns to those good friends of India—Bright, Fawcett, Bradlaugh and others,—who pioneered for us, prepared for the coming of this result, and helped us when we were helpless.

RECEPTION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

This naturally would make you desire and lead me to say a few words about the character of the reception given to the Indian Member in the House of Commons. It was everything that could be desired. The welcome was general from all sides, as the interest in Indian affairs has been much increasing, and there is a desire to do justice to India. Mr. Gladstone on two occasions not only expressed his satisfaction to me at finding an Indian in the House, but expressed also a strong wish to see several more.

INDIAN QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

The attendance on Indian questions has been good, and what is still better, the interest in the Indian debates has been earnest, and with a desire to understand and judge rightly. India has indeed fared well this Session, notwithstanding its other unprecedentedly heavy work.

THE FRIENDS IN THE HOUSE.

Thankful as we are to many Members of all sides, I am bound to express our special thanks to the Irish, Labour and

Radical Members. I heard from Mr. Davitt, two days before my departure, "Don't forget to tell your colleagues at the Congress that every one of Ireland's Home Rule Members in Parliament is at your back in the cause of the Indian People." All our friends who had been working for us before are not only as zealous and staunch as ever, but more active and earnest. I cannot do better than to record in this place with thankfulness the names of all those Members from all parties who voted for the Resolution of 2nd June last in favour of Simultaneous Examinations in England and India for all the Indian Civil Services.

As the ballot fell to Mr. Herbert Paul, he, as you are aware, moved the Resolution, and you know also how well and ably he advocated the cause, and has ever since kept up a watchful interest in and eye on it. I may mention here that I had sent a whip or notice to every Member of the House of Commons for this debate.

2nd June 1893.

11h. 55m.

B. M.

Numb. 111.

Supply,—Order for Committee read;

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "all open Competitive Examinations heretofore held in England alone for appointments to the Civil Services of India shall henceforth be held simultaneously both in India and England, such Examinations in both Countries being identical in their nature, and all who compete being finally classified in one list according to merit:—(Mr. Paul:)—

Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—

The House divided; Ayes 76, Noes 84.

NOES.

Allan, William (Gateshead)	Byles, William Pollard
Arch, Joseph	Caine, William Sproston
Baker, John	15Cameron, Charles
Barry, E. (Cork, S.)	Clark, Dr. G. B. (Caithness-sh.)
5Barry, John (Wexford, S.)	Clough, Walter Owen
Beith, Gilbert	Crean, Eugene
Bennet, Joseph	Cremer, William Randal
Birrell, Augustine	20Crombie, John William
Bodkin, Matthias M.	Crosfield, William
10Bright, Jacob (Manchester)	Curran, Thomas B. (Kilkenny)
Burnie, Robert John Dickson	Dalziel, James Henry
Burns, John	Dodd, Cyril Joseph Settle

- |                                   |                                    |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 25 Donelan, Captain A.            | 55 M'Hugh, Patrick A. (Leitrim)    |
| Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)      | M'Laren, Walter S. B. (Cheshire)   |
| Everett, Robert Lacey             | Maden, John Henry                  |
| Farquharson, Dr. R. (Aberd'sh)    | Morton, Alpheus C. (Peterboro')    |
| Fenwick, Charles (Northumb.)      | Morton, E. J. C. (Devonport)       |
| 30 Field, William (Dublin)        | 60 O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary)      |
| Finucane, John                    | O'Keeffe, Francis Arthur           |
| Flynn, James Christopher          | Palmer, George Wm. (Reading)       |
| Frye, Fred. C. (Kensington, N.)   | Pease, Henry Fell (Yorks, N.R.)    |
| Gane, Lawrence                    | Pickersgill, Edward Hare           |
| 35 Gibney, James                  | 65 Pryce-Jones, Sir Pryce          |
| Hardie, J. Keir (West Ham, S.)    | Richardson, Joseph                 |
| Healy, Maurice (Cork)             | Robinson, Thomas (Gloucester)      |
| Hogan, James Francis              | Schwann, Charles E.                |
| Holden, Angus (Yorkshire)         | Sexton, Thomas                     |
| 40 Holden, Isaac (Keighley)       | 70 Shaw, Charles Edw. (Stafford)   |
| Holland, William H.               | Shaw, William Rawson (Halifax)     |
| Hunter, William Alexander         | Smith, Harry (Falkirk)             |
| Jordan, Jeremiah                  | Smith, Samuel (Flint)              |
| Keah, John Seymour                | Snape, Thomas                      |
| 45 Kennedy, Patrick James         | 75 Spicer, Albert                  |
| Lambert, George                   | Sullivan, Donal (Westmeath)        |
| Lawson, Sir Wilfred (Cumb'nd)     | Sullivan, T. D. (Donegal, W.)      |
| Leese, Joseph Francis             | Tanner, Charles Kearns             |
| Leng, John                        | Tuite, James                       |
| 50 Lennox, Rt. Hon. Lord W. C. G. | 80 Wallace, J. Stewart (Limehouse) |
| Luttrell, Hugh Fownes             | Wason, Eugene                      |
| McGregor, Dr. Donald              | Webb, Alfred                       |
| M'Cartan, Michael                 | Wedderburn, Sir William            |
| M'Carthy, Justin                  | Wilson, John (Lanark)              |

Tellers for the Noes, Mr. Paul and Mr. Naoroji.

#### OUR POSITION IN THE HOUSE.

##### *The Indian Parliamentary Committee.*

I may say here a few words about the progress we are making in our Parliamentary position. By the exertions of Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Caine, and other friends, an Indian Parliamentary Committee has been formed, of which Sir William Wedderburn is the Chairman and Mr. Herbert Roberts is the Secretary. The Committee is not yet fully formed. It will, we hope, be a larger General Committee of our supporters with a small Executive Committee, like other similar Committees that exist in the House for other causes. I give the names of the Members now fully enrolled in this Committee :—

Mr. Jacob Bright	Mr. H. Paul
„ Caine	Sir Joseph Pease
„ John E. Ellis	Mr. T. H. Roberts
Dr. W. A. Hunter	„ R. T. Reid
Mr. Illingworth	„ Samuel Smith
Sir Wilfred Lawson	„ C. E. Schwann
Mr. Walter B. McLaren	„ Eugene Wason
„ Swift MacNeill	„ Webb
„ Dadabhai Naoroji	Sir W. Wedderburn

Besides these, there are a large number of Members (exclusive of the 70 or 80 Irish Members already referred to) whom we count as supporters and hope to see fully enrolled Members on our Indian Parliamentary Committee before long.

GOD-SPEED AND WISHING SUCCESS TO ME.

On the eve of my departure, the Committee invited me to a private dinner at the House, and gave me a hearty God-speed and wishes of success, with an expression of their earnest desire to see justice done to India.

THANKS TO MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

Before leaving this subject of Parliament, let me offer to Mr. George Russell, the Under-Secretary of State for India, my sincere thanks for his sympathetic and cordial treatment of me in all I had to do with him, and for his personal good feeling and kindness towards me.

MUCH FUTURE WORK TO DO.

With all that has been done by the Congress, we have only begun our work. We have yet much and very much more work to do till that political, moral and material condition is attained by us which will raise us really to the level of our British fellow-citizens in prosperity and political elevation, and thereby consolidate the British power on the imperishable foundation of justice, mutual benefit and the contentment and loyalty of the people.

FUTURE HOPEFUL.

The reason why I have dwelt upon our past life is that it shows that our future is promising and hopeful, that our faith in the instinctive love of justice and fair play of the people of the United Kingdom is not misplaced, and that if we are true to ourselves and learn from the British character the self-sacrifice and perseverance which the British so largely possess, we need never despair of obtaining every justice and reform which we may reasonably claim as our birthrights as British citizens.

OUR FUTURE WORK.

What then is to be our future work? We have yet to surmount much prejudice, prepossessions, and misapprehension of our true, material and political condition. But our course is clear and straight before us. On the one hand we need not despair or quarrel with those who are against us; we should on the other hand go on steadily, perseveringly and moderately with the representation of our grievances and just rights.

## LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

In connection with the question of our Legislative Councils we have yet very much work before us. Not only are the present rules unsatisfactory even for the fulfilment of the present Act itself as interpreted in the House by Mr. Gladstone, not only have we yet to obtain the full "living representation" of the people of India in these Councils, but also much further extension of their present extremely restricted powers which render the Councils almost a mere name. By the Act of 1861 (19), without the permission of the Governor General no member can introduce any measure (which virtually amounts to exclusion) about matters affecting the public debt or public revenues or for imposing any charge on such revenue, or the discipline and maintenance of any part of Her Majesty's Military or Naval forces. This means that, as far as the spending of our money is concerned, the Legislative Council is simply as if it did not exist at all. No motion can be made by any member unless such motion be for leave to introduce some measure or have reference to some measure actually introduced thereunto. Thus there is no opportunity of calling any Department or Government to account for their acts (sec. 52). All things which shall be done by the Secretary of State shall have the same force and validity as if this Act (1861) had not been passed. Here is full arbitrary power. By the Act (1892, sec. 52) no member shall have power to submit or propose any resolution or to divide the Council in respect of any such financial discussion, or the answer to any question asked under the authority of this Act or the rules made under this Act. Such is the poor character of the extent of concession made to discuss finances or to put questions. Rules made under this Act (1892) shall not be subject to alteration or amendment at meetings for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations. Also (Act 1861, sec. 22) the Secretary of State for India can by an Act of Parliament raise any money in the United Kingdom for the Government of India, and thus pile up any amount of burden on the Indian taxpayer, without his having a word to say upon it. We are to all intents and purposes under an arbitrary rule, and are just only about at the threshold of a true Legislative Council.

## THE BUDGET DISCUSSION.

Amongst the most important work of the Councils is the Budget. What is the condition of the Budget debate both here and in England? The House of Commons devotes week after week for supply of the English Budget, when every item of expenditure is discussed or may be altered; and not only that, but the conduct of the department during the year is brought under review, which becomes an important check to any arbi-



trary, unjust or illegal action. But what is the Indian Budget debate or procedure? Here the Financial Statement is made by the Finance Minister. Then a week or so after, a few speeches are made to no practical effect, no practical motion or resolution, and the whole thing is over. Somewhat similar is the fate of the Indian Budget in the House of Commons, with the advantage of proposing any amendments and, at least, of having one amendment with practical effect of a division or vote. But there is also the important advantage of bringing in any Indian measure or motion in the course of the Session in accordance with the rules and orders of the House like any other measure or motion. I felt thankful that at the last Budget debate, though there was the usual additional agony of the last day of the Session, yet there was not also the agony of scanty attendance, thanks to the increasing interest in the House in Indian matters and to the friends of India. In both places no practical check on any waste, extravagant or unnecessary expenditure. I am not at present discussing the merits of such Councils and restriction of powers, but that such matters will require your attention and consideration, that even in this one matter of Legislative Councils you have yet to secure Mr. Gladstone's "real living representative voice of the people" being heard upon every detail of the Government of British India.

#### DIRECT INDIAN REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT.

There is, however, another important matter—I mean the direct representation from India in the Imperial Parliament. As all our Imperial questions and relations between India and the United Kingdom, all amendments of Parliamentary Acts already passed and existing, or all important Acts that may be and can be only passed hereafter in Parliament, and all our ultimate appeals can be settled in Parliament alone, it is of extreme importance that there should be some reasonable direct representation from India in the House of Commons, and the representatives may be Indians or Europeans as long as they are the choice directly of Indian Constituencies, just as you have delegates to this Congress of Indians or Europeans.

Central Finsbury has been generous to us; other constituencies may also extend to us such generous consideration and help, but it is not fair that we should be left to depend upon the generosity of English Constituencies. Under present circumstances we have a right to have direct representation. I hope the time is not very distant when we may successfully appeal to Parliament to grant us the true status of British political citizenship. I do not overlook that several matters will have to be considered, and I am not at present placing before you a cut-and-dry scheme. My only object is to draw your attention to this vital subject.

POVERTY OF INDIA.—WANT OF CALM JUDGMENT AMONG ANGLO-INDIANS.

But the greatest question before you, the question of all questions, is the Poverty of India. This will be, I am much afraid, the great future trouble both of the Indian people and of the British Rulers. It is the rock ahead. In this matter we are labouring under one great disadvantage. This poverty we attribute to the system, and not to the officials who administer that system. But, unfortunately for us, for themselves and the British people, the officials (with clear-sighted exceptions of course) make the matter personal, and do not consider impartially and with calmness of judgment this all-important subject. The present Duke of Devonshire has well put this state of the of the official mind, which is peculiarly applicable in connection with this subject. He said: "The Anglo-Indian, whatever may be his merits, and no doubt they are just, is not a person who is distinguished by an exceptionally calm judgment."

Speech, H. of  
C., 23rd August  
1883.

THE PERSONAL VIEW HE TAKES OF THE QUESTION OF POVERTY WARPS HIS JUDGMENT.

Mr. Gladstone also lately, in the Opium debate, remarked:—"That it was a sad thing to say, but unquestionably it happens not infrequently in human affairs, that those who ought from their situation to know the most and the best, yet from prejudice and prepossessions knew the least and the worst."

This has been our misfortune with officials. But there have been and are some thoughtful officials who know the truth, like Lord Lawrence and others in the past, and in the present times like the latest Finance Ministers, Lord Cromer, Sir Auckland Colvin and Sir David Barbour, who have perceived and stated the terrible truth that British India is extremely poor. Among other officials, several have testified to the sad fact, in "Confidential Reports," which Government do not publish—and this after a hundred years of the work of these officials under the present unnatural system. The system being unnatural, were the officials the very angels themselves, or as many Gladstones; they cannot prevent the evils of the system and cannot do much good. When Mr. Bayley and I moved for a Royal Commission of Inquiry, it was said that I had not produced evidence of poverty. It was not so; but it is difficult to make those see who would not see. To every Member of the House I had previously sent my papers of all necessary evidence on the annual income and absolute wants of the people of India. I do not know whether any of those who opposed us had taken the trouble to read this, and it was unfair to expect that in making out a *prima facie* case for our motion, I should reiterate, with

the unnecessary waste of some hours of the precious time of the House, all the evidence already in their hands.

RETURNS WANTED.

You remember my papers on the Poverty of India, and I have asked for Returns to bring up information to date, so that a fair comparison of the present with the past may enable the House to come to a correct judgment. I am sorry the Government of India refuses to make a return of a Note prepared so late as 1881 by Sir David Barbour, upon which the then Finance Minister (Lord Cromer) based his statement in his speech in 1882 about the extreme poverty of the mass of the people. I do not see why the Government of India should refuse. The Note, I am told, is an important document. Government for its own sake should be ready to give it. In 1880, the present Duke of Devonshire, then Secretary of State for India, readily gave me some statistics and information prepared by Mr. F. Danvers, though I did not know of their existence. This enabled me to point out some errors and to explain some points which had been misunderstood. Such information is extremely necessary, not merely for the sake of the exceedingly poor masses of the people, but for the very stability of the British power itself.

The question of the Poverty of India should be fully raised, grappled with and settled. The Government ought to deal boldly and broadly with it. Let there be a return in detail, correctly calculated, made every year of the *total* annual income of *all* British India, per head of population, and of the requirements of a labourer to live in working health, and not as a starved beast of burden. Unless such complete and accurate information is given every year in detail, it is idle and useless to make mere unfounded assertions that India is prospering.

THE AVERAGE INCOME OF THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE MUCH  
SMALLER THAN RS. 27.

It must also be remembered that Lord Cromer's annual average of not more than Rs. 27 per head is for the whole population, including the rich and all classes, and not what the great mass of the population can or do actually get. Out of the total annual income of British India all that portion must be deducted which belongs to European Planters, Manufacturers and Mineworkers, and not to the people of British India, excepting the poor wages they receive, to drudge to give away their own country's wealth, to the benefit of a foreign people. Another portion is enjoyed in and carried out from the country on a far larger share per head by many who are not the children of the soil—official and non-official. Then the upper and middle classes of the Indians themselves receive much more than their average share. The great mass of the poor people there-

fore have a much lower average than even the wretched "not more than Rs. 27" per head.

MY CALCULATION.

You know that I had calculated the average of the income as being Rs. 20 per head per annum, and when Lord Cromer's statement of Rs. 27 appeared, I requested him to give me his calculations but he refused. However, Rs. 20 or "not more than Rs. 27"—how wretched is the condition of a country of such income, after a hundred years of the most costly administration, and can such a thing last?

SIR JOHN SHORE'S PREDICTION IN 1787.

It is remarkable that there is no phase of the Indian problem which clear-headed and fair-minded Anglo-Indians have not already seen and indicated. More than a hundred years ago, in 1787, Sir John Shore wrote these remarkable, far-seeing, and prophetic words:—

"Whatever allowance we may make for the increased industry of the subjects of the State, owing to the enhanced demand for the produce of it (supposing the demand to be enhanced), there is reason to conclude that the benefits are more than counter-balanced by evils inseparable from the system of a remote foreign dominion."

PREDICTION CONFIRMED BY SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA  
IN 1886 AFTER ONE HUNDRED YEARS.

And these words of prophecy are true to the present day. I pass over what has been said by other European Officials at different times during the hundred years. I come to 1886, and here is a curious and complete response after a hundred years by the Secretary of State for India. In a despatch (26th January, 1886) to the Treasury, he makes a significant admission about the consequences of the character of the Government of the foreign rule of Britain. He says:—

"The position of India in relation to taxation and the sources of the public revenues is very peculiar, not merely from the habits of the people and their strong aversion to change which is more specially exhibited to new forms of taxation, but likewise from the character of the government, which is in the hands of foreigners, who hold all the principal administrative offices and form so large a part of the Army. The imposition of new taxation which would have to be borne wholly as a consequence of the foreign rule imposed on the country and virtually to meet additions to charges arising outside of the country would constitute a political danger, the real magnitude of which, it is to be feared, is not at all appre-

ciated by persons who have no knowledge of or concern in the Government of India, but which those responsible for that government have long regarded as of the most serious order."

What a strange confirmation, fulfilment and explanation of the very reason of the prophecy of a hundred years ago, and admission *now* that because the character of the present government is such that "*it is in the hands of the foreigners who hold all the principal administrative offices and form so large a part of the army,*" the consequence of it is a "*political danger,*" the real magnitude of which is "*of the most serious order.*"

Need I, after this declaration even, despair that some of our Anglo-Indian friends would not take a lesson from the Secretary of State and understand the evil of the system under which India is suffering? Have I ever said anything clearer or stronger than this despatch has done? It gives my whole fear of the future perils to the people of India, and political danger to the British Power, in a nutshell. This shows that some of our Anglo-Indian authorities have not been, nor are, so dull and blind as not to have seen before or see now the whole peril of the position, and the unnatural and suicidal system of administration.

FIGURES QUOTED WITHOUT UNDERSTANDING THEM, AND  
INCORRECT CALCULATIONS OF AVERAGES.

Yes, figures are quoted by some of what they call "increase of trade," "balance of trade in favour of India," "increase of industry," "hoarding of treasure in British India," etc., etc.; but our misfortune is that these people, with bias and prejudices and prepossessions, and apparently having not very clear ideas of the principles, processes, and details of commercial and banking operations and transactions, and of the perturbations of what Sir John Shore called "the evils of a distant foreign dominion," are not able to understand and read aright these facts and figures of the commercial and economic conditions of British India. These people do not realise or seem to understand that what are called "the trade returns of British India" are misleading, and are *not* the trade returns of *British India*. A good portion of both the imports and exports of both merchandise and treasure belong to the Native States and to countries beyond the borders, and not to British India. A separate return must be made of the imports and exports of the non-British territories, so that a correct account of the true trade of British India may be given by itself—and then there should be some statement of the exports which are not trade exports at all, but only political and private European remittances; and then only will it be seen how wretched this British Indian true trade is, and how fallacious and misleading the

present returns are. A return is made every year called "The Material and Moral Progress of India." But that part regarding "Material Progress" to which I am confining my observations is very imperfect and misleading. As I have already said, nothing short of a return every year of the average annual income per head of population of British India, and of the absolute necessities of life for a healthy labourer, in detailed calculation can give any correct idea of the progress or otherwise of the material condition of the people of British India. I ask for "detailed calculation" in the returns, because some of the officials seem to have rather vague notions of the Arithmetic of Averages, and though the foundation figures may be correct, they bring out results far from truth. I have pointed out this with instances in my papers. I have communicated with the Secretary of State for India, and he has communicated with the Governments in India. But I do not know how far this correction has been attended to by those who calculate averages.

#### A NATURAL SYSTEM WOULD BENEFIT BOTH COUNTRIES.

What is grievous is that the present unnatural system, as predicted by Sir John Shore, is destructive to us, with a partial benefit to the United Kingdom with our curse upon it. But were a natural system to prevail, the commercial and industrial benefits aided by perfect free trade that exists between India and the United Kingdom, will be to both countries of an extent of which we can at present form no conception. Englishmen

#### HANKER AFTER NEW MARKETS.

But here is an inexhaustible market of 221,000,000 of their own civilized fellow-citizens with some 66,000,000 more of the people of the Native States, and what a great trade would arise with such an enormous market, and the United Kingdom would not for a long time hear anything about her "unemployed." It is only some people of the United Kingdom of the higher classes that at present draw all the benefit from India. The great mass of the people do not derive that benefit from the connection with India which they ought to get with benefit to both countries. On the other hand, it is with the Native States that there is some comparatively decent trade. With British India, as compared with its population, the trade of the United Kingdom is wretched indeed after a century of a very costly administration paid for by the poverty-stricken ryots.

#### BETTER TO TRADE WITH THAN HOLD PEOPLE AS SLAVES.

Truly has Macaulay said emphatically: "To trade with civilised man is infinitely more profitable than to govern savages; that would indeed be a dotting wisdom, which, in order that India might remain a dependency, would make it a

useless and costly dependency which would keep a hundred millions (now really 221,000,000) of men from being our customers in order that they might continue to be our slaves." Should this doting wisdom continue?

MY VIEWS ON POVERTY RIDICULED AT FIRST.

It is impossible for me to explain in this address all the misapprehensions. I have already explained my views as fully as possible in my papers. These views were at first ridiculed and pooh-poohed till the highest financial authorities, the latest Finance Ministers themselves, admitted the extreme poverty of India. Lord Cromer summed up the situation in these remarkable words in 1882: "It has been calculated that the average income per head of population in India is not more than Rs. 27 a year." "In England the average income per year per head of population was £33; in France it was £23; in Turkey, which was the poorest country in Europe, it was £4 a head." Comment is unnecessary. Let us and the Government

NOT LIVE IN A FOOL'S PARADISE.

Or time may bring disasters to both when it is too late to stop them. This poverty is the greatest danger both to us and the rulers. In what shapes and varieties of forms the disease of poverty may attack the body-politic, and bring out and aggravate other evils, it is difficult to tell or foresee, but that there is danger of "most serious order," as the Secretary of State declares, nobody can deny.

BRITAIN MAY DEFY HALF A DOZEN RUSSIAS.

Were the people of British India allowed to enjoy the fruits of their own labour and resources, and were fair relations established between the British and Indian peoples, with India contented and prosperous, Britain may defy half a dozen Russias. Indians will then fight to the last man and to the last rupee for their share, as patriots and not as mercenaries. The rulers will have only to stamp their foot, and millions will spring up to defend the British power and their own hearths and homes.

THE DESIRE OF THE CONGRESS TO SUPPORT GOVERNMENT.

We, the Congress, are only desirous of supporting Government, and having this important matter of poverty grappled with and settled, we are anxious to prevent "the Political danger" of the "most serious order," declared to exist by the Secretary of State himself. We desire that the British connection should endure for a long time to come for the sake of our material and political elevation among the civilised nations of the world. It is no pleasure or profit to us to complain unnecessarily or wantonly about this poverty.

NOT ENEMIES OF BRITISH RULE.

Were we enemies of British rule, our best course would be, not to cry out, but remain silent, and let the mischief take its course till it ends in disaster as it must. But we do not want that disaster, and we therefore cry out, both for our own sake and for the sake of the rulers. *This evil of poverty must be boldly faced and remedied.*

This is the question to which we shall have to devote our best energies. We have, no doubt, to contend against many difficulties, but they must be surmounted for everybody's sake.

THE UNITED KINGDOM SHOULD SHARE IN THE EXPENDITURE OF THE EUROPEAN SERVICES.

The next subject to which I desire to draw your attention is this. We have a large costly European Army and European Civil Services. It is not to be supposed that in these remarks I accept the necessity for them. I take at present the situation as it is. I now submit to the calm consideration of the British people and Government these questions. Is all this European service entirely for the sole benefit of India? Has the United Kingdom no interest or benefit in it? Does not the greatness of, and the greatest benefit to, the United Kingdom arise from its connection with India? Should not the cost of such greatness and great benefits be shared by the United Kingdom in proportion of its means and benefit? Are not these European services especially imposed upon us on the clearly admitted and declared ground of maintaining the British power? Let us see what our rulers themselves say.

Lord Beaconsfield said :—

“ We had to decide what was the best step to counteract the efforts Russia was then making, for though war had not been declared, her movements had commenced in Central Asia, and the struggle has commenced which was to decide for ever which power should possess the great gates of India, and that the real question at issue was whether England should possess the gates of her own great Empire in India, and whether the time had not arrived when we could no longer delay that the problem should be solved and in a manner as it has been solved by Her Majesty's Government.”

Again he says :—

“ We resolved that the time has come when this country should acquire the complete command and possession of the gates of the Indian Empire. Let me at least believe that the Peers of England are still determined to uphold not only the Empire but the honour of this country.”



Can any words be more emphatic to show the vast and most vital stakes, honour and interests of the United Kingdom ?

Lord Kimberley, the Secretary of State for India, tells us :—

“ We are resolutely determined to maintain our supremacy over our Indian Empire . . . . that among other things,” he says, “ that supremacy rests upon the maintenance of our European Civil Service,” that “ we rest also upon the magnificent European Force which we maintain in that country.”

*Times*, 13th June, 1893.  
 Mait's House  
 Dinner to Lord Roberts.

This again is another emphatic declaration of the vast stakes and interest of the United Kingdom for which the European Services are maintained entirely at our expense.

I shall give one more authority only :—

See what a man like Lord Roberts, the symbol of physical force admits. He says to the London Chamber of Commerce :

“ I rejoice to learn that you recognise how indissolubly the prosperity of the United Kingdom is bound up with the retention of that vast Eastern Empire,” and again he says at Glasgow : “ That the retention of our Eastern Empire is essential to the greatness and prosperity of the United Kingdom.” Now, I

*Times*, 25 May, 1893. Dinner by the London Chamber of Commerce.

ask again, that with all such deep, vast and great interests, and the greatness and prosperity of the United Kingdom, essentially depending on the Eastern Empire, and indissolubly bound up with it, is it reasonable, is it just and fair, is it British that *all* the cost of such greatness, glory, and prosperity of the United Kingdom should be entirely, to the last farthing, thrown upon the wretched Indians, as if the only relations existing between the United Kingdom and India were not of mutual benefit, but of mere masters and slaves as Macaulay pointed out to be deprecated.

*Times*, 29th July, 1893.

THE PRESENT NAVY REQUIRED FOR THE VERY EXISTENCE OF BRITAIN.

As for the navy, the *Times* regards and it is generally admitted that the very existence of Britain itself depends upon the command of the sea. The *Times* says : “ They will never forgive the Minister or the Ministry that leaves them weaker at sea than any possible combination of France and another power.”

By a telegram I read at Aden I found Mr. Gladstone “ re-affirmed the necessity of British supremacy.”

For any war vessels that may be stationed in India for the protection of the interests of both, the expenditure may be fairly shared.

RELATIONS WITH IRELAND COMPARED.

In the Bill for the better Government of Ireland there are

provisions by which Ireland is required to pay a certain share of the Imperial expenditure according to its means, and when necessary to pay a similar share of any extraordinary expenditure, Ireland having all its resources at its own command. Now see how vastly different is our position. Not only will Ireland have all her internal services, Irish or under Irish rules, causing no foreign drain from her, but she will also, as she has always enjoyed, continue to enjoy her share in all the gain and glory of the British Empire. Irishmen can be Viceroy, Governors, and have any of the appointments in the military or civil services of the Empire, with the additional advantage of a large number of members in Parliament. The Indians, on the other hand, have not only no such share at all in the gains and glory of the British Empire, but are excluded even from the Services of their own country, with the consequences of an exhausting foreign drain, of the deplorable evils foretold by Sir John Shore and subjected to the imposition of every farthing of the expenditure. Nor has India any votes in Parliament. And we have now the additional misfortune that the British Cabinet, since the transfer to the Crown, is no longer the independent tribunal to judge between us and the Indian authorities, and this adds heavily to our difficulties for obtaining justice and redress, except so far as the sense of justice of the non-official members of the Parliament helps us.

MISAPPREHENSION ABOUT THE BURDEN OF EXPENDITURE—  
UNITED KINGDOM HAS SPENT NOTHING.

There is a strange general misapprehension among the people of the United Kingdom. They do not seem to know that they have not spent a single shilling either in the formation of the British Indian Empire or in its maintenance, and that, as far as I know, every farthing is taken from the Indians, with the only exception in my knowledge that Mr. Gladstone with his sense of justice allowed £5,000,000 towards the last Afghan War, which, without having any voice in it, cost India £21,000,000. I cannot blame the people of the United Kingdom generally for this mistake, when even well-informed papers give utterances to this most unfortunate fallacy. As for instance a paper like the *Statist*, in the extract which my friend Mr. Dinshaw gave you last year, says: "Whatever may happen, we must defend India to our last shilling and our last man," while the fact is that they have not spent even their first shilling or any shilling at all, but on the contrary derived benefits in various ways from India of millions on millions every year. Nor have the fighters in creating and maintaining the British Indian Empire been only the British soldier to "the last man". Indian soldiers have done the main work, and if India can be made prosperous and contented as it can be by

true statesmanship, the Indian soldier will be ready to fight to "the last man" to defend British power.

Britain in fact cannot send to India "to its last man." The very idea is absurd; on the contrary she can draw from India for her European purpose an inexhaustible strength.

Again, the *Statist* says:—"We are at this moment spending large sums of money in preparing against a Russian attack." Not a farthing of the British money? Every farthing of these "large sums," and which are crushing us, is "imposed" upon the people of British India. Such misleading statements are often made in the English press to our great injury.

#### APPEAL TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE AND PARLIAMENT FOR JUST RELATIONS.

I repeat, then, that we must submit to the just consideration of the British people and Parliament whether it is just and right that they should not pay a fair share, according to their stakes and means, towards all such expenditure as is incurred for the benefit of both India and the United Kingdom, such expenditure, and the respective share of each, being settled on a peace footing, any extraordinary expenditure against any foreign invasion being also further fairly shared.

#### WEAKNESS FROM EUROPEAN SERVICES.

Before closing this subject, I may just remark that while leaving necessarily the highest offices of power and control, such as Viceroys and Governors to Europeans, I regard the enormous European Services as a great political and imperial weakness, in critical political times to the British power, as well as the cause, as the present Duke of Devonshire pointed out, of the insufficiency of an efficient administration of the country; and also the main cause of the evils foretold by Sir John Shore, and admitted by the Secretary of State for India, after a hundred years, as a political danger of "a most serious order"; and of the poverty of India.

#### ADMITTED UNFAIRNESS OF SOME HOME CHARGES.

I would not say much upon the next subject, as you have had only lately the highest testimonies of two Viceroys and three Secretaries of State for India—of Lord Northbrook and Lord Ripon, and of the Duke of Argyll, Lord Cross, and Lord Kimberley. You remember the debate raised by Lord Northbrook in the House of Lords a few months ago that the Home Military Charges were unfair and unjust, and all the authorities I have named endorsed the complaint. But even the heads of the Indian authorities are so much in terror of the Treasury that Lord Kimberley said:—"The India Office has no particular desire that the question should be re-opened and discussed anew, for bitter experience has taught the department

that the re-opening of a question of this kind generally results in the imposition of additional charges." Is this one other disadvantage of the transfer to the Crown? Lord Kimberley hit the nail on the head why India was so unfairly treated (and the same may be applied to such other treatment of India by the Indian authorities themselves) when he said:—"The reasons why proposals that must throw fresh burdens on the Government of India are so frequently made in the House of Commons is that those who make them know that their own pockets will not suffer in the desire to make things agreeable and comfortable. The tax-payers of the country exercise no check upon such proposals, and the consequence is that charges are sometimes imposed upon the Government of India which that Government thinks unjust and unnecessary." It must be borne in mind that charges "imposed on the Government of India" means the suffering party is the poor tax-payer of India.

The Duke of Argyll characterises these charges as "unjust and illegal tribute to England." But mark the words of Lord Cross:—"I am certain that in the course of a few years the Indian people will force us to do them justice." This is just the feature "to be forced to do justice" which I always deplore. We desire that all necessary reforms and acts of justice should be spontaneous on the part of Britain, in good grace and in good time as gifts claiming our gratitude, and not to wait till "*forced*," with loss of grace from the giver and the loss of gratitude from the receiver.

I offer my thanks to Lord Northbrook and other Lords for that debate, though yet barren of any result. But we may fairly hope that such debate must sooner or later produce good results. It is like a good seed sown and will fructify.

#### SOME SMALLER ITEMS OF COMPLAINT.

Here are some smaller items: The cost of the India Office Building of about half a million, of the Royal Engineering College of £134,000, and of other buildings is all cast on India. The cost of the Colonial Office Building, £100,000, is paid from the British Exchequer. The India Office Establishment, etc., about £230,000 a year, is all imposed on India, while the £41000 of the Colonial Office and £168,000 for Colonial Services are paid from the British Exchequer. The Public Debt of India (excluding Railway and Productive Works) is incurred in creating and preserving the British power, but all our cries to give us at least the benefit of a British guarantee have been in vain, with the curious suicidal effort of showing to the world that the British Government itself has no confidence in the stability of its own power in India.

#### INCREASE OF BURDENS ALREADY TOO MUCH IN 1870.

In 1870 Mr. Gladstone declared India to be "too much

burdened," when the Annual Expenditure was £39,000,000; and what expression can be used now when, with an extremely poor income, the burden now is nearly 75 per cent. heavier, or Rx. 68,000,000 this year.

#### OTHER SUBJECTS OF THE CONGRESS.

Passing on to other subjects, I hope the separation of Executive and Judicial functions will receive attention as its necessity has been recognised. We have to persevere for this as well as for other parts of our programme, bearing in mind one great difficulty we have to contend with. Unfortunately the Indian authorities when they determine to do or not to do a thing under the notion of preserving prestige and strength, as if any false prestige can be a strength, disregard even Resolutions or Acts of Parliament itself, and resort to every device to carry their own point or view. We cannot expect Parliament to watch Indian affairs from day to day, and therein lies the impunity and immunity of the Indian Administration.

#### THE STATUTORY SERVICE.

I shall refer to only two instances: First, the case of the misleadingly called "The Statutory Service," and what in reality was created out of, and as a part and parcel of, the Covenanted Civil Service. I can speak with some authority, for I was the very proposer of the Memorial of the East India Association to Sir Stafford Northcote which resulted in the Clause of the Act of 1870. But the Indian authorities would not have it. They moved heaven and earth to thwart it; it is a long and a sad story for the good name of Britain, and they never rested till they made the Statute a dead letter, though it still stands on the Statute Book of the Imperial Parliament. However, I hear with pleasure, and I hope it is true, that a disposition has arisen, for which I understand Lord Kimberley is to be thanked, to redress this glaring and unfortunate wrong—unfortunate for British prestige, for British honour and British good faith, and I do hope that the Government would do this redress ungrudgingly, with good grace, completeness and generosity. This instance illustrates another unfortunate phase of the Administration.

#### CONTRAST OF THE FOREST SERVICE FOR EUROPEANS.

The Forest Department is recruited by examinations in England and by selection in India. Such selection is not based upon a Resolution or Act of Parliament, but upon the will of the authorities and consisting of Europeans. The Government of India in Resolution No. 18 F, of 29th July, 1891, have described them as untrained and uncovenanted officers, who have been unconditionally appointed in past years, and yet they are ordered in the regular Indian Forest Service; while

those Native Civilians, created and backed by an Act of Parliament, as distinctly belonging to the Covenanted Civil Service, are excluded from that Civil Service to which the Act distinctly appointed them. Can such difference of treatment of Europeans and Indians preserve British prestige for honour and justice, and would it increase or diminish the existing attachment of the Indians to British rule?

#### THE CANTONMENT ACT.

The second instance was the practical disregard of the Resolution of the House of Commons about the State regulation of vice. But in this case there were vigilant watchers like Mrs. Butler, Mr. Stansfeld, M.P., Mr. Stuart, M.P., and others, and they did not allow the Resolution to become a dead letter. In this case also I am glad to find that the Indian authorities now mean to give loyal effect to the Resolution, and well may they do so, for the sake of the British good name, fame, and prestige for morality of every kind upon which mainly British strength and influence rest.

#### THE CURRENCY QUESTION.

On the Currency Question I need not dwell much. My views are known to you. Now that the Sherman Law is repealed by the United States, we may hope to see a settled condition in time. No amount of currency jugglery or devices in this country could have any influence (except that of creating troubles in the country itself, as has happened) on the loss in the remittances to England for Home Charges, which must be paid in gold, and will fluctuate with the rise or fall of gold in the United Kingdom. As if this crushing loss was not enough for the wretched taxpayers, further burdens were laid to make things agreeable and comfortable with other people's money, as Lord Kimberley would say, of high exchange to the European officials, and the further most unwarranted payment of £138,000 to the banks, with whose transactions in profits or loss the taxpayer has no connection whatever. Some strange precedents are made in this matter to silence opposition and to support banks at the expense of the taxpayers, which will lead to serious troubles in the future. Should not the millowners and other concerns also claim compensation for the dislocation of their industry or transactions by the currency action of the Government, as Government itself admits to have caused such dislocation? Would the British Exchequer have paid any such money to the British banks? Such a thing would never have been thought of. The utmost that is done in any crisis is allowing the Bank of England to issue more notes under strong restrictions. Had the banks made profits instead of loss, would they have handed them to the taxpayer? Then it would

have been called the reward of shrewdness, foresight, enterprise, etc., etc.

The whole currency troubles from which India is suffering, and which are so peculiar to India and so deplorable to the Indian taxpayer, and from which no other silver-using country suffers, is one of the best illustrations and object lessons, and proof of the soundness of Sir John Shore's prophecy about the evil consequences of the present unnatural system of a remote foreign dominion, or as the Secretary of State called the danger of "a most serious order."

#### ADDITIONAL TAXATION.

The currency muddle will necessitate new taxation. The usual easy and unchecked resource of putting off the evil day by borrowing is already resorted to, and in the spirit of keeping things agreeable and comfortable to those who have votes in Parliament, there is danger of increase in the salt tax. I do hope that Government will have some moral courage and some mercy upon the wretched taxpayer, and reduce even the salt tax by reimposing the cotton duties. Not that by this means India will be saved a pie from the addition of burdens, but that a little better able shoulders will have to bear them, or, as Lord Salisbury once coolly put it, that as India must be bled, the lancet should be directed to the parts where there was at least sufficient blood, not to those which are already feeble from the want of it.

#### THE RELATIONS WITH NATIVE STATES.

Another subject of our future work to which I need only touch now is the relations of the Government with the Native States. There is much unnecessary irritation and dissatisfaction where there ought to be the pleasantest harmony with much greater devoted loyalty than what even now really exists. And it is also a great mistake for a foreign power not to draw the military capacity and spirit of the country to their own side by giving it a fair career and interest in their own service. Make the military races feel it to their advantage and interest to be loyal to the British rule instead of keeping them alienated from the Government.

#### RESOLUTIONS TO BE DISCUSSED WITH MODERATION.

I need not say more upon our future work, as various Resolutions of importance will be placed before you for your consideration, and I am sure you will deliberate with that moderation and fairness for which you have already distinguished yourselves and acquired just credit, and for which I offer you my hearty congratulations. You recognise, I have no doubt, that at every turn you have yet serious questions to grapple with and much work to do.

GOOD FEELING AMONG ALL MY COUNTRYMEN.

Anyone who has watched my public career must have seen that my main underlying principle and the desire of my heart is to promote, as far as I can, good fellow-feeling among all my countrymen. And I have no doubt that all the educated and thinking men and all true friends of our own country will continue to do all that lies in their power to bring about stronger and stronger friendly ties of common nationality, fellow-feeling, and due deference to each other's views and feelings amongst the whole people of our country.

Government must be firm and just in case of any unfortunate differences; as far as Government are concerned, their duty is clearly to put down with a strong hand any lawlessness or disturbance of the peace, no matter who the parties concerned may be. They can only stand, as they ought, on the only sure and right foundation of even-handed justice to all, and cannot allow anyone to take the law into his own hands; the only wise policy is to adhere to their declared policy of strict neutrality and equal protection and justice to all creeds.

CORDIAL CONFERENCES BETWEEN HINDUS AND  
MUHAMMADANS.

I was much pleased to read in the papers that cordial conferences had been held between Muhammadans and Hindus in various places to devise means to prevent any deplorable occurrences happening in the future.

CORDIAL NATIONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO  
COMMUNITIES.

Looking back to the past as my own personal experience of my life, and as far back as I know of earlier days, at least on my side of India, I feel a congratulation that all associations and societies of members of all creeds have worked together in harmony and union, without any consideration of class or creed in all matters concerning our common national public and political interests. No doubt, latterly, even in such common matters, differences of views have arisen and will arise, but such differences of views, when genuine, are healthy, just as is the case in the United Kingdom itself with its two political parties.

THE HARMONY IN THE CONGRESS.

What makes me still more gratified and look forward hopefully in the future is that our Congress has not only worked so far in the union and concord of all classes and creeds, but has taken care to provide that such harmony should continue in the



future. As early as in the Congress at Allahabad of 1888 you passed this Resolution (XIII):—

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

As I have already said, the highest wish of my heart is that all the people of India should regard and treat each other as fellow-countrymen, with fellow-feeling for the good of all.

#### INTERESTS OF ALL INDIANS ARE IDENTICAL.

We may, I am convinced, rest fully assured that whatever political or national benefit we may acquire will in one or other way benefit all classes, the benefit of each taking various forms. The interests of us all are the same. We are all in the same boat. We must sink or swim together. Government cannot but treat us all alike. It is unreasonable for us to expect from them, and unjust and unwise for them to show, any undue favour to any particular class or community. The only solid foundation for them is justice and impartiality, and the only just demand from us also can only be justice and impartiality.

#### PROSPEROUS COUNTRY IS GOOD FOR ALL

If the country is prosperous, then if one gets scope in one walk of life, another will have in another walk of life. As our Indian saying goes: “If there is water in the well it will come to the cistern.” If we have the well of prosperity we shall be able to draw each our share from it. But if the well is dry we must all go without any at all.

#### MORAL FORCE THE TRUE BASIS OF BRITISH STRENGTH IN INDIA.

A word for the basis upon which the strength of British power stands. Britain can hold India, or any one country can hold another, by moral force only. You can build up an empire by arms or ephemeral brute physical force, but you can preserve it by the eternal moral forces only. Brute force will, some time

or other, break down; righteousness alone is everlasting. Well and truly has Lord Ripon said "that the British power and influence rests upon the conviction of our good faith more than upon the valour of our soldiers or the reputation of our arms."

Mr. Gladstone says: "It is the predominance of that moral force for which I heartily pray in the deliberations of this House and the conduct of our whole public policy, for I am convinced that upon that predominance depends that which should be the first object of all our desires, as it is of all our daily official prayers, namely, that union of heart and sentiment which constitutes the truest basis of strength at home, and therefore both of strength and good fame throughout the civilised world."

Debates, 9th  
August, 1892, p.  
1892.

And here is a remarkable instance cited by Mr. Gladstone of a people of a different race becoming attached even to the much despised Turkish rule. How much more will the people of India, if contented and prosperous, become attached to the rule of such a people as the British? Referring to Lebanon, Mr. Gladstone said: "Owing to the wise efforts of Lord Dufferin and others about thirty years ago local management was established, since which the province has become contented and attached to the Turkish empire."

Lord Roberts, the apostle of British strong arm to maintain British power, and though much imbued with many of the prejudices against the progress of the Indians, as a true soldier admits without hesitation what he considers as the only solid foundation upon which British strength must for ever rest. He says: "But however efficient and well equipped the army of India may be, were it indeed absolute perfection and were its numbers considerably more than they are at present, our greatest strength must ever rest on the firm base of a united and contented India."

Truer and more statesmanlike words could not be uttered. Permit me to give one more extract. Mr. Gladstone, referring to Irish Home Rule said: "There can be no nobler spectacle than that which we look is now drawing upon us, the spectacle of a nation deliberately set on the removal of injustice, deliberately determined to break, not through terror and not in haste, but under the sole influence of duty and honour, determined to break with whatever remains still existing of an evil tradition, and determined in that way at once to pay a debt of justice and to consult by a bold, wise, and good act its own interests and its own honour."

Am I at all unreasonable in hoping that such noble statesmanship, honour, and good faith of the British people will, in fulness of time, also extend to India similar justice? I shall hope as long as I live.

**INDIANS ABOVE EVERYTHING.**

Let us always remember that we are all children of our mother country. Indeed, I have never worked in any other spirit than that I am an Indian, and owe duty to my country and all my countrymen. Whether I am a Hindu, a Muhammadan, a Parsi, a Christian, or any other creed, I am above all an Indian. Our country is India; our nationality is Indian.

**OUR DUTY.**

The question for us, especially a body like this, who have received the blessings of education, is: How are we to perform our duty to our country? Certainly no one requires to be taught that no great cause or object can ever be accomplished without great sacrifices—personal and pecuniary. We can never succeed with the British people by mere declamations. We must show that we believe in the justice of our cause by our earnestness and self-sacrifice.

**SELF-SACRIFICE—EXAMPLE OF BRITISH PEOPLE.**

I desire now to impress upon my countrymen with all the earnestness I am capable of to prepare themselves for sacrifices. We observe every day what sacrifices the British people make for attaining any object, great or small, and how persistently they stick to it; and among the lessons which we are learning from them let us learn this particular one, with the double advantage and effect of showing that Indians have public spirit and love of their country, and also proving that they are earnest in what they are asking.

**WORK WILL GO ON INCREASING—NECESSITY OF PERFECT ORGANISATION.**

Our work for the amelioration of our country and for obtaining all the rights and benefits of British citizenship will go on increasing, and it is absolutely necessary that our organisation, both here and in the United Kingdom, should be much improved and made complete. Without good organisation no important work can be successfully done; and that means much pecuniary and personal sacrifice. We must remember the Congress meets once a year. The general secretaries and the Standing Committees have to carry out the details and inform the circles of the work and resolutions of the Congress.

**THE PROVINCIAL CONFERENCES WILL DO THEIR PROVINCIAL WORK.**

But the most important and national work formulated by the Congress has to be done with watchfulness, day after day, in London by your British Committee. And, further, by your

Resolution XII. of the seventh Session, you "urged them (the Committee) to widen henceforth

"THE SPHERE OF THEIR USEFULNESS

by interesting themselves not only in those questions dealt with by the Congress, but in all Indian matters submitted to them and properly vouched for in which any principle accepted by the Congress is involved."

Fancy what this means. Why, it is another India Office! You have put all India's every-day work upon the shoulders of the Committee. It becomes exceedingly necessary for efficient and good work to have some paid person or persons to devote time to study the merits of all the representations which pour in with every mail, or by telegrams, before any action can be taken on them. It is in the United Kingdom that all our great fights are to be fought, all our national and imperial questions are to be settled, and it is to our British Committee in London that we have to look for the performance of all this responsible and arduous work, with the unfortunate feature that we have to contend against many adverse influences, prepossessions and misunderstandings. We have to make the British people unlearn a good deal.

MANY BRITISH FRIENDS AND ANGLO-INDIANS WILLING  
TO WORK.

On the other hand, we have this hopeful feature also—that we have not only many British friends, but also Anglo-Indians, who, in the true spirit of justice and of the gratitude to the country to which they owe their past career and future provision, appreciate the duty they owe to India, and are desirous to help us, and to preserve the British Empire by the only certain means of justice, the honour and righteousness of the British people, and by the contentment and prosperity of India.

THE FRIENDS WHO ARE NOW WORKING.

You know well how much we owe to the present English members of our Committee, Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Hume, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Adam, Mr. Schwann, M.P., and Mr. McLaren, M.P. If we want all such help at the fountain head of power and without which we cannot do much good, we must take care to supply them always, promptly and accurately, all necessary sinews of war.

"INDIA."

Then there is the journal "INDIA," without which our work will not be half as efficient as with it. It is an absolute necessity as an instrument and part of the organisation. Every possible effort must be made to give it the widest circulation

possible both here and in the United Kingdom. I wish it could be made weekly instead of monthly.

With proper effort ten thousand copies should be easily disposed of here as a beginning, and we *must* do this.

MY THANKS.

This is the first opportunity I have of meeting you after the Congress of 1886, over which I had the honour to preside at Calcutta. Let me now thank you personally for your constant remembrance of me, for your unceasing encouragement, and for your two most kind and gratifying Resolutions passed at the last two Sessions as representatives of every class and creed, and almost wholly consisting of Hindu and Muhammadan delegates, and each delegate being elected by and representative of the whole mixed community of the place he represents, on the basis of common interest and nationality. I must beg your indulgence to record those Resolutions in this address. The first Resolution (XIV) passed by the Seventh Congress in 1891, while I was a candidate, is this:—

“Resolved, that this Congress hereby puts formally on record its high esteem 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, and it expresses its unshaken confidence in him, and its earnest hope that he may prove successful at the coming election, 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.”

I need not say how right earnestly Central Finsbury listened to your appeal and fulfilled your hope, for which we owe them our most unstinted thanks, and to all those who helped in or out of Central Finsbury.

I may here once more express my hearty thanks to many ladies and gentlemen who worked hard for my election. After I was elected, you passed the second Resolution (XVI.) in the last Session. I may point here to the significant incident that in that Congress there was, I think, only one Parsi delegate, and he even not the delegate of Parsis, but of all classes of the people. This Resolution was:

“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 esteem 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."

Let me also now take this opportunity, on Indian soil, to tender my most heartfelt thanks for the telegrams, letters, and addresses of congratulation which I received from all parts and classes of India—literally I may say from the prince to the peasant, from members of all creeds, from Hindus, Muhammadans, Christians, Parsis, from Ceylon, from the High Priest of Buddhists, and Buddhists, and other residents from the Cape, British Guiana, Australia, and in short from every part of the British Empire where there were Indian residents. Ladies and Gentlemen, put aside my personality and let me join in your rejoicings as an Indian in the great event in Indian annals of an Indian finding his way in the Imperial Parliament.

And lastly, beginning from the distant Western Gate of India, where the Indian residents of Aden, of all creeds, gave me a most hearty reception; then the great portal of India, the dear old City of my birth, gave me a most magnificent welcome with its never-ceasing kindness towards me, Poona doing her best to vie with Bombay, and through Punjab so splendidly; and this series of welcome now ending in your extraordinary one which I am utterly unable to describe. Is there any reward more grand and more gratifying than the esteem, the joy with my joy, the sorrow with my sorrow, and above all the "unshaken confidence" of my fellow-countrymen and countrywomen of our grand, old, beloved country.

#### CONGRATULATIONS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

I may refer to an incident which, as it is satisfactory, is also very significant of the real desire of the British people to do justice to India. The congratulations on my election from all parts of the United Kingdom also were as hearty and warm as we could desire, and expressing satisfaction that an Indian would be able to voice the wants and aspirations of India in the House of Commons.

I can assure the Congress that, as I hope and wish, if you will pay an early visit to the United Kingdom and hold a Session there, you will obtain a kind and warm reception from its peoples. And you will, by such direct and personal appeal to the British Nation, accomplish a vast amount of good.

#### OUR FATE AND OUR FUTURE.

Our fate and our future are in our own hands. If we are true to ourselves and to our country and make all the necessary sacrifices for our elevation and amelioration, I, for one have not the shadow of a doubt that in dealing with such justice-loving,

fair-minded people as the British, we may rest fully assured that we shall not work in vain. It is this conviction which has supported me against all difficulties. I have never faltered in my faith in the British character and have always believed that the time will come when the sentiments of the British Nation and our Gracious Sovereign proclaimed to us in our Great Charter of the Proclamation of 1858 will be realised, viz., "In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our best reward." And let us join in the prayer that followed this hopeful declaration of our Sovereign: "May the God of all power grant to us and to those in authority under us strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

My last prayer and exhortation to the Congress and to all my countrymen is—Go on united and earnest, in concord and harmony, with moderation, with loyalty to the British rule and patriotism towards our country, and success is sure to attend our efforts for our just demands, and the day I hope is not distant when the World will see the noblest spectacle of a great nation like the British holding out the hand of true fellow-citizenship and of justice to the vast mass of humanity of this great and ancient land of India with benefits and blessings to the human race.

## SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE NINTH SESSION OF THE INDIAN  
NATIONAL CONGRESS, HELD AT LAHORE, ON THE  
27TH, 28TH, 29TH, AND 30TH DECEMBER, 1893.

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### RESOLUTION I.

*Resolved*—That this Congress, while tendering its most sincere thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy for the liberal spirit in which he has endeavoured to give effect to the Indian Councils Act of 1892, regrets to have to put on record the facts that, alike in the Rules of the Government of India and in the practice of most of the Local Governments, notably in that of the Government of Bombay, material alterations are necessary if real effect is to be given to the spirit of this Act, and that the Punjab, one of the most important Provinces in the Empire, is still denied the right to be represented, either in the Viceroy's or in any Local Council.

### RESOLUTION II.

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

### RESOLUTION III.

*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 rupees;

(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 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 ;

(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 a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.

#### RESOLUTION IV.

*Resolved*—That this Congress is of opinion that the time has arrived when, in the interest of public medical education, and the advancement of medical science and of scientific work in this country, as also in the cause of economic administration the civil medical service of India should be reconstructed on the basis of such services in other civilised countries, wholly detached from, and independent of, the Military Service, so as to give full effect to the educational policy of Government, which is to encourage education for its own sake in every branch, and to raise a scientific medical profession in India by throwing open fields for medical and scientific work to the best talent available and indigenous talent in particular.

RESOLUTION V.

*Resolved*—That this Congress desires to thank the British House of Commons for their just and wise vote in regard to Simultaneous Examinations in England and in India, and most earnestly prays that august body to insist upon their orders being given prompt effect to by the Secretary of State for India and the Government of India.

RESOLUTION VI.

*Resolved*—That this Congress having now for many successive years vainly appealed to the Government of India to remove one of the gravest stigmas on British rule in India, one fraught with incalculable oppression to all classes of the community throughout the country, now hopeless of any other redress, humbly entreats the Secretary of State for India to order the immediate appointment, in each province, of a Committee (one half, at least, of whose members shall be non-official natives of India, qualified by education and experience in the workings of the various courts to deal with the question) to prepare each a scheme for the complete separation of all Judicial and Executive functions in their own provinces with as little additional cost to the State as may be practicable, and the submission of such schemes, with the comments of the several Indian Governments thereon, to himself, at some early date which he may be pleased to fix.

RESOLUTION VII.

*Resolved*—That this Congress having considered the report of the Parliamentary members of the India Office Committee on the subject of the Rules, Orders, and Practices in Indian Cantonments with regard to prostitution and contagious diseases, hereby endorses their conclusions :

1. That the system and incidental practices described in that report and the statutory rules, so far as they authorised or permitted the same, did not accord with the plain meaning and intention of the Resolution of the House of Commons of June 5th, 1888 ; and
2. That the only effective method of preventing these systematic malpractices is by express legislation.

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

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

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

## RESOLUTION IX.

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

## RESOLUTION X.

*Resolved*—That this Congress, having on many previous occasions urged on the Government of India the necessity for giving (as was promised by the British Government over thirty years ago) fixity and permanence to the Land Revenue demand wherever this has not already been conceded, desires now to reiterate emphatically this recommendation and to call attention to the profound alarm which has been created by the action of Government in interfering with the existing permanent settlement in Bengal and Behar (in the matter of the survey and other cesses) and with the terms of the sanads of the permanently settled estates in Madras, and deeming such tampering with solemn public pledges, no matter under what pretences, a national calamity, hereby pledges itself to oppose in all possible legitimate ways any and all such reactionary attacks on permanent settlements and their holders.

## RESOLUTION XI.

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

## RESOLUTION XII.

*Resolved*—That this Congress is emphatically of opinion that it is inexpedient, in the present state of education in the country, that Government grants for 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 those branches, *i.e.*, the technical) of appointing a mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country; and, looking to the great poverty of many classes of the community, strongly recommends that in all

classes of Government or Municipal Schools and Colleges all fees shall be reduced in proportion to the means of parents and relations, and remitted wholly in the case of very poor students; and, focussing the universal opinion of the Indian community that undue stress is being laid at present upon mere mental development, this Congress earnestly recommends that henceforth in all grades and classes of schools and colleges at least equal attention should be devoted to the physical development of the students.

#### RESOLUTION XIII.

*Resolved*—That this Congress regrets to notice that the Secretary of State for India in his recent despatch to the Government of India has enunciated the doctrine that occasions may arise in which it may be the duty of the Executive Government to criticise Judicial errors, the Congress being of opinion that such criticism is calculated to shake the confidence of the people in the independence of Judicial tribunals.

#### RESOLUTION XIV.

*Resolved*—That this Congress places on record its deep regret at the recent hasty enactment of the Government of India regarding the closing of the Indian mints against the private coinage of silver, whereby the people of this country have been subjected to a further indirect taxation of a burdensome and indefinite character, and some of the most important trades and industries, notably the Mill industry, have been seriously disorganised and injured.

#### RESOLUTION XV.

*Resolved*—That this Congress records its emphatic protest against the Exchange Compensation Allowance granted to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government, involving an annual expenditure of over a crore of rupees, and to the banks, to the extent of £138,000, at a time when the financial situation of the country is far from satisfactory, and the country is threatened with additional taxation.

#### RESOLUTION XVI.

*Resolved*—That the Government of India be moved, once for all, to put a stop by new and express legislation (the existing provisions of the Penal Code having proved inoperative) to the existing oppressive system of forced labour (known as *Begar*) and forced contributions of supplies (known as *Rasad*) which despite numerous resolutions of the Government of India, are still prevalent throughout India.

#### RESOLUTION XVII.

*Resolved*—That this Congress tenders its most sincere thanks to Lord Northbrook for his powerful advocacy of India's claim

to have her burden of Home Charges reduced, and re-entreats the House of Commons to appoint at an early date a Committee of their Honourable House to arrive at an equitable settlement of the matter.

RESOLUTION XVIII.

*Resolved*—That in the opinion of this Congress, the time now come to raise the status of the Chief Court in the Province to that of a Chartered High Court in the interest of the administration of justice in this Province.

RESOLUTION XIX.

*Resolved*—That this Congress tenders its best thanks to the Electors of Central Finsbury, both for their kindly sympathy in its objects, and for having so generously accorded to it the valuable services of their honoured member Mr. Naoroji, who is destined, the Congress hopes, long to represent both Central Finsbury and India in the British House of Parliament.

RESOLUTION XX.

*Resolved*—That the sum of Rs.60,000 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and the cost of the Congress publication, "INDIA"; and that the several circles do contribute, as arranged, either now or hereafter in Committee, for the year 1894.

RESOLUTION XXI.

*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.

RESOLUTION XXII.

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