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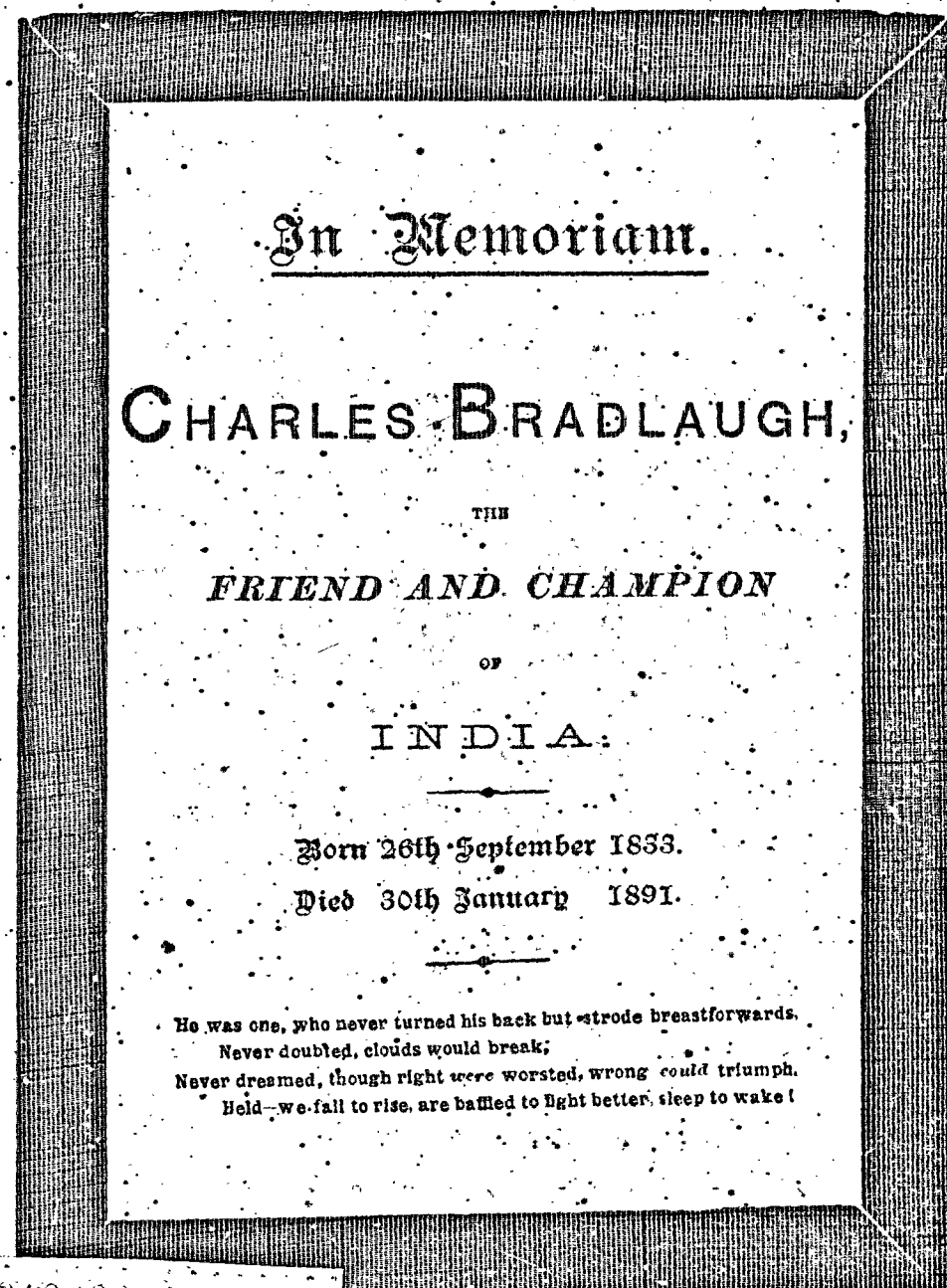
REPORT
OF
THE SIXTH
INDIAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT
CALCUTTA,

On the 26th, 27th, 29th & 30th December,

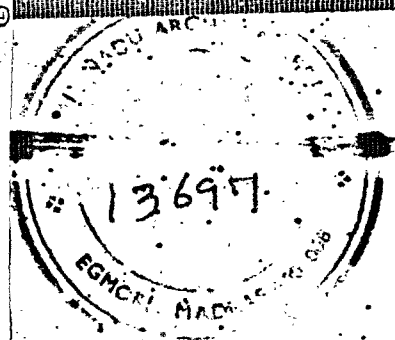
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ம. பரமசிவன் உதவி இராஜகவுடர்
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CONTENTS

THE SIXTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (an introductory article) ...		Pages. 1-10
SUMMARY OF THE RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SIXTH CONGRESS ...		1-4
DETAILED REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONGRESS ...		5-92
First Day's Proceedings ...		5-19
Speech of Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose (Chairman of the Reception Committee) ...		5-9
Election of President ...		9, 10
Speech of Sir Romesh Chander Mitter (proposing Mr. Pherozshah Mehta as President) ...		9
" Nawab Shamshoodowlah ...		id.
" Mr. Ananda Charlu ...		id.
" Nawab Goulam Rubbani ...		id.
" Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose (declaring Mr. Pherozshah Mehta duly-elected) ...		10
INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta ...		10-17
Appointment of a Subjects Committee ...		17-19
Assembly adjourned ...		19
Second Day's Proceedings ...		20-42
Remarks of President, in regard to conduct of business ...		20
Speech of Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose (proposing 1st Resolution in regard to Reform and Expansion of Legislative Councils) ...		20-22
" Mr. Ananda Charlu ...		22, 23
" Mr. C. V. Niyada ...		23, 24
" Mr. Daji Abaji Khare ...		24
" Pandit Madan Mohun Malaviya ...		24-27
" Pandit Bishen Narayan Dhar ...		27, 28
" Lala Hukum Chand ...		28, 29
" Mr. V. Krishna Swami Iyer ...		29, 30
" Mr. Sharfuddin ...		30, 31
" Mr. Nasir Ali Shohrat ...		31
" Mr. Bipradas Bannerjee ...		id.
" President ...		32
FIRST RESOLUTION, in regard to expansion and Reform of Legislative Councils—Carried unanimously ...		32
Speech of Mr. Kali Charan Banerjee (proposing 2nd Resolution confirming several Resolutions passed at previous Congresses) ...		32, 33
" Mr. Vishwanath Iyer ...		33, 34
" Mr. G. S. Khaparde ...		34
" Lala Dharamdas ...		34, 35
" Munshi Saduruddeen ...		35, 36
" Babu Bishunpada Chatterjee ...		36
SECOND RESOLUTION confirming Resolutions passed at previous Congresses, in regard to Judicial and Police Reforms, Military Colleges, Volunteering, Income-Tax, Education, Reduction of Expenditure, Simultaneous Examinations in England and India, and the Modification of the Arms Act Rules—Carried unanimously ...		37
Speech of Mr. W. S. Caine (proposing 3rd Resolution in regard to modifications of the rules and practice of the House of Commons, where Indian Budgets are concerned) ...		37, 38
" Mr. R. D. Mehta ...		38, 39
" Mr. George Yule ...		39
THIRD RESOLUTION praying for a modification of the rules and practice of the House of Commons in regard to Indian Budgets—Carried by acclamation id.		
Speech of Mr. D. E. Watcha (proposing 4th Resolution, as to necessity of further Reform in the Akbari Administration) ...		39-41
" Mr. Kashinath Nathu ...		41

CONTENTS.

iv

	Pages.
Speech of Lala Murlidhar	41, 42
" Guru Pratap Singh	42, 43
" Mr. W. S. Caine	43
FOURTH RESOLUTION, respecting the necessity for a further Reform in the Abkari Administration—Carried unanimously	id.
Assembly adjourned	id.
Third Day's Proceedings	44—71
Speech of Mr. Pringle Kennedy (proposing 4th Resolution advocating the reduction of the salt duty)	44—46
" Mr. Dinshaw Eduljee Watcha	46—49
" Mr. G. K. Gokhale	49—51
" Mr. Jamiatram Nanabhai Haridas	51
" Mr. A. Nandy	51, 52
" Lalla Murlidhar	52, 53
" Mr. Deva Prasad Saryadhikari (proposing amendment)	53—55
" Mr. R. D. Mehta	55
" Mohini Mohan Chatterjee	55—57
" Jambulingam Mudliar	57, 58
" (Amendment rejected)	58
FIFTH RESOLUTION, recommending the reduction of the salt duty—Carried unanimously	id.
Speech of Mr. R. N. Madholkar (proposing 6th Resolution praying for the extension of the Permanent Settlement)	58, 16
" Mr. Ratna Sabapathi Pilai	61, 62
" Mr. Boikantha Nath Sen	62, 63
" Babu Janaki Nath Bose	63, 64
" Lalla Jaiseram	64, 65
" Mr. Deorao Vinayek	65, 66
" Mr. R. P. Karandikar	66, 67
" Bawa Narayan Singh	67, 68
" Mr. Hamid Ali Khan	68
" Hafiz Abdur Raheem	68, 69
SIXTH RESOLUTION, praying for the extension of the Permanent Settlement—Carried unanimously	69
Speech of Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose (proposing 7th Resolution, protesting against certain orders of Government)	69, 70
" Mr. G. Yule	70, 71
SEVENTH RESOLUTION, protesting against orders prohibiting Government servants attending the Congress even as spectators—Carried by acclamation	71
Fourth Day's Proceedings	72—92
Speech of Pandit Ajoodhia Nath (proposing the 8th Resolution thanking Mr. Bradlaugh, the British Committee, and others)	72—74
" Mr. Hamid Ali	74
" Babu Narendronath Sen	74, 75
" Mr. I. K. Cama	75, 76
" Mr. Beglar	76
" Mr. Hemchandra Rai	77
" Moulvi Rukunuddin	77, 78
EIGHTH RESOLUTION, thanking Mr. Bradlaugh, the British Committee and others for services rendered to the Congress and the country during 1890—Carried by acclamation	78
Speech of Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose (proposing 9th Resolution, thanking gentlemen who had lent houses and grounds for this Congress)	id.
" Babu Naffer Chander Pal Chowdhuree	id.
NINTH RESOLUTION, thanking house proprietors who lent houses and grounds for the erection of the pavilion or the reception of Delegates—Carried by acclamation	79
Speech of Mr. A. O. Hume (proposing 10th Resolution)	id.
TENTH RESOLUTION, the 7th Indian National Congress to assemble on 26th December 1891, at Nagpore or Madras—Carried by acclamation	id.

CONTENTS.

v

Pages.

Speech of Babu Narendronath Sen (proposing that provisional arrangements be made to hold a Congress of not less than one hundred delegates in London in 1892)	79, 80
" Babu Saligram Singh	80, 81
" Mr. Venaraghava Chariar	81
" Mr. Deorao Vinayek	81, 82
" Mr. Dhondo Shamrao Garud	82
" Mr. Hardeoram Nanabhai Haridas	82, 83
" Mr. Luchman Row Govind	83
" Sodhi Pratab Singh	83, 84
" Pandit Shayam Narayan Masaldan	84, 85
" Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya	85, 86
" Mr. Pran Nath Saraswati	86
" Rajkumar Nilkrishna Bahadur	id.
" Rai Kakumal	id.
" Mr. Sharfuddin	86, 87
" W. S. Caine	87, 88
ELEVENTH RESOLUTION: Provisional arrangements to be made for holding a Congress in London in 1892—Carried unanimously	88
Speech of Mr. D. E. Watcha (proposing 12th Resolution respecting additions to the Permanent Fund of the Congress)	id.
" The Reverend Ramchander Bose	88, 89
TWELFTH RESOLUTION. Adding twenty thousand rupees to the Permanent Fund of the Congress—Carried unanimously	89
Speech of Mr. R. N. Madholkar (proposing 13th Resolution)	90
" Mr. A. Chowdhree	id.
THIRTEENTH RESOLUTION. Allotting Rs. 46,000, for the expenses of the British Committee and Office during 1891—Carried unanimously	id.
Speech of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (proposing 14th Resolution)	id.
FOURTEENTH RESOLUTION. Re-appointing the General and Joint-General Secretaries—Carried by acclamation	id.
Speech of Pandit Ajoodhia Nath (proposing 15th Resolution)	91
FIFTEENTH RESOLUTION. Appointing delegates to England—Carried by acclamation	id.
Speech of Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose	id.
" Mrs. Kadumbini Gangooli (proposing vote of thanks to the President)	id.
VOTE OF THANKS TO PRESIDENT—Carried by acclamation	id.
President's Concluding Address	91, 92

APPENDIX I.—LIST OF DELEGATES WHO ATTENDED THE SIXTH CONGRESS 93

APPENDIX II.—SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE 1st, 2ND, 3RD, 4TH AND 5TH CONGRESSES 119—128



THE SIXTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

"Of course we have to submit resignedly to this ruinous, this unprincipled trans-frontier policy of the Government until we succeed in awakening the conscience of our British fellow-subjects. We are British subjects now, of our own free choice; we have thrown in our lot with England for better and for worse, and it is this which enhances England's sin in permitting the continuance of this hateful policy. Will our British brethren ever awake?"

(Speech of Mr. Dinshaw E. Wacha.)*



HE SIXTH CONGRESS assembled, for its first sitting, early in the afternoon of the 26th December, 1890. It met in a vast hall or pavilion, 250 feet in length by 150 in breadth, erected for the purpose in the Tivoli Gardens, a place of public resort at other times (most kindly lent by the Proprietors), a sort of minor Vauxhall, where switchback railways, balloons, swimming bath and other attractions have, from time to time, in the past, rendered it well known to the public.

The huge hall, with its multitudinous platforms rising terrace above terrace, elaborated throughout—ceilings, pillars and curtains—with the national colours, Red, Green and White, presented, perhaps, a more striking appearance than any of its predecessors. It nominally provided seats for only some 5,200 persons, but at one time during the first day accommodated very nearly 8,000. Yet, despite its great size, as in the case of all previous Congress Halls, its acoustic properties were such, that every word spoken by the vast majority of the speakers (who all spoke from a raised tribune at the back of the President's platform) was distinctly heard even in the furthest corners. A new and pleasing feature was the approach; a covered passage 300 feet long, 50 wide and 30 high, open at the sides (though shaded here by rows of huge and gaily variegated crotons), leading straight from the outer gate to the centre of the hall. It was divided by the posts, or pillars, that supported the embroidered crimson cloth roofing, into three aisles, the central one for passers to and fro, and the lateral ones furnished luxuriously to serve as waiting and drawing rooms.

The Chair was taken at 2 p.m. by Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose, an eminent Calcutta Barrister, whose duty it was, as Chairman of the Reception Committee, to welcome all the delegates and call upon them to elect a President. It is needless, for those who know Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose, to say that both these duties were gracefully and effectively performed. The whole speech should be read, but one important passage, lengthy though it be, may be appropriately reproduced here †:—

"Our proceedings have been subjected to much and varied criticism, and for my part I am glad that such should have been the case. All our proceedings, our discussions,

* Vide Detailed Report, p. 48.

† Detailed Report, pp. 6, 7.

and our resolutions are public property, and it is only right that they should be subjected to public scrutiny, for I believe we have everything to gain and nothing to lose from honest criticism (*cheers*), however unfavourable such criticism may be. That, besides legitimate criticism, the proceedings of such a body as ours should be subjected to unworthy attacks and our aims misrepresented and distorted is a matter which, however painful to us all, ought not to discourage and dishearten us. For what great cause in the history of this world has ever triumphed without, in the first instance, having met with unworthy and even rancorous opposition? Our opponents have not even hesitated to accuse the promoters of this movement of disloyalty to the British Government. If I could bring myself to believe that the accusation, however unfounded, had been honestly preferred by those who are responsible for starting it, I should have felt myself called upon to deal with it seriously; but the charge has always seemed to me so preposterous and so dishonest on the part, at any rate, of a large portion of our detractors, that I think every speaker in this hall ought to treat it with silent contempt.

"There is, I believe, no one present here, who, in his heart of hearts, does not feel that at no period in the history of India were life and property more secure than they are at the present day. If English rule in India had done nothing more than that, we should, even then, have had ample reason to be grateful to England, for, as you know, the establishment of peace and the maintenance of law and order are the first requisites for the happiness of a people. To my mind, our allegiance to the British Government is based, not only on the feeling of gratitude which the benefits conferred upon us must evoke in our hearts, but also upon the highest grounds of expediency; for every sane man in India, who is capable of thinking, must feel that any change of Government at the present time would be the greatest calamity that could befall the people of this country. (*Cheers*). That we should have been better pleased if we could have governed ourselves, as well as we are governed by England, is a sentiment which we need not in the least shrink from avowing, because not only is such a feeling natural, but it is perfectly consistent to my mind with true loyalty to England. (*Hear, hear*). The National Congress movement was fittingly described last year by my friend Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, while welcoming the Delegates in Bombay, as 'the grandest outcome of British Rule in India.' To that description I will venture to add that it is also the natural and, indeed, the inevitable outcome of the generous policy pursued by England in this country. The fact which we all gratefully acknowledge, namely, that India is now better governed than before, or the fact that no other Asiatic country is, at the present time, better governed, furnishes no argument whatever against the demands made by us with the sole object of improving the administration of the country. The English people have no right to complain if we refuse to judge of their acts and professions as rulers of this country, by any standard lower than what they themselves have taught us to respect and admire. If England has been instrumental in teaching an Asiatic people a higher code of political morality she can scarcely complain, with any show of reason, if we expect her strictly to adhere to that code in the government of her own dependencies, and to carry out the professions and declarations which have from time to time been made in her name and on her behalf. The great demonstration of to-day, I think, we are all agreed, implies nothing more than this, *viz.*, that much as England has done for us, she has yet a great deal more to do, or, in other words, that the administration of India is not perfect, but that there is still considerable room for its improvement and reform. This, I believe, to be the keystone of this great national movement. It is not a movement intended in the slightest degree to embarrass or hamper the Government of the country, but to assist that Government by every means in the great and difficult task in which it is engaged. Viewed in this light—and I am sure you all agree with me that it is our most anxious desire that it should be viewed in no other light—I fail to understand how it is that we have not yet met with a sympathetic recognition at the hands of those who are responsible for the good government of this country. It is impossible in any country to carry on the work of government for any length of time, without consulting the wishes and wants of those who are governed, and it is obvious that when the government of a country is practically in the hands of a foreign people, it is all the more necessary for that Government, and, indeed, it is its duty, if it is to exist for any good purpose, to ascertain the wishes and even the aspirations of those who are governed. If such is the duty cast upon those who are called upon to govern, it is equally the duty of the people themselves to acquaint the Government by all constitutional means with their own wishes and their requirements. We are not so unreasonable as to expect that all our suggestions should be at once carried out, or that all our demands should be at once granted without due consideration. All that we desire is that our suggestions should be honestly and sympathetically considered, and that if difficulties, which we ourselves may fail to perceive, should deter the Government of the day from acceding to any of our wishes, we may be taken into the confidence of the Government, so to speak, in order that we may be in a position to help it, if we can, in grappling with those difficulties. (*Hear, hear*). This, I believe, is the true position which the National Congress in India desires to occupy.

"An idea is said to prevail among certain officials in the vicinity of Whitehall as well as in this country, to the effect that the supremacy of England in India is mainly based upon the disunion of the different races existing in this country, and that any attempt to unite them, even to a limited extent, upon a common political platform, is fraught with ultimate danger to the safety of the British Empire. I cannot for a moment believe that any Englishman, having any claim to statesmanship, can seriously entertain such an idea, based as it is altogether upon a superficial, and, I venture to think, an erroneous conception of fact.

"To divide and rule is a wicked policy as unworthy of the great English people as it is practically impossible after what they have themselves done for us; because you can no more now keep the different races of this country disunited in feelings and sentiments, for any length of time, than you can abolish your schools and colleges, your railroads and telegraphs.

"But then it is asked: 'Whom does the National Congress represent? What right has it to speak on behalf of the masses of the people who know nothing about the Congress?' My answer is, the National Congress represents the thinking portion of the people of India. (*Cheers*). The Delegates present here to-day are the chosen representatives of that section of the Indian people who have learnt to think and whose number is daily increasing with marvellous rapidity. It is perfectly correct that the ignorant masses whom we seek to represent are still unable, in many provinces, to take an active interest in the great social and administrative problems which are now engaging the attention of the educated classes; but history teaches that, in all countries and in all ages, it is the thinking classes who lead the unthinking, and in the present state of our own society we are bound, not only to think for ourselves, but also to think for those who are still too ignorant to exercise that important function. (*Cheers*). If by reason of the peculiar intellectual condition of the people of India whom we are seeking to represent, not only some of those who have actually chosen us as their delegates, but also many others are still incapable of exercising any choice in the matter, I am sure we are not insensible of the grave responsibilities which we are incurring in speaking and acting on their behalf. Our duty to our less favoured countrymen requires that we should not shrink from incurring those responsibilities. I believe we are all agreed that it is our duty to educate our ignorant countrymen not only to think, but to think rightly, and to instil into their minds the fundamental doctrine that the happiness of a people primarily depends upon the maintenance of law and order in the country, and that if they have any grievances the only way to obtain redress is to agitate by peaceable and lawful methods. In trying to discharge so obvious a duty we can well afford to be ridiculed as self-styled delegates or as belonging only to 'a microscopic minority.' (*Cheers and laughter*).

"Gentlemen, I feel I ought not to trespass much longer on your patience, but there is one other accusation to which I cannot help alluding, although it has been satisfactorily answered at more than one of our previous gatherings—I refer to the charge, so often repeated, that the National Congress as a body is opposed to social reforms. Such an accusation is based upon an entire misapprehension of the scope and functions of the National Congress, whose object, as I have already explained, is to point out to the Government, what we conceive to be the defects in the administration of the country, and to ask only for such reforms as we are ourselves absolutely incapable of introducing without the aid of the Government, and in regard to the necessity of which we are all practically of one mind. Now, the many questions of social reform which are at present engaging the attention of the educated classes throughout India are questions, the solution of which is entirely in the hands of the people themselves. It is open to all of us to live as we like, or to eschew or alter at any time any custom which we may consider inconvenient or mischievous. The remedy being entirely in our own hands we can apply it whenever we choose, and on the majority of points we are, unfortunately, by no means all of one mind yet. Besides, it should be borne in mind that the Congress is composed of diverse communities, each having its own religion and its peculiar usages, and it would be impossible for such a body to discuss the social customs of a particular community, based as they often are upon religious ideas, regarding which the members of another community professing a different religion have no adequate knowledge or information. (*Hear hear*). But it by no means follows that the promoters of the National Congress are not as keenly alive to the importance of social as they are to that of political reforms. The same educational agency which has given life to the National Congress has already helped to bring about enormous social changes throughout India. Half a century is but a day in the life of a nation, and any one who compares the state of Indian society of the present day with what was the case even 30 years ago, cannot but be surprised at the rapidity with which we have moved in social matters during that period. If there are some who think we ought to have moved still faster, they, in my opinion, ignore altogether the enormous difficulties against which we have to contend in this matter. There are movements of a very important character already on foot amongst the different communities of our people, to promote the cause of social and religious reform, and in my humble

judgment we should be travelling out of our legitimate province if we were to deal with such questions in this assembly. Those who know my own views will readily believe that I yield to none in the country in attaching importance to the question of social reform; but at the same time I cannot but feel that it is our duty, however keenly we may feel on the subject, to remember that any precipitate or inconsiderate action, before the creation of a healthy public opinion in a community, is often apt to retard progress and to defeat the very object we have in view. (*Hear, hear*). We ought to be thankful to our English friends for any suggestions they may be disposed to make to us on the question of social reform, so long as those suggestions are made in a sympathetic spirit; but at the same time we must ask them to bear in mind that it is impossible for an outsider or foreigner to realize adequately the difficulties which the different Indian communities have to contend against in matters of social reform. Our English friends, whose kind sympathy and advice our social reformers are always delighted to have, may also be asked to remember that the decision of the question as to what reforms should or should not be introduced must, from the very nature of the case, rest with the Indian people themselves, and that therefore the true remedy lies in educating the people and creating a healthy public opinion on questions of social reform. To my mind, this gathering itself must have, and indeed already has had, the effect, directly and indirectly, of giving a great impetus to the cause of social reform. It is true that there are social problems connected with our domestic life of so important and pressing a character that, in my opinion, the sooner we direct our attention to them, and deal vigorously with them, the better for our country; but all I say is, that those are questions with which the Congress, composed as it is of different communities, ought not at present to have any direct concern. (*Cheers*.)

Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, a well-known Judge of the High Court, (from which he has only recently retired, and of which he at one time acted as Chief Justice,) and now a Member of the Viceroy's Council, then proposed Mr. Pherozshah Mehta (a Parsi) of Bombay as President of the Congress, and the proposal having been duly seconded, supported and unanimously carried, this gentleman was formally installed.

In commencing his inaugural address, the whole of which should be perused,* he referred to the futile attempt that has been made, by a "microscopic minority" of the Parsis, acting under Anglo-Indian inspiration, to detach their co-religionists from the Congress movement. He said †:—

"In speaking of myself as a native of this country, I am not unaware that, incredibly as it may seem, Parsis have been both called, and invited and allured to call themselves foreigners. If twelve centuries, however, entitle Angles and Saxons, and Normans and Danes, to call themselves natives of England, if a lesser period entitles the Indian Mahomedans to call themselves natives of India, surely we are born children of the soil, in which our lot has been cast for a period of over thirteen centuries, and where, ever since the advent of the British power, we have lived and worked, with our Hindu and Mahomedan neighbours, for common aims, common aspirations, and common interests. To my mind a Parsi is a better and a truer Parsi, as a Mahomedan or a Hindu is a better and truer Mahomedan or Hindu, the more he is attached to the land which gave him birth, the more he is bound in brotherly relations and affection to all the children of the soil, the more he recognizes the fraternity of all the native communities of the country, and the immutable bond which binds them together in the pursuit of common aims and objects, under a common Government."

"The birthright, therefore, gentlemen, which the Parsis thus possess of so indefeasible and glorious a character, they have refused and will always refuse to sell for any mess of pottage, however fragrant and tempting. (*Loud Cheers*.)"

Then congratulating the Congress on the progress it had effected, he remarked ‡:—

"We have survived the ridicule, the abuse, and the misrepresentation. We have survived the charge of sedition and disloyalty. We have survived the charge of being

a microscopic minority. We have also survived the charge of being guilty of the atrocious crime of being educated, and we have even managed to survive the grievous charge of being all Babus in disguise. (*Laughter and Cheers*.)"

"The question of our loyalty is set at rest for ever. In the debate on Lord Cross's India Reform Bill in the House of Lords, Viceroy after Viceroy bore emphatic testimony to the loyal and peaceful character of our aims and efforts. Within the last few days the voice of no less a personage than one of our former Secretaries of State has confirmed this testimony. Lord R. Churchill—it is to no less distinguished a public man that I refer—has publicly declared that 'he could sincerely remark that no one will rejoice more than himself if the deliberations of the Indian National Congress shortly to be resumed were to contribute effectually to the progress and the welfare of the Indian people.' Then, Gentlemen, it is made clear that we have not learnt the lessons of history so badly, as to demand the introduction of the full-blown representative institutions which, in England, have been the growth of centuries. It is made clear that we have not asked for even such a modicum as was enjoyed by the English people even before the time of Simon de Montfort, more than five centuries ago, nay, that we have not asked even for representative institutions of a governing or ruling character at all. Indeed, so far as this historical argument is concerned, we have not alone proved that we have not been guilty of disregarding it, but we have been successful in turning the tables upon our adversaries. We have shown that it is they who defy the lessons of history and experience, when they talk of waiting to make a beginning, till the masses of the people are fully equipped with all the virtues and all the qualifications which adorn the citizens of Utopia, in fact till a millennium has set in, when we should hardly require such institutions at all. We have shown that people who indulge in such vain talk have never understood the laws of human progress, which, after all is a series of experiments, in which men and institutions re-act upon each other for their mutual improvement and perfection. We have also proved that, in spite of our education, and even with our racial and religious differences, the microscopic minority can far better and far more intuitively represent the needs and the aspirations of their own countrymen than the still more microscopic minority of the omniscient District Officers, whose colloquial knowledge of the Indian languages seldom rises above the knowledge of English possessed, for instance, by French waiters at Paris Hotels which proudly blazon forth the legend—'Ici on parle Anglais'; and whose knowledge of native domestic and social life and ways and habits of thought seldom extends beyond a familiarity with flattering expressions of the Sahib's greatness and paternal care, sometimes inspired by courtesy and sometimes by interest.

"Then, Gentlemen, our right to the designation of a National body has been vindicated. It is so admirably set forth in an article which appeared in a Conservative Review—*The National*—from the pen of a Conservative, who, however, speaks from the fulness of intimate knowledge, that I cannot resist the temptation of borrowing from it: 'The supposed rivalry,' says the writer, 'between Mussulmans and Hindus is a convenient decoy to distract attention and to defer the day of reform. I do not wish to affirm that there is no antagonism between the adherents of the two faiths; but I do most positively assert that the antagonism has been grossly exaggerated. Every municipal improvement and charitable work finds members of the two faiths working together and subscribing funds to carry it out. Every political paper in the country finds supporters from believers in both creeds. Just the same is witnessed in the proceedings of the Congress. The members of the Congress meet together as men, on the common basis of the nationality, being citizens of one country, subjects of one power, amenable to one code of laws, taxed by one authority, influenced for weal or woe by one system of administration, urged by like impulses to secure like rights, and to be relieved of like burdens. If these are not sufficient causes to weld a people together into one common alliance of nationality, it is difficult to conceive what would be sufficient. It is for this reason the organization has been called the Indian National Congress; not because, as many, besides Mr. Keane, have assumed, that it claims a non-existent unity of race, but because it deals with rights and interests which are national in character, and matters in which all the inhabitants of the Indian peninsula are equally concerned."

"I think we may take it, Gentlemen, that we have passed through the first two stages, and that the loyalty, the moderation, the propriety, and the constitutional and national character of our mission are now established beyond a doubt. But, however arduous and however provoking some of the experiences of the trial through which we have passed, they should not leave any trace of bitterness behind. For let us not imagine that they were devoid of chastening and beneficial effects upon ourselves. Let us frankly acknowledge that they also must have had their share in contributing to add clearness to our thoughts, sobriety to

* Detailed Report, pp. 10—17.

† Detailed Report, p. 10.

‡ Idem.

judgment we should be travelling out of our legitimate province if we were to deal with such questions in this assembly. Those who know my own views will readily believe that I yield to none in the country in attaching importance to the question of social reform; but at the same time I cannot but feel that it is our duty, however keenly we may feel on the subject, to remember that any precipitate or inconsiderate action, before the creation of a healthy public opinion in a community, is often apt to retard progress and to defeat the very object we have in view. (*Hear, hear*). We ought to be thankful to our English friends for any suggestions they may be disposed to make to us on the question of social reform, so long as those suggestions are made in a sympathetic spirit; but at the same time we must ask them to bear in mind that it is impossible for an outsider or foreigner to realize adequately the difficulties which the different Indian communities have to contend against in matters of social reform. Our English friends, whose kind sympathy and advice our social reformers are always delighted to have, may also be asked to remember that the decision of the question as to what reforms should or should not be introduced must, from the very nature of the case, rest with the Indian people themselves, and that therefore the true remedy lies in educating the people and creating a healthy public opinion on questions of social reform. To my mind, this gathering itself must have, and indeed already has had, the effect, directly and indirectly, of giving a great impetus to the cause of social reform. It is true that there are social problems connected with our domestic life of so important and pressing a character that, in my opinion, the sooner we direct our attention to them, and deal vigorously with them, the better for our country; but all I say is, that those are questions with which the Congress, composed as it is of different communities, ought not at present to have any direct concern. (*Cheers*.)

Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, a well-known Judge of the High Court, (from which he has only recently retired, and of which he at one time acted as Chief Justice,) and now a Member of the Viceroy's Council, then proposed Mr. Pherozshah Mehta (a Parsi) of Bombay as President of the Congress, and the proposal having been duly seconded, supported and unanimously carried, this gentleman was formally installed.

In commencing his inaugural address, the whole of which should be perused,* he referred to the futile attempt that has been made, by a "microscopic minority" of the Parsis, acting under Anglo-Indian inspiration, to detach their co-religionists from the Congress movement. He said †:—

"In speaking of myself as a native of this country, I am not unaware that, incredible as it may seem, Parsis have been both called and invited and allured to call themselves foreigners. If twelve centuries, however, entitle Angles and Saxons, and Normans and Danes, to call themselves natives of England, if a lesser period entitles the Indian Mahomedans to call themselves natives of India, surely we are born children of the soil, in which our lot has been cast for a period of over thirteen centuries, and where, ever since the advent of the British power, we have lived and worked, with our Hindu and Mahomedan neighbours, for common aims, common aspirations, and common interests. To my mind a Parsi is a better and a truer Parsi, as a Mahomedan or a Hindu is a better and truer Mahomedan or Hindu, the more he is attached to the land which gave him birth, the more he is bound in brotherly relations and affection to all the children of the soil, the more he recognizes the fraternity of all the native communities of the country, and the immutable bond which binds them together in the pursuit of common aims and objects, under a common Government."

"The birthright, therefore, gentlemen, which the Parsis thus possess of so inalienable and glorious a character, they have refused and will always refuse to sell for any mess of pottage, however fragrant and tempting. (*Loud Cheers*.)"

Then congratulating the Congress on the progress it had effected, he remarked ‡:—

"We have survived the ridicule, the abuse, and the misrepresentation. We have survived the charge of sedition and disloyalty. We have survived the charge of being

* Detailed Report, pp. 10—17.

† Detailed Report, p. 10.

‡ Idem.

a microscopic minority. We have also survived the charge of being guilty of the atrocious crime of being educated, and we have even managed to survive the grievous charge of being all Babus in disguise. (*Laughter and Cheers*.)"

"The question of our loyalty is set at rest for ever. In the debate on Lord Cross's India Reform Bill in the House of Lords, Viceroy after Viceroy bore emphatic testimony to the loyal and peaceful character of our aims and efforts. Within the last few days the voice of no less a personage than one of our former Secretaries of State has confirmed this testimony. Lord R. Churchill—it is to no less distinguished a public man that I refer—has publicly declared that 'he could sincerely remark that no one will rejoice more than himself if the deliberations of the Indian National Congress shortly to be resumed were to contribute effectually to the progress and the welfare of the Indian people.' Then, Gentlemen, it is made clear that we have not learnt the lessons of history so badly, as to demand the introduction of the full-blown representative institutions which, in England, have been the growth of centuries. It is made clear that we have not asked for even such a modicum as was enjoyed by the English people even before the time of Simon de Montfort, more than five centuries ago, nay, that we have not asked even for representative institutions of a governing or ruling character at all. Indeed, so far as this historical argument is concerned, we have not alone proved that we have not been guilty of disregarding it, but we have been successful in turning the tables upon our adversaries. We have shown that it is they who defy the lessons of history and experience, when they talk of waiting to make a beginning, till the masses of the people are fully equipped with all the virtues and all the qualifications which adorn the citizens of Utopia, in fact till a millennium has set in, when we should hardly require such institutions at all. We have shown that people who indulge in such vain talk have never understood the laws of human progress, which, after all is a series of experiments, in which men and institutions re-act upon each other for their mutual improvement and perfection. We have also proved that, in spite of our education, and even with our racial and religious differences, the microscopic minority can far better and far more intuitively represent the needs and the aspirations of their own countrymen than the still more microscopic minority of the omniscient District Officers, whose colloquial knowledge of the Indian languages seldom rises above the knowledge of English possessed, for instance, by French waiters at Paris Hotels which proudly blazon forth the legend—'Ici on parle Anglais'; and whose knowledge of native domestic and social life and ways and habits of thought seldom extends beyond a familiarity with flattering expressions of the Sahib's greatness and paternal care, sometimes inspired by courtesy and sometimes by interest."

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"I think we may take it, Gentlemen, that we have passed through the first two stages, and that the loyalty, the moderation, the propriety, and the constitutional and national character of our mission are now established beyond a doubt. But, however arduous and however provoking some of the experiences of the trial through which we have passed, they should not leave any trace of bitterness behind. For let us not imagine that they were devoid of chastening and beneficial effects upon ourselves. Let us frankly acknowledge that they also must have had their share in contributing to add clearness to our thoughts, sobriety to

our diets, and moderation to our proposals. If I might use a proscribed, but not unscriptural phrase we must give even the devil his due. (Laughter.)

Gratefully acknowledging the services rendered to India by Mr. Caine and other English friends, and specially by our late deeply lamented member Mr. Bradlaugh, not then, yet, lost to us, he turned to Mr. Bradlaugh's last year's Bill and Lord Cross's Bill, and fully exposed the feebleness of the arguments on which the omission from this latter of any recognition of the elective principle was vainly sought, at the time, to be justified. He said * :—

"But the next result, which the introduction of Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill achieved, was gratifying in the highest degree. It at once dispelled the fit of profound cogitation, in which men at the head of Indian affairs are so apt to be lost; that they can never spontaneously recover from it. Lord Cross's Indian Council's Bill promptly saw the light of day in the House of Lords. It was at once the official recognition of the *raison d'être* of the Congress, and the first fruits of its labours. In itself, however, it was a most halting and unsatisfactory measure."

"The omission of the elective principle from the Bill was boldly justified by Lord Salisbury on the ground that 'the principle of election or government by representation was not an Eastern idea, and that it did not fit Eastern traditions or Eastern minds.' I wish to speak of his Lordship with all the respect to which his high talents and great intellectual attainments justly entitle him; but it is not a little surprising as well as disappointing to find the Prime Minister of England, a statesman who, as Lord Cranborne, was once Secretary of State for India, displaying such profound ignorance of the history of the Indian people and the genius of the Indian mind. The late Mr. Chisolm-Anstey, a man of immense erudition, once pointed out at a meeting of the East India Association in London, that 'we are apt to forget in this country when we talk of preparing people in the East by education, and all that sort of thing, for Municipal Government and Parliamentary Government, that the East is the parent of Municipalities; Local Self-Government, in the widest acceptance of the term, is as old as the East itself. No matter what may be the religion of the people who inhabit what we call the East, there is not a portion of the country from west to east, from north to south, which is not swarming with municipalities; and not only so, but like to our municipalities of old, they are all bound together as in a species of network so that you have ready made to your hand the framework of the great system of representation.' Sir H. Maine has shown that the Teutonic Mark was hardly so well organized or so essentially representative as an Indian village community, until the precise technical Roman form was engrafted upon it. (Cheers.)"

"But leaving village communities alone, what do we find at the present day over the whole country but all sorts and conditions of people, from the highest to the lowest, meeting together and transacting the business of their numberless castes, in assemblies which, in their constitution and their mode of working, are the exact prototypes of the Saxon Witan, from which the English parliamentary institutions have sprung. It is true that circumstances never allowed the representative genius of the people to develop forms and organizations for higher political functions. But it is no less true that the seed and the soil are there, waiting only for the skilful hand, and the watchful mind, which we of the Congress firmly believe we have secured in the presence of Englishmen in this country."

Pursuing the question of the introduction of the elective element into the Government of India, he advocated the acceptance by the Congress of the New Bill then recently introduced by Mr. Bradlaugh into the House of Commons, showed that Lords Northbrook, Ripon and Dufferin, the three most capable living Ex-Viceroy, were in favour of some step in this direction, and gracefully expressed the hope that the present Viceroy would prove not less liberal in his views regarding this question than his illustrious grandsire. He touched upon

* Detailed Report, p. 13.

the growing feeling amongst the British public in favour of reform for India, and concluded his address with the following* remarks :—

"It seems to me that success is well within our reach, if we resolutely apply ourselves to obtain, in the first instance at least, the recognition and application of the principle of election in the organization of our Legislative Councils. Let us then strive for it with the sagacity of practical men, who have not learnt in vain the lessons taught by English political history, and who know the value of moderate, gradual, and substantial gain."

"To the many reasons which have been set forth in Congress after Congress, proving the imperative need of reformed Councils, another has been now added. The discussion of the Indian Budget in the House of Commons was always more or less of a sham; but it was a sham for which the officials of the India Office thought it at least a matter of decency to shed a tear of remorse. But now Sir John Gorst has boldly and candidly declared in his place in the House that there need be no sham regret at all; that if anything, it was rather to be hoped and wished for, that the House of Commons should not waste its time over the weary farce. (Shame, Shame.) It is now officially declared that it is right and proper that Parliament should,—to use Mr. Yule's happy way of putting it,—throw the great and solemn trust of an inscrutable Providence back into the hands of Providence to be looked after as Providence itself thinks best, with such grace as Providence may choose to pour on the heads of Sir John Gorst, his heirs, successors, and assigns. I think you will agree with me that when the responsible advisers of the Crown, on Indian matters, propound doctrines of such a character it is high time that we should raise our united voice to demand Local Councils possessing some guarantees for energy and efficiency. (Cheers.)"

"It has been said that our united voice is the voice only of a certain portion of the people and not of the masses; and that it is even then the voice of indifference, and not of urgency and excitement. These remarks are intended to be cast as matters of reproach against the Congress; properly understood they constitute its chief glory. If the masses were capable of giving articulate expression to definite political demands, then the time would have arrived, not for consultative Councils but for representative institutions. It is because they are still unable to do so that the function and the duty devolve upon their educated and enlightened compatriots to feel, to understand and to interpret their grievances and requirements, and to suggest and indicate how these can best be redressed and met. History teaches us that such has been the law of widening progress in all ages and all countries, notably in England itself. That function and that duty, which thus devolve upon us, are best discharged, not in times of alarm and uneasiness, of anger and excitement, but when the heart is loyal and clear, and the reason unclouded. It is, I repeat, the glory of the Congress that the educated and enlightened people of the country seek to repay the debt of gratitude, which they owe for the priceless boon of education, by pleading, and pleading temperately, for timely and provident statesmanship. (Cheers.)"

"I have no fears but that English statesmanship will ultimately respond to the call. I have unbounded faith in the living and fertilizing principles of English culture and English civilization. It may be that, at times, the prospect may look dark and gloomy. Anglo-Indian opposition may look fierce and uncompromising. But my faith is large, even in Anglo-Indians. As in the whole universe, so in individuals, in communities, there is a perpetual conflict going on between the higher and lower passions and impulses of our nature. Perhaps some of you have read a little novel, called Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, the plot of which hinges on the conflict between the two sides of a man's nature, the higher and the lower, embodied each, for the time being, in a separate and distinct individuality. If the lower tendencies are sometimes paramount in the Hydes of Anglo-Indian Society, if as our last President, Sir W. Wedderburn, said, the interests of the services are antagonistic to and prevail over the interests of the Indian people, it is still the oscillation of the struggle; it is still only one side of the shield. They cannot permanently divest themselves of the higher and nobler nature, which, in the end, must prevail, and which has prevailed in so many honorable, distinguished and illustrious instances. They are after all a part and parcel of the great English nation, bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh, and they must even work along the main lines of that noble policy which Great Britain has deliberately adopted for the government of this country. When in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence, India was assigned to the care of England, one can almost imagine that the choice was offered to her as to Israel of old: 'Behold, I have placed before you a blessing and a curse; a blessing, if ye will obey the commandments of the Lord your God: a curse, if ye will not obey the commandments of the Lord your God, but go after other gods whom ye have not known.'"

* Detailed Report, pp. 16, 17.

"All the great forces of English life and society, moral, social, intellectual, political, are, if slowly, yet steadily and irresistibly, declaring themselves for the choice which will make the connection of England and India a blessing to themselves, and to the whole world, for countless generations. Our Congress asks but to serve as a modest handmaid to that movement, asks but to be allowed to show the pits and the falls, asks but to be allowed to join in the blessing which England will as surely earn as there is an 'Eternal that maketh for righteousness.' (Cheers).

"I appeal to all true Englishmen—to candid friends as to generous foes—not to let this prayer go in vain. It may be that we sometimes speak in uncouth and outlandish ways, it may be that we sometimes stray in some confusion of thought and language; still it is the prayer of a rising, growing and hopeful nation. I will appeal to them to listen to the sage counsels of one of the most careful and observant of their modern politicians, who, like the prophet Balaam, called, I will not say, exactly to curse us, has however, blessed us utterly. In his 'Problems of Greater Britain,' Sir Charles Dilke thus sums up his views on the Congress: 'Argument upon the matter is to be desired, but not in-vective, and there is so much reason to think that the Congress movement really represents the cultivated intelligence of the country that those who ridicule it do harm to the imperial interests of Great Britain, bitterly wounding and alienating men who are justified in what they do, who do it in reasonable and cautious form, and who ought to be conciliated by being met half-way.' (Cheers). The official class themselves admit that many of the natives who attack the Congress do so to ingratiate themselves with their British rulers and to push their claims for decorations. (Hear, hear). Our first duty in India is that of defending the country against anarchy and invasion, but our other greatest duty is to learn how to live with what is commonly called the Congress movement, namely, with the development of that new India which we have ourselves created. Our past work in India has been a splendid task, splendidly performed, but there is a still nobler one before us, and one larger even than that labour on the Irish problem to which our public men on both sides seem too much inclined to give their whole attention. So careful an estimate of the work and spirit of the Congress movement cannot but commend itself to all thoughtful minds.

"However that may be, our duty lies clear before us, to go on with our work firmly and fearlessly, but with moderation, and above all with humility. If we might be permitted to adopt those noble words of Cardinal Newman, we may say:—

Lead kindly light amid the encircling gloom,

Lead thou me on!

The night is dark and I am far from home,

Lead thou me on!

Keep thou my feet, I do not ask to see

The distant path, one step's enough for me." (Long and enthusiastic cheering).

The assembly then proceeded to elect its Subjects Committee. The functions of this Committee are very important and are not, even yet, generally understood by the public. Months before the Congress meets, the Committee of the circle in which it is to assemble calls upon all the Standing Committees, (of which there is one to each circle) to submit, after consultation with their divisional and sub-divisional Committees, a list of the subjects which they suggest for the consideration of the coming assembly. Their replies are compiled by the Committee first mentioned; subjects proposed by a majority of the Committees are accepted and embodied in a circular to all the Standing or Circle Committees, notifying that these are the subjects which will be submitted by the Reception Committee to the Subjects Committee when it is formed. Subjects proposed by less than half of the committees are not included. Every delegate, therefore, now-a-days, knows, or can know if he chooses, and ought to know, before he leaves his Province, what the subjects are which will primarily engage the attention of the Congress.

As soon as the President's inaugural address has been delivered the assembled delegates of each circle proceed to elect from amongst themselves the men whom they

8

desire to represent them on the Subjects Committee. This is always a large body; this year it included about 110 gentlemen, of all races and castes, residents of 70 of the largest towns in the Empire and belonging to every Province therein, except Sind. To this Committee is submitted, as a basis of discussion, the list of subjects compiled by the Reception Committee from the replies of all the Standing Committees, and it is this Committee who decide which of these shall be taken up, who frame the resolutions in regard to those that they decide to lay before the assembly, and who select the speakers who are to propose and second these resolutions. Reporters and spectators are excluded from the sittings of this Committee so as to give the utmost freedom of debate, and it is impossible to deny that in this Committee every subject is more effectively and completely threshed out, by rapid questions and answers and tiny speeches lasting two or three minutes only, by committee proceedings, in fact, in which every man present takes an active part, than they can be in the formal speeches of half a dozen members in the Congress itself. Matters are always rapidly and satisfactorily disposed of. It is hardly ever necessary to vote, because, according to one of the basic principles of the Congress, subjects in regard to which, after full discussion, considerable difference of opinion continues to exist, are *ipso facto* thrown out. The main object of the Congress is to press upon the attention of the Government of India and the people and Government of England those reforms, and those reforms only, in regard to which the whole country has come to a substantial agreement; in regard to which the people of all provinces, of all races, castes and creeds, are practically of one mind.

This is the explanation of that marvellous unanimity, often suspiciously commented on by European critics, that characterizes, as a rule, the Congress debates. The Congress itself, through its elected representatives, weeds out all subjects in regard to which a practical agreement, in all parts of the country and by all parties, has not been arrived at. It is this, too, which ought to give such weight to the formal recommendations of the Congress, since these are not proposals advocated by this or that body, this or that province, but only such as are concurred in by the educated and semi-educated classes throughout the Empire.

Of course, besides the subjects embodied in the Reception Committee's list many others are brought forward in the Subjects Committee, by one or more province, or even by individual members, and duly discussed; but these rarely secure a sufficient unanimity of assent to permit of their being then submitted to the Congress, though, having thus been brought within the sphere of practical politics, and hence being during the year talked of all over the country, they, not unfrequently, are sent up next year from a majority of the committees, and so find a place in the next year's Reception Committee's list.

This year the Subjects Committee held six sittings extending in the aggregate over fully eighteen hours, not one minute of which was wasted in oratory or useless talk, and it is really to be regretted that neither the Government nor the public can fully realize the care and acuteness, with which not only the

subjects which actually came before the Congress, but fully a dozen others, were canvassed and criticised by this most truly representative body, representative to an extent not yet fully realized, except in Congress circles, of the entire culture and intelligence of the nation.

As soon as the election of the Subjects Committee had been formally completed and ratified, all the names being read out, by the entire assembly, the President adjourned the meeting till the next day at 1-30 P.M., so as to allow time for the Committee at an evening and morning session to prepare the work for the next day.

On Saturday, when the Congress re-assembled, the first subject taken up was the expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils, and a resolution was proposed by Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose* (whilom candidate for Deptford) approving the Bill then recently introduced into the House of Commons, by the late Mr. Bradlaugh, to amend the Indian Councils Act of 1861, "*as calculated to secure a substantial instalment of that reform, in the Administration of India, for which it (the Congress) has been agitating,*" and praying both Houses of Parliament to pass the same into law.

The reform embodied in this Bill—the introduction of a true, elected, representative element into the Government of India—is, in the opinion of the people of India, the one fundamental reform, on which all other reforms hinge; and the only reform which can pave the way for the real prosperity of the country and secure the permanence of the union of England and India. Necessarily this being so, the discussions, although absolute unanimity prevailed, were somewhat protracted, but the matter has been so exhaustively threshed out at former Congresses that it will only be needful here to reproduce a few passages from the many speeches delivered on this occasion.

Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose remarked † :—

"There are, I believe, certain points on which there prevails an almost absolute unanimity of opinion amongst the thinking and educated classes of our countrymen. We are all united in demanding that there should be some substantial expansion of our Supreme and Local Legislative Councils; and this Bill provides for that expansion by proposing to raise the number of members of the Governor-General's Council to something between 40 and 60, and that of the Council of the various Lieutenant-Governors and Governors of Provinces to something between 36 and 48. Now there is no particular magic in any given number, but it seems to me that this proposal is so reasonable and modest that no honest or candid critic can accuse us of desiring suddenly to revolutionize the Government of this country. (*Cheers*). On the other hand, if there be any amongst us who think that the Bill does not go as far as it might have done, in this direction, I would beg of them to remember that it is impossible for us to err on the side of moderation (*hear, hear*); and that the more cautiously these changes and reforms are introduced, the greater is the chance of their ultimate success. (*Cheers*).

"The other point upon which we are also agreed is this, that there should be some fair share of popular representation in these councils; and, further, that this popular representation should be based upon some application of the principle of election. Now I have always been

* Detailed Report, pp. 20—22.

† Detailed Report, pp. 20, 21.

of opinion that, wholly irrespective of the capacities or qualifications of the persons whom the Government might nominate under the present system, even when the choice of the Government happens to fall, as I admit it does frequently fall, upon the very men whom we would ourselves be the first to elect—take, for example, the latest instance before us—the nomination by the Viceroy of our distinguished friend Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter—(*Cheers*), even in such cases I have always felt that it would greatly improve and strengthen the position of our members of Council if they held their seats by the suffrages of their fellow-countrymen rather than by the grace and favour of the Government. With your permission, Sir, I will read one short sentence from a memorial that was presented to Lord Hartington by a large deputation of English and Indian gentlemen, of whom I had the honor to be one, ten years ago, just after the great Liberal victory of 1880: 'Although some of these members' (alluding to the nominated members of Council) 'render useful services to the State, it is obvious that so long as all the members are nominated by the Government, however carefully the selection may be made, the members so appointed cannot feel or be credited with that independence, which it is essential they should enjoy, nor can their opinions possess the weight and authority which belongs to the voice of representatives elected by the people.' That short sentence, I believe, expresses the unanimous opinion of us all (*Cheers*); and for my part I am unable to conceive the possibility, even, of any differences of opinion, upon this great question of principle. (*Cheers*.)"

After counselling the acceptance of Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill, although not going nearly so far as many here consider desirable, and advocating moderation, mutual toleration and a liberal give-and-take attitude, he concluded* with these remarks :—

"I think if you approach this great question in that generous spirit there is nothing that can prevent the ultimate triumph of the great cause we have at heart. All the signs of the times seem to be entirely favourable. I find gathered together under this great pavilion representatives of all nations, of all communities inhabiting this great country—a sight which, only a few years ago, nobody would have dreamed of as being possible. We have across the seas in England a British people willing and anxious to extend to us the right hand of fellowship. Of late they have given us the sincerest, the strongest, the most convincing proofs of their sympathy. British constituencies have emphatically endorsed the great doctrine of the Queen's Proclamation, the doctrine of the equal rights of all Her Majesty's subjects. They have endorsed them by going so far as even to invite some of your own fellow-countrymen to stand as their Parliamentary representatives. Who among us would have thought twenty, or even ten years ago, that such a thing was within the bounds of possibility? I ask you, Gentlemen, if these things are not sufficient to cheer us, to encourage us to go on labouring firmly, generously and steadfastly, through good report and through evil report, until we have at last succeeded in convincing the people and Parliament of England that the reforms we ask for are just, moderate and legitimate and calculated greatly to improve the administration of this country and to broaden and strengthen the foundations of the British Empire in India. (*Cheers*). Gentlemen, our motto is reform and not revolution (*hear, hear*), and my own experience of the just and generous instincts of the English people convinces me that a measure which, like this Bill of Mr. Bradlaugh's, proposes to concede to us some share in the management of our own affairs and some voice in the administration of our own country, some representation in our councils, cannot fail to commend itself to the approval of the English nation. (*Cheers*.)"

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya spoke at considerable length.† He said :—

"The one consideration that has induced us to accept Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill is a desire to conciliate, so far as may be in our power, without, of course, sacrificing the principle we have been contending for, those of our opponents who think the reform we have been seeking might lead to undesirable results. I hope that no reasonable man will any longer hesitate in giving the Bill his best support, and that Parliament will soon pass it into law. (*Cheers*.)"

"If it be otherwise, Gentlemen, we shall all, we and other civilized countries, be greatly surprised and disappointed, for, Gentlemen, what is it that we ask for? Is it not for a limited and qualified—an extremely limited and qualified—application of that principle of representation in the administration of this country, which the genius of the English nation has for 600 long years recognized as best calculated to make Governments good and the governed happy and prosperous?"

* Detailed Report, pp. 21, 22.
† Detailed Report, pp. 24—27.

Ever since the time of Simon de Montfort—he went on to say—

“This has been the guiding principle of English political existence. Englishmen have extolled it in theory and maintained it in practice at the sacrifice of a large amount of treasure and life. They have carried it with them wherever they have gone, and the nations of Europe, long held in bondage by their despots, have learnt it at the feet of England and thrived under it. (*Cheers.*) Englishmen rightly feel a pride in having been the apostles of this political Christianity, and Mr. Gladstone expressed a widely-prevalent belief when speaking at the Piccadilly Hall in May last, he said : ‘In the adoption of that system (the system of representation) we long stood alone, but one after another the great countries of the world have come in, and the nations sprung from our loins have given further countenance and currency to our example, and now the man would be deemed mad who should denounce the system of popular representation.’ (*Cheers.*) But I need not dilate further on this point. Everyone, if, as Mr. Gladstone says, he is not mad, or (permit me to add) if he has not degenerated by contact with the worst phases of Oriental thought, will admit the soundness of the principle. And it is only for a partial introduction of this principle into the administration of our country that we have been so long, and hitherto vainly, praying. (*Cheers.*)”

He pointed out the rottenness of any system of representation such as was contemplated by Lord Cross’s Bill as introduced, under which all the so-called representatives of the *people* were to be nominated by the *Government*. He refuted, as, indeed, the President had already done in his inaugural address, the absurd statements of the Marquess of Salisbury and Lord Cross that representative institutions were foreign to India, and that India did not possess the elements of good constituencies ; and, referring to the close and rotten boroughs that subsisted in England, even up to 1830, he said, and said truly, amidst loud applause—

“You will, I am sure, agree with me when I say that no electorates that might be formed here could be half as bad as those which existed in the Anti-Reform days in England before the period of the passing of the Reform Bill. You have all heard of the close and rotten boroughs.”

He went on to show that even these—ininitely worse as they were than any constituencies that could now-a-days be created in India—had yet done good service to the State by introducing into public life innumerable great men, who would certainly never have been selected by Government under any pure nomination system. He concluded thus :—

“I have already received, Gentlemen, a note* of warning from the President that I should not go further ; but I hope he will permit me to say one word with regard to another objection put forth by Viscount Cross and Lord Salisbury in their speeches on the second reading of the Official Indian Reform Bill. Said the Secretary of State for India : ‘As was well said by the late Mr. Henry Maine in speaking of India : ‘There is no more resemblance between a Punjabee and a Bengalee, between an Indian of Hindustan and an Indian of Malabar, than there is between an Englishman and a Roumanian, or between a Spaniard and a Swede.’” The Marquess of Salisbury added : ‘The difficulty of introducing the elective principle, largely dependent upon the peculiarities of Eastern minds, is also, to a great extent, as the noble Lord pointed out, due to the fact that we have to deal with a deeply-divided population. Representative government answers admirably so long as all those who are represented desire much the same thing and have interests tolerably analogous ; but it is put to an intolerable strain when it rests upon a community divided into two sections, † one of which is bitterly hostile to the other and desirous of opposing it upon all occasions.’ I think, Gentlemen, this grand assembly,

* Speakers are nominally limited, proposers of resolutions to ten minutes; others to five. Where a man speaks well and is carrying the audience with him the rule is not very rigidly enforced, but the Pandit had been speaking for nearly a quarter of an hour, and hence the stroke upon the President’s gong.

† We should very much like to know whether Great Britain, herself, is not divided into two sections, one of which is bitterly hostile to the other, and desirous of opposing it on all occasions!

composed of men of all the different provinces of India, is a living refutation of their Lordships’ objection. (*Cheers.*) It is absolutely untrue to say that the two great sections of our community are utterly hostile to each other and desirous of opposing each other on all occasions. Their interests are not only ‘tolerably analogous,’ but identical in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of every thousand that could come before the councils. The absence of a common faith, which Lords Cross and Salisbury considered a valid excuse for not introducing the elective principle here, is purely imaginary. They, no doubt, follow different religious persuasions, but there exists amongst them a common faith which is—

“Taught by no priest, but by their beating hearts :
Faith to each other : the fidelity
Of fellow-wanderers in a desert place
Who share the same dire thirst, and, therefore share
The scanty water : the fidelity
Of men whose pulses leap with kindred fire,
Who, in the flash of eyes, the clasp of hands,
The speech that even in lying tells the truth
Of heritage inevitable as past deeds,
Nay, in the silent bodily presence feel
The mystic stirring of a common life
Which makes the many one. (*Loud Cheers.*)”

Pandit Bishan Narayan Dhar, who followed, pursued this question of the supposed diversity of Hindu and Mahomedan interests further. He said : * “What are called Hindu interests and Mahomedan interests have really no existence in political matters (*cheers*),” and he continued :—

“I feel deeply the responsibility of my words, and I do not hesitate to say, from what I know in my experience in the United Provinces, that whatever we hear about Mahomedan opposition to political reform and about the antagonism of Hindu interests and Mahomedan interests, is due to the deliberate policy adopted by certain members, at any rate, of the governing classes. (*Cheers.*)

“It is a serious charge to bring against officers of Government that they want to keep the people disunited, and seek to follow the low, evil maxim ‘divide and rule.’ But I am prepared to show from the writings of Anglo-Indian statesmen, who have held high positions in this country, that some of them, at any rate, do believe that race antagonisms and religious rivalries are the chief factors that contribute to the strength and permanence of British rule in this country. (*Cheers and cries of ‘shame !’*)”

Then he quoted a passage from a quite recent lecture by Sir John Strachey, showing clearly that, like many of our typical Bureaucrats, that gentleman really holds that the existence side by side of two hostile races in India would be a source of strength to the British Government and ought to be taken advantage of by it.

“I call that,” he went on to say, “an immoral doctrine. (*Cheers.*) I call it a shameful policy for those who have faith in the teachings of Christianity. At the same time it cannot be denied that that is the deliberate policy of some sections of our Indian bureaucracy. In the United Provinces we see the fruit of the seed that has thus been sown. This fruit is bloodshed and bitterness in the United Provinces ; and in recent years the religious disputes between Mahomedans and Hindus are, in the mind of every well-wisher of his country, a cause of regret or shame. For my part I attribute them entirely to the policy which the Government, or at any rate some of its component parts, have adopted towards this country.”

“We all know that those disputes, in any aggravated form, are of recent origin. Ten years ago they hardly existed. Even in Mahomedan times Hindus and Mahomedans lived together peaceably. Even in times when, according to Sir James Stephen, the Mahomedans proposed to everybody the alternative of the Koran or the sword, Hindus enjoyed equal rights with Mahomedans, held the highest posts, and governed large sections of Mahomedans. But it appears to me that the Government of India, for it is, in the last analysis, this Government which must be held responsible for the acts of its subordinates, the Government of India, I say, has adopted a different policy. I think that Government

* Detailed Report, pp. 27, 28.

may be reminded of a certain fact in the history of India. There was a time when India was divided into small sects, when the Mahomedans stood aloof from the conquered people, when the doctrines of religious toleration and free discussion were unknown. Enough time had not elapsed to mitigate the existing differences. At that stage there appeared a man who was destined to be the greatest Mahomedan ruler that India ever had. He adopted a new policy, he tried the grand and successful experiment of basing his rule, not upon the fears of the people, but upon their affections. (*Cheers.*) He ignored all class and religious differences, and proclaimed, for the first time in this country, the doctrine of universal toleration; and by his wise, noble, and far-seeing policy he raised the Mogul Empire to a power and a glory that excited the envy and admiration of the world. Is that noble policy of Akbar going to be reversed by the British Government? Are the British people, who are 'the heirs of all the ages,' and 'in the foremost files of time,' going to reverse that policy and adopt a different one? 'Divide and rule' may be a good principle for a time; but when a higher and a purer moral consciousness dawns upon the minds of our rulers, I believe they will see that that power alone is secure which rests upon the affections and the will of the nation. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, after pointing out certain minor verbal alterations that he and many of his friends considered necessary in Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill, went on to make certain remarks in regard to the Native State of Mysore that are well worthy of notice. "That State," he remarked:—

"Has had a Representative Assembly for the last ten years. In the year 1881 the Dewan of Mysore created the nucleus of a representative assembly. It did not possess political privileges, but it had the right of stating grievances to the Maharaja. Last year, I believe, the Dewan of Mysore made a new and important departure with regard to the constitution of that assembly. As the arrangement now stands the franchise is restricted to persons having a certain property qualification—the payment of 100 rupees to the Government; but Local Boards and Municipalities are also entitled to elect a certain number of members. The persons elected in each district meet in the district itself, and they elect representatives to attend the representative assembly in Mysore, and that assembly has a right to put any question it likes to the Dewan and the Maharaja, and is entitled to receive an answer. That assembly has been created in a province which has not received the benefit of liberal education to the same extent as the provinces directly under the control of England, and has enjoyed this privilege in its original form for a considerable time, and statesmen ruling over that country have testified to the wisdom of the further advance made by the present Dewan.

"I should like to read one short paragraph from the speech of the late Dewan, Mr. C. Ranga Charlu, C.I.E., delivered on the 26th of October 1882, to the Mysore Representative Assembly.

"He said: 'If the spread of any high degree of education among the great mass of the people were to be insisted upon as a *sine qua non*, we may have to wait for ever; meanwhile every year under an autocratic system of Government will find the people less fit for representative institutions. The sprinkling of educated men who are sure to be found in these representative bodies will serve for all purposes of leading and guiding; but what is required in the great body of the representatives is common sense and practical views, which are sure to be possessed by men of ordinary knowledge engaged in industrial and other useful occupations.'

"It was not, you see, that the people should all of them be educated; it was not that there should be a large proportion of the people educated before they were entitled to have conferred upon them the privilege of electing members to the Legislative Council; the mere fact that there is a considerable body of the people, not necessarily a large percentage, but a large body of educated people, who are qualified to take an intelligent interest in the proceedings of the Government, entitles them, according to the late Prime Minister of Mysore, to a voice in the administration. The fact that they are a 'microscopic minority,' or that they are not a large percentage of the people, is not to form a reason for their being debarred from enjoying the privilege of electing members or discussing Budgets. (*Cheers.*) How so infinitely superior a man, as Mr. Ranga Charlu, was only utilized by Providence as Prime Minister of a little state like Mysore, and so infinitely inferior a man, as the Marquess of Salisbury, is tolerated as a Prime Minister of a vast Empire like Great Britain, is one of those matters that fairly bewilder those who, like myself, believe in a righteous overruling power that guides and governs the affairs of mankind. (*Loud cheers and laughter.*)"

* Detailed Report, p. 30.

Syed Sharfuddeen, a Mahomedan Barrister from Patna, said that he was glad Mr. Bradlaugh's new Bill laid less stress upon the Minorities Clause. He put the question thus* :—

"Let me say at once that from the first I was opposed to this clause, although I am a Mussalman, and so belong to a class, which, in this country, no doubt, is in the minority. My reason is this. We have municipal laws in this country, and we have district boards; but neither in the Municipal Act nor in the Local Self-Government Act is there any clause for the protection of minorities, nor has the absence of any such clause ever, anywhere, caused the slightest inconvenience. This, I think, you will take as a sufficient proof of the goodwill of the Mahomedans towards Hindus and of Hindus towards Mahomedans. (*Cheers.*) I am a delegate from a place which now and then gets a westerly breeze from Aligarh.† (*Laughter.*) I come from Patna, where, in the second week of this month, there was a general election of the municipality, twenty members being elected under the Act, and, out of those 20 members, you will be surprised to learn that 13 were Mahomedans, and that these 13 were not elected by Mahomedans only, but also by Hindus. You will find, therefore, that my position in opposing the Protection-of-Minorities Clause is not without due warrant."

Precisely similar testimony was borne‡ by the President, himself the representative of one of the smallest minorities in the country, that of the Parsis, who constitute less than one two-thousandth of the population. He remarked :—

"Experience has shown that even in a preponderating Hindu electorate it does not happen that Hindus only are elected, as so many other, besides racial, forces and interests concur in influencing the selection. If we may apply the lessons learnt from experience in municipal elections, I may mention the remarkable fact that in the Town Council or, what is now called the Standing Committee of the Bombay Corporation, composed of 12 members, there have been frequently 5 Parsis, 3 Europeans, 2 Hindus and 2 Mahomedans."

Syed Sharfuddeen went on to say—

"My second point relates to the Bill of Lord Cross. You will understand that Lord Cross is, no doubt, technically responsible for the introduction of this Bill into the House; but you will also understand that he is, or ought to be, guided by his Council. Lord Cross is nobody, and cannot possibly know anything of Indian matters, except in so far as he represents his Council in the India Office. His advisers are mostly those who have served in India a good many years, but who retired long before the existence of this Congress, and who, therefore, possess no knowledge of that new India which has grown up in this country. (*Hear, Hear.*) So that to blame Lord Cross for the introduction of this futile Bill would be rather unjust. The councillors he needs are men of a different class, and we in this assembly would advise the Government in England to select, as councillors of the Secretary of State for India, men who have full experience of the present state of the country (*cheers*), and who are not hampered by class traditions and prejudices. (*Loud cheers.*)"

Mr. Nasir Ali Shohrat, who spoke next, a Mussalman from Delhi, worked out this idea further. He remarked § :—

"Of course, many of the members of the Secretary of State's Council are opposed to this as to every other reform; but this does not surprise us in the case of such antiquated personages. The wonder is not that they oppose this measure, but that the English nation still allows such fossils to fill these important posts instead of replacing them by modern-living men. (*Cheers and laughter.*) You can all understand that in choosing a pleader we select one in active practice in the Courts, thoroughly up in the law of the present day, not some old fogey who has not read a new law for the last quarter of a century, and whose knowledge of the practice of the Courts is confined to that of fifty years ago! These councillors are absolutely ignorant of our Modern India of to-day. (*Cheers.*) During the

* Detailed Report, p. 30.

† Aligarh is the head quarters of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who, though formerly an enthusiastic advocate for an advanced system of Representative Government, of recent years, under official guidance, has more than once denounced vehemently that very small tentative step in the direction of such institutions that the Congress has advocated.

‡ Detailed Report, pp. 12, 13.

§ Idem, p. 31.

the last ten years, even, the entire country has been so metamorphosed as to be barely the same place it was. (*Loud cheers*). Why do these worthy old gentlemen remain to clog the wheels of progress? And why do they oppose our modest demands for representation? Because, say they, of the disunion of Mahomedans and Hindus. But there is no sort of disunion amongst Mahomedans and Hindus on these political matters. (*Cheers*). All are of one mind. (*Loud cheers*). No doubt Sir Syed Ahmed and his now microscopic following tried to create such disunion; but all see now with what conspicuous failure. I fear I cannot give him credit for good faith. Had his motives been good he would have given expression to his new views on the Congress platform, and have explained how it came about that he was now denouncing the very proposals that a few years back he had himself most strongly urged. Had he done this the whole matter would have been fully discussed and a fair decision arrived at. He did not do so, and from this the only possible conclusion is that he was not actuated by a pure desire for the public welfare but by other motives. By his influence and vehemence he did in some places and instances succeed in creating some unpleasantness between Hindus and Mahomedans, and, perhaps, here and there, evil traces of his unpatriotic work may yet linger. Yet, despite this, despite all he and his masters amongst the officials could do, there is practically at this present time absolutely no disunion as regards Congress questions between Mussalmans and Hindus. (*Prolonged cheering*.)

This subject, of the Legislative Councils, disposed of, the assembly passed on to re-affirm, in an omnibus resolution, a whole group of resolutions which, having been threshed out in many past Congresses and discussed at thousands of public meetings and in thousands of newspaper articles and pamphlets, now constitute, *nemine dissentiente*, accepted planks in the Congress platform.

We may well leave Mr. Kali Charan Bannerjee to state the case in his own words* :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—As an old driver of your omnibus (*laughter*), in regard to which, by-the-bye, it may soon be necessary to legislate as to how many it should be allowed to carry, I may be permitted to drive it once more. There will be no detention with a view to check the passengers; they are all familiar faces, and you would know them at a glance. The resolution I have to propose is—

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

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

* Detailed Report, pp. 32, 33.

branches, the technical, of the appointment of a mixed commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country;

- (i) the necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual increase to, the military expenditure of the country;
- (j) the necessity, if any real justice is to be done to the people of India, of holding, simultaneously in India and England, examinations, at present held only in England, for the Civil branches of the Public Service in India;
- (k) the expediency of so modifying the rules made under Act XI of 1878 (the Arms Act) that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India; that licenses to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and generally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops; and that these and all licenses issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.

“Let me remind you that these resolutions were passed by previous Congresses, and you are now called upon simply to ratify and confirm them. In other words, you are called upon simply to be loyal to your traditions (*cheers*), for I take it that the Congress is old enough to have traditions of its own. In order to help your memories let me briefly describe to you the eleven passengers that I carry in my omnibus. I will begin with the last resolution (k). We are grateful to our Government for the security that we enjoy as to life and property from human invasions; what we seek is that we should have security also, as far as wild animals are concerned. (*Hear, hear*). And in that connection we desire it to be remembered that wild animals make no distinction between the European and the Indian. (*Laughter*). I have spoken of wild animals; what as to the wild men? We are grateful to our Government for the machinery that exists for the prevention and suppression of crime; at the same time we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the administration of justice in this country admits of improvement, and that it ought to be elevated to a footing in which it might be spoken of as self-justifying in its character. We desire, therefore, that the police should be reformed so that it may not be possible for them to place, habitually, innocent men in the dock. We desire further to secure that when Magistrates hold a trial in any case, they should bring to the trial a mind which should be, as far as the facts of the case are concerned, a *tabula rasa*. I do not mean that they should bring to the trial of cases a mind that should be, a *tabula rasa* as far as the law of the case is concerned. (*Laughter*). We desire further that in the administration of justice in this country the people should be allowed the benefit of the judgment of their peers, that this privilege should not be confined to a few favoured spots, but that it should be extended to all parts of the country to which it may be extended with advantage. We desire further that this privilege of having the judgment of one's peers in any case should not be allowed to become a farce and a nullity by being in danger of being set aside even by the highest Court in the country. I may describe these six resolutions as being on a certain level, that is, the level of protection. I now pass on to another class of resolutions that we have in this omnibus, and in order to help your memories I will mention a word which begins with the same letter—P. I am going to place before you four P's. Following protection I will give you the watch-word: plenty. We desire that the poor of the country should be enabled to live; at any rate, from hand to mouth; that they may be in no danger of having what little they may possess for their sustenance diminished by the imposition of any species of taxation which is likely to press hard upon them, whether as regards the nature of the tax itself or as regards the administration of the tax. Then after plenty let me give you the word peace, and here I take it that I am not wrong in regarding the British nation as under an inspiration which ought to enable it to usher in a reign of peace which is prophesied as part of the faith which inspires that country—a reign which, when it is once inaugurated, shall lead men to beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks. A nation that lives and moves under such an inspiration is surely destined to usher in this reign of peace rather than to go on in a direction which indicates the permanence of war. We desire, then, that the military expenditure of the country should be reduced rather than allowed continually to increase. But if the British nation happens to be lacking in faith so that they are not in a position to lay hold of the sure word of prophecy we make to them a certain offer, by way of an earthly support. That is, we invite them to allow us to train ourselves in that same art of war so that when they do need earthly help we shall be prepared, all of us, to render it. I now come to the last, which I describe as the *panacea*; because after all when we seek to introduce reforms into our country it is not possible for any of them to take root unless the people are educated to help in the cause of reform. (*Cheers*). So it is that we desire to secure that the expenditure in aid of education in all its branches

should not be diminished. And here I ought to draw your attention to what is prominently brought out in one of the resolutions, that there should be no distinction ever suggested between high education and low education. An educated carpenter stands on the same footing exactly as an educated lawyer. There is no such thing as high and low in the matter of education. If education is to be a passport to the various services of the country, we desire that those passports should not be hampered by conditions which may render them simply inaccessible to certain persons who cannot fulfil those conditions. Gentlemen, the omnibus has now reached its destination, and the occupation of the driver is gone. (*Laughter and cheers.*)

Mr. G. S. Khaparde, in supporting the resolution, gave expression to a feeling very general now amongst the rising educated generation. "I would not," he said, "compare this resolution to an omnibus, but rather to a casket of jewels," jewels that the well-wishers of both India and England have dug out of the matrix of popular sentiment, have laboriously polished, and now present to the Viceroy asking him to decorate with them British rule and India's people. He went on:—

"There is one jewel that some of us especially desire to possess. Some of us would like to hold office in Her Majesty's army. We live, I joyfully admit, under the protection of the British Crown and flag, and we desire that we should be allowed to fight under that flag. We fight as soldiers; I should like to fight as an officer. I want to command a few hundreds. That is all we ask—not much. One would think that to give me the command of a hundred sepoy or a few cavalry soldiers would not be very dangerous, the Commander-in-Chief and the General and the Brigadier and the Colonel being all above me. Yet they say: 'No, you are not fit.' I ask, have I been examined and found wanting? They will not answer that question, and they will not send me to school. They are just like a stepmother to us! (*Laughter.*)"

Even the Russian Government with all its despotic traditions is not so exclusive, and, we fear we must add, so senseless in this one matter, at any rate, as is our own. There are hundreds of fine young men now growing up, the inclusion of whom as officers in India's armies would strengthen Britain's hold on her Indian Empire far more than any possible quarrels the officials can succeed in fostering between different classes of their subjects; but, although the Punjab and Bombay Governments, H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught and others have strongly recommended the creation of Military Colleges in view to this, some authorities, (alas that we do not know who, and so cannot characterize them as their folly merits) always block the way to this, as to all the other needful reforms; so persistently; but hitherto vainly, advocated by the Congress.

It is a part and parcel of this jealous, suspicious policy that they will not allow Indians to volunteer, and that by their indiscriminate disarmament they are doing their utmost to emasculate the people and so render them helpless to support Government in any time of trial. Had this same idiotic policy been pursued for the 25 years prior to the Mutiny, 1857 would have seen the end of British rule here. It was the people—the armed people accustomed to handle weapons—who rallied to the British Standards in those dark days of danger and distress and saved the British Empire in the East. Well said Mr. Sadur-uddeen Ahmed, a Mussalman from Allahabad:—

"The taking of arms from the natives and the enforcement of, practically, prohibitive rules regarding the grant of license is not only prejudicial to the natives of India, but is equally calculated to weaken and cripple the Government itself. Hundreds of millions

* Detailed Report, p. 34.

† Detailed Report, pp. 35, 36.

of people are now under the sway of the British Government in India, none of whom can possibly entertain the remotest feeling of hostility to the Government. On the other hand, they are loyal and faithful subjects, and as the Indian Mutiny of 1857 amply proved, their attachment did not waver even in those troublous times when every stupid and faithless sepoy broke into open rebellion. Is it under the circumstances advisable to render powerless and emasculate, on mere suspicion, a nation whose loyalty has been tested and tried during the last hundred years, by depriving them of the privilege of carrying arms and keeping themselves in touch with the methods of modern warfare? (*Cheers.*) If out of the hundreds of millions that inhabit this vast empire, only a few lakhs were allowed the privilege of carrying arms, the Government would have beside it, without incurring any additional expenditure, a vast array of armed men to support and to assist it in times of need. (*Loud Cheers.*)

"The Emperors of old had confidence in the bravery and faithfulness of the people and never deprived them of arms, and derived considerable assistance from the people in return. The martial spirit of the people of the country raised the descendants of Taimur, Akbar in particular, to the highest pitch of supremacy and power. If the people of India with arms in their hands and bullets in their pockets could remain subject to the Mahomedan's empire and accepted its supremacy, does it stand to reason that they would rebel against so just and civilized a Government as that of the British people? (*Loud Cheers.*)"

"No Emperor ever feared the sword of his subject, nor ever emasculated a brave nation by force. The natives of India belong to a race which opposed Alexander and turned him back beyond the Indus. They are descendants of those brave people who, in the battle of Telaveri, made Shahabuddeen Ghori taste the efficacy of a sword, and made him retreat headlong with his army for upwards of forty miles. To convert such brave and faithful people into protectors of the Throne and guards of the State is to invigorate and strengthen the foundations of the Government. You must have read in history that when Nadir Shah once summoned the Nawab of Furrukabad to Delhi for an interview, and the Nawab replied that he could not come without his armour and weapons, Nadir said: 'Go and tell him he may come with his artillery' (*Cheers.*) What a revolution! There was a time when the Emperors of old were not afraid of the arms of their enemies; a time has now come when we unfortunate, though loyal and faithful subjects, are distrusted even by our own Government. (*Loud cheers.*)"

A very strong feeling too exists as to the refusal of Government to grant simultaneous examinations in India and England for the civil branches of the service.

A Panjabi, Lala Dharam Dass, remarked * :—

"It is a matter of regret that our demands have so far been, save in some small matters, practically ignored. It is the educated alone who can fully appreciate the blessings of good government, and who are able to point out its defects. No doubt educated persons do demand a share in the administration of the Government, and have not noble and just British statesmen admitted from time to time the justice of such demands? The people of India want justice—real justice, not sham. The resolution declares the necessity of holding Civil Service examinations simultaneously in England and in India. The Government have practically closed the Civil Service against natives by holding competitive examinations in England only, and there are but very few of the qualified Indian candidates who can succeed in going to England."

Another gentleman said † :—

"I have a great fancy for one of the passengers in the omnibus, namely (J) 'the necessity, if any real justice is to be done to the people of India, of holding simultaneously, in England and India examinations, at present held only in England, for the civil branches of the Public Service in India.' I am not going to give facts, and figures; that has often been done. I will only quote a line from the despatch: 'They have no desire to extend the practical application of this principle further than political necessity requires.' Now we say that political necessity requires that the Government of a country should at any rate be largely composed of the people of that country, of persons thoroughly conversant with the habits, customs, views, wishes, wants of the people, of persons whose interest are to a great degree identical with those of the people."

* Detailed Report, p. 35.

† Detailed Report, p. 36.

Whereas under the existing system the Government is exclusively composed of foreigners ignorant alike of everything that really concerns the people, and whose interests are distinctly, in most cases, antagonistic to those of the country. Having regard to these anomalies, I say it is absolutely necessary that there should be simultaneous examinations in India and England (*cheers*), so that gradually the Government may come to be largely composed of Indians (*Cheers*)."

But these, and indeed all the other questions referred to in the omnibus resolution, have been so exhaustively discussed and so unanswerably reasoned out, that the neglect of the Government to introduce these pressingly needful reforms can only be due either to sheer perversity, or to an unwillingness to face the laborious tasks that the inception of this new departure would, admittedly, involve. Under either alternative no intelligent, unbiased and conscientious Ruler in India can contemplate the attitude of our existing bureaucracy, busied about tithes of mint and cummin, heedless of weightier matters—*operose nihil agendo*—without some sense of shame and self-reproach; not one, if true to his own better instincts, can escape the humiliating confession, *Video meliora, proboque, deteriora sequor*.

The next resolution prayed for the restoration, by the House of Commons, of the old privilege, until recently possessed by India's friends in Parliament, of bringing forward Indian grievances before the Indian Budget was introduced, and protested against the shameless way in which that Budget, involving all the best interests of 250 millions of people, is disposed of, year by year, at a single sitting, at the fag end of the season, in a House in which, often, not even half a dozen members are continuously present.

"This Sir," said* Mr. W. S. Caine, "is a resolution which has been submitted at previous Congresses, but which has not had the effect that the Congress desire; for the House of Commons has taken no notice of the petition which was sent from Bombay, and it is, therefore, important that the resolution should be re-affirmed, not in an omnibus, but in a carriage of its own (*cheers and laughter*), so that, if possible, we may secure the restoration of one of the most important rights which India previously possessed. The old principle, which is almost as old as Parliamentary institutions in England, that grievance should come before supply, is one of the rights which are held to more tenaciously by members of Parliament than perhaps any other parliamentary right. This resolution craves the restoration of a privilege which is the equivalent, so far as the Indian people are concerned, of that ancient charter of our liberty that grievance shall come before supply. It is also, no doubt, a distinct grievance, and one felt throughout India, that the Budget dealing with the whole finances of the British Empire should be discussed on a single evening at the hottest time of the year at a period when members of Parliament are weary with six months' hard work, and when the bulk of them have left London for their holidays. (*Shame!*) It has long been the custom to treat what I consider one of the most important subjects that come before Parliament with such scant courtesy as that which I have now described. There is no doubt that all Indian questions, with the exception of the Budget itself, are shut out from discussion, except under the chances of a ballot. The only mode by which members of Parliament interested in Indian questions can bring them before the House is by balloting for an opportunity of moving a resolution, on what are called private member's nights—Tuesday and Friday. When you remember that every Tuesday and Friday, while the House sits, from 150 to 200 members of Parliament place down different subjects, in which they are interested, to be ballotted upon, you will see that the chances of an Indian question coming on, there being perhaps only three or four members to put such questions down, are about one in fifty."

"In the old times before 1888, when this privilege was taken away, if we missed our opportunities of bringing Indian grievances before Parliament by resolution on a private

* Detailed Report, pp. 57, 58.

member's night, we had the privilege of grievance before supply on the Budget night to fall back upon. That is now gone, and we wish to have it restored. You must remember that the responsibilities of Parliament towards India are increasing every year. More and more India is being brought into touch with England. (*Cheers*.) During the last five years the interest which has been taken by all politicians, especially by Liberal politicians, in the action of the Indian National Congress, has done much to stimulate the interest of English people in India. But, as our responsibility increases, we find that our powers decrease."

The question need not be pursued further here. The justice of the reclamations of the Congress on these heads is so manifest that, whenever any considerable number of members of Parliament can be induced to look into the subject, the matter will assuredly be put right. Already motions on this point are before the House, which will doubtless be repeated every season, until the desired result is attained.

Mr. D. E. Wacha moved* the fourth resolution, which may be quoted in its entirety as fully telling its own story. It ran thus: Resolved—

"That while recognizing the action taken in response to its previous prayers in the matter of excise reform by H. M.'s Secretary of State for India and the Supreme Government here, and noting with pleasure the increase to the import duty on spirits, the taxation imposed on Indian-brewed malt liquors, the decision of the Bengal Government to abolish the outstill system, and the closing of over 7,000 liquor shops by the Madras Government in 1889-90, this Congress regrets that it is still necessary to urge the Government of India to insist on all Provincial Administrations carrying out in their integrity, the policy, in matters of excise, enunciated in Clauses 103, 104 and 105 of the despatch published in the Gazette of India of March 1st, 1890, especially as to sub-section 4 of Clause 103, viz., "That efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of the local public sentiment, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to such opinion when ascertained."

Both Bengal and Madras have moved, to a certain extent, in the right direction, but Lord Reay, though a most liberal-minded man, and, in almost every other respect, one of the most popular Governors an Indian Presidency has ever had, allowed himself to be misled by a very clever, but as regards the fundamental principles of excise administration, a wholly wrong-headed civilian. Thus it happens that it is chiefly against the Bombay Government that Mr. Wacha directs his remarks. After acknowledging the good work done elsewhere, he says:—

"I regret that I cannot speak similarly of my own Province; the Bombay Government has done absolutely nothing. Nay, the Bombay Government, instead of reforming its ways, has become a worse sinner since the date of the orders of the House of Commons. That is to me a matter of great regret, because, after all our efforts, we are no better off than we were three years ago. Indeed, instead of the Government of Bombay taking the lesson to heart, as given in the resolution of the House of Commons, and by the Government of India itself, it has been going in the wrong direction and increasing the consumption and increasing the revenue. (*Shame!*) For your information I beg in a very short compass to put some statistics before you from which you will see that the statement I have made is not a mere haphazard statement, but a statement borne out by official statistics. The revenue in 1881-82 was 38 lakhs; in 1889-90 it had reached 74 lakhs—an increase of 95 per cent. The consumption has also increased from 18 lakhs of gallons to 27 lakhs, an increase of 50 per cent. Then, again, while Madras justly takes credit for having closed 7,000 liquor shops in a single year, what do we find in Bombay? This: That in 1887-88 we had 4,443 shops, and in 1888-89 we had 4,739 shops, an increase of about 300. This, let me say, has reference more to country spirits than to toddy or other liquor. One of the strongest grievances involved in the abkari administration is that regarding new toddy. Toddy in Bombay, as in other parts of the country, is drunk by the labouring classes

* Detailed Report, pp. 39—45.

for whom Manchester philanthropists have been exerting themselves with so much solicitude. (*Laughter.*) It is comparatively innocuous, not having the strength of ordinary alcoholic beverages; but it is boycotted in Bombay in order that the consumption of ardent spirits may be stimulated. What is the result? Ten years ago there were lakhs of palm trees tapped in different directions, but now the trees stand yielding nothing from the soil they occupy; not a single tree is allowed to be tapped by its owners. The fact is that the original drawers of toddy have lost their industry, and they are now eking out a miserable subsistence in all sorts of miscellaneous and possibly, some of them, questionable ways; and I should not be surprised if many of them have gone to swell the large number of people of whom Sir William Hunter speaks as going with half a meal a day in India. This is a sad picture of the disastrous results of the Bombay abkari administration. Under these circumstances I think you will agree with the statement in the resolution that it is necessary, at this stage, that the Government of India should actually call upon those provincial administrations, which have not carried out this reform, to do so without delay. The farming system is still flourishing in Bombay; the traffic has been stimulated, and it has brought shops to many villages where there were none. The result has been that intemperance has increased.

"With regard to the last and most important part of the resolution I believe there is no one who has given two minutes consideration to this subject who would not say that, in a country like India, sober from ancient times (whatever may be said to the contrary), it is absolutely necessary that the principle inculcated by the House of Commons, as far as local option for India is concerned, should be carried out, even though in some localities it may be necessary to do this slowly and gradually. I cannot better impress you with the importance of this than by a quotation from a statement of the Government of India. They say 'that efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of local public sentiment, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to such opinion when ascertained.' I will give you an instance of the reasonable amount of deference paid to such opinion in Bombay. In the centre of the mill district at Ahmedabad the Collector lately gave a license to open a liquor shop. All the owners of the mills asked to have it closed, but the request was not granted. Then, again, these same people at Ahmedabad, fully aware of the evil of intemperance, requested Lord Harris, when on a visit to the town, that local option might be introduced, but this also was refused. This refusal is a matter of regret, firstly, because it was a disobedience of the instructions of the Government of India; and, secondly, because the introduction of the system there—when the people voluntarily asked for it—was an experiment worthy of trial, if only to prove the goodness and sincerity of the intentions of Government. Lord Harris is, no doubt, new to this country, but I do hope and believe that when he has studied the whole question in all its aspects he will at least try to do his best to introduce this system of local option in Bombay, because I believe that on this question the salvation of India, so far as drinking is concerned, mainly rests." (*Cheers.*)

It is well to give prominence to this to enable people in England to realize how a single, clever, wrongheaded civilian can nullify the distinct orders alike of the House of Commons and the Government of India. This question of reform in the Excise Administration is exciting the greatest attention throughout the country, in a great measure in consequence of Mr. Caine's and his fellow labourers' strenuous personal exertions. Hundreds of temperance associations are springing up, and now that we have friends and supporters in Great Britain, it is certain that Government will get no peace until it thoroughly reforms its liquor department. The debate was marked by much earnestness. Mr. Kashinath Nattu from the Deccan said*—

"If one of our forefathers, who lived 150 years ago, were to stand here and see this august assembly, with what wonder would he regard a sight which, in his own day, would have been an absolute impossibility? But he would be still more wonder-struck to find a proposition being made for which there was no necessity whatever in his day. In the elevated sanctuaries of the Himalayas he devoted his time and thoughts to the contemplation of the infinite and absolute; but the entire devotion of too many of his descendants seems to centre nowadays on a cupboard full of bottles, and he would be astonished to find not a few outcasts here and there, but legions of the highest caste men slaves to the grossest of all vices, intemperance. If we are slow in other matters, we have made

* Detailed Report, p. 41.

almost incredible progress in this. Not long ago in our province the income from this source was only Rs. 10,000, but it is now no less than ten lakhs. (*Shame!*) Where there was no man seen drunk in the streets, there are now hundreds.

"I have come here to support a proposition that ought, I think, to be self-supporting: certainly it needs no support from one so little known as myself. But I speak from the natural impulses of my own heart, and I have a very strong hope that the day will come when, to adapt the Englishman's saying, 'we shall not have a single slave to contaminate our soil,' we shall not have a single drop of spirit to contaminate our sons. Some gentlemen who are otherwise kindly disposed say that this is all the result of education. And who has given us that education? I am inclined to allow the Government to stand *in loco parentis*. 'You are our kind parents and, occupying that position, are you going to open grogshops in every town and street?' It is a thing about which there can be no two opinions even in the House of Parliament. We earnestly ask the Government to do what? To lessen that vice, the prevalence of which is owing in great measure to their own policy. They gave us education, no doubt, but they also made us acquainted with the drink bottle. 'It is you,' we can truly say to them, 'who have brought the evil into our country, and to whom, if not to you, shall we go to find a remedy?' You cannot say no to us. You must close the grogshops. It is said we are not fit to govern ourselves. You have given us the municipal franchise and empowered us to deal with sanitation and other matters; and yet in the same breath you say that we are not fit to regulate our grogshops, to decide on the numbers we will have, or to resolve that we will have none at all. I cordially support this proposition, and I hope the day will come when India will say, 'No liquor, no brandy here, but only Adam's ale—pure water!' (*Cheers.*)"

No less earnest, though in his own quaint way, was Lalla Murlidhar from the Panjab, well known as one of the staunchest Congressmen in India, and abundantly persecuted in consequence, in past times, by the officials. He remarked*—

Now I come to the point. I do not know why you blame these grogshops and grog-sellers, and those who promote the drink traffic. There is more philosophy in a bottle of wine than in all the schools, because it proves in a minute what sages have taken long ages to solve—the problem of the transmigration of souls. (*Cheers and laughter.*) It proves how a human being passes into a brute, and can assume the form of a donkey at will. (*Laughter.*) Yes, even the Theosophists will be puzzled to solve this problem. While the East has taught the West mathematics, astronomy and other sciences, in exchange the West has given us liquor—damnation instead of salvation. That really is a very good barter. We have bargained away our souls, and what have we in exchange? A bottle of gin or a glass of whiskey."

In the Panjab he said some reforms were being carried out:—

"But, in spite of all this, people have become more addicted to drink, because it has been thought to be an adjunct of Western civilization. It is thought that a man cannot become a perfect gentleman unless he drinks a glass of wine. Now another Governor has come to the rescue of the present generation, and he says that if a person indulges in a glass of whiskey there is no harm in it. Is there no harm? Is that the idea of the Governor of millions of people that there is no harm in throwing temptation in the way of the poor wretched creatures who live on one meal a day? They have their children living in misery—clad in rags, lying in the mud; but all this is not enough, there must be these foul liquor shops to tempt them to make things even worse! (*Shame, shame.*)"

"Even our Mahomedan rulers hated and held the liquor traffic accursed. It has been left for our Christian rulers to love it, pet it, stimulate it, and make money by crores out of it. (*Hear, hear.*)"

"Now we find, even in Burmah, a newly conquered Province, we find that liquor shops have been started. And for whose benefit? Not certainly for the benefit of the Burmese, whose creed forbids strong drink, and who are only now, under British tuition, learning how to grow into drunkards and beasts? (*Hear.*) For whose benefit then? The benefit of the British Government, and I marvel equally at the folly and the wickedness of the course adopted. Will a drunken population serve them as well; will it, even in the long run, fill their exchequer as full as a sober one? (*Cheers.*) How too can men, who pretend to believe in God and a

* Detailed Report, pp. 41, 42.

future state, thus set to work coldly, cruelly, systematically to seduce the people committed to their charge by Him into all kinds of sin and misery. And what wickedness does not the habit of drinking lead to? It is not for me to speak much about the evils of drinking. You who have been born in this country and have never tasted liquor have always held it to be only another name for—damnation. (*Laughter*). With these few words I support the resolution. (*Cheers*). I will only add one word. You laugh at me and think that I am a fool. (*No, no*). Really I am a fool (*laughter*), and you must thank the Punjab people, because the representative character of this National Congress would not have been perfect without the presence of one fool, at least, to represent the many. (*Laughter and prolonged cheers*).

Guru Pratab Singh, one of the spiritual leaders of the Sikhs, made* a really very remarkable speech which we reproduce:—

"FRIENDS,—With great respect I beg to state that we Sikhs heartily sympathize with the National Congress; for the national blessings which it is conferring, and will confer, cannot be looked for from any other organization or institution.

"I belong to the family of Sikh Gurus known as Sodhi. I, with my followers, am a supporter of the Congress with body and wealth. My followers are about 25,000 men, and range from Lahore to Candahar.

"Drinking is positively prohibited in our creed as it is in others. No one dare speak in favour of drink. I am much struck that now-a-days it should be needful to warn people against drinking. There was a time when a drunkard would have tried in vain to force his vile liquor on his neighbours; in vain, for people avoided drink, with very rare exceptions, out of respect for their creeds. Now, alas, it is quite common to find men lying naked, and insensible from drink, about our streets.

"What are the best loved things in the world for which all people toil? Is it not wife and children? But those given to drinking do not spare even these, but despoil them of their jewels, nay of their very food, to satisfy their accursed craving.

"The hapless wives and children of this legion of beasts addressed their prayers for succour to God, who listened mercifully and moved the hearts of Mr. Caine and the Congress leaders to espouse their cause and endeavour to rescue the people of India from this great sin and misery that the Government has unwittingly brought upon them.

"This Congress, bent upon this and other good works for our suffering brethren, is not an assembly of men, but of Devas.† It is a place of pilgrimage which purifies the heart choked by the impurities of a lifetime.

"The ruler for the time being is the Vicegerent of God on earth. Our Gracious Empress now occupies such a place. It is in Her name and encouraged by the sacredness of Her position that we of the Congress lift up our voices against this and other great evils from which India is now suffering. May God incline Her heart to listen to our prayers.

"Since this work of the National Congress has begun, educated men have commenced to labour for the good of their fellows, and especially to devote their energies to rooting out this drink evil.

"More than one local Government has taken steps in the right direction, and for this we have to thank both Englishmen like Mr. Caine and his supporters in England, and our National Congress here in India.

"Government revenues will decrease, and some think this will harm Government; but when the people benefit, as in this case, any wise Government counts all such losses a gain. Nay, where Government got one rupee by the drunkenness of its subjects, it will gain ten by their sobriety.

"It is very strange that though education has so widely spread, drink seems to have done so equally. Either education has not produced the expected results, or there has not been enough of it, or it is not the right sort, not sufficiently embodying a moral element. I do not rightly understand, but I pray God Almighty to crown the efforts of this Congress, and of all

who side with them in endeavouring to save the people from this evil of drunkenness, and may He crown our Queen Empress with the choicest blessings and incline her heart to decree the rescue of her people from this grim monster."

The good Guru's perplexity at the untoward results of the education now being diffused amongst us is not unnatural; but the fact is that Western culture is destroying the moral sanctions of the indigenous creeds, and as yet replacing them by no higher law. Social reformers, almost all of them, save those who as Government servants are debarred from this, good Congressmen as well, and pious votaries of many creeds are trying everywhere, to stem the growing evil; but it is to be feared that, unless some new and vivifying faith grows up in the heart of the nation, the almost wholly foreign and purely secular education, now being poured into the country, will give rise, not only to the expected good fruit, but also to a dire and unexpected crop of noxious weeds. No doubt political responsibility, if the Government could be induced to concede it, and other reforms that we have advocated, would do a good deal towards raising the moral as well as the physical status of the people, but even the most sanguine cannot flatter themselves that these will adequately fill the void left by the extraordinarily rapid decay of religious belief.

The resolution was passed unanimously, and then the Congress adjourned until 11 A.M. of the following Monday.

On Sunday the Social Conference assembled in the Congress Pavilion, and passed, after much discussion, various important resolutions in regard to matters of Social Reform. But the Social Conference will, as in former years, publish its own separate Report, and nothing further need be said of it here. The matter is only mentioned because this year, for the first time, some few persons, belonging to the old conservative party, addressed a number of representations to the President and General Secretary, and to the delegates as a body, urging them not to permit the Social Conference to use the Congress Hall, and it is satisfactory to be able to record that not one single delegate was found willing to support this intolerant proposition.

On Monday, when the Congress re-assembled, the first resolution brought forward prayed for a reduction of the salt tax. Year by year, as the popular element grows stronger and stronger in the Congress party, the delegates find themselves, compelled by their constituencies, to lay more and more stress upon this subject. The resolution ran as follows:—

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

It was proposed by Mr. Pringle Kennedy, and the subject is of such vital importance to our poorer classes, viz., to four-fifths of the population, that no

* Detailed Report, pp. 42, 43.
† Viz., Semi-divine beings.

apology seems necessary for quoting at great length, alike from his speech and from those of other delegates who supported the proposal. Mr. Kennedy said :—

“Not everybody in India is a contributor to the abkari revenue, and, if Mr. Caine has his way, the number of such contributors will dwindle by shrinkage to a vanishing quantity. All the inhabitants of India are not fortunate enough to possess Rs. 500 a year, and to have in consequence the pleasure of submitting to the income-tax. But every man, woman and child in this country must eat salt, and thus be a feeder of the Imperial Treasury. (*Hear, hear*). ”

“The salt-tax is an income-tax on all incomes down to the lowest. The poorer a man is, the heavier is its incidence. What that incidence is I shall hereafter show. In England a labourer who drinks neither alcoholic beverages nor tea nor yet smokes tobacco, pays nothing to the State. In India the lowliest peasant, the poorest coolie, nay the very beggar widow in the street, has to drop her mite into the Imperial Treasury. (*Hear, hear*). Such a tax needs very cogent reasons to defend it.”

“When I hear that the people do not mind it, the only meaning that I can put to this expression is that people do not speak of it. Gentlemen, an eel is said not to mind skinning. It is used to it. I suppose it seems to them a visitation of an inscrutable providence; and hence, no doubt, our people, unless questioned, do not, in many parts of the country, speak much about it. But when I think of the salt tax, my thought takes me to Feudal France, when that existed under the name of the Gabelle. They did not mind it, so the rulers said: and, no doubt, even if they did, they rather hesitated to press the point, for, in those days, a gallows was found to be even more disagreeable than a poll tax, and their rulers were quite handy at hanging all who differed from them on such political questions. But, Gentlemen, if the wheels of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small, and the end came; I need not say how.”

“Now I come to the incidence of the Indian salt tax. Bear with me while I give you a few figures. I shall try to make them as round and simple as I can. First of all, from enquiry, amongst other places at Her Majesty's jails where luxuries are not likely to be given, I find that nine or ten chittacks a month, or seven seers and a little over—we will drop the little over—are necessary to keep an adult in health. Now, there are more than twenty-five tens of millions of people in India, and making a deduction for children and others, who need a less quantity of salt than adults, we may take it that 20 tens of millions rations of salt at the rate, above mentioned, or something over 3½ tens of millions of maunds of salt, are necessary to keep the people in health. And this quantity at Rs. 2-8 per maund, the present rate of duty, should yield 8½ tens of millions of rupees. But if I turn to the latest revenue returns, I find that 7½ tens of millions of rupees roughly was the last year's salt revenue. This gives 6 annas a head; and it shows, since the tax is one anna a seer, the fact that each person has 6 and not 7 seers of salt a year, as he ought to have at the least. (*Hear, hear*). As a matter of fact in British territory, (they are better off in some of the native states), the Government itself calculates the consumption at not more than 10lbs. or a little less than 5 seers per head. There is doubtless considerable smuggling on the one side, but on the other it must be mentioned that human consumption is not the sole, though the chief, use of salt, and that many of the people consume a far greater quantity than the minimum we have given. I know perfectly well that many of the people have not sufficient bread either, but the price of that is not artificially raised by Government.”

“Let us look at the subject from a different point of view. In an article in the *Pioneer*, some months ago, by Mr. Robertson, it was stated that a Madras official, who made a careful study of the question, had ascertained that the average monthly income of the agriculturists in the district of Karaikal was 12 annas per head, say Rs. 4 for a family of five. Very rough calculations on my part give me similar results for the districts of Durbhangah and Mozufferpore. The *Gazetteer* published several years ago, gives the expenditure of a well-to-do Tirhoot peasant, and therefore I presume the income at about Rs. 11 per month. This was for a family of five. The poorer, it is said, have to reduce their expenditure to about half of this. Let us say Rs. 5 for a family of five. Now if these five ate 24 seers of salt in the year, as in accordance with the official calculations already stated, they would do, this would be (leaving out any calculation for the increased price, which, as all economists know, considerably exceeds the amount of the tax itself), at one anna a seer, Rs. 1-8, and so a family having Rs. 60 a year would have to pay Rs. 1-8 as their salt duty. This is a tax of nearer five than four pies a month and this too on incomes not over Rs. 500 a year, but of only Rs. 5 a month. If, mine, and a Madras civilian's figures be taken, the people of these districts would be paying over 6 pies in the rupee, and if they ate 7 instead of 6 seers,

* Detailed Report, pp. 44, 45.

the tax would be nearly 7 pies in the rupee, and that on incomes of less than Rs. 50 a year. Think of these facts, ye Gentlemen, who have incomes over Rs. 500 a year, and grumble at the payment of 4 pies in the rupee! Meditate over them those of you who possess an income of over Rs. 2,000 a year and whine at the payment of 5 pies in the rupee!

“Now, Sir, only one word more about figures. If the tax were reduced to Rs. 2, salt would sell at about 13 seers instead of 10 seers for the rupee as it now does. If the duty were reduced to one rupee, as Lord Mayo, Sir J. Strachey, and subsequently Sir Evelyn Baring desired, salt would sell for 20 seers for the rupee, and if salt were duty free, a blessed day, but I am afraid far away in the millennium, salt would sell at 40 seers for the rupee in those places even where it is now dearest, and in many provinces it would be far cheaper. Why the actual cost of producing one maund of salt at the Mayo mines, the Sambhur lake, the Kareghora works and the Madras coast works, is under *two annas*! But, Gentlemen, Government, like other people, must live. We do not ask for the abolition of the whole tax. Mr. Caine is for doing away with the abkari revenue, others for reducing the income-tax. We say that already the financial situation is so improved—on this point, I believe, a speaker after me will dilate—that a part of the salt tax may be remitted, and, by judicious economy and reduction of military expenditure and home charges, the tax may be still further lowered.”

“When you get your Representative Councils, you may be sure that the Government will listen to you, when you propose to tax yourselves, if in no other matter. If then this burden is still too heavy for the millions of the land after all economy is made, the only way whereby you can alleviate its weight is by taking some of it on yourselves. Gentlemen, when some fifty years ago, John Bright lay prostrate under one of the greatest afflictions that can befall mortal man, Cobden came to him and said: ‘Your grief is great, but remember that there are millions of widows and widows' sons who perish this day in England from lack of cheap bread.’ In this great land of India there are millions of men and women and children this day who have their lives shortened, their physique stunted, and with their physique, their moral and intellectual faculties blunted, by lack of cheap salt. (*Hear, hear*). I address many of the great of this land. Will they use all their influence to make this precious necessary of life cheaper? Fellow Delegates, will you show that they accuse you falsely, who say your care is all for yourselves and that this movement is simply one for the substitution of Indian dark-skinned for European fair-skinned Brahmins, by saying: ‘If in no other way can this yoke be made less grievous, tax us, tax the rich but let the poor go!’ I appeal to you, one and all in this Hall, to show that Western education has brought with it an increase of sympathy and charity for your poorer brethren, for the dumb millions of the land, without which sympathy and charity, all the knowledge of this earth is but as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal.” (*Loud cheers*).

To him followed Mr. Dinshaw E. Wacha of Bombay in a closely reasoned speech which does not admit of condensation. He said:—†

“You have already heard Mr. Kennedy on the question of the consumption of salt and the oppressive incidence of the salt tax on the people. I will, however, make a few further observations on this part of the subject, before I dwell at some length on the financial condition of the country, which is the ground on which we propose to memorialise the Government of India to reduce the tax. The principal object of the Resolution before you is to urge upon the Government the justice of remitting the enhanced salt duty of 8 annas per maund, which is no longer imperative on account of the material improvement which the finances of the Empire have undergone since the date of its imposition. It is needless for me to recall to your memory the pretext under which the enhancement was justified in the early part of 1888, despite the fact that well-informed critics in the press and responsible associations, at the time, conclusively showed that it was uncalled for.

“Previous to the imposition of the augmented duty, the Government of India had absorbed in two years 8½ crores of rupees, viz:—

By Income Tax	...	...	...	...	Rs. 2,75,00,000
Improvements and Economies	...	...	...	...	„ 2,00,00,000
Curtailement of Provincial Allotment	...	...	...	...	„ 1,00,00,000
Appropriation of Famine and Railway Fund	...	...	...	...	„ 3,00,00,000

* Great indignation is felt, as a rule, by Indians, at the selfish outcry of many Europeans, especially in Calcutta, against the Income-tax. If they only asked, as the Congress does, that incomes below £50 a year should be exempt from the Tax, all would sympathize with them. As it is, all they want is to save their own pockets and get rid of the Tax altogether; already the poor pay far too much, the rich far too little, and instead of abolishing the tax, Government should raise it to 6 pie per rupee on all incomes exceeding Rs. 10,000 per annum.

† Detailed Report, pp. 46-49.

This colossal amount of nearly 9 crores was wasted on the following questionable and hazardous enterprises:—

Upper Burma acquisition	...	...	...	...	Rs. 3,51,00,000
Penjdel Field Force	...	...	...	...	" 2,11,60,000
Transfrontier Defences and Railways	...	...	...	...	" 2,00,00,000
Additional Military Expenditure	...	...	...	...	" 98,00,000

"But even after the absorption of such a vast amount there was a heavy deficiency which the Government regretfully urged, necessitated a recourse to additional taxation in the shape of an enhanced duty of 8 annas per maund on such a necessary of life as salt. The deficiency was chiefly attributable, according to Lord Dufferin's statement, to the fall in the value of silver.

"We need not, however, trouble ourselves much with the past. We are now here to remind the Government that our finances are in a condition to justify the remission of the enhanced duty. For that purpose let me put some statistics before you. I know that statistics are very dry, and that blue books of a dry-as-dust character are never looked at by the public; but, considering the importance of the resolution before you, I hope you will give your attention to the figures I am going to place before you.

"Previous Finance Ministers, particularly Sir John Strachey and Sir Evelyn Baring, two of the ablest ministers since the days of the late Mr. Wilson and Mr. S. Laing, repeatedly declared that the lower the salt duty the better for the country and the better for the Imperial revenue, because a lower duty stimulates consumption and a higher one restricts it. Government itself has admitted the soundness of this doctrine, and I will now proceed to show by figures how a lower or higher duty affects consumption. In 1876-77, when various rates of duty were enforced in the different provinces of the Empire, the total recorded amount which paid the salt-tax was 25,847,830 maunds. In 1878, Sir John Strachey brought about an equalization of the duty, everywhere, by fixing the uniform rate of Rs. 2-8 per maund. It remained in force till 1882. During this period the annual quantity of salt which paid the duty of Rs. 2-8 per maund averaged 27,288,569 maunds. This annual average, compared with the consumption recorded in 1876-77, showed a growth of 5-5 per cent. In 1882, the government of Lord Ripon reduced the duty to Rs. 2 per maund, at which it remained till it was again raised to Rs. 2-8 by Lord Dufferin in 1888. The quantity which paid the reduced duty of Rs. 2 averaged during the five years 30,830,847 maunds per annum.

"The increase during this quinquennial period, compared with the average of the previous four years, was 3,542,278 maunds, equal to a percentage of 13. Thus, while in the period when the duty was Rs. 2-8, the increase equalled 1-37 per cent per annum; in the period when it was Rs. 2 the growth equalled 2-6 per cent per annum. (*Cheers*). It is obvious that, had there been no enhancement, the progress in consumption up to date would have been maintained at that or even a higher rate. But just as this progress was perceptible all throughout the country, the financial embarrassments of the Government led, as they asserted, to the augmentation of the duty and with it to a restricted consumption. In his last financial statement Sir David Barbour has tried to show that the progress of consumption has received no check. According to his own figures, however, as given in the 23rd paragraph of that statement, it is clear that consumption in 1890-91 is estimated at about 31,930,000 maunds, which is less by 900,000 maunds than the recorded figures of 1886-87.

"Sir David attempts to demonstrate that, in spite of the increased duty, consumption, which had evidently fallen, is again creeping to the old level. But Sir David forgets two important factors: Firstly, that population is increasing at the rate of one per cent. per annum; and, secondly, that but for the enhancement, the percentage of progress observable till 1887 might have been better in 1890-91. Indeed, it is a question whether the consumption per head has not fallen below the average of 10lb. per annum. That average is considered everywhere, but in India, to be quite inadequate, especially as we allow nothing in our computation for the consumption of cattle, hundreds of thousands of whom annually lose condition for want of salt and die off consequently on the smallest failure of pasturage, and thus cripple to a serious extent the means which mainly contribute to the production of our national wealth."

"I will give you some figures of the consumption of salt in Europe and America, from which it will be easily perceived how much India falls short of what may be called an adequate consumption of salt. In the United Kingdom there is no duty, and the consumption is 80lb. per head, but of course this includes much salt for manufacturing purposes. In France it is 50lb.; in Germany 25; in Russia 19—Russia, whose economic conditions are in some respects, identical with those of India; in Austria 14, in Italy 18, in Spain and Portugal, poor as they are, 17lb. The consumption in the United States is 39lb.; the average in Europe is 26lb.

"Then look at the incidence of the duty. The average income per head of the European population is £15 4s. 7½d. per head, while the salt duty per head averages 11d. Now taking the rupee at 1s. 6d. the average income of the population in India is £2, while the salt duty per head averages 5d. and 1½ farthings. Therefore, in Europe, the salt duty is 0-3 per cent, on the income, while in India it is over 1-1 per cent—or, in other words, the incidence of the salt tax is now nearly four times as heavy in India as in Europe. Formulated in other terms it means that India, with an income hardly more than ¼th that of Europe, pays nearly half as much as a tax on a necessity of life like salt. Thus the duty operates as a real hardship on the poorest people, who constitute the large majority of our population. How great is the hardship may be realised by taking a concrete example. A family of five consumes on an average, say, 50lbs. of salt annually. But there are only two bread-winners, man and wife, the rest being young persons or children. Taking the average income of each earner at the official computation, viz., Rs. 27 per head, and calculating the lowest retail bazar price at Rs. 3 per maund, it will be found that there is a burden of nearly 4 per cent, on the combined income per annum merely for salt. Imagine an income-tax of 4 per cent, on a poor family of 5; and nearly one-sixth of this is due to the extra 8 annas. Thus the enhancement of the duty, however small, operates with great hardship on the masses.

"Under these circumstances it is a matter of deep regret to us all that the two* native gentlemen who were present at the meeting at the Viceregal Council when this enhancement Bill was passed, should have observed that increased duty would not be felt by the people! I believe that statement was directly opposed to the all but absolutely universal opinion outside the Council Chamber. The statement was more to be regretted because it misled Lord Dufferin into observing, later on in his speech, that the Council were 'glad to hear' that the enhancement of the duty would not be considered a hardship. This is the way in which nominated members of the Viceregal Council fulfil their trust. It is evident that had there been elected representatives of the people, as proposed by us for the reformed Legislative Councils, no such opinion would have been allowed to prevail and mislead the Government. (*Cheers*). Eight annas may appear trifling to most of us; but they mean a great deal to the poorest. What they signify may be best stated in the substance of the words of Sir Evelyn Baring: 'Eight annas to the poor ryot means the purchase of either 3 yards of cloth or a little *lota*.'

"Gentlemen, all through the history of the salt tax it has been said that it is a poll-tax and that it falls heavily on the poor. My personal opinion is that it should have no place in our fiscal system, for it is a tax on a necessity of life, and is, moreover, at its present rate, fully 25 times the actual cost of production. Eminent statesmen, from Sir John Lawrence to Lord Ripon, have disapproved of it. But it is now too late to abolish it altogether. It is of no use contending with existing facts. All that we should strive for is a low duty, on the sound principle that it is conducive to greater consumption both for men and cattle.

"I now pass to the second part of the resolution. I hold in my hand a copy of the explanatory memorandum by the Under Secretary of State for India, presented to Parliament in August last. At page 50 there is a table of *Net Revenue and Expenditure* for the three years ending 1889-90, and also budget estimates for the current official year. Comparing the complete accounts of 1887-88 with the estimates of this year what do we find? This only, that there is a satisfactory growth of revenue under all the principal heads. Leaving alone opium, salt and provincial rates I find that the increase under the other heads amounts to 143 lakhs of rupees as under:—

	Accounts.	Budget Estimates.	Increase.
	1887-88.	1890-91.	1890-91.
Land Revenue Rs.	19,653,600	20,119,000	466,000
Stamps "	3,669,000	3,846,000	177,000
Excise "	4,374,000	4,645,000	271,000
Customs "	1,182,000	1,378,000	196,000
Assessed Taxes "	1,383,000	1,514,000	131,000
Forest "	402,000	565,000	163,000
Registration "	123,000	150,000	27,000

"Thus, apart from salt, which now yields a larger revenue on account of a higher duty, apart from opium which is precarious in its yield, and apart from provincial rates which are mere transfer receipts, there is a growth in four years of 143 lakhs. But beyond this improvement on the revenue side there is, gentlemen, a material saving in one item of Imperial expenditure. I refer to the interest charge on the ordinary debt. In 1887-88, the net charge under this head was Rs. 46,950,000. In the estimates of expenditure for 1890-91 it is put down at Rs. 35,060,000. The saving in four years amounts to 118 lakhs. While we

* Rajah Peary Mohan Mookerjee, one of the two gentlemen referred to, was on the platform.

note this improvement in our national expenditure with great satisfaction, we cannot, but feel agghast when we discover that expenditure under other heads had risen by leaps and bounds by no less than 308 lakhs.

		Accounts. 1887-88.	Budget Estimates. 1890-91.	Increases.
Civil Department	Rx. ...	11,410,000	12,075,000	665,000
Miscellaneous Charges	" ...	3,155,000	3,702,000	547,000
Buildings and Roads	" ...	4,859,000	5,128,000	269,000
Army Services	" ...	19,357,000	20,522,000	1,165,000
Special Defence Works	" ...	456,000	892,000	436,000

"Thus in four years they have managed to run up Civil and Military charges, including defence works, by the enormous extent of 3 crores. The army services alone have increased by a crore and sixteen lakhs! not to speak of defence works having been run up 100 per cent! It is these stupendous charges which eat up your growing revenue. It is the so-called defence policy, the safeguarding of our frontiers and transfrontiers from a bugbear of their own creation, created to find staff appointments, and employments to the already monied European classes, which is at the root of the financial embarrassments of the Government and at the root of the starvation and misery which are eating away the lives of tens of millions of our poorer Indians. There are military and other critics who disapprove of that policy. Our late lamented friend Mr. Slagg characterised it two years ago, as you may remember, as a 'mad' policy, when speaking on the subject in the House of Commons. I believe that it is a 'mad' policy. I know that it is a wicked policy, and, as long as it is pursued headlong, it will continue to embarrass the finances and add millions yearly to our already alarmingly heavy death roll. The embarrassments arising from the fall in the value of silver are in my opinion nothing—a mere fleabite—compared with the financial difficulties in which the Government of India is plunged by this insane military policy. I repeat; that unless a great effort is made at future Congresses to force the Government to desist from these reckless and indefensible operations beyond the natural lines of Indian defence, there can be scarcely any hope of pecuniary relief to the tax payer—scarcely any hope for the amelioration of the miserable condition of our starving millions. Since the Panich scare they have spent, according to the official statements, full 13 crores on the so-called trans-frontier defences; but we have not yet seen the last of them, for in the last financial statement reference is made to a further probable expenditure of a crore!

"I now come to the practical part of the resolution. Of course, we have to submit resignedly to this ruinous, this unprincipled trans-frontier policy of the Government until we succeed in awakening the consciences of our British fellow-subjects. We are British subjects, now, of our own free choice; we have thrown in our lot with England for better and for worse, and it is this which enhances England's sin in permitting the continuance of this hateful policy. Will our British brethren never awake? Meanwhile more ammunition, more explosives, more fireworks and even more troops are being requisitioned. These costly pastimes, amusements to our rulers, death to our people, may deter the authorities from giving ear to our prayers and protests. But it is well, none the less, to remind them of their own declaration that the enhanced duty 'must go' as soon as the finances permit.

"One of the principal grounds on which Lord Dufferin stated that he was obliged, 'with the greatest reluctance,' to increase the duty, was the loss by exchange. I quote from the speech he made about the beginning of 1888: 'Unfortunately, it has become my lot, on several occasions to add to the taxation of the country, but in justification of this hard necessity, it is sufficient for me to remark that since my arrival in India, owing to the depreciation in the price of silver, the annual accumulation of loss to the Government has progressively increased yearly by a million.' He goes on to say: 'The loss in 1884-85, when I first took up the reins of Government, stood at 3.40 crores; in 1885-86 at 4.40 crores; in 1886 at 5.40 crores, and in 1887-88 at 6.60 crores.' The latest financial statement gives the loss on exchange at 7 crores. It was, however, promised by both Lord Dufferin and Mr. Westland that the duty should be remitted on the first opportunity that the finances were relieved of this embarrassment. That opportunity has now arrived. Since the publication of the last budget you are all aware that exchange has greatly improved, partly in consequence, possibly, of the action taken in regard to silver in the United States. Though we had violent fluctuations in August and September last, exchange still stands, to-day at about 1s. 6½d. The amount to be remitted this year to the Secretary of State is nearly 15 millions sterling. The rate of exchange was estimated in March last at 1s. 4½d., and the probable loss at that rate was computed to be 7 crores. But already 11 millions have been remitted at an average rate of 1s. 6½d., and there is no reason to doubt that the balance of the remittance will be made at or about the same rate." Sir John Gorst himself

* The italics are, of course, ours, but it is impossible to emphasize too strongly these pregnant words which embody the convictions of all the best and most earnest of our Indian thinkers.

stated when presenting the budget in August last that the rate would probably be maintained at 1s. 6½d., so that it may be taken for granted that the loss by exchange will be very much less than the budget estimate of 7 crores. I compute it at only about 4.66 crore. Thus, apart from all other fluctuations of revenue and expenditure, there would be a saving under this head alone of nearly 2½ crores. Sir John Gorst counts on a surplus of 1.87 crore. Taking his figures and the actual surplus of 2 crores of last year, it may be reasonably expected that there will be available a surplus of not less than 4 crores in all. And, unless the authorities persevere in muddling it away on military mischief, that surplus should suffice, not only for the remission of the enhanced duty, but for reduction of this latter to Re. 1-8. (Loud cheers).

"But I beg to bring to your notice two more facts which will convince you that even apart from these surpluses, the financial condition of the Imperial Treasury has so far improved as to justify our demand for a remission. The additional duty yields, it is asserted, 1½ crores (it is not really so much), and I say that that 1½ crores could be dispensed with easily for some years to come. According to Sir David Barbour's statement, there has been a permanent growth in the principal heads of revenue of ¾ of a crore per annum. Exchange, again, is unlikely to go back to 1s. 4½d. for some time to come. Looking at current events and the further agitation on silver in America, it seems that a rate of 1s. 6½d., or even 1s. 6d., will be fairly maintained. But even if exchange could be maintained at 1s. 5½d. that would diminish the loss on the Secretary of State's bills in future to the extent of 1 crore roughly speaking, for an improvement of a penny in exchange gives a saving, according to official estimates, of just that amount. The saving, plus the permanent increase of ¾ crore in the principal sources of revenue, make up 1½ crores, so that the Government is in a position to safely give up the 1½ crore now supposed to be derived from the additional duty of 8 annas per maund as a matter of fact the loss, owing to increased consumption, would, after the first year, be less than one crore. Both financial conditions and the justice of the case demand imperatively, that a remission should be made. I think, Gentlemen, I have now shown substantial reasons for the remission. And if you think I have made out a substantial case on which to base our representation to Government to remit the duty, I am sure that that representation will, at any rate, deserve an attentive and favorable consideration at the hands of the authorities. (Loud and prolonged cheers)."

Then followed Mr. G. K. Gokhale, who spoke* as follows:—

I have been asked to support this proposition that has been ably proposed, seconded and explained by previous speakers. My predecessors have dealt with certain aspects of the question, and I will with your permission deal with one or two others. I say that the measures for the enhancement of the duty on salt in January 1888 by a mere executive order of the Government of India was a cruel departure—I might almost say a criminal departure—from the wise policy long since laid down by the Government of India and re-affirmed, strange as it may seem, when Lord Lytton was our Viceroy and Sir John Strachey our Finance Minister, namely the policy of raising a revenue from salt by a low rate of duty and unrestricted consumption instead of by a high rate of duty and restricted consumption. I say that this new departure was extremely unjust, that as a measure of statesmanship it was extremely impolitic, and that its consequences have been simply disastrous. I know these are serious charges, but I think I can substantiate them. First, with regard to the charge of injustice. When Lord Dufferin's government passed the Income Tax Act of 1886 his Lordship said that the measure was not brought forward in any spirit of apology; that the masses of the country were already contributing more than their proper share to the expenses of the country, and that the income-tax would only equalize the burdens on the various classes. Well, the burdens being thus equalised in 1886, I ask on what principle of justice and equity was it that when two years afterwards a new emergency, as Government were pleased to call it, arose for additional taxation, it was the poor masses who were selected? How was it that when it was found necessary to create a fresh inequality in the taxation of the country matters were so arranged that the inequality was again prejudicial to the toiling masses? I do not know whether it was because the masses were almost certain to suffer silently without protest—I would even say without complaint—whereas their wealthier brethren were as certain to denounce any taxation on them in the public press and at St. Andrew's dinner speeches. So much with regard to the injustice of the measure: now with regard to its impolicy. We have on our side an authority not only infinitely greater than myself but one to which the Government of India ought to bow—I mean the authority of the Secretary of State for India, Lord Cross himself. Three months after the measure of

* Detailed Report, pp. 49-51.

enhancement his Lordship wrote a Despatch to the Government on the subject. It was dated April 12th, 1888, and in it he expresses his great regret at the enhancement of the salt duty, and directed the Government of India in very distinct, unequivocal, and I would say peremptory, terms to take off the additional eight annas on the first opportunity afforded by the finances. He then went on to say that even from the point of view of expediency the enhancement was extremely undesirable, because in the case of so vast an empire as India it was absolutely essential for the Government always to hold in hand some financial reserve which they might utilize on occasions of any sudden and dangerous crisis. So much with regard to impolicy: now, with regard to consequences, I am going to show that consumption has actually been restricted by this measure. In 1888 Mr. Westland, our Finance Minister, said that the enhancement would not affect the consumption of the country. The figures supplied by Sir David Barbour himself belied that prediction. The last year unaffected was 1886-87, and then the consumption stood at 3 crores and 10 lakhs of maunds. The next year, 1887-88, the first year affected by the measure, there was a fall of 6 lakhs of maunds, the figures being 3 crores 4 lakhs. The next year there was a further fall of 6 lakhs, the figures being 2 crores 98 lakhs. It is true that the figures have now gone up to those of 1886-87, but that does not show that the restrictive operation of that enhancement has ceased, because we have to take into consideration the important factor of the increase in the consumption of salt owing to the normal growth of the population. That normal growth is one per cent per annum, and taking the consumption at 10 lbs. per head, you find that every year there ought to be an increase of fully 3 lakhs of maunds in the consumption of salt.

"Taking this into account you will see that in the first year affected by the enhancement there was a fall of 9 lakhs, in the second of 18, and in the third of 9. Altogether in the last three years 36 lakhs of maunds less have been consumed by the people than they would have consumed if there had not been the enhancement. (*Cheers*). Sir John Gorst speaking the other day in the House of Commons said that the diminution in the consumption of salt was not appreciable—that was the term he used. I do not know what dictionaries would justify the use of the term, but Sir John Gorst is welcome to use the word in this connection. But I ask him, and those who think with him, who are the persons affected by this diminishing consumption? I dare say there is not a single person present, not a single member of those who are called the middle and upperclasses, who have consumed, during the last three years, one grain of salt less than he would have done if there had been no enhancement. Who are the persons affected? They are those who have been estimated by Sir William Hunter at 40 millions, and by Sir Charles Elliott at 70 millions, who always exist on the borderland of famine, so that, directly there is the least failure, down the precipice they go. The persons affected by this enhancement are they to whom the lines of the Corn Law poet might aptly be applied:—

'Landless, joyless, helpless, hopeless,
Gasping still for bread and breath
To their graves by trouble haunted
India's helots toil till death.' (*Loud cheers.*)

"When you call to mind the thin emaciated figures of these unhappy, miserable, brethren, who have as much right to the comforts of this God's earth as you or I or any one else; when you remember that the lives of these brethren are so uniformly dark and miserable, that they are hardly cheered by a single ray of hope, or relieved by a single day of rest; when, further, you remember that a person does not generally trench upon his stock of necessities before he has parted with every luxury, every single comfort that he may allow himself; when you recall all these things, you will clearly understand what grievous and terrible hardship and suffering and privation this measure of enhancement, which has curtailed the poor man's consumption of salt by thirty-six lakhs of maunds, has really entailed. (*Cheers.*)"

Space will not allow us to reproduce much more of these earnest and eloquent appeals on behalf of our suffering masses. We will therefore only quote further one short passage from Lala Murlidhur's speech* :—

"If you deny," he said, "salt to these poor people, you may as well deny them air to breathe, light to see, and water to drink. What does the salt duty mean? It is a tax on hunger and on thirst; it is a tax on one's life. It is a wrong which presses hard on these people. Place yourselves in the position of these poor men; go to their homes and see for yourselves what sort of life they lead; and then say if you will deny them the last thing

* Detailed Report, pp. 52, 53.

which makes the scanty insipid scraps of food, which is all they can ever compass, at all palatable to these wretched creatures. (*Cheers.*) For God's sake, I say, do not deny them this one luxury which they stand much in need of. Do any of us approve this cruel grinding of our pauper brethren? Do I, do any of us?"

No! Certainly no one then present, unless indeed it might be Rajah Peary Mohun Mookerjee, who in the Viceroy's Council supported this cruel enhancement in 1888. But to him doubtless these vehement and unanswerable condemnations of the policy he had supported were unpalatable, and it happened that, at this juncture, a gentleman rose to propose an amendment, which, if entertained seriously by any appreciable section of the assembly would, to a certain extent, have excused his action.

The purport of the amendment* was that there was no necessity for reducing the tax, but that Government ought to make special rules for special localities regarding the preparation and consumption of salt for the preservation of cattle and industrial purposes. Mr. Deva Prasad Sarvadhikari's speech† which may be read, was not devoid of cleverness; he had a bad case and was absolutely ignorant of the salt question, and yet he spoke fluently for a quarter of an hour, making at least some semblance of defending his amendment. To his head as a lawyer his address may not do discredit, but where his heart as a citizen is concerned the verdict must be different.

To the astonishment of all present, Mr. R. D. Mehta of Calcutta rose to second the amendment. He clearly had never considered the subject, and his main point‡ was that there was no substantial difference between the original proposition and the amendment! He appears to have been actuated by a chivalrous feeling that every opinion ought to have a hearing, and that as no one else would second the amendment, he would.

He was followed by Mr. Mohini Mohan Chatterjee who took him and his leader, and Rajah Peary Mohun Mookerjee properly to task. Some passages§ from his speech we may usefully reproduce:—

"Mr. Mehta asks what is the substantial difference between the original proposition and this so-called amendment. (*Cheers.*) They are utterly different and distinct. (*Cheers.*) We say that the salt-tax generally should be reduced, so that all our pauper millions, who chiefly feel the tax, throughout the Empire, should be relieved *pro tanto*. He says, make special rules for special localities, so that some small isolated communities may be benefited. Our proposition is simple and practical—his absolutely impracticable. (*Cheers.*)

"Of course, he has not studied the question. Of course he does not know that differential rates of duty involving cordons to keep the cheaper salt out of localities where it is not intended to be used, are absolutely indefensible; that from Lord Mayo's time the whole aim of every reformer has been to get rid of these cordons by having one uniform invariable rate of duty throughout Hindustan; that this by infinite pains has been accomplished; and that his resolution proposes to resuscitate all the evils inseparable from differential rates. Our resolution asks for a practical reform—his for an impracticable retrograde movement; that is the substantial difference! (*Loud cheers.*)

"As far as I can understand its scope the amendment proposed, with the exception of the verbal alteration suggested, comes to this: Let rules be made enabling particular communities of

* *Ibid* Detailed Report, p. 53.

† Detailed Report, pp. 53—55.

‡ Detailed Report, p. 55.

§ Detailed Report, pp. 55—57.

men in particular localities—I don't think it can mean the country generally, or there would be an end of salt taxation—to make their own salt, never mind how unwholesome it may be. Rules it seems are to be made with reference to local peculiarities, which, to my mind, only means, let those who are living on the sea coast make their own salt; and how is this salt to be prevented from going inland? But if these rules are to be general, then every man living anywhere where there is even salt earth may make his own salt cheap and nasty; and we do not want that; and, moreover, nothing short of millions of preventive officials can prevent this cheap and nasty salt, once made, from circulating over the entire country; and we don't want a new army of licensed blackmailers; and without this army the cheap salt will circulate and salt taxation come to an end; and we don't want that even, as yet; we can't afford it, though we can afford to reduce the rate by eight annas, and thus no doubt sacrifice about one million sterling of revenue which Mr. Watcha has shown that we can well spare if there be no new frontier extravagances. (*Loud cheers.*)

“The salt-tax is objectionable because it is a tax on life. It is not an income-tax, but a tax on life itself. (*Cheers.*) As to the remedy proposed by the amendment, it is worse even than the malady. (*Hear, hear.*) Independent of the army of blackmailers, the salt thus made will be bad salt, full of sulphates and nitrates, not only of sodium, but also of lime and magnesium. It is really better that the people should have no salt than have salt which will introduce disease into the system.

“There is one other point in connection with the amendment to which I wish to make reference. If it were practically carried into effect in the manner in which I believe it to be intended, the result will be great inequality in the taxation levied upon salt in different parts of the country. If we could exempt classes and so arrange that the poor should get their salt free, there would be something in it. But that is impossible; even with differential rates they can only be applied to localities; all in which, rich or poor, must enjoy the cheaper salt—to me an absurd proposition. I do not know what you think, but certainly I should think that this would be a great evil. Why should one locality pay Re. 1 and another Rs. 3 duty per maund on its salt? This was the old vicious exploded system. Are we to go back to this? We do not want that some parts should have a plentiful and cheap supply, while in others salt should be scarcer and dearer even than at present. What we want is wholesome salt, cheap, and plenty of it; and that, as I have tried to show, the amendment does not provide for.”

* * * * *

“When, gentlemen occupying high positions, coddled in the lap of luxury, say, ‘Oh the poor won't feel it,’ there is something so chilling, so discouraging, so sickening in this cynicism that the power of adjectives is quite unable to properly characterize such base and selfish utterances.”

Other speakers followed exposing the fallacy of Mr. D. P. Sarvadhikari's verbal meanderings (they really cannot be called *arguments*); then the amendment was put, no one but the proposer and seconder voting for it, and finally the resolution was carried unanimously, not even Messrs. Mehta and Sarvadhikari seeing their way to oppose it.

The next resolution referred to a question, the Permanent Settlement, in which the entire population of India is almost as deeply and actively interested as in the reduction of the Salt Tax. No doubt the idea is very prevalent that this question only interests the Zemindars and Taluqdars and other wealthy people, and hence outsiders speak of this as a mere class question. But no greater misconception could exist. In the first place the great bulk of the agriculturists throughout the Bombay and Madras Presidencies are peasant proprietors, and elsewhere the cultivators are strongly of opinion, and we believe rightly so, that were the Government to leave off screwing the Zemindars, these would, for the most part, deal more liberally with their cultivators. All classes know well that, once a permanent settlement is secured, a much larger yield can

be obtained from the soil, and all classes reckon on sharing in the enhanced profits.

The resolution was thus worded:—

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

This was proposed by Mr. R. N. Mudholkar in an admirable speech. He said* :—

“I confess that the question with which this resolution deals is one of vast importance, and at the same time one of considerable perplexity, and the time allotted to a speaker by the rules will not enable me to do full justice to it. I will, however, lay before you, as briefly as I can, certain considerations which go far to justify and support the demand we make. As I have said, India is an agricultural country. ‘The wealth of India’ of which the poet speaks has vanished. The gorgeous fabrics which India produced are now reduced to an almost inappreciable quantity. Wherever you go you find that the people are being thrown on the soil. Take the estimates framed by the Famine Commission, and you find that 90 per cent. of the rural population is closely connected with the soil, and 80 per cent. of the whole population is wholly dependent upon the soil. Taking later calculations, you will find that the proportion has risen to as much as 86 per cent., and, with our indigenous industries dying out, this pressure of the population upon the land is growing every day, and you find that vast tracts which were at one time considered as not being fit for cultivation are being taken up for this purpose. The arable area under cultivation has increased vastly; and though this industry is not in many places paying, through sheer necessity people are compelled to have recourse to poorer and poorer soils. The effect of this has been that land which was required for grazing purposes is now taken up for agricultural purposes, and the result of that you see in the deterioration of your agricultural stock. If you compare this area with the amount of population, you will find a state of things which must make us really very anxious; that is, that while the area under cultivation is estimated to be a little less than 190 million acres, the population which it has to support is nearly 197 millions. I take my figures from the latest Government statistics. This means less than an acre per head, and, according to Sir William Hunter, at least an acre per head is required to maintain a man sufficiently. Here, therefore, is this one great problem before you. You find that the only industry by which you can maintain your people is in a very unsatisfactory condition. You may almost say that the widest limit of cultivation has been reached, and the question is, what are we to do? The only solution is improvement in cultivation itself, and here it is that the question of permanent settlement becomes of the greatest importance.

“If the oldest industry we have is to be maintained, in a state of prosperity, it is necessary that that industry should be improved. But here, throughout the major part of the country, you find that there is an almost insuperable obstacle to all improvement interposed, and that is on account of the temporary settlement and the fatal discouragement of improvements which this involves. The policy with regard to land tenure followed by the Government for nearly 100 years has been one of violent scillation. Whenever there is a crisis in the agricultural history of the country you find that the heads of the Government are quite willing to accept statesmanlike and broad views; but when the crisis is past and the danger is over, for a time, there is a return to a huckstering policy,—a policy of trying to make as much money out of the landholder as possible. The famine in Bengal in 1770 secured to Bengal the permanent settlement. In 1860 there was a famine in the N.-W. Provinces, and the gravity of the famine and the danger which the Government saw in the recurrence of such famines led to the appointment of a Commission. That Commission took evidence and went carefully into the matter, and came deliberately to the conclusion that in the interests of the country it was absolutely necessary that fixity and permanency of tenure should be granted.

* Detailed Report, pp. 59—61.

"This is what the Commission say in the Report submitted by their President: 'Entertaining the most earnest conviction that the State interests and popular interests will be alike strengthened in an increasing ratio by the step, the first and, as I believe, most important measure, I have respectfully to submit, for consideration, is the expediency of fixing for ever the public demand on the land, and thus converting the existing settlement into a settlement for perpetuity.'

"This recommendation of the Commission was endorsed by the Lieutenant-Governor and Council, and it met with the approval of the Viceroy, that great man, Lord Canning.

"The Governor-General said: 'His Excellency believes that increased security of fixed property and comparative freedom from the interference of fiscal officers of the Government, will tend to create a class which, although composed of various races and creeds, will be peculiarly bound to the British rule; while, under proper regulations, the measure will conduce materially to the improvement of the general revenue of the Empire.'

"This report of the Commission, with the recommendation of the Viceroy, was sent to the Secretary of State, and this was what Lord Halifax laid down in his famous despatch of 1862: 'After the most careful review of all these considerations Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the advantages which may reasonably be expected to accrue not only to those immediately connected with the land, but to the community generally, are sufficiently great to justify them in incurring the risk of some prospective loss of revenue in order to attain them, and that a settlement in perpetuity in the districts in which the conditions required are, or may hereafter be fulfilled, is a measure dictated by sound policy, and calculated to accelerate the development of the resources of India, and to ensure in the highest degree the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in the country.'

"A more satisfactory resolution, a more statesmanlike wish, a more just and humane conclusion could not have been arrived at. But it has been our misfortune that, when a thing has been offered by one hand, the other hand has always been ready to snatch it away. There was a change of government in England, and pressure was brought to bear by the members of the India Council to prevent the carrying out of the recommendations in the despatch of 1862. The clear promise, however, and the generous principles laid down in that despatch were such that they could not be abrogated; and what was sought to be done was to saddle those recommendations with further conditions. The only condition laid down in the despatch of 1862 was that its terms were to be extended to those provinces where four-fifths of the land was brought under cultivation. It was found that this condition was satisfied by a number of estates, and it was also found that other persons were willing to carry out the terms of the resolution. Here it was that mischief was done. A new condition was imposed in the despatch of 1865, and that was that the recommendations in the despatch of 1862 should be extended to estates only if, in the opinion of the executive authorities, the public works of the Government were not likely to be so extended within the next 20 years as to benefit the estates to the extent of 20 per cent. Well, you will find that those conditions have been satisfied; nearly 27 years (certainly 25 years) have elapsed; and as to public works you find that all the main lines and feeder lines of railways have been constructed, and the main irrigation works have also been completed."

"You see, therefore, that the conditions have been carried out, and yet the same system continues—that system which has been stigmatized by Government itself as one which is harassing to the people, as one which unsettles all relations between landlord and tenant, and as one which causes the greatest uneasiness. I am not using my own expressions, but the words used in the resolution of Lord Ripon in 1883. The view which was laid down in 1862 was, as I told you, opposed by Government officials in India and England; but a justification of those recommendations was supplied by stern facts which happened later on. In 1874 the riots in Bombay resulted in considerable loss of property and damage to person. Then there was the famine of 1877, and the Government officials were obliged to admit that nearly 40 millions of people belonging to the agricultural population were on the brink of starvation. Still you find that there was a disinclination to carry out the principles laid down over and over again, and the justice of which was admitted. I will only refer to two authorities, whose eminence in these matters is not disputed, Sir Louis Malet and Sir James Caird, both of whom stigmatize the present system. Sir James Caird moreover distinctly says that a thirty years' settlement cannot be expected to produce sufficient stimulus to ensure improvement in the agriculture of the country; that is the deliberate opinion of the President of the Famine Commission. In spite of these things we find that the system is continued. The evil is to be deplored in more respects than one. In the first place rent in India, or revenue, has nothing like it anywhere. Take the proportion of rent to gross produce in any country in Europe, and

you will find that India is placed on a basis of its own. In Great Britain the proportion of gross produce to rent is 1 to 33; in Europe generally 1 to 50. The lowest in Europe, Denmark, is 1 to 27. In India it is 1 to 3 or 1 to 4. That is, for every four rupees you get from the land you give one rupee to the Government; whereas in Europe, out of 50 rupees coming from the soil, only one goes to the landlord. Then it is not only the high rate, but the uncertainty of the enhancement. You do not know in what way the enhancement may come. There is the re-classification of soils, which means raising the soil of an estate from the third class to the second or the second to the first, and so on, and the consequent raising of the land revenue itself, and there is the enhancement of the revenue independent of any such supposed change in the status of the soil. All these operations have been productive of the great mischief of putting an end to all improvements.

"These are facts that require serious consideration. I admit that there are grave difficulties in the way of Government from the rupee going down. Of course, it would be difficult to settle the question in an off-hand manner; but I do not think the difficulty is such as to baffle the resources of statesmanship, nor do I think that our administrators are so devoid of statesmanship as to be unable to grapple with it. What we ask is that there should be some fixity. That fixity need only be as regards production. *If the proportion of produce to rent were fixed; if it were laid down once for all that each plot should pay yearly the money value, settled quinquennially, on the basis of the preceding five years local prices, of so many maunds of jowar, bajra, wheat, barley, cotton, sessamum, as the case might be, due reference being had to the culture prevalent in each village, I suppose that would satisfy the requirements of the people.** It is a problem which can be solved. I appeal to Great Britain and to our administrators here to make a real effort to solve it, and thus carry out the principles laid down by successive Governments in England—principles which have their greatest justification in justice and in humanity: (Cheers.)

Mr. Boikantha Nath Sen followed in another excellent speech, † which we reproduce in extenso:—

"This is a resolution in which there is no question of sentiment. It is a question which affects materially the prosperity of the country and which affects the Government also in a very material way. It has been observed that this is a resolution not for the benefit of the delegates, but for the benefit of the people. I go further and say that it is a resolution which, if carried, and accepted loyally by the Government, will bring benefits to the Government itself. (Cheers.) Let me notice the way in which the resolution has been divided. It refers, you see, to the despatch of 1862, confirmed by that of 1865. It says that the Government is 'now in honor bound.' Observe the force of the word 'now.' Let me place before you another fact, that a permanent settlement was accorded to Bengal in 1793, when you will find a minute by the Board of Revenue at Fort St. George, delivered by Mr. White, and approved of by a Select Committee which was appointed to investigate the affairs of the East India Company. That approval was made in 1812; that principle was recognised, and emphasized, and a line of action was formulated 50 years afterwards in 1862, in the despatch of the Secretary of State. Twenty-seven years have now passed, and we are

* We italicize this passage because we believe that it affords a solution of one of the greatest difficulties that Government recognizes to dealing with this question. This question was strongly urged at the Allahabad Congress (*vide* p. 89 of the Detailed Report of the Fourth Congress) by Sheikh Eaza Hoosein Khan.

This is what he said: "When I say a permanent settlement, I do not necessarily mean a permanent settlement precisely similar to that in Bengal. In the first place, we are wiser now than we then were. The experience of eighty years has shown us how we can improve on that settlement in many particulars. In the second place landed tenures vary all over the country, and in each place the permanent settlement must vary accordingly. And again when I say a permanent settlement and speak of a fixity of the Government demand, I do not necessarily mean that that demand should be settled in Rupees. On the contrary, I am disposed to believe that it would have to be fixed in terms of quantities of the three or four chief local staples of produce, in regard to which a cash revaluation might be made at intervals of, say, every three, five or seven years, based upon the average local prices of those staples during the preceding period. Thus, if the Government demand in any village were fixed at 50 maunds of wheat, 100 maunds of jowar, 100 maunds of bajra, 50 maunds of gram, and 50 maunds of urhar, this would remain the demand for all time, but every three, five, or seven years the actual number of rupees would be fixed by a calculation based on the average local price of these articles during the past three, five or seven years. I can only say that, unless some such fixity is given to the Government demand in our province, cultivation will never keep up with the growth of population. Grant it, and hundreds of thousands of wells will be dug within the first five years, and millions of acres that now yield only small unirrigated crops would yield double and treble the amounts of far more valuable staples. By one way or another people would manage to put double the amount of manure they now do into the ground. But no great improvement can take place so long as the people are for ever on the look-out for the recurring swoop of the settlement officer to sweep the fruits of their labours into the official net. Mr. Howard spoke of the 'unearned increment,' which is explained to me to mean, profits that a person has not made for himself, and he tells us that a great political economist tells us this should belong to Government. Well, if this is political economy, our system must be perfection, for at every revision Government appropriates the profits that it never earned, but which the cultivators of the soil have earned (Laughter.)"

† Detailed Report, pp. 62, 63.

where we were in 1812, because there is no indication of a permanent settlement being carried out in those provinces where it was not conceded very nearly a century ago.

"Why is it so? We all know that land revenue forms the central figure in the group of English taxation, and there is an apprehension of a loss of prospective increment in the Government revenue, based on what is supposed, in a mistaken way, to be the results of the permanent settlement in Bengal, and what is still erroneously considered to be a wanton sacrifice, as it were, of the resources of the State by Lord Cornwallis, for the sole purpose of giving satisfaction to the landed proprietors. Now it is on account of apprehensions and misapprehensions like these that effect has not been given to the despatch of 1862. Before I proceed further let me place before you further statistics. The territories which are under the administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal extend over an area of 140,000 square miles, of which 120,000 enjoy the benefits of the permanent settlement. But at the time when the permanent settlement was granted to Bengal only one-third had been brought under cultivation. The land revenue from Bengal is about four crores and the gross rental is about 20 crores (I make a technical distinction between revenue and rental.) Then the incidence of the land revenue in Bengal is Rs. 55 to 100 persons of the population; in the Punjab, Rs. 109 to 100 persons; in the North-Western Provinces, Rs. 129 to 100 persons; in the Madras Presidency, Rs. 134 to 100 persons; and in Bombay, Rs. 234 to 100 persons. Now, apart from other questions which are undoubtedly of a very weighty nature, and which, in summing up, I shall have occasion to refer to, I venture to think that the high standard of revenue which has been attained ought of itself to be considered a sufficient reason for the Government according a permanent settlement to those provinces where it has not been extended.

"You have heard from the able mover of the resolution what area has been actually brought under cultivation, and what little, and that of the poorest quality as a rule, yet remains to be cultivated; so that the time has surely arrived when, apart from other questions, this high ratio of cultivation would justify the Government in giving fixity to their demands. Let us see a little further how the matter stands. There is much more to be said. The experiment of 100 years in Bengal furnishes us with certain data which will enable you to solve the problem in a satisfactory way. This permanent settlement must be considered as the very best manner you can give to the land; for shortly after the permanent settlement of Bengal there was a wonderful increase in the cultivation. Before the permanent settlement only a third was under cultivation, but now you will scarcely find one-thirtieth uncultivated.

"Then you may look upon this permanent settlement as a very important agent in the distribution of the proprietary interest in the soil among the various classes. It has also been a very important factor in bringing about social reform. Who ever had an idea of a middle class? I say, this middle class is to a great extent the growth of the permanent settlement. Where is it anything like so strong in numbers and in wealth as in Bengal, (*cheers*) although now the example of Bengal has more or less pervaded the entire Empire? But, for that permanent settlement, India would have had, as in Russia, the poor and the rich, but no middle class such as you find crowding this great hall. These, then, have been the direct benefits of the permanent settlement. Now let us see what can the Government expect more. Would it be a sufferer in the long run? Look at the case of Orissa. Orissa was temporarily settled for 30 years, and the lease expired in 1866. There was then, as you all know, a famine, and the Government could not possibly on that occasion think of enhancing the revenue by making a re-settlement, so that it had to renew the settlement for another 30 years. That settlement is still going on, and it will expire in 1895. Progress has been kept in abeyance for 60 years. No capitalist would venture to invest his money in land in Orissa. For 60 years progress has been retarded by the inactivity (if nothing else) of the Government.

"We find that from that portion of Bengal which has not received this boon Government does not expect much. There are authoritative reports to Government that if a permanent settlement be withheld from those other provinces, there would be at best (as I had occasion to remark on the last occasion) a gain to the Government of 30 lakhs of rupees. Now let us see how we fare in Bengal. In the Civil administration alone, in the whole of India, there is a loss of 12 lakhs, the expenditure exceeding the receipts by that amount. But in Bengal there is a surplus of 14 lakhs, and what is this owing to? In education, in Bengal, 83 lakhs are spent, out of which only 21 lakhs are spent by the State, the balance being spent by private individuals who are able to pay on account of the permanent settlement. See how the Government has been gaining in this way. If, then, the permanent settlement be extended to other provinces, I venture to submit that there is not the least reason for the Government suffering in any way in its finances. Whatever it may apparently suffer, from a purely treasury point of view, in the matter of direct loss of future enhancements of land revenue, will be more than compensated by gains from other sources through new channels which will be created by this

permanent settlement of its own force. Now, while the Government has pledged itself by its despatch of 1862, confirmed by the despatch of 1865, it is undoubtedly in honor bound to redeem its pledge. By according this concession the Government will derive benefit in two ways: in the first place by saving its honor by the redemption of its solemn pledges; in the second, even financially, as sharing the enhanced prosperity of its people.

"Its good deed may directly diminish by a few lakhs the land revenue of fifty years' licence; but crores to replace these will have poured down from the happy consequences of that honest policy. As Kalidasa says:—

"The sun draws the water from the soil, but this is returned a thousandfold in the shape of rain." (*Cheers*.)

Mr. Janoki Nath Bose from Orissa next spoke:—

"What do we see," he urged,* "in the province of which I am a representative? The zemindars are almost all deeply involved in debt; they cannot pay the Government revenue at the proper time; often you see their properties being sold at public auction to meet the demands made upon them; they have no resource but to incur debts at a very high rate of interest. If we look at the condition of the ryots what do we see? That they are being rack-rented; they cannot get a full meal in two days; they cannot get a waistcloth even once a year. Such is the condition to which Government has reduced the zemindars and ryots through their unwillingness to introduce a permanent settlement, and through the consequent impossibility of the vivification of this national industry by capital. Contrast the state of Bengal with that of other provinces where there is no permanent settlement. Here we find the zemindars occupying a high place, but in other parts they are poor men and cannot take part in any national undertaking that requires money. Look at the ryots. We have some poor, no doubt, but look at the millions of well-to-do tenants of all grades. In what other province do you find any large proportion of such? For 50 years, at least six millions sterling have yearly gone into the pockets of the people that would, under the temporary settlement system, have gone into those of the Government, to be wasted doubtless in frontier defences (*cheers*), and I venture to say that those six millions have profited the country ten times more than they would have done had they gone into the coffers of the State. (*Cheers*). The temporary settlement system is everywhere ruining the zemindars. It has been said, let the zemindars be ruined, we do not care, provided we have got peasant proprietors. But that is a very idiotic and narrow policy. In the first place the zemindars, the landed aristocracy of our country, constitute, in many provinces, a definite and important institution which has taken deep root and cannot hastily be done away with, and in the second place the same cause that wrecks the zemindars will, as time runs on, ruin even peasant proprietors. There are many who say 'if the permanent settlement can give rise to peasant proprietors it is all right, but if it will only enrich the zemindars we are not for it.' I submit that that is a ridiculous view of the case. In the first place all through Bombay and Madras, it is just with peasant proprietors that we desire to see a permanent settlement. Again where we have zemindars they are none the less a portion of the people, and from their position whatever affects them injuriously affects all subordinate classes of agriculturists equally injuriously, while what benefits them, benefits equally directly and indirectly, not only all subordinate holders of land but, in a country like this where everything hinges on the land, the entire community.

"Now, what do we see in Orissa? We see that the zemindars are mostly over head and ears in debt, and that what with their irrigation tax and the rent the poor ryots are being trodden under foot; their condition is most deplorable; they have not a full meal every two days, they have nothing in times of scarcity to fall back upon, they are perpetually on the verge of starvation. I am sure that if the permanent settlement is introduced into that province, if there is no more Government rack-renting, if the Government ceases to threaten them with periodical re-assessments, you will find that capital will flow into the land, that cultivation will improve, and that in 30 years the condition of the zemindars and ryots will be so much improved that no one in that flourishing land will be able to recognize this now backward, miserable, poverty-stricken region.

"Moreover, apart from the consequences, on abstract principles only, the action of the Government in increasing the land revenue every 25 and 30 years is not just. It is a case of reaping where they have not sowed, of greedily grasping the fruits of the tiller of the soil's persistent labour, of arbitrarily confiscating the fruits of its subjects industry, it is unjust I say in principle, and like all injustice it is thoroughly bad policy in the long run."

* Detailed Report, pp. 63, 64.

Lala Jaisee Ram from the Panjab declared equally strongly the urgent necessity for a permanent settlement in his province, and concluded his speech in words that deserve the most careful consideration :—

"It may be said," he remarked,* "that the finances of the Government will suffer by conceding a permanent settlement. But this argument can be at once overthrown by the long experience of a hundred years in Bengal. Has the Government of India, has the country at large, suffered in consequence of even this badly arranged and prematurely conceded permanent settlement in Bengal? Look to the commerce of Calcutta; look to the density of the population; look to the great spread of education and the enormous masses of well-to-do people, the like of all of which is to be seen nowhere else, and then let any man dare to deny that even this crude, imperfectly carried out settlement, conceded before more than one-third of the culturable area was under culture, has been, solely in virtue of the one attribute of permanence, an immense boon to the people and a gigantic source of strength to the Empire. (*Prolonged cheers.*)"

The next speaker reiterated the expediency of extending the permanent settlement, now confined to Bengal, to other Provinces. In the course of his speech he remarked †—

"I should like to be permitted to read one or two passages from a paper read some time ago by a very high official of the Revenue Board of this province in England: 'An examination of those results (of permanent settlement) will, perhaps, lead us to the conclusion that the permanent settlement was a wise and statesmanlike measure; that politically it has been a tower of strength to the Empire; that, from a social and economic point of view, it has stimulated the prosperity and fostered the intelligence of the province; and that, even from a strictly financial stand point, the surrender of an increased land tax has been in some measure compensated by the steady development of other branches of the public revenue.' He has given some figures, which one of my predecessors has referred to, showing how the province of Bengal has been benefited financially by the permanent settlement. I will not, therefore, read any more passages. The same gentleman lays down that the creation of an independent middle class is not an evil, but a blessing. (*Cheers.*) It is the middle class that has taken advantage of all the reforms introduced by British rule in India. It is that middle class which mainly fills this pavilion, and the authority I have quoted says further that it is a fruitful source of strength to the State. The creation of that class is not to be deplored. Suppose, for instance, though this can never be generally true, that the permanent settlement does not benefit the ryots, or say some classes of the ryots, in a poor agricultural district. What is the practical effect? Is it undesirable that the land should be held mainly by those who can afford to improve it? Is it desirable that the land should be generally cultivated by poor hand-to-mouth cultivators? Is it not better that those agriculturists, who are so poor that they can give nothing to the land, should be labourers rather than holders of the land? Is this not better for these men themselves,—better for the land, better for the country? If the permanent settlement has the effect of converting in some places starving tenants into well-fed labourers, of creating a strong middle class, is this any argument against a permanent settlement? Is it not desirable that the material wealth of the country, for the increase of which our British Government is so anxious, *should* be increased? And how can that material wealth be more certainly increased than by the creation of a class of small capitalists—a middle class in fact."

"These two objections then are invalid. All we ask is that the Government should open a discussion on the subject. We say to them: 'You have closed discussion for a quarter of a century, don't close it any more.' I come from Berar. You know it is by an official fiction, not under British rule; but all the same it has British rulers, British missionaries, British laws, and the advantages and disadvantages of British rule. We have no legislation for ourselves, nothing like it. If a permanent settlement is granted to other provinces, we know, of course, that we shall not get it as soon as you do, if at all; my friends, we shall be left behind lamenting, I fear. But that is no reason why we should hesitate to join you in reasonable demands. We Berarese are first of all Indians, and we have joined the Congress not because, perhaps, any direct benefit will be gained by Berar even when the Congress triumphs, but because this triumph will benefit our country; because we are all one; because your happiness, your prosperity, means the advancement of our native land, and a source of perennial rejoicing to us; even though we poor Berarese have to sit in darkness outside the banquet hall. (*Loud cheers.*)"

* Detailed Report, pp. 64, 65.

† Detailed Report, pp. 65, 66.

The pathetic earnestness of Mr. Devarao Vinayek's concluding words should not pass unnoticed. They embody those noble sentiments of national unity which it has been one function of the Congress, not indeed to generate, but to crystallize into practical life.

Many other excellent speeches followed, notably one* by Mr. R. P. Karandakar (which should be read) showing how disastrously the temporary settlement is working in the Bombay Presidency, but we shall only reproduce one more extract, and that from a speech by Mr. A. Nundy, a Barrister, of Jubbulpore, which, though delivered in connection with the salt question, more properly pertains to the present one.

"You are all aware, Gentlemen," he remarked, † "that the temporary settlement prevails in the Central Provinces. I am not going to speak on the advantages of a permanent settlement, for I should thereby be encroaching on the duties of the speakers on the resolution which follows this; but I wish merely to point out that, owing to the new settlement, which is now in progress, a state of things is being brought about, which demands that relief, of some kind at least, should be given to the impoverished masses of the Central Provinces, and that this relief can, to some extent, be obtained by a partial reduction of the salt-tax. As most of you are aware, the periodical settlement took place in 1864-65, and it shortly expires. For the last three years survey and settlement officers are traversing the country, and what has been the result?"

"The Government revenue has been increased as regards some villages 40 per cent., 50 per cent., and even 100 per cent. This, Gentlemen, let me assure you, I say on the highest authority possible. Now, who is to pay this increased revenue? I shall show you that eventually it is the poor ryot who will have to pay it. I ought here to remind you that besides the Government revenue, the Malguzar, that is the owner of the village, has to meet a variety of other demands. He has to pay the education-cess; he has to pay the putwari-cess; he has to pay for the maintenance of the hospitals; and, lastly, he has to pay the road-cess. The Imperial Government requires him to pay these cesses; but there are other local demands which he has to satisfy. The District Officer proceeds on tour, the unfortunate Malguzar has not only to see that the road is carefully prepared for his progress, but he has to meet the hundred and one demands of his camp-followers, whose requirements it is not easy to satisfy. So great does this evil become sometimes that the Malguzar dreads nothing more than the dubious honour of a District Officer passing through his village."

"Having met these Government and other demands, what is the financial position of the Malguzar? I have been assured not by one, but by a number of these Malguzars, that after paying up these demands they find that sometimes there is hardly any surplus left for themselves—and they too must live—and if any, a very small one indeed. And now the Government steps in and increases the revenue by 40, 50 and 100 per cent."

"When this last settlement took place it was declared that the revenue then assessed would not be increased for at least a period of 30 years; but what did the Government do? It did not directly increase the revenue; it dared not be guilty of such a shameless and open breach of faith, but by means of incidental charges and cesses it has indirectly increased the charge by 25 per cent. Besides there are a number of other indirect demands which the Malguzars have to meet; there is the imperial road-cess of which I have spoken, but besides this there is another road-cess, the District Officers' road-cess. When a District Officer goes on a tour through the country, or goes on a shikar (or shooting) expedition, they have to prepare the road for him and have to provide the incidental expenses which the followers of the camp are put to. There are also other demands. Last year I asked one of the Malguzars for a subscription to the National Congress Fund; but he said it was a very inconvenient time, for shortly before he had been giving a sum of money for a memorial to one of the officials. I asked the official's name, and he said—let us say—'John Smith.' I asked 'Of what service?' and he mentioned the service. 'Why did you give it?' I asked. 'Well,' he said, 'I never had the pleasure of meeting the officer, but I gave the money at the instance of the tahsildar, who had been asked by the officials to get contributions towards the memorial. Now I put it to you, was that a voluntary contribution, or was it not a species of tax? This then being the case with the Malguzars, the question arises, are

* Vide Detailed Report, pp. 66, 67.

† Detailed Report, pp. 51, 55.

they in a position to meet any extra revenue which the Government imposes? Many of them have proved to me that after all these demands are paid there is scarcely any surplus left to them; if there is any it is very small. To what then will the Malguzar be reduced? To either one of two alternatives: either to quit their villages or to increase the rent of their tenants. It is impossible to expect them to quit, and the necessary consequence is that the poor will have their rents raised. And who are these? Not the well-to-do ryots, but those who have small holdings and live from hand to mouth—these will have to pay the enhanced revenue, and will have starvation facing them. I therefore put it to you whether the position of the Central Provinces does not demand that this resolution should be carried, and that some response should be made to it by the Government. The Government has the right, as the law stands, to arrange periodically the revenue imposed on each village, and they are not likely to give up exercising that right so long as a permanent settlement is not conceded. So long as they exercise that right, the landholder already pressed for means will accept no share of the new burthen. The well-to-do cultivators, with occupancy rights and means to defend these rights in the Courts, will allow no portion of it to be laid upon their shoulders, and all enhancements will have to come from those who have only small holdings, who have no fixed tenures and no means, from the very poor in fact, the members of that army of martyrs, our starving fifty millions, on whom it is that this heavy salt tax presses heaviest."

The resolution was, it is almost needless to say, carried unanimously and with great enthusiasm, but if any of our English readers, realising the justice and the wisdom of the people's demands in this matter, conceive that the result of these discussions will be that Government will take the subject in hand, they wholly misunderstand the temper and character of the Indian official classes of the present day. For many years now the Covenanted Civil Service, as a body, appear to have utterly lost that noble desire to raise, and advance the prosperity of, the people (committed, alike by England and by Divine Providence, to their charge) that once characterized their predecessors. To draw their handsome salaries, the largest enjoyed by any body of civil officers in the world, to save money, keep things quiet on the surface, do as little as possible outside their ordinary routine work, and get away to England to spend, there, the money of the people of India, appear to be the most cherished objects of the great majority. They are not now, with rare exceptions here and there, the men that civilians once were—men who were completely in sympathy and touch with India's people, and freely gave for them their time, their money, their brains and even their lives; it may be that many of them are disappointed men, whose careers in India have not furnished them with those openings for advancement, that they believe that they would have been able to secure in England; it may be that the increased facilities for visiting England and the startling contrast between the happy homes they revisit and the squalid misery of their surroundings in the outstations at which so much of their service has to be passed, disgusts them both with the country and with their work; but be the cause what it may, too many of them seem, unfortunately, to degenerate into mere hirelings, as the Christian Scriptures put it, caring nought for the flock. *Super antiquas vias stare*, wherever the real interests of the people demand an advance (there is abundant mischievous activity where patience only is really needed); *quieta non movere*, no matter what lies hidden beneath, so long as there are hopes of its continuing hidden for *their* time. These are their mottoes, and wrapped in an impenetrable mantle of self-sufficient ignorance (for there is no class in the country, whether missionaries, merchants or military men, who know so little of the real wants and wishes of the people), nothing can move them from their ignoble apathy and fixed determination to

cling, limpet-like, to the dreary *non-possumus* cliffs of officialism, but the trumpet call of a debate in, or better still a resolution of, the House of Commons.

It is the conviction of this fact, coupled with the underhand persecution, that the Congress party have been subjected to by so many of the officials, that has hitherto embittered the struggle for reform. To that persecution Lord Lansdowne has now, as we shall see directly, authoritatively put a stop, and if he can also infuse a little of the old spirit into the officials, if he can awaken something of the old unselfish desire and resolve to help, befriend and raise our people, no matter at what sacrifice of personal interests and comfort, which once made the Indian Covenanted Civil Service the noblest in the world, he will merit and earn a place in the affections and respect of India second to that of no other Viceroy.

The next resolution tells its own story. It ran thus* :—

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

" THE CONGRESS.

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

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

"Belvedere, 26th December 1890.

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

"To

"J. GHOSAL, Esq.,

"Secretary, Congress Reception Committee."

"Yours faithfully,

"P. C. LYON,

"Private Secretary."

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

Naturally the Congress party viewed these manifestos with considerable indignation, and after two speeches, which may be read, the † one by Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose, the other ‡ by Mr. George Yule, the resolution was carried by acclamation. The Anglo-Indian journals were of course jubilant at the emphatic snub that had, they conceived, been administered to the Congress people, but they were not quite so jubilant over the reply that our reference elicited from H. E. the Viceroy. The following is the text of the letter addressed by H. E.'s Private Secretary to the General Secretary of the Congress :—

"With reference to the communications which have recently taken place, first, between Mr. Mehta and the Viceroy, and, after Mr. Mehta's departure from Calcutta, between yourself and His Excellency, upon the subject of the letter received by the Secretary of the Reception Committee from the Private Secretary of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in reference to the attendance of Government servants at meetings of the Congress, I am authorized by His Excellency to say that Mr. Lyon's letter of December 26th, in which it was stated that 'the orders of the Government of India definitely prohibit the presence of Government officials at such meetings,' and the Circular in which that letter was communicated to the heads of departments under the Bengal Government, were issued under a misapprehension as to the purport of the orders of the Government of India. It was at once recognised both by the Government of

* Detailed Report, p. 70.

† Detailed Report, pp. 69, 70.

‡ Detailed Report, pp. 70, 71.

Bengal, of its own motion, and by the Government of India, that the letter in question went beyond those orders, and an amended Circular, in which it was pointed out that the expression 'absolute prohibition' had reference only to the participation of Government officials in the proceedings of a political meeting, was subsequently issued by the Bengal Government to the heads of departments. I enclose herewith a copy of the orders of the Government of India.

"These orders, which arose out of a totally different matter, had no special reference to the Congress movement, and were certainly not framed in a spirit of hostility to it. The publications of some of the supporters of the Congress have, in the opinion of the Government of India, been open to serious question; but, apart from this, the movement is regarded as one of those which, in the words of the Circular, are 'perfectly legitimate in themselves, and which private persons are free to promote,' but from participation in which Government officials are, for the reasons specified in the orders, necessarily debarred.

"The Government of India recognise that the Congress movement is regarded as representing in India what in Europe would be called the more advanced Liberal party, as distinguished from the great body of Conservative opinion which exists side by side with it. They desire themselves to maintain an attitude of neutrality in their relations with both parties, so long as these act strictly within constitutional limits.

"They intend that all Government servants shall preserve a similar attitude of neutrality, and shall abstain from active participation in political or quasi-political movements of all kinds; and also from putting pressure upon others in order to induce them to take part, or not to take part, in any movement which is legitimate in itself. It was with the above objects that the orders of March 1890 were issued.

"In reference to a specific question which you addressed to His Excellency, I am to say that the orders apply only to those who are actually, at the time being, Government servants, but not to pensioners and others who have quitted the service of the Government for good."

Nothing could be more satisfactory. The Viceroy has formally declared that the Congress is a perfectly legitimate movement; that every one not a Government official is perfectly free to join it; and that all officials are explicitly enjoined not to impede the movement in any way, and not to put any pressure on any one to induce them to abstain from aiding or joining it. The most enthusiastic Congressman never desired any thing better; and widespread indeed has been the satisfaction engendered by Lord Lansdowne's straightforward and manly vindication of popular liberty of speech and action in political matters. As has been happily said:—

"Under any circumstance this candid and characteristically British declaration in favour of freedom of opinion and action in political matters in the case of *all* private persons (no less important in its way than Lord Metcalfe's in favour of freedom of the press) ought to go far to bridge the gulf which for years, unhappily, has been widening between the European official classes and the Indian public."

And so it assuredly might, if Lord Lansdowne can persuade the officials, besides ceasing to persecute us, to set to work in hearty earnest, forgetting their recently evolved dogma of apathy, to ameliorate the hapless lots of the fifty odd millions of our half-starving brethren, in whose interests, and on whose behalf, the Congress has been ceaselessly, but thus far almost unavailingly, pleading and labouring, from its very inception.

This resolution disposed of—of course, although we have anticipated results to make the case complete, the letter did not come to hand until long after the Congress closed—the Congress adjourned until the next day, Tuesday, the 30th.

The first business dealt with when the Congress re-assembled was a vote of thanks to Mr. Bradlaugh, to the members of our British Committee and to others who, during 1890, have rendered good service to the Congress cause not forgetting

"all those members of the British Public, who so kindly welcomed and so sympathetically gave audience, in over fifty public and a far larger number of private meetings, to one or more of our delegates."

The delegates to England, of course, were not forgotten. Said* the Hon. Pandit Ajoodhia Nath—

"Our delegates met with a splendid reception in England, not only from the constituency of Mr. Bradlaugh, whom I have recommended to you for your warm acknowledgments, but also from Glasgow, Aberdeen, Newcastle, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth and a great many other communities. These delegates have done us good service, and indeed it could not be otherwise when you think who they were."

Mr. Hamid Ali, a Mahomedan Barrister from Lucknow, added†:—

"To serve, is a far higher and nobler law of life than even to rule (*hear, hear*), and this principle has been well expressed in the lives of those gentlemen who have done so much for our country. In the words of the Poet Laureate:

"Not he who breaks the dams, but he
Who through the Channels of the State
Conveys the people's wish, is great,
His name is pure, his fame is free." (*Cheers.*)

"I have not the slightest doubt that their names and fame, inscribed on the page of time in deathless characters of gold, with this noble inscription, 'these were the workers who knew how to serve,' will be handed down to a far distant posterity. (*Cheers.*)"

Said‡ Mr. Hem Chunder Rai—

"Nor, in making this public acknowledgment of the services of our English benefactors, must we omit to couple the names of, and pay our humble tribute to, those distinguished countrymen of ours who, at considerable sacrifice of time, money, and energy, undertook a trip to England to enlighten the British public as to our wrongs and disabilities, our needs and aspirations. Doubtless they—

Have sown some generous seed
Fruitful of further thought and deed.

"But their work needs a healthy continuity, and we only hope that the work so auspiciously commenced will evoke widespread response, and that round this little group of Indian patriots there will be formed a large company of patriotic gentlemen ready to undergo similar sacrifices on similar errands. And, in return for their noble services, let us offer them our humble, yet heartfelt thanks, and that which is, indeed, the highest reward that a public man can aspire to—the deep and lasting gratitude of a United People."

There was a good deal of speaking, § but further quotations are needless and the resolution was passed by acclamation.

Next followed a vote ¶ of thanks to house proprietors, including Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, who had kindly lent to the Congress, houses and grounds, both for the erection of the pavilion and the accommodation of the delegates, no easy matter in a city like Calcutta.

Then the holding of the 7th Congress at Christmas 1891, at either Nagpore or Madras (the former has subsequently been definitely fixed upon) was resolved** and then a quite new departure was taken in the following resolution.

That provisional arrangements be made to hold a Congress, of not less than 100 delegates, in England, all things being convenient, in 1892, and that the several Standing Congress

* Detailed report, p. 73.

† Detailed Report, p. 74.

‡ Detailed Report, p. 77.

§ *I*de Detailed Report, pp. 72—78.

¶ Detailed Report, p. 78.

** Detailed Report, p. 79.

Committees be directed to report, at the coming Congress, the names of the delegates that it is proposed to depute from their respective circles.

Only six years ago, before the first Congress met, such a proposal would have been indignantly repudiated, so strong was the religious objection to crossing the seas by a majority, of even the educated classes. Now, such has been the educational effect of these gatherings that not one single man present had one word to say against the suggestion; on the contrary it was received with enthusiasm, and besides one European, one Sikh, and one Mahomedan who spoke for their respective communities, eleven * orthodox Hindus, all leading and representative men, so far from banning, altogether blessed the idea.

In moving the resolution Babu Norendro Nath Sen said :—

“I have only to remind you that, after all, it is England that is the last resort for appeal on all Indian questions. Our ultimate judges are the British Public, the British Press, and the British Parliament.”

Mr. Viraraghava Chariar, a Madras Brahmin, remarked in the course of his speech :—

“Had it not been for this Congress, Madras would have been nowhere. It has been greatly helping the people in Madras. Before that time Madras was called benighted. Now we have, all throughout the Presidency, Standing Congress Committees to help the Central Committee at Madras. Much has been said about the orthodox opinions that would prevent our undertaking a sea voyage to England. On behalf of my province I venture to say that we have never allowed and never shall allow orthodoxy, or any other doxy, to stand in the way of our political advancement. (*Cheers*).”

That is the true doctrine of caste. When one is in for a real fight, caste *must* give way to the cause. Many years ago, late in May 1858, a long line of native soldiers lay, under a heavy but ill-directed fire, sheltered behind a low mud bank that stretched far away to the right down to a huge many flighted well. On the extreme left knelt an European officer, beside him lay an old Brahmin Subedar. Some 150 yards in front, on the other side of a narrow plain, hidden by dense bushes and clouds of smoke, cowered a large force of the enemy. Sporadic pops danced along the line as from moment to moment glimpses of glittering bayonets or brightly colored turbans gleamed out in the jungle, from time to time swelling, for a brief space, into musketry tempests, when bodies of men suddenly emerged for a few seconds in the open, which they lacked the pluck to cross. It was past noonday; the scorching wind tore in gusts along the line; above the little plain, the air twisted and quivered, glazed and glassy; the barrels, all metal equipments, even the black leather belts, burnt fingers that strayed heedlessly on them, and the old muskets (Enfields were only just then coming up and not even all European Regiments yet had them) rung out, as they only could when the powder was nearly red hot; water vessels were being continually passed along the line, but at last one man crawled up bringing a large lota of cold clear water for the Subedar. “Subedar Sahib,” said the European, “if you can spare any of that water, I am just dying of thirst.” “Drink Sahib,” said the Subedar, and the officer placed his joined hands beneath his mouth, so that the water might be poured into them, and he drink without touching

* *Vide* Detailed Report, pp. 79—88.

the vessel. “No, Sahib, take the lota.” “But I shall spoil your caste if I touch it.” “Drink Sahib,” the old Brahmin repeated, handing the lota. “In war there is no distinction of caste—we are all caste brothers that fight for the same cause.” So the European officer and the Brahmin Subedar both drank freely out of that selfsame lota, and the Subedar was none the worse for it and the officer much the better, and thereby was forged one more link of that golden chain which for ever binds the heart of that European officer to the cause of the people of India.

To return. The debate, if such this long discussion without a difference can be called, lasted for some time, but it seems scarcely needful to reproduce much of it. Said Devarao Vinayek * :—

“Socially speaking there is no difficulty. No duty is superior to our duty to the country in which we were born. We have all of us duties to discharge to our countrymen and friends, and if we do not discharge them we do not fulfil the noble purpose by which alone our existence is justified. Some social objections there may be. If you want to go to England for your profit, for pecuniary purposes, your people may or may not object to take you on your return back into your own caste; but, when you take a nobler duty in hand, when you have gone forth and crossed the stormy ocean solely to serve your country, even the old people, let alone younger generations, are not so blind as to think of putting an obstacle in their patriot brethren’s noble course, and they will not only receive you on your return into the bosom of your caste, but receive you with open arms, with rejoicings, praise and gratitude. (*Loud cheers*).”

Most of the speeches re-echo in different keys these sentiments, but Pandit Shyam Narayan Masaldan’s address, as coming from a purely orientally educated and entirely orthodox man, deserves special attention.

I come before you,” he explained, “not only to give a formal support to the resolution which is now before you, but because I think that it is really a useful resolution. We, the delegates of the Congress, enjoy perfect freedom of thought and speech, and when we give our opinion upon any subject, we do so after much careful consideration. We are not like the members of the Viceroy’s Council, who would support any measure that is introduced by the Government. (*Cheers*).”

“And this is not a mere opinion which may or may not be true, but the statement of a fact which rests upon the authority of some of the highest statesmen who have been in charge of Indian affairs, and which is one of the principal reasons why we are desirous of passing the present resolution. Some twenty years ago, the Duke of Argyll, who was then our Secretary of State, wrote to the Viceroy to the effect that ‘the Government in India were merely Executive Officers of the Home Government, who hold the ultimate power of requiring the Governor-General to introduce a measure, and of requiring also all the official members to vote for it.’ Some fifteen years later this doctrine was emphasised by Lord Dufferin in words of wider and clearer significance. In his Minute on Council Reform, which, fortunately, saw the light, before the Official Secrets Act came into existence, the following remarkable words occur: ‘The executive that represents her (the Queen’s) *Imperium* in India is an executive directly responsible, not to any local authority, but to the Sovereign and to the British Parliament. Nor could its members divest themselves of this responsibility as long as Great Britain remains the paramount administration in India.’

Now without wishing to say one word as to the morality of the doctrine which has been so authoritatively propounded, and which divests the Government of all responsibility to the people whom it governs, I may invite your attention to the position in which this theory of the British Government places us. The fountain-head of our legislation is the Supreme Council. Every measure that is introduced therein is passed by the vote of the appointed members who form the majority. But their vote is controlled by the Secretary of State,

* Detailed Report, p. 82.

who in his turn is controlled by Parliament, and Parliament reflects the opinion of the British nation.

"In the last resort then the responsibility rests upon the British nation, who know little about Indian affairs, and whose knowledge of India is confined to purely official sources. Now, the principal source of such knowledge is, of course, the Secretary of State, but he himself has to rely upon the India Council; and yet what is this India Council? It is composed of Anglo-Indian Officials who are at least thirty years behind the age, whose knowledge of Indian matters consists of things which existed a generation ago, but which have entirely changed now, and who, therefore, have little sympathy with the hopes and aspirations of New India. These, gentlemen, are the Secretary of State's Councillors, and they have to sit in judgment upon their own past acts. It is not likely that these old officials would take an unfavourable view of things of which they themselves were the authors, or of the system under which they have passed the best years of their lives. Thus, then, the knowledge of Indian matters which the Secretary of State derives from them is such as is allowed to pass through the hands of his Councillors who, of course, on all occasions rely on official blue books which give a purely imaginary and rose-colored view of Anglo-Indian administration.

"The value of even this one-sided information and advice is very much diminished when we remember that the India Council gives its advice to the Secretary of State under no sense of responsibility to the public or the Government, since their minutes are not published, nor the Secretary of State bound to follow them.

"But, nevertheless, they exercise a decisive influence upon his judgment, even in their irresponsible position, because, although not bound to follow their advice, yet, as a matter of course, the Secretary of State, having no better guides and assistants upon whom he may rely for Indian experience, has to follow them and shape his Indian policy, as a rule, in accordance with their suggestions.

"Thus, the position of Indian politics is this: The Viceroy cannot do anything without the sanction of the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State either will not move unless some Parliamentary pressure is brought to bear upon him, or, if he moves at all, it will be in the direction of Anglo-Indian opinion. Parliament won't move unless the nation compels it to do so; and the British nation won't move unless it is made alive to the real grievances of the Indian people, and its mind is disabused of the delusive accounts it has heard through official sources of the so-called peace and prosperity of this country.

"At present Parliament is not much interested in Indian matters. Our Budget is placed before it at the fag-end of the session, and those who speak upon it have to address empty benches. And yet it was the Duke of Argyll who, in a remarkable pamphlet on the Administrations of Lord Dalhousie and Lord Canning, which he published some thirty years ago, said that at a time when the Indians had no representatives of their own in the Council, and when there was no strong public opinion to check the despotism of the ruling class, it was the duty of Parliament to keep a vigilant eye over Indian matters, and to act as the protector of the people against the aggressions of the Anglo-Indian community. (*Hear, hear.*)

"Thus, it is our first duty to acquaint Parliament and the British people with that side of the picture which is generally concealed by the official class, and to remind them of the sacred and solemn task which God, in his inscrutable wisdom, has imposed upon them of governing two hundred and fifty millions of human beings. Therefore the step which you propose to take by holding a future session of the Congress in London is dictated alike by our present political necessity and by the constitution of our Government. It will be indeed a grand day in the history of this country when the representatives stand face-to-face with the great British Nation, not as State prisoners used to stand before Oriental despots with halters round their necks, but as fellow-subjects and fellow-citizens with the charter of liberty in their hands, able to state their grievance before it and entreat it to extend to them the same principles of justice and generosity which it has extended to the Colonies. (*Cheers.*)

"It is said that the people are not fit for the reforms they advocate; that the desire for political progress is confined only to the educated classes who form but a mere fringe of the whole society, and that the vast bulk of the people are perfectly satisfied with their present lot. Now this is I submit a mistake. Whatever may be the aspirations of the English-knowing classes, I stand before you as a specimen of that vast body of Indians who have not received the light of Western knowledge, but, while speaking on behalf of such men, I can assure you that, call them what our critics may—ignorant, bigotted, semi-civilized, old-fashioned 'black men'—they are as ardent advocates of reform as the educated classes themselves, and possess

among them materials of political knowledge, which can never fail to be of use to the Government and the country. (*Cheers.*)"

Note specially this concluding para. It is a fatal misconception of our Anglo-Indian opponents that the desire for justice and freedom, of which the Congress is the mouthpiece, exists only amongst those conversant with the English language. But it is not so; the sacred fire burns brightly in the hearts of millions on millions of thoughtful men like our Pundit, who, like him, know next to nothing of English, and it is this vast body of thinking Indians on whom, as a broad and adamant base, securely rests that, as yet, comparatively miniature work of art, the English-educated class.

This resolution unanimously passed; *others relating to the financial arrangements of the Congress, the reappointment of the General and Joint General Secretaries, and the appointment of delegates to England, merely formal matters, were duly disposed of. It is needless to reproduce any of the speeches *à propos* of these, but the Rev. Ram Chander Bose's thoughtful remarks in regard to things in general, rather than upon the particular resolution he was called to support, may be quoted. He remarked†:—

"The resolution I have to second is not a source of such great pleasure to me as the resolution you have just passed. The idea of holding a Congress in London is, I believe, the grandest that has flashed on the collective intellect of the National Congress. (*Hear, hear.*) Why? Because we are sure to have in England the sympathy, the encouragement, and the co-operation which we have failed to elicit in this land.

"There is between England and ourselves and this National Congress what may be called a community of aim. To explain this I must go down to one of the fundamental principles of political science. Several accusations have been preferred against us, and these are obviously ridiculous. If we were accused of idealism, I might be disposed to plead guilty to the soft impeachment. There can be no realism without pre-existing or precedent idealism. All our demands are realistic, but I have not the slightest hesitation in admitting that they have all emanated from an ideal. A great writer in view of the common saying 'man is metaphysical *volens volens*,' says that 'man is a politician *volens volens*.' Sensible thoughtful men have before their mental vision an ideal of political development. What is that ideal? The ideal is government of the people by the people and for the people, not government by a monopoly and for a monopoly. Towards this ideal all the best Governments and most enlightened countries of the world are working, and especially England. In the home of constitutional liberty all the foremost thinkers are working up towards this great ideal; and my friends, we aspire to see our Government working up to it also. England is taking grand steps towards this ideal. We ask our Government to take incipient steps towards it. But the step, whether incipient or matured, is one and the same, or has one and the same object in view. The goal is one, and therefore the aim of England and the aim of this Congress are one and the same. (*Cheers.*)

"But there is between England and this National Congress not only a community of aim but community of interest. The destinies of this country are inseparably bound up with the destinies of England. A prosperous India is to England a source of strength; a weakened, debilitated, impoverished India is to England a weakness. What will be the upshot of the Congress? The National Congress is the great lever, and is fitted, eminently fitted, to raise this country in intelligence, in wealth, in prosperity and in glory. (*Cheers.*) And when the country is raised in glory, in strength and prosperity, it will be a source of strength to England. Therefore between England and the National Congress there is a community of interest and therefore a community of method, if you will allow me the expression. The methods utilised by us are the very methods that have been utilised in England by its great political agitators. I do not for a moment maintain that English political agitators have never gone beyond the hallowed line of legitimate

* *Ide* Detailed Report, pp. 88—91.

† Detailed Report, pp. 88, 89.

and constitutional methods. I am aware that at times these agitators have broken windows and smashed chandeliers (*laughter*), and these are vagaries that we could never tolerate. (*Cheers*). But the methods utilised there are on the whole constitutional; and our methods are constitutional. There is then a harmony between the methods employed there and the methods employed by us. (*Cheers*).

"And, lastly, between this Congress and England there is a community of hope. What is England's grand mission in the world? It is to spread constitutionalism, and the glory of civilization that has evolved from it, throughout the world. And when the National Congress shall have done its work in India, India's glorious mission will be to spread constitutionalism and the civilization emanating from it, throughout Asia, throughout Africa, nay, throughout the whole world."

"These remarks of course are not on the subject of the resolution. (*Laughter*). When I was in America a gentleman was going to a meeting and a friend of his met him and said 'are you going to speak on the subject?' No, he said, I am not going to speak on the subject, but I am going to speak on some subject. Now I have spoken on some subject, if not on the subject. (*Laughter and cheers*)."

Then followed the usual vote of thanks to the President, proposed* this year by one of the lady delegates, Mrs. Kadumbini Gangooly, B. A. and L. M. S., a Lady Doctor, and acknowledged in a few felicitous words† by Mr. Mehta, and then with its wonted hearty and oft-repeated cheers for our Queen Empress, the Sixth National Indian Congress dissolved.

Having thus sketched the proceedings of the Congress we may now say a few words about its composition. This year the Congress was a very small one; last year the Congress, by a special resolution, restricted the number of delegates to be elected this year to five per million of the population (199 millions) represented. Rather more however than 1,000 (the proper number was 995) were elected, but only 702 actually attended, of whom only 677 were properly registered under the special certificates now required. The three hundred odd elected delegates who failed to appear were deterred, some, as in the case of Sindh, (the only district that did not send a single delegate) by the great expense and great length of the journey; by sickness and, in three cases, death; by the death of relatives and the consequent inability (in the case of Hindoos) to participate in public business and by pressing personal business. Next year different arrangements will be made, by electing subsidiary delegates to insure the attendance of the full 1,000, but this year the gathering itself was not much larger than a very full House of Commons, which has, we believe, on one occasion mustered 650. On the other hand the number of spectators, though all had to pay for admission, exceeded that at any previous Congress, more than 7,000 being present on the first day and the number never falling at any time below 4,000. Indeed, a very large number of these latter came from other provinces and would have been delegates had our last year's rule not been strictly enforced.

Of the 677 registered delegates 505 were Hindoos, 116 (or rather over 17%, against 18% at Allahabad, and 13½% at Bombay last year) were Mussalmans, three Jains, seven Parsis, three Sikhs, 18 Brahmos, 15 Native, 1 Armenian and 7 European Christians.

* Detailed Report, p. 91.

† Detailed Report, pp. 91, 92.

As regards occupations some 250 were Zemindars, Talookdars, Landholders of various kinds and cultivators; some 30 were Bankers, 70 Merchants and Traders; nearly 300 Barristers, Advocates, Solicitors, Pleaders and Mukhtears; 41 Principals, Professors and Masters of Colleges and Schools; the same number of Journalists and Newspaper proprietors; 31 Medical men, 6 Engineers, a few Mill-owners, Contractors, Indigo and Tea Planters, &c., and 16 Missionaries and religious teachers of various creeds.

More than two hundred of these gentlemen were Chairmen, Vice-Chairmen or Members of District and Local Boards or Municipalities; showing that, despite the widespread, though not universal, local official opposition to, and discountenance of, Lord Ripon's noble scheme of local self-government, these bodies do yet manage to secure the services of a considerable number of our most enlightened citizens; nearly one hundred were Honorary Magistrates, a position akin to that of Justices of the Peace in England, further confirming what Lord Lansdowne's letter has gone far to establish, viz., that, however great the hostility of certain sections of the rank and file of the service, the more enlightened officials have no wish, actually, to boycott the Congress party.

There were several members of the Viceroy's and other Legislative Councils, many Fellows of Universities, ten Nawabs, two or three Rajahs, and so forth. This year only 160 were graduates, against 250 last year, but then they were 160 out of 677, or over 23% against 250 out of 1889, which is less than 14%. On the whole Law and the learned professions mustered more strongly, proportionally, than at Bombay, and the mercantile classes markedly less strongly, and this was only what might have been expected, seeing that this year Bengal, alone, sent its full quota, while last year the majority of the delegates were from Bombay and Madras.

Looking back at the proceedings of the late Congress the fact that chiefly strikes us, is, that the most important advances made this year were in the direction, not of Political but of Social Reform. Times without number we have urged that, although not directly concerning ourselves with Social questions, indirectly the Congress must prove the most important of all factors in the Social Regeneration of the country.

This last Congress must have convinced all impartial judges that the claims thus made on behalf of the movement are not unfounded.

Last year we had many lady delegates, but it need no longer be a secret, that, at the time, although a large majority of the delegates approved the measure, a considerable section of the more conservative members viewed the prospect of the intermingling of the sweet voices of women in the debates, with the manly accents of the robuster sex, with considerable repugnance. Accordingly, as one of the basal principles of the Congress is to take no important step until practical unanimity in its favour has been secured, a covenant was entered into

with the ladies, that they should be seen, but not heard. This year the innovation has become so thoroughly familiarized to the mind of the country that any number of lady delegates might have attended, in full confidence of receiving the warmest welcome from all sections of the delegates. But the dear ladies resented, and we think justly, the silence imposed upon them; they refused to recognize, as having any practical value, the æsthetic charm which their presence on the platform conferred on the entire gathering; they said, "we have no '*cacoethes loquendi*,' that is merely one of your unmanly male slanders on our sex, but if we are not allowed to speak, in case we so desire, as several of us did on one occasion at the last Congress, what is the use of our attending? Better have some pretty wax figures, nicely dressed on the platform; they will serve your purpose equally well!" Consequently since, until the Congress met, no assurance could be given as to what its views on this point might prove to be, only four lady delegates honoured the assembly with their presence. But this year, thanks, primarily, to our President, to Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose and to Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, the remaining step towards the political enfranchisement of the women of the Congress party was taken, and a woman was not only allowed to speak, but was selected for the honorable post of proposing the vote of thanks to the President, and was rapturously received by the entire gathering. Thus was initiated, without one single dissentient voice, a reform, which in its ultimate consequences will greatly facilitate the labours of our Social Reformers in their efforts to raise the status of our Indian women; and if the Congress had never done anything beyond bringing about, with the full consent of all parties, this one reform, it would have deserved well of the country.

But it did more, and achieved another equally important step, also in the direction of Social Reform. A few years back the few men who visited England returned in fear and trembling to their native land. The religious or socio-religious prejudice against crossing the black waters of the ocean was so strong that most of these were virtually outcasted, or had to become Brahmos, or join some other sect to avoid this. Some few performed expiatory penances and were re-admitted to caste, while a very few, by judicious silence and by keeping carefully in the background, aided by influential fellow-castemen, crept back unchallenged into their old places. When, however, our troops returned from Abyssinia, Malta and Egypt, the people who, whatever their feelings towards the local bureaucracy (and there are individual members even of this body whom they greatly respect and like) are intensely loyal to the Crown, felt that they could not outcaste brave men who had been abroad to fight for their Sovereign, and with very rare exceptions the native officers and men of these regiments were welcomed back in their homes as if nothing had happened. But the prejudice remained, and private persons still felt that a voyage to England involved a very serious risk of a practical forfeiture of caste status. When our delegates, however, returned last year from England, common sense taught even the most orthodox that a grateful recognition of the spirit of self-sacrifice in which these men had gone forth

to plead India's cause before the British public, was a necessity, and that any talk, even, of outcasting them, would be treason to their own and their country's best interests.

Taking advantage of this feeling, now grown general, the resolution for an English Session of the Congress in 1892 was brought forward and received with unanimous approval, and, whether that Session ever takes place or not, a formal public enunciation has been made, once and for ever, by orthodox leaders from all parts of the country; that no penalties of caste are necessarily incurred by a visit to England; and that taking proper precautions the most orthodox may safely proceed thither. Five years ago any such unanimous verdict would have been impossible, and that it has now become an accomplished fact is mainly due to the indirect influence exerted by the Congress movement.

Nothing, nowadays, is more desirable than that numbers of educated Indians should visit Great Britain, and there learn for themselves what good, English, middle class, home and family life really are. As it is, the great majority of the young Indians who have visited England, and become familiar with only one side, and that a sadly seamy side, of London life, return to India, impressed, and not without good cause, with a conviction of the superiority of Indian domestic customs and Indian social morality. So it may not be out of place to suggest to those philanthropic English ladies and gentlemen, who are importuning our Government to legislate rashly in regard to the social customs, (of the real character of which they are ignorant) of a foreign people (of whom they know nothing), that they might employ their time, money and superfluous energies far more profitably, even to the cause they have at heart, by welcoming kindly and all Indian gentlemen who visit England, receiving them at their houses, not in a way and formally, but habitually, as real friends, and thus providing them with object lessons of that higher, freer, domestic life, which is alike the strength and glory of Great Britain.

But we are trespassing on the province of our colleagues, the social reformers, and must revert to the even more vital questions with which the Congress, as such, has to deal directly.

Although our present Viceroy seems not only desirous of seeing and judging for himself, but thoroughly imbued with the true spirit of Liberalism; although in every province there remain still some faithful few, who deprecate and deplore all the evil that is on foot; although throughout Great Britain signs appear that, here and there, her people are commencing to realize the grave responsibility in regard to India which has devolved upon them, the administration of India still remains, alas! as a whole, "linked with some virtues but a thousand crimes." Millions of educated and patriotic men (than whom no more loyal or loving subjects are numbered in the vast Empire that owns the sway of our beloved Queen Empress) are treated as political helots to gratify the class prejudices and *amour propre* and fill

the pockets of a handful of bureaucrats, the average men amongst whom are, positively, less qualified for rule, in India,* than a very considerable proportion of those whom England permits them to misgovern.

India's people, free born British subjects, are denied the smallest fraction of those fundamental political privileges which, as British citizens, are their inherent birthright.

Ninety-five per cent of all the most important and responsible offices in the country are monopolized by Europeans, on salaries fully double of those that would secure quite as, in many cases far more, competent Indians for the majority of these posts.

One-fifth of the entire population tremble on the verge of starvation, to perish by millions whenever the smallest natural calamity of drought or flood increases by one iota the insecurity of their position, and the money wrung from our pauper population, by the cruel taxation of the first necessities of life—the money which is all our Government has had to show for the 20 odd millions who in recent years have succumbed to famine and its consequences,—is ruthlessly squandered in bloodshed, and in wicked, and idiotically mismanaged, aggressions on feebler neighbours, to gratify the ignoble cravings for personal distinctions † and titles, of individual members of a Simla cabal.

* Pay, promotion and polyliteral affixes appear to be the sole things in which most of our modern civilians take any real interest. They are mere professional administrators, who take up the work simply as a matter of business and as a means of making money. They are consequently wholly out of touch with the people to whom, with rare exceptions, they are bound by no earnest unselfish desire to do good, no real heartfelt interest in their welfare and progress. How is it that, while the civilians are comparatively well-to-do and very powerful, and the missionaries poor and powerless, while the missionaries fearlessly attack the indigenous faiths with which the civilians never meddle, the people yet look up to so many of these missionaries with gratitude and respect, while we can number on our fingers the civilians of whom this can be said? Simply because in the missionaries the people recognize an earnest, unselfish (even if, in their opinion, misdirected) desire to help, raise, comfort and befriend them, while in the majority of the civilians they can only discover dislike of themselves, hatred of their country, and a purely selfish eagerness to "get on" in the service! Thus represented, how long can Great Britain expect to maintain, unshaken, the vital hold she still, by God's blessing, retains on the hearts of the people of India? The competitive system has failed; it has brought us shoals of well-educated, no doubt, scarcely, in all these years, a score of faithful friends. The moral standard amongst politicians is so low that we can suggest no better system for appointing men there, and the only remedy, the system by granting examinations in India as well as in England, that all those who work this system shall soon be mainly filled by Indians, who not only love England far more than they do their grumbling children here, but sympathize with every emotion of the hearts of their fellow-countrymen, as even the very best of foreigners never can nor could.

† All this is fully exposed in the naive revelations, contained in Sir C. Macgregor's memoirs. No wonder the officials waxed indignant at this ruthless, though wholly unintentional exposé of that iniquitous Afghan campaign. Nothing more damatory of any Government ever appeared than these cruel revelations of the Lytton administration. As to Macgregor himself a couple of passages, culled almost at random, will show the spirit in which, with light hearts, some of our modern Indian Military heroes enter on the work of slaughter.

"I do hope we shall make a good thing of it, as it will be the making of me. I should like to get one or two not very bad wounds, which would necessitate my going home. I think it is a great shame they have not brought out some honours before this. We all lose by it, and it shows a great want of appreciation of the way to manage soldiers, who should get frequent fillips during a campaign, especially a long one." Much in the same strain he writes on the 5th August: "Oh that I may get it (the vacant Brigade)! I feel sure I shall succeed, as I will anywhere on my own resources. This staff work does not suit me; it cramps and cabins one's energies and leaves me no initiative. It has played the devil with me, and if I can only escape I shall do; so if we go to Candahar and on to Herat I might possibly end by getting a V.C. after all."

Here was no thought of the starving millions in India, of the honest British and Indian soldiers sent up to die at a cost that would have fed those millions: of the Afghan homesteads ravaged and burnt, and honest Afghan peasants butchered, because they fought to defend their country against utterly unprovoked foreign aggression. No, the only thought in Macgregor's mind was "I might possibly end by getting a V.C. after all."

What some of our nobler soldiers thought of the matter may be gathered from what another writer tells us of Sir F. Maude: "Well, one day he (Sir F. Maude) came in a state of evident irritation; he was shocked and very angry at the barbarous order which he said he was compelled to issue. 'I never thought it possible,' he said, 'that the General in command of an English force would have had to do this sort of thing; but though I must promulgate the orders I shall take care that no one is shot or hanged by me or by my order, merely because he is found with arms in his hands.' He went on to say that, so far from regarding the Afghans as criminals, he considered that the Afghans had every right to repel by force of arms the invaders of their country." He was so angry—so utterly disgusted (and I could see that, though he did not mention them, he had in his mind the various barbarities of burning villages, etc.) with these practices which no civilised nation would tolerate in Europe for an instant—that he went on to say 'they would never dare' to do this sort of thing in Europe. 'Even the Russians would not resort to practices of this kind,' he said; and he then went on to add sadly that it was perfectly useless his pointing out the barbarity of these things, for the 'Mutual Admiration Society' at Simla would never listen to him: and he did not belong to it, and they would pay no heed to anything he (Maude) might say. Colonel Limmond, whom I had had the honor of serving under, years ago, when I was an Assistant Engineer, also spoke to me of this order in terms of the utmost indignation."

Almost every indigenous art and industry has been crushed, and agriculture the one art, on which now depend nearly 90% of the population, is slowly deteriorating under a grasping rack-renting system of temporary settlements and, with it, our crops and our cattle.

The masses are being persistently demoralized; despite the distinct orders of the House of Commons, an iniquitous system of excise, calculated to stimulate drunkenness and all its attendant crimes and vices, is still retained, only slightly and superficially reformed in some provinces, in all its original iniquity in others.

Under a barbarous and obsolete system, miscalled, of Justice, Executive and Judicial, Fiscal and Police powers are so combined in one functionary, that powers professedly granted for one purpose are practically utilized in furtherance of others, for which no civilized Government in the world would, now-a-days, dare to confer them.

There is practically no justice in India for the poor against the rich, or the non-official against the official, and the Police, who should be the protectors of the poor and the honest, are their terror and their worst oppressors.

What wonder, if some of us, who come of sterner sires, at times, despairing of justice at the hands of man, cry out in bitterness of heart: "How long, Oh Lord, how long?" But the patient East, sublime in its resignation and charity, longs only to forgive and to forget the past, and prays only for justice, however tardy, in the present; and wrongs that long since would have roused Teutonic or Gallic nations to frenzy, tolerated in remembrance of the civic peace and order, education and other benefits, unquestionably conferred by England, awaken in the mind of India's people (far truer Christians, though they know it not, than that proud nation which permits all this evil, and is answerable for it, before God and man) only the mild reproaches embodied in the words with which we headed this article,

"Of course we have to submit resignedly to this ruinous, this unprincipled trans-frontier policy of the Government until we succeed in awakening the conscience of our British fellow-subjects. We are British subjects, now, of our own free choice; we have thrown in our lot with England for better and for worse, and it is this which enhances England's sin in permitting the continuance of this hateful policy. Will our British brethren never awake?"

Alas! No mortal can reply—their slumber has been long—but they may yet awake.





SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

SIXTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

Held at Calcutta on the 26th, 27th, 29th and 30th December 1890.

RESOLUTION I.

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

RESOLUTION II.

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

- (a) the urgent necessity for the complete separation of executive and judicial functions, such that, in no case, shall the two functions be combined in the same officer;
- (b) the expediency of extending into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, the system of trial by jury;
- (c) the necessity of withdrawing from the High Courts the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal by juries;
- (d) the necessity of introducing, into the Code of Criminal Procedure, a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate they be committed to the Court of Sessions;
- (e) the highly unsatisfactory character of the existing system of Police Administration in India, and the absolute necessity of a fundamental reform therein;
- (f) the expediency of both, establishing Military Colleges in India, whereat the Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army, and of authorising, under such rule and restrictions as may seem necessary, such a system of volunteering, for the Indian inhabitants of the country, may qualify them to support the Government in any emergency;
- (g) the extremely unsatisfactory character of the Income Tax Administration, especially as regards incomes of one thousand, and the expediency of raising the minimum to this amount;

- (h) the extreme importance of increasing, instead of diminishing, as the present tendency appears to be, the public expenditure on education in all its branches, and the necessity, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of the appointment of a mixed commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country;
- (i) the necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual increase to, the military expenditure of the country;
- (j) the necessity, if any real justice is to be done to the people of India, of holding, simultaneously in India and England, examinations, at present held only in England, for the Civil branches of the Public Service in India;
- (k) the expediency of so modifying the rules made under Act XI of 1878 (the Arms Act) that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India; that licenses to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and generally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops; and that these and all licenses issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.

RESOLUTION III.

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

RESOLUTION IV.

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

"That efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of local public sentiment, that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to such opinion."

RESOLUTION V.

That the condition of the Finances of India having materially improved under these special circumstances on which the Government relied to the enhancement of the Salt Tax having practically ceased to exist,

this Congress considers it essential that the enhancement referred to should be remitted at an early date, and empowers its President to submit a special memorial on the subject in its name and on its behalf to H. E. the Viceroy in Council.

RESOLUTION VI.

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

RESOLUTION VII.

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

THE CONGRESS.

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

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

BELVEDERE, 26th December 1890.

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

"To

J. GHOSAL, Esq.,

Secretary, Congress Reception Committee."

Yours faithfully,

P. C. LYON,

Private Secretary."

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

RESOLUTION VIII.

Resolved—That the best thanks of this Congress be tendered to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., for the invaluable services rendered by him during the past year, as also to Sir W. Wedderburn, Mr. W. S. Caine, Mr. J. Bright MacLaren, M.P., Mr. J. Ellis, M.P., Mr. George Yule, and Mr. Dadabhai Naorojee for the unselfish zeal and ability with which they have presided over the British Agency of the Congress; further that they put on record an expression of their high appreciation of the manner in which Mr. Digby, C.I.E., Secretary of the Agency, and Messrs. Surendra Nath Banerjee, R. N. Mudholkar, W. C. Bonnerjee, Eardly Norton, and A. O. Hume, delegates to England, respectively, discharged the onerous duties imposed upon them, and of their gratitude to all those members of the British public who so kindly welcomed and so sympathetically gave audience, in over fifty public and a far larger number of private meetings, to one or more of these delegates.

RESOLUTION IX.

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

RESOLUTION X.

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

RESOLUTION XI.

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

RESOLUTION XII.

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

RESOLUTION XIII.

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

RESOLUTION XIV.

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

RESOLUTION XV.

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

CALCUTTA :

December 31st, 1890.

PIEROZSHAH MEHTA,

President of the Sixth Indian National Congress.

24

DETAILED REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SIXTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, HELD AT CALCUTTA, ON THE 26th, 27th, 28th & 29th OF DECEMBER, 1890.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

THE SIXTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS assembled for its first sitting early in the afternoon of the 26th of December, in a vast pavilion, erected for the purpose in the Tivoli Gardens, Calcutta, a well-known place of amusement, most generously placed by the proprietors (together with a large two-storied house standing in the gardens) at the local Committee's disposal. 1st Day.

The pavilion, the largest yet constructed for the Congress, measured 250 feet by 150 feet, and provided ample sitting-room for over 5,000 visitors and delegates, but as a matter of fact, on the opening day, nearly 8,000 persons were gathered together in the Congress Hall.

At 2 P.M. the Chair was taken by Mr. Mono Mohan Ghose, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, on whom, in accordance with precedent, it devolved to open the Congress, welcome the delegates from other provinces, and call upon the assembly to elect a President.

MR. MONO MOHAN GHOSE (*Calcutta, No. 8, in list*) rose and said :—

DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.—It has devolved upon me to offer you our most hearty welcome on this great occasion. It has been impossible for me to decline the honor which the Reception Committee have thought fit to confer on me by asking me to be their Chairman, and in that capacity to welcome you in their name and on their behalf. That honor, you will I am sure all agree with me, could not have been possibly conferred, in the first instance, upon any able or worthier member of the Bengali Community than my esteemed friend the Hon'ble Sir Romesh Chander Mitter. (*Cheers*). It is a matter of congratulation to all of us that, although the cause of the administration of justice in these provinces has suffered by his retirement from the high office which he lately held, he is now in a position to take an active interest in the proceedings of this great national demonstration, and to guide us by his varied experience and by his sound judgment. When I learnt that the state of his health precluded him from occupying the position which legitimately belongs to him, and that it was his especial desire that I should perform that duty, which of all men in our community no one could have performed more gracefully or fittingly than he, I felt that I had no right, by reason of my own incompetency and unworthiness to decline the high honor which my colleagues had decided to bestow on me. I do not

Chairman
of
Reception
Com-
mittee's
Address.

1st Day.
Reception
Committee's
Address.

it is not only an honor, but a duty, which every citizen owes to his country, to respond cordially to any call which may be made upon him to assist in an undertaking which has for its object the welfare and the happiness of one's fellow-countrymen. (Cheers).

On the last occasion when you assembled in this city you were welcomed by one of the most distinguished citizens of Calcutta, who, by reason of his profound scholarship and wide reputation, was eminently fitted to be the spokesman on behalf of the people of these provinces. It is a matter of sincere regret to us all that long-continued illness should have prostrated our distinguished friend Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra, but it will be a source of gratification to you all to be assured that, though tied down to his sick bed and therefore unable to greet you once more on behalf of the people of Bengal, his heart is entirely with us (loud cheers), and that he continues to be as staunch a supporter of this great movement as ever. (Cheers). It is my painful duty to express to you on behalf of the Reception Committee our sorrow at the irreparable loss we have sustained in the course of the year by the death of one of our ablest and most zealous workers—I mean the late Babu Mohesh Chander Choudhry. (Loud cheers). In him Bengal has lost one of her truest patriots, and the National Congress one of its most earnest supporters and active workers. I had the high privilege of enjoying his friendship for many years, and I can unhesitatingly assert that this presidency has not yet produced a man whose memory ought to be more dearly cherished by us than that of my lamented friend Mohesh Chander Choudhry. (Cheers.) In simplicity of habits and purity of life he was essentially what a pious Hindu ought to be, while in breadth of views, in honesty of purpose, and in general culture few men excelled him even among the more favored races of the West. Such a man the hand of death has somewhat prematurely removed from us, and, before we had quite time to recover from the shock, we found ourselves deprived, though temporarily, of the valuable assistance and co-operation of two of our most energetic workers, one of whom, I regret to say, is unable, by reason of continued ill health and domestic affliction, to be present to-day—I mean our distinguished friend Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee (loud and continued cheers), while the other, after suffering from severe illness for some time, is, I am glad to find, able, at least, to encourage us by his presence though still too weak to cheer us by his eloquence—I refer to my friend Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee. (Loud Cheers).

It is now four years since the National Congress met in this city; since then you have assembled in the great cities of Madras, Allahabad and Bombay, in every one of which places the reception accorded to the Delegates has been of such a character as to make us in Calcutta feel that, after all, we are able to do very little in connection with the Congress of 1890 to deserve the high rank which is popularly assigned to Bengal as the most advanced and the wealthiest province in India. I am afraid, that, with all our efforts this year to give you a fitting reception, our arrangements are defective in many respects; but this I can assure you, on behalf of the people of Bengal, that they yield to no other Presidency in the heartiness and the cordiality of the welcome which they wish to offer to the distinguished representatives of the different parts of this great country, who have honored us with their presence to-day.

It is not within my province to discuss any of the topics which are likely to engage your attention this session; but it is I think fitting that I should not sit down without making some general observations as regards the real aims and objects of the National Congress and our course of action in the future. Our proceedings have been subjected to much and varied criticism, and for my part I am glad that such should have been the case. All our proceedings, our discussions, and our resolutions are public property, and it is only right that they should be subjected to public scrutiny, for I believe we have everything to gain and nothing to lose from honest criticism (cheers), however unfavorable such criticism may be. That, besides legitimate criticism, the proceedings of such a body as ours should be subjected to unworthy attacks and our aims misrepresented and distorted is a matter which, however painful to us all, ought not to discourage and dishearten us. For what great cause in the history of this world has ever triumphed without, in the first instance, having met with unworthy and even rancorous opposition? Our opponents have not even hesitated to accuse the promoters of this movement of disloyalty to the British Government. If I could bring myself to believe that the accusation, however unfounded, had been honestly preferred by those who are responsible for starting it, I should have felt myself called upon to deal with it seriously; but the charge has always seemed to me so preposterous and so dishonest on the part, at any rate, of a large portion of our detractors, that I think every speaker in this hall ought to treat it with silent contempt.

There is, I believe, no one present here who in his heart of hearts does not feel that at no period in the history of India were life and property more secure than they are at the present day. If English rule in India had done nothing more than that, we should, even then, have had ample reason to be grateful to England, for, as you know, the establishment of peace and the maintenance of law and order are the first requisites for the happiness of a people. To my allegiance to the British Government is based, not only on the feeling of which the benefits conferred upon us must evoke in our hearts, but also upon grounds of expediency; for every sane man in India, who is capable of thinking that any change of Government at the present time would be the greatest

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

calamity that could befall the people of this country. (Cheers). That we should have been better pleased if we could have governed ourselves as well as we are governed by England, is a sentiment which we need not in the least shrink from avowing, because not only is such a feeling natural, but it is perfectly consistent to my mind with true loyalty to England. (Hear, hear). The National Congress movement was fittingly described last year by my friend Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, while welcoming the Delegates in Bombay, as "the grandest outcome of British Rule in India." To that description I will venture to add that it is also the natural and, indeed, the inevitable outcome of the generous policy pursued by England in this country. The fact which we all gratefully acknowledge, namely, that India is now better governed than before, or the fact that no other Asiatic country is at the present time better governed, furnishes no argument whatever against the demands made by us with the sole object of improving the administration of the country. The English people have no right to complain if we refuse to judge of their acts and professions as rulers of this country by any standard lower than what they themselves have taught us to respect and admire. If England has been instrumental in teaching an Asiatic people a higher code of political morality she can scarcely complain, with any show of reason, if we expect her strictly to adhere to that code in the government of her own dependencies, and to carry out the professions and declarations which have from time to time been made in her name and on her behalf. The great demonstration of to-day, I think, we are all agreed, implies nothing more than this, viz., that, much as England has done for us, she has yet a great deal more to do, or, in other words, that the administration of India is not perfect, but that there is still considerable room for its improvement and reform. This, I believe, to be the keystone of this great national movement. It is not a movement intended in the slightest degree to embarrass or hamper the Government of the country, but to assist that Government by every means in the great and difficult task in which it is engaged. Viewed in this light—and I am sure you all agree with me that it is our most anxious desire that it should be viewed in no other light—I fail to understand how it is that we have not yet met with a sympathetic recognition at the hands of those who are responsible for the good government of this country. It is impossible in any country to carry on the work of government for any length of time, without consulting the wishes and wants of those who are governed, and it is obvious that when the Government of a country is, practically, in the hands of a foreign people, it is all the more necessary for that Government, and, indeed, it is its duty, if it is to exist for any good purpose, to ascertain the wishes and even the aspirations of those who are governed. If such is the duty cast upon those who are called upon to govern, it is equally the duty of the people themselves to acquaint the Government by all constitutional means with their own wishes and their requirements. We are not so unreasonable as to expect that all our suggestions should be at once carried out, or that all our demands should be at once granted without due consideration. All that we desire is that our suggestions should be honestly and sympathetically considered, and that if difficulties, which we ourselves may fail to perceive, should deter the Government of the day from acceding to any of our wishes, we may be taken into the confidence of the Government, so to speak, in order that we may be in a position to help it, if we can, in grappling with those difficulties. (Hear, hear). This, I believe, is the true position which the National Congress in India desires to occupy.

An idea is said to prevail among certain officials in the vicinity of Whitehall as well as in this country, to the effect that the supremacy of England in India is mainly based upon the disunion of the different races existing in this country, and that any attempt to unite them, even to a limited extent upon a common political platform, is fraught with ultimate danger to the safety of the British Empire. I cannot for a moment believe that any Englishman, having any claims to Statesmanship, can seriously entertain such an idea, based as it is altogether upon a superficial, and, I venture to think, an erroneous conception of facts.

"To divide and rule" is a wicked policy as unworthy of the great English people as it is practically impossible after what they have themselves done for us; because you can no more, now, keep the different races of this country disunited in feelings and sentiments for any length of time than you can abolish your schools and colleges, your railroads and telegraphs.

But then it is asked, "Whom does the National Congress represent? What right has it to speak on behalf of the masses of the people who know nothing about the Congress?" My answer is, the National Congress represents the thinking portion of the people of India. (Cheers). The Delegates present here to-day are the chosen representatives of that section of the Indian people who have learnt to think and whose number is daily increasing with marvellous rapidity. It is perfectly correct that the ignorant masses whom we seek to represent are still unable, in many provinces, to take an active interest in the great social and administrative problems which are now engaging the attention of the educated classes; but history teaches that, in all countries and in all ages, it is the thinking classes who lead the unthinking

1st Day.

Chairman
of
Reception
Com-
mittee's
Address.

and in the present state of our own society we are bound, not only to think for ourselves, but also to think for those who are still too ignorant to exercise that important function. (*Cheers*). If by reason of the peculiar intellectual condition of the people of India whom we are seeking to represent, not only some of those who have actually chosen us as their delegates, but also many others are still incapable of exercising any choice in the matter, I am sure we are not insensible of the grave responsibilities which we are incurring in speaking and acting on their behalf. Our duty to our less favoured countrymen requires that we should not shrink from incurring those responsibilities. I believe we are all agreed that it is our duty to educate our ignorant countrymen not only to think, but to think rightly, and to instil into their minds the fundamental doctrine that the happiness of a people primarily depends upon the maintenance of law and order in the country, and that if they have any grievances the only way to obtain redress is to agitate by peaceable and lawful methods. In trying to discharge so obvious a duty we can well afford to be ridiculed as self-styled delegates or as belonging only to "a microscopic minority." (*Cheers and laughter*).

Gentlemen, I feel I ought not to trespass much longer on your patience, but there is one other accusation to which I cannot help alluding although it has been satisfactorily answered at more than one of our previous gatherings—I refer to the charge, so often repeated, that the National Congress as a body is opposed to social reforms. Such an accusation is based upon an entire misapprehension of the scope and functions of the National Congress, whose object, as I have already explained, is to point out to the Government what we conceive to be the defects in the administration of the country, and to ask only for such reforms as we are ourselves absolutely incapable of introducing without the aid of the Government, and in regard to the necessity of which we are all practically of one mind. Now, the many questions of social reform which are at present engaging the attention of the educated classes throughout India are questions the solution of which is entirely in the hands of the people themselves. It is open to all of us to live as we like, or to eschew or alter at any time any custom which we may consider inconvenient or mischievous. The remedy being entirely in our own hands we can apply it whenever we choose, and on the majority of points we are unfortunately by no means all of one mind yet. Besides, it should be borne in mind that the Congress is composed of diverse communities, each having its own religion and its peculiar usages, and it would be impossible for such a body to discuss the social customs of a particular community, based as they often are upon religious ideas, regarding which the members of another community professing a different religion have no adequate knowledge or information. (*Hear, hear*). But it by no means follows that the promoters of the National Congress are not as keenly alive to the importance of social as they are to that of political reforms. The same educational agency which has given life to the National Congress has already helped to bring about enormous social changes throughout India. Half a century is but a day in the life of a nation, and any one who compares the state of Indian society of the present day with what was the case even 30 years ago, cannot but be surprised at the rapidity with which we have moved in social matters during that period. If there are some who think we ought to have moved still faster, they, in my opinion, ignore altogether the enormous difficulties against which we have to contend in this matter. There are movements of a very important character already on foot amongst the different communities of our people, to promote the cause of social and religious reform, and in my humble judgment we should be travelling out of our legitimate province if we were to deal with such questions in this assembly. Those who know my own views will readily believe that I yield to none in the country in attaching importance to the question of social reform; but at the same time I cannot but feel that it is our duty, however keenly we may feel on the subject, to remember that any precipitate or inconsiderate action before the creation of a healthy public opinion in a community is often apt to retard progress and to defeat the very object we have in view (*Hear, hear*). We ought to be thankful to our English friends for any suggestions they may be disposed to make to us on the question of social reform, so long as those suggestions are made in a sympathetic spirit; but at the same time we must ask them to bear in mind that it is impossible for an outsider or foreigner to realize adequately the difficulties which the different Indian communities have to contend against in matters of social reform. Our English friends, whose kind sympathy and advice our social reformers are always delighted to have, may also be asked to remember that the decision of the question as to what reforms should or should not be introduced must, from the very nature of the case, rest with the Indian people themselves, and that therefore the true remedy lies in educating the people and creating a healthy public opinion on questions of social reform. To my mind, this gathering itself must have, and indeed already has had, the effect, directly and indirectly, of giving a great impetus to the cause of social reform. It is true that there are social problems connected with our domestic life of so important and pressing a character that, in my opinion, the sooner we direct our attention to them, and deal vigorously with them, the better for our country; but all I say is, that those are questions with which the Congress, composed as it is of different communities, ought not at present to have any direct concern. (*Cheers*).

I have thus far dealt with criticisms which have emanated chiefly from members of the

Anglo-Indian community and the English press; but, before I conclude, I may be permitted to allude to one argument which I have sometimes heard used by some of our own people who are in sympathy with the Congress. I have heard it asked: "What good result has the Congress secured to us?" To those desponding spirits among us who are apt to indulge in such an argument I cannot do better than reply in the words of one who spent his noble life in agitating for the good of his own country, and of mankind in general, and whose name is deservedly cherished by us all in India.

In 1885, when I had the honor of a long interview with the late Mr. John Bright (*loud cheers*) at Birmingham, he told me, as I was coming away: "Tell your people on your return home that they must not expect immediate results, nor must they lose heart if they do not get what they want. The English people themselves have not obtained any concession from their own Government without long and persistent agitation. It took Cobden and myself 30 years to get the Corn Laws repealed. Tell your people, as coming from me, that they do not deserve to succeed if they expect immediate results." I trust that this message, sent to us by that great champion of our rights a few years before his death, will encourage you all to persevere in the great cause which you have taken up. Remember that this is only a beginning of a great struggle, and that these annual gatherings of ours are but physical representations of that great and wonderful national awakening which is taking place everywhere in India. (*Cheers*). The sight that we witness to-day may well justify any one of us indulging in the reverie of the great English poet when he exclaimed: "Methinks I see in my mind's eye a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam, purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what this means; and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms." Gentlemen, I once more beg to offer you a hearty welcome, and I ask you to proceed to the business of the day by electing a President for this the Sixth Indian National Congress. (*Loud and prolonged cheers*).

SIR ROMESH CHUNDER MITTER (*Calcutta, No. 1, in list*) (late acting Chief Justice of the High Court, Calcutta) rose and said:—MR. CHAIRMAN OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I feel great pleasure in being called upon to move the first resolution, and probably the only resolution that will be placed before you this day, viz., that in regard to the election of a President for this great national gathering, here this day assembled. I am extremely thankful to the Reception Committee and its Chairman for having assigned to me this duty—a very agreeable duty to myself, and one that will involve very little labour on my part. It affords me great pleasure to be allowed an opportunity of taking a very small part in the proceedings of this great national gathering. The duty assigned to me, though, as I have said, involving very little labour, is an important one, because it will secure to you a leader who will guide your deliberations; and when I simply mention the name which I have to propose I feel assured that it will be received with general acclamation. By his distinguished career at the Bar of the Bombay High Court, and the conspicuous part which he has borne in so many important movements and questions, the name of Mr. Pherozshah Mehta (*loud cheers*) has become almost a household word to all educated persons in India. He enjoys the full confidence, not only of the province to which he belongs, but also of the sister provinces. With these few words I beg to propose that Mr. Pherozshah Mehta be elected President of the Indian National Congress for the year 1890. (*Cheers*).

NAWAB SHAMSHOODOWLA (*Lucknow, No. 472, in list*) seconded the motion.

MR. ANANDA CHARLU (*Madras, No. 611, in list*)—I beg to support the motion. Were I to fulfil the ordinarily understood duties of my position as a supporter I should have to set to work on the proverbially thankless task of painting the lily white. But that is quite unnecessary, you will all I think agree. If Mr. Pherozshah were not well known to all of you—and to all India equally—having myself known him pretty intimately for a long time, I might be able to say something worth listening to; but as he is so well known to you all, I will do no more than ask permission to support the proposition that has been made, that he be elected President of the Sixth Indian National Congress. (*Cheers*).

NAWAB GOULAM RUBBANI (*Calcutta, No. 672, in list*) also supported the motion, which was unanimously adopted with loud acclamations.

1st Day.

Chairman
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1st Day. Mr. MONO MOHAN GHOSE (Calcutta, No. 8, in list)—I now declare Mr. Mehta to have been duly elected.

Mr. Pheroze Shah declared duly elected.

The President's Inaugural Address. Mr. PHEROZSHAH MEHTA (Bombay, No. 542, in list) then took the Chair and delivered the following address:—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I beg to tender to you my most sincere thanks for the honor you have done me in calling me to preside over your deliberations this year. I cannot imagine a greater honor for a native of this country than to be elected, by your free and spontaneous suffrages, President of an assembly which is now one of the recognized institutions of the country—an unconventional Convention of the Empire which, we may say without undue ostentation, has already earned a place in history,—not less surely, let us trust, than the famous St. Andrew's Dinners of this city,—as making an epoch in the march of events moulding the lofty destinies of this magnificent land. In speaking of myself as a native of this country, I am not unaware that, incredible as it may seem, Parsis have been both called and invited and allured to call themselves foreigners. If twelve centuries, however, entitle Angles and Saxons, and Normans and Danes, to call themselves natives of England; if a lesser period entitles the Indian Mahomedans to call themselves natives of India, surely we are born children of the soil, in which our lot has been cast for a period of over thirteen centuries, and where, ever since the advent of the British power, we have lived and worked, with our Hindu and Mahomedan neighbours, for common aims, common aspirations, and common interests. To my mind, a Parsi is a better and a truer Parsi, as a Mahomedan or a Hindu is a better and truer Mahomedan or Hindu; the more he is attached to the land which gave him birth, the more he is bound in brotherly relations and affection to all the children of the soil, the more he recognizes the fraternity of all the native communities of the country, and the immutable bond which binds them together in the pursuit of common aims and objects under a common Government. Is it possible to imagine that Dadabhai Naorojee, for instance, true Parsi that he is, is anything but an Indian, living and working all his life for all India, with the true and tender loyalty of a son? Can any one doubt, if I may be allowed to take another illustration, that Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was greater and nobler when he was devoting the great energies and talents with which he is endowed,—if, for the benefit of Mahomedans in particular,—for the benefit of all Indians in general, than when, as of late, he was preaching a gospel of selfishness and isolation? The birthright, therefore, gentlemen, which the Parsis thus possess of so indefeasible and glorious a character, they have refused and will always refuse to sell for any mess of pottage, however fragrant and tempting. (Loud cheers). More especially, therefore, as an Indian it is that I return to you my grateful thanks for the honor you have done me.

I have ventured, Gentlemen, to ascribe to the Congress the credit of making an epoch in Indian political progress. A very brief survey of the incidents of the twelve months that have elapsed since we last met will amply justify our title to that distinction. In the admirable address which was delivered by my predecessor in this chair at Allahabad, Mr. Yule pointed out that all movements of the kind in which we are concerned pass through several phases as they run their course. The first is one of ridicule. That is followed, as the movement progresses, by one of abuse, which is usually succeeded by partial concession; and misapprehension of aim, accompanied by warnings against taking big jumps into the unknown. The final stage of all is a substantial adoption of the object of the movement, with some expression of surprise that it was not adopted before. Well, Gentlemen, we have pretty well passed the first two stages. We have survived the ridicule, the abuse, and the misrepresentation. We have survived the charge of sedition and disloyalty. We have survived the charge of being a microscopic minority. We have also survived the charge of being guilty of the atrocious crime of being educated, and we have even managed to survive the grievous charge of being all Babus in disguise. (Laughter and cheers).

The question of our loyalty is set at rest for ever. In the debate on Lord Cross's India Reform Bill in the House of Lords, Viceroy after Viceroy bore emphatic testimony to the loyal and peaceful character of our aims and efforts. Within the last few days the voice of no less a personage than one of our former Secretaries of State has confirmed this testimony. Lord R. Churchill—it is to no less distinguished a public man that I refer—has publicly declared that "he could sincerely remark that no one will rejoice more than himself if the deliberations of the Indian National Congress shortly to be resumed were to contribute effectually to the progress and the welfare of the Indian people." Then, Gentlemen, it is made clear that we have not learnt the lessons of history so badly, as to demand

the introduction of the full-blown representative institutions which, in England, have been the growth of centuries. It is made clear that we have not asked for even such a modicum, as was enjoyed by the English people even before the time of Simon de Montfort, more than five centuries ago, nay, that we have not asked even for representative institutions of a governing or ruling character at all. Indeed, so far as this historical argument is concerned, we have not alone proved that we have not been guilty of disregarding it; but we have been successful in turning the tables upon our adversaries. We have shown that it is they who defy the lessons of history and experience when they talk of waiting to make a beginning, till the masses of the people are fully equipped with all the virtues and all the qualifications which adorn the citizens of Utopia, in fact, till a millennium has set in, when we should hardly require such institutions at all. We have shown that people who indulge in such vain talk have never understood the laws of human progress, which, after all, is a series of experiments, in which men and institutions react upon each other for their mutual improvement and perfection. We have also proved that, in spite of our education, and even with our racial and religious differences, the microscopic minority can far better and far more intuitively represent the needs and the aspirations of their own countrymen than the still more microscopic minority of the omniscient District Officers, whose colloquial knowledge of the Indian languages seldom rises above the knowledge of English possessed, for instance, by French waiters at Paris Hotels which proudly blazon forth the legend—'Ici on parle Anglais'; and whose knowledge of native domestic and social life and ways and habits of thought seldom extends beyond a familiarity with flattering expressions of the Sahab's greatness and paternal care, sometimes inspired by courtesy and sometimes by interest. An amusing story was related to me of a little incident that occurred only the other day which is not without instruction as illustrating the amount of knowledge possessed by Anglo-Indians of the people among whom they have moved for years. The wife of a member of Parliament, who has come out on a visit to India this year—herself as distinguished as her husband for her kindly sympathy in Indian welfare—was sitting at dinner next to a learned member of my profession, who, in the course of conversation, grew humorous and sarcastic by turns, in the fashion of M. Rudyard Kipling, on the ridiculous and outrageous pretensions of globe-trotters to know the country and its people better than Anglo-Indians who had lived in it for years. He was rattling away, well satisfied with himself and the impression he thought he was producing on the lady, when, with the sweetest of smiles, she gently asked him how long he had been himself in India. Fifteen years—more or less—was the answer. I suppose you know well Mr.— naming a gentleman whose recent elevation to the Bench of one of our High Courts was received everywhere with pleasure and approbation. Of course, I do, said his brother in the same profession. Can you tell me if he has only one wife or more than one? Slowly came the answer, No I fear I can't. Well I can tell you; you see I have been only a few days in the country, said the lady quietly, and yet I think I know a thing or two which you don't. I trust my learned friend, who is the hero of this story, was properly grateful to the lady for giving him some serious food for reflection.

Then, Gentlemen, the designation of a National body has been vindicated. It is so admirably set forth in an article which appeared in a Conservative Review—The National—from the pen of a Conservative who, however, speaks from the fulness of intimate knowledge, that I cannot resist the temptation of borrowing from it. "The supposed rivalry," says the writer, "between Mussulmans and Hindus is a convenient decoy to distract attention and to defer the day of reform. I do not wish to affirm that there is no antagonism between the adherents of the two faiths; but I do most positively assert that the antagonism has been grossly exaggerated. Every municipal improvement and charitable work finds members of the two faiths working together and subscribing funds to carry it out. Every political paper in the country finds supporters from believers in both creeds. Just the same is witnessed in the proceedings of the Congress. The members of the Congress met together as men, on the common basis of nationality, being citizens of one country, subjects of one power, amenable to one code of laws, taxed by one authority, influenced for weal or woe by one system of administration, urged by like impulses to secure like rights and to be relieved of like burdens. If these are not sufficient causes to weld a people together into one common alliance of nationality, it is difficult to conceive what would be sufficient. It is for this reason the organization has been called the Indian National Congress; not because, as many besides Mr. Keane have assumed, that it claims a non-existent unity of race, but because it deals with rights and interests which are national in character, and matters in which all the inhabitants of the Indian peninsula are equally concerned."

I think we may take it, Gentlemen, that we have passed through the first two stages, and that the loyalty, the moderation, the propriety, and the constitutional and national character of our mission are now established beyond a doubt. But, however arduous and however provoking some of the experiences of the trial through which we have passed, they should not leave any trace of bitterness behind. For let us not imagine that they were devoid

1st Day. The President's Inaugural Address.

1st Day.
The
President's
Inaugural
Address.

of chastening and beneficial effects upon ourselves. Let us frankly acknowledge that they also must have had their share in contributing to add clearness to our thoughts, sobriety to our methods, and moderation to our proposals. If I might use a proscribed, but not unscriptural, phrase we must give even the devil, his due. (Laughter.)

It is on the third stage—the era of achievement—that we have now entered. It is true that a majority of the Congress proposals do not still seem to have made much headway. Even as regards the proposal to separate the Executive and the Judicial functions, lauded by Lord Dufferin “as a counsel of perfection to which the Government were ready to subscribe,” Government are yet so absorbed in admiration of it that they have not recovered themselves sufficiently to take action. There is, however, no reason to despair. It was once proved upon sworn testimony in the Bombay High Court, before the late Chief Justice Sir M. Westropp, that a woman required 22 months for parturition in the air of the province of Kattyawar. It is not impossible, Gentlemen, that the air of Simla may similarly necessitate a more than ordinarily long period of gestation to perfect even counsels of perfection; and therefore we must possess our souls in more than ordinary patience, lest any precipitate pressure might occasion a miscarriage. (Laughter). In one little matter, complete success has attended our efforts, viz., as regards the duty on silver-plate. The Abkari cause is also safe in the custody of that redoubtable champion, of whose formidable prowess you can form some idea, when you remember that it was he who so completely put to rout Mr. Goschen's Compensation clauses. It is a matter of no small congratulation to us to welcome Mr. Caine as one of our own Delegates. He first came out to this country with a free and open mind on the Congress question; with that fearless independence which characterizes him, and which always when I see him recalls to my mind those famous lines of Burns—“The man of independent mind is king of men for a' that,” he went for his education to Aligarh. Thanks to Mr. Th. Beck and Sir Syed Ahmed, he has come to us, not only a staunch Congressman in principles, but, as one of the Indian Political Agency, he has thrown his indomitable energy and his high-souled advocacy into active support of the movement. Mr. Caine can truly boast that, if he has not succeeded in extorting from Mr. Pritchard and all the most zealous Abkari officers the confession that they are Bacchus and his crew in disguise, they dare not, at least, throw off their masks, while his watchful eye is upon them, but must continue to do penance in the assumed garb of uncomfortable and uncongenial principles. Leaving Christian to continue his combat with Apollyon, it is when we come to the central proposal of the Congress regarding the Legislative Councils, for the purpose of expanding and putting life in them, that we can congratulate ourselves on being on the verge of an important step. Many have been the circumstances, and many the forces and influences, that have contributed to this result. First and foremost among them is the circumstance that, without legal votes and legal qualifications, we have had the good fortune to become possessed of a member of our own in Parliament. Do not imagine, Gentlemen, that Dadabhai Naoroji or Lal Mohan Ghose has at length been returned. But what member, even if we had the direct franchise, could have served us as Mr. Bradlaugh has done during the last twelve months? To say that this country is grateful to him for the untiring energy, the indefatigable care, the ability with which he has watched and worked for its best interests in that House, is to say that he has achieved so honorable a position for himself, can only most imperfectly express the depth and extent of the sentiments that are felt for him throughout the length and breadth of the land. His name has literally become a household word. He is raising up to himself a memorial in the hearts of the people of India, which will reflect more lustre on his name than titles and orders, and endure longer than monuments of brass or marble. (Loud cheers.)

We have been fortunate indeed in securing the sympathies of such a champion. No sooner did he return to England than he at once proceeded to redeem the promise he had made on that behalf, by introducing in the House of Commons his India Councils Reform Bill, drawn on the lines which were sketched and formulated at the last Congress, and with which you are all familiar under its justly deserved brief designation of the Madras Scheme. Two important results were the immediate outcome of this step. The scheme which was thus propounded was in its nature a tentative measure, so far as its details were concerned; and it at once drew forth useful and guiding criticism. In several respects its scope was misunderstood, especially as regards its supposed sweeping character which might have been avoided, had we specified in the Congress skeleton sketch the restrictive limitations hedging the qualifications of the electorate. The criticisms of men like Sir W. Hunter and Sir R. Garth, for whose thoughtful, sympathetic and friendly attitude towards Indian progress we are always so deeply grateful, exposed, however, one defect demanding serious consideration, viz., that the scheme was laid on new lines, and had a somewhat theoretical air, which Englishmen rather fight shy of in practical politics. In justice to the scheme, however, it should be said that Sir Richard Garth put his finger on a possible, rather than a probable, result when he thought that it would enable the Hindus to submerge the other Indian communities. Experience has shown that even in a preponderating Hindu electorate it does

1st Day.

The
President's
Inaugural
Address.

not happen that Hindus only are elected, as so many other, besides racial, forces and interests concur in influencing the selection. If we may apply the lessons learnt from experience in municipal elections, I may mention the remarkable fact that in the Town Council or what is now called the Standing Committee of the Bombay Corporation, composed of 12 members, there have been frequently 5 Parsis, 3 Europeans, 2 Hindus and 2 Mahomedans. Sir R. Garth's criticism on this point, however, throws out a warning which should not be hastily disregarded.

But the next result, which the introduction of Mr. Bradlaugh's bill achieved, was gratifying in the highest degree. It at once dispelled the fit of profound cogitation, in which men at the head of Indian affairs are so apt to be lost, that they can never spontaneously recover from it. Lord Cross's Indian Councils Bill promptly saw the light of day in the House of Lords. It was at once the official recognition of the *raison-d'être* of the Congress, and the first fruits of its labours. In itself, however, it was a most halting and unsatisfactory measure. In framing it, the Prime Minister and the Indian Secretary of State, seem to have been pervaded with a conception of the Indian people as a sort of *Oliver Twist*, always asking for more, to whom it would be therefore a piece of prudent policy to begin with offering as little as possible. The Government Bill may be aptly described as a most superb steam-engine in which the necessary material to generate steam was carefully excluded, substituting in its place colored shams to look like it. The rights of interpellation and of the discussion of the Budget were granted, but the living forces of the elective principle, which alone could properly work them, were not breathed into the organization of the enlarged councils. The omission of the elective principle from the bill was boldly justified by Lord Salisbury on the ground that “the principle of election or government by representation was not an Eastern idea, and that it did not fit Eastern traditions or Eastern minds.” I wish to speak of his Lordship with all the respect to which his high talents and great intellectual attainments justly entitle him; but it is not a little surprising as well as disappointing to find the Prime Minister of England, a statesman who, as Lord Cranborne, was once Secretary of State for India, displaying such profound ignorance of the history of the Indian people and the genius of the Indian mind. The late Mr. Chisolm Anstey, a man of immense erudition, once pointed out at a meeting of the East India Association in London, that “we are apt to forget in this country when we talk of preparing people in the East by education, and all that sort of thing, for Municipal, Government and Parliamentary Government, that the East is the parent of Municipalities. Local Self Government in the widest acceptance of the term, is as old as the East itself. No matter what may be the religion of the people who inhabit what we call the East, there is not a portion of the country from west to east, from north to south, which is not swarming with municipalities; and not only so, but like to our municipalities of old, they are all bound together as in a species of network so that you have ready made to your hand the framework of a great system of representation.” Sir H. Maine has shown that the Teutonic Mark was hardly so well organized or so essentially representative as an Indian village community, until the precise technical Roman form was engrafted upon it. (Cheers.)

But leaving village communities alone, what do we find at the present day over the whole country but all sorts and conditions of people, from the highest to the lowest, meeting together and transacting the business of their numberless castes, in assemblies which, in their constitution and their mode of working, are the exact prototypes of the Saxon Witan, from which the English parliamentary institutions have sprung. It is true that circumstances never allowed the representative genius of the people to develop forms and organizations for higher political functions. But it is no less true, that the seed and the soil are there, waiting only for the skilful hand, and the watchful mind, which we of the Congress firmly believe we have secured in the presence of Englishmen in this country. The disdainful attitude of Lord Salisbury as to our aptitude for representative institutions need, however, bring no despair to our minds. His late Chief, Lord Beaconsfield, once said of him on a memorable occasion that he was a man who never measured his phrases or his weeping assertions. On the contrary, I draw an augury of good hope from his pronouncement and that made by his son Lord Hugh Cecil that “the Indian was not only a good Government, but it was probably the best conceivable Government that the population could possibly live under.” On the eve of the passing of the great English Reform Bill, the Duke of Wellington, then the Tory Prime Minister, proclaimed in the same House of Lords that the existing constitution of the House of Commons was perfect, and that the wit of man could not *a priori* have devised anything so perfect. The declaration was received by the Liberals as a sure portent of victory; and the Reform Bill was passed within little more than a year after. I trust that the Salisbury pronouncement may prove prophetic in the same way. (Cheers.)

It is needless to discuss Lord Cross's perfunctory measure any further; even with the amendment which Lord Northbrook succeeded in getting accepted, it left the House of Lords in the same lifeless condition in which it entered. As soon as it reached the House of Commons, Mr. Bradlaugh fastened on it at once. It was true that he had got

1st Day.

The
President's
Inaugural
Address.

there his own bill, but Mr. Bradlaugh is a master of parliamentary tactics inferior, if to any, only to Mr. Gladstone. He at once perceived that the supreme struggle was to be no more between one scheme and another, between territorial electorates or local Boards, but that every nerve would have to be strained and every resource husbanded, to obtain in the first place recognition of the elective principle. That secured, everything else would follow in its own good time. With a masterly comprehension of the situation, he placed before the House amendments to the Bill, directed to substitute the process of election for that of nomination. The Bill and the amendments have however all gone the way of the majority, and the session closed without the opportunity of discussing them. Profiting, however, by the lessons in which the experience of the last twelve months was prolific, both without and within the walls of Parliament, Mr. Bradlaugh has hit upon the notable expedient of ploughing with Lord Cross's heifer. He has already introduced a new Bill, based on the same lines as Lord Cross's Bill, but vivifying it by the affirmation of the principle for which we are fighting. That Bill will be laid before you for your consideration. It will be for you to deal with it in your wisdom. However you may decide, of one thing I am certain, that you will maintain the character for moderation, sagacity, and practical good sense which you have so ardently acquired by your self-sacrificing and noble labours during the five years of the existence of the Congress. It is not for me to anticipate your verdict. But I am sure you will allow me, out of my anxious solicitude for the triumph of the cause we have all so earnestly at heart, to state the reasons which to my mind make so imperatively for the acceptance of the new draft, in which I cannot but recognize the statesmanlike craft and thorough knowledge of the shifting phases of English politics which Mr. Bradlaugh so eminently possesses, and which, as we all earnestly pray, promises to place him at no distant date in the front ranks of politicians in office, as he already is in the front ranks of those not in office. The old draft, admirably devised in some respects,—with many virtues, and a few faults,—has not proved congenial to the English political mind, averse to new departures, and looking askance at theoretical airs of perfection. The new Bill has, on the other hand, all the elements of success in its favour. Its most striking merit is that it gathers round it the cautious, the carefully weighed, and responsible opinions of some of the best Viceroys we have ever had. Lord Northbrook has pronounced in favour of a properly safe-guarded application of some mode of election. The righteous sympathies of the Marquis of Ripon are as warmly with us as ever, and his great authority weighs on the same side. Still more valuable, as coming from a Viceroy who left only the other day, is the measured and calculated approval which Lord Dufferin has recorded in a despatch, in referring to which I hope I am not making myself liable to the terrors of the Official Secret's Act. In mentioning Lord Dufferin, I will frankly say that we have not sufficiently recognised the great debt of gratitude which we owe to him in this respect. partly, I believe, through ignorance, and partly through misapprehension of the course he adopted, to neutralize opposition against the measures he recommended. An unrivalled diplomatist, his wary statesmanship was apt to assume the hues of the craft of which he is so accomplished a master. He sought an occasion when he could launch his proposals without provoking disagreement, endeavouring rather to conciliate it. The epoch-making St. Andrew's Dinner of 1888 offered him the needful opportunity. He knew Scotchmen, and their matter-of-fact character; so inimitably delineated by Charles Lamb. He knew, as that charming essayist tells us, that "surmises, guesses, misgivings, half intuitions, partial illuminations, dim instincts, embryo conceptions had no place in their brain or vocabulary." He drew before his hosts a vivid and alarming picture of imaginary Congress proposals—of "an ideal authoritatively suggested of the creation of a representative body or bodies, in which the official element shall be in a minority, who shall have what is called the power of the purse, and who, through this instrumentality, shall be able to bring the British executive into subjection to their will." But while his excited and valiant hosts rushed off, crying Scotchmen to the rescue, to tilt at windmills, he quietly threw in a sympathetic recognition of our just and legitimate aspirations, and proceeded to record a minute in which he substantially backed up the veritable Congress proposals. In this Despatch Lord Dufferin has briefly described his scheme as a plan for the enlargement of the Provincial Councils, for the enhancement of their status, the multiplication of their functions, the partial introduction into them of the elective principle, and the liberalization of their general character as political institutions. At this year's St. Andrew's dinner, Sir Charles Elliott eulogized Lord Dufferin's speech as epoch-making and fixing the bounds and limits of our demands—"so far and no further." We are quite content to go as far; we have never asked to go very much further. We may therefore fairly infer from Sir Charles Elliott's speech that he is in accord and sympathy with the main underlying principles of Lord Dufferin's scheme, and we can therefore congratulate the people of Bengal on their good fortune in possessing a ruler whom we can justly claim to be a true Congresswalla at heart. (*Laughter and cries of Oh! Oh!*)

I will not speculate without official sanction on the views of the present Viceroy. But I may permit myself to remind you that it was to Henry Marquis of Lansdowne that

Macaulay dedicated those speeches, in one of which, dipping far into the future, he spoke about the future Government of India in that noble passage with which we are all familiar: "The destinies of our Indian Empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fate reserved for a state which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The laws which regulate its growth and decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good Government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that having become instructed in European knowledge they may in some future age demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own." The dawn of that day which Macaulay foresaw, in dim, but prophetic vision, is now breaking on the horizon; the curtain is rising on the drama which unfolds the vista to that title to glory. Let us earnestly hope that the present illustrious bearer of the great historic name of Lansdowne, who, by a wonderful ordering of events, has now come to rule over us, may watch the glowing streaks of light with generous sympathy, and may preside over the march of events with timely and provident statesmanship. (*Loud cheers*).

This weighty consensus of the best viceregal opinion which I have placed before you, in favour of the principle of the new draft, we expect to be backed up by the potent voice of that Grand Old Man, whom we reverence, not only as the greatest parliamentary leader of modern times, but as the individual embodiment of the highest conception of moral and political duty which English statesmanship has reached in the 19th century. You are aware that Mr. Bradlaugh has recently declared that he was authorized to say that the course pursued by him in reference to the Government Bill, in endeavouring to obtain a recognition of the elective principle, was approved by Mr. Gladstone, who intended to have supported him by speech. It would require considerations of overpowering force, indeed, to persuade us to any course by which we might run the risk of losing such an almost certain pledge of ultimate victory. (*Cheers*).

Another potent factor has come into existence within this year, which is calculated to help us materially—if we confine our efforts to the simple issue of election versus nomination—in the force of English public opinion which, without undertaking to pronounce on questions of detail, has now declared itself to a very considerable extent emphatically in favour of the vital principle of election. The credit of informing the English mind and stirring the English conscience on this momentous question belongs to that small band of noble workers who were appointed at the last Congress to plead the cause of India before the great English people in their own country, and who cheerfully crossed the seas in obedience to such a call of duty, without counting the inevitable cost and sacrifice. The task which they undertook was a formidable one; they have discharged it in a manner of which it is difficult to speak too highly. Of the leader of that band I cannot trust myself to speak with sober moderation, when I remember that it is to his genius we owe that flash of light which pointed out the creation of a body like the Congress, as fraught with the promotion of the best interests of English rule in India. I know there are numerous claimants for the credit of the idea, but if I may be pardoned for employing the rudely forcible language of Carlyle, "the firepan, the kindling, the bitumen were his own; but the lumber of rags, old wood, and nameless combustible rubbish (for all is fuel to him) was gathered from hucksters and of every description under Heaven. Whereby indeed hucksters enough have been heard to exclaim: 'Out upon it, the fire is mine.'" He brought to bear upon his new enterprise the same zeal and fervour, combined with thoughtful judgment, that he has unsparingly bestowed for so many years upon the cause to which he has devoted his life. His presence on the Congress Deputation entailed a further sacrifice and affliction, for which we can offer no consolation or reparation except our deepest and most respectful sympathy. In his great and noble mission, Mr. Hume (*loud cheers*) had the entire co-operation of a man of no ordinary powers and capacity. The rare and unrivalled powers of oratory which we have learned to admire in Mr. Surendranath Bannerji (*cheers*)—for it is of him I speak—never shone with more brilliant effect than when he was pleading the cause of his countrymen at the bar of the English people, with a fire and energy that extorted universal respect and admiration. They had a powerful coadjutor in my friend Mr. Eardley Norton, who has known so well how to make splendid use of the heritage of great thoughts and noble deeds which he received from his distinguished father. Mr. Mudholkar from the Central Provinces did yeoman's service in the same cause, and his sober and thoughtful eloquence did not carry less weight than that of his brilliant colleagues. There is no need for me to say anything of the services of Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and our other friends in England. But I cannot allow

1st Day.

The
President's
Inaugural
Address.

1st Day.
The
President's
Inaugural
Address.

this opportunity to pass without grateful acknowledgment of the unceasing toil, the prodigious energy, and the organizing capacity contributed by Mr. William Digby. The delegates assembled here might render no inconsiderable service to our cause if they exerted themselves to stimulate by thousands and tens of thousands the circulation of the Congress paper entitled 'India,' started under the auspices of our British committee and conducted with such marked ability by him, and which has done, and promises to do, more and more, such incalculable benefit to the object we have at heart. The result of the English campaign clearly shows the wisdom of the new plan of operations suggested by Mr. Bradlaugh. It seems to me that success is well within our reach, if we resolutely apply ourselves to obtain, in the first instance at least, the recognition and application of the principle of election in the organization of our Legislative Councils. Let us then strive for it with the sagacity of practical men; who have not learnt in vain the lessons taught by English political history, and who know the value of moderate, gradual, and substantial gain.

To the many reasons which have been set forth in Congress after Congress, proving the imperative need of reformed Councils, another has been now added. The discussion of the Indian Budget in the House of Commons was always more or less of a sham; but it was a sham for which the officials of the India Office thought it at least a matter of decency to shed a tear of remorse. But now Sir John Gorst has boldly and candidly declared in his place in the House that there need be no sham regret at all; that if anything, it was rather to be hoped and wished for, that the House of Commons should not waste its time over the weary farce. (*Shame, Shame*). It is now officially declared that it is right and proper that Parliament should, to use Mr. Yule's happy way of putting it, throw "the great and solemn trust of an inscrutable Providence" back into the hands of Providence to be looked after as Providence itself thinks best, with such grace as Providence may choose to pour on the heads of Sir John Gorst, his heirs, successors, and assigns. I think you will agree with me that, when the responsible advisers of the Crown on Indian matters propound doctrines of such a character, it is high time that we should raise our united voice to demand Local Councils possessing some guarantees for energy and efficiency. (*Cheers*).

It has been said that our united voice is the voice only of a certain portion of the people and not of the masses; and that it is even then the voice of indifference, and not of urgency and excitement. These remarks are intended to be cast as matters of reproach against the Congress; properly understood they constitute its chief glory. If the masses were capable of giving articulate expression to definite political demands, then the time would have arrived, not for consultative Councils but for representative institutions. It is because they are still unable to do so that the function and the duty devolve upon their educated and enlightened compatriots to feel, to understand and to interpret their grievances and requirements, and to suggest and indicate how these can best be redressed and met. History teaches us that such has been the law of widening progress in all ages and all countries, notably in England itself. That function and that duty, which thus devolve upon us, is best discharged, not in times of alarm and uneasiness, of anger and excitement, but when the heart is loyal and clear and reason unclouded. It is, I repeat, the glory of the Congress that the educated and enlightened people of the country seek to repay the debt of gratitude, which they owe for the priceless boon of education, by pleading, and pleading temperately, for timely and provident statesmanship. (*Cheers*).

I have no fears but that English statesmanship will ultimately respond to the call. I have unbounded faith in the living and fertilizing principles of English culture and English civilization. It may be that, at times, the prospect may look dark and gloomy. Anglo-Indian opposition may look fierce and uncompromising. But my faith is large, even in Anglo-Indians. As in the whole universe, so in individuals, in communities, there is a perpetual conflict going on between the higher and lower passions and impulses of our nature. Perhaps some of you have read a little novel, called Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, the plot of which hinges on the conflict between the two sides of a man's nature, the higher and the lower, embodied each, for the time being, in a separate and distinct individuality. If the lower tendencies are sometimes paramount in the Hydes of Anglo-Indian society, if as our last President, Sir W. Wedderburn said, the interests of the services are antagonistic to and prevail over the interests of the Indian people, it is still the oscillation of the struggle; it is still only one side of the shield. They cannot permanently divest themselves of the higher and nobler nature, which, in the end, must prevail, and which has prevailed in so many honorable, distinguished and illustrious instances. They are after all a part and parcel of the great English nation, bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh, and they must even work along the main lines of that noble policy which Great Britain has deliberately adopted for the government of this country. When, in the inscrutable dispensation of Providence, India was assigned to the care of England, one can almost imagine that the choice was offered to her as to Israel of old: "Behold, I have placed before you a blessing and a curse; a blessing, if ye will obey the commandments of the Lord your God; a curse, if ye will not obey the commandments of the Lord your God, but go after other gods whom ye have not known."

1st Day.
The
President's
Inaugural
Address.

All the great forces of English life and society, moral, social, intellectual, political, are, if slowly, yet steadily and irresistibly, declaring themselves for the choice which will make the connection of England and India a blessing to themselves, and to the whole world, for countless generations. Our Congress asks but to serve as a modest handmaid to that movement, asks but to be allowed to show the pits and the falls, asks but to be allowed to join in the blessing which England will as surely earn as there is an "Eternal that maketh for righteousness." (*Cheers*).

I appeal to all true Englishmen—to candid friends as to generous foes—not to let this prayer go in vain. It may be that we sometimes speak in uncouth and outlandish ways, it may be that we sometimes stray in some confusion of thought and language; still it is the prayer of a rising, growing and hopeful nation. I will appeal to them to listen to the sage counsels of one of the most careful and observant of their modern politicians, who, like the prophet Balaam, called, I will not say, exactly to curse us, has however blessed us utterly. In his "Problems of Greater Britain," Sir Charles Dilke thus sums up his views on the Congress: "Argument upon the matter is to be desired, but not invective, and there is so much reason to think that the Congress movement really represents the cultivated intelligence of the country, that those who ridicule it do harm to the imperial interests of Great Britain, bitterly wounding and alienating men who are justified in what they do, who do it in reasonable and cautious form, and who ought to be conciliated by being met half-way." (*Cheers*). The official class themselves admit that many of "vicious" who attack the Congress do so to ingratiate themselves with their British rulers and shirk their claims for decorations. (*Hear, hear*). Our first duty in India is that of defending the country against anarchy and invasion, but our other greatest duty is to learn how to live with what is commonly called the Congress movement, namely, with the development of that new India which we have ourselves created. Our past work in India has been a splendid task, splendidly performed, but there is a still nobler one before us, and one larger even than that labour on the Irish problem to which our public men on both sides seem too much inclined to give their whole attention. So careful an estimate of the work and spirit of the Congress movement cannot but commend itself to all thoughtful minds.

However that may be, our duty lies clear before us to go on with our work firmly and fearlessly, but with moderation, and above all with humility. If we might be permitted to adopt those noble words of Cardinal Newman, we may say—

Lead kindly light amid the encircling gloom,
Lead thou me on!
The night is dark and I am far from home,
Lead thou me on!
Keep thou my feet, I do not ask to see
The distant path, one step's enough for me. (*Long and enthusiastic cheering*).

I will now ask you to elect the Subjects Committee.

After some discussion and the reading out of all the names proposed by the several circles, and their acceptance by the Congress as a body, the following Subjects Committee was declared to have been duly constituted:—

CALCUTTA CIRCLE (includes the presidency and Burdwan Divisions, Orissa, Assam, Sylhet and Cachar):				Election of a Subjects Committee.
	1. GEORGE YULE, Esq.	(Calcutta.)		
	2. C. SWINHOE, Esq.	(do.)		
	3. R. D. MEHTA, Esq.	(do.)		
	4. A. CHOWDHRY, Esq.	(do.)		
	5. THE REV. KALI CHARAN BANERJI	(do.)		
	6. DR. TROILKYA NATH MITTER	(do.)		
	7. PANDIT PRAN NATH SARASVATI	(do.)		
	8. BABU NOKENDRO NATH SEN	(do.)		
	9. " BHUPENDRA NATH BOSE	(do.)		
	10. " DEVENDRA CHANDRA GHOSE	(do.)		
	11. " MOHINI MOHAN CHATTERJI	(do.)		
	12. " MOTI LALL GHOSE	(Jessore).		
	13. " KALI SHANKAR SUKUL	(Narail).		
	14. " NAFAR CHANDRA PAL CHOWDHRY	(Nuddea).		
	15. " HEERUMBA CHANDRA MOITRO	(do.)		
	16. " BOKANTHA NATH SEN	(M. lajes).		
	17. " TARA PROSONNO MUKHERJI	(Burdwan).		
	18. " BISHNU PODO CHATTERJI	(Hooghly).		
	19. " NURSING CHANDRA DUTT	(Howrah).		
	20. " JOGENDRA CHANDRA ROY	(Midnapur).		
	21. " DHONE KRISTO GHOSE	(Birbhum).		
	22. " GOVIND CHARAN DASS	(Tipperah).		

1st Day. Election of a Subjects Committee.	CALCUTTA CIRCLE—(contd.)	23. BABU BEPIN CHUNDER PAL 24. „ BARODA CHANDRA HALDAR 25. „ JANOKI NATH BOSE	(Sylhet). (Assam). (Orissa).
	DACCA CIRCLE (includes the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions).	1. BABU KOILASH CHANDRA SEN 2. „ KISHORILAL SIKKAR 3. „ DWARKANATH GANGULI 4. „ PRABU LAL ROY 5. „ RADHA BALLABH CHOWDHURY 6. „ PROSONNO KUMAR BOSE	(Dacca). (do.) (do.) (Bakergunge). (Mymensingh). (Tangail).
	RAJSHAHYE CIRCLE (includes the Rajshahye Division).	1. BABU RAJKUMAR SIKKAR 2. „ KALI KISHORE MUNSHI 3. „ GIRISH CHUNDER ROY	(Rajshahye). (Bogra). (Pubna).
	BHAGALPUR CIRCLE (includes the Bhagalpur Division).	1. RAI SURYA NARAIN SING BAHADUR 2. „ TEJ NARAIN SING BAHADUR 3. DR. LADLI MOHUN GHOSH 4. BABU PARVATI CHARAN DASS 5. „ AKHILESHVAR PRASAD	(Bhagalpur). (do.) (do.) (Purnea). (Monghyr)
	AGPUR CIRCLE (includes the Chota Nagpur Division).	1. RAI JADUNATH MUKHERJI	(Hazaribagh).
	BEHAR CIRCLE (includes the Patna Division).	1. MOULVIE SHURFUDDIN 2. „ ABDUL HAMID 3. BABU SALIGRAM SING 4. PANDIT SHAMEAL NARAIN 5. BABU RAGHUBUNS SAHAI 6. PRINGLE KENNEDY, Esq. 7. BABU RAMDHAN SAHAI	(Bankipur). (do.) (do.) (Patna). (do.) (Mozufferpur). (do.)
	BENARES CIRCLE (includes the Benares Division).	1. SUEIKH NUSSEEROODEEN 2. BABU GOVIND DASS 3. BABU UPENDRANATH BOSE 4. LALA SREE RAM 5. LALA BENI PERSHAD	(Benares). (do.) (do.) (Mirzapur). (do.)
	N. W. P. CIRCLE (includes the whole N. W. P. except the Benares Division).	1. PUNDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA 2. „ BULDEO RAM DAVE 3. MUNSHI MADHAVAPRASAD 4. „ SADRUDDIN AHMED 5. BABU CHAROO CHANDER MITTER 6. HAFIZ ABDUL RAHIM 7. PUNDIT PRITHI NATH 8. HAKIM FAKRUDDIN 9. LALA DWARKA DASS 10. PUNDIT DAMMI LAL 11. „ RAGHUBEER SARAN 12. „ HARI RAM PANDE	(Allahabad). (do.) (do.) (do.) (do.) (Allypore). (Cawnpore). (do.) (Agra). (Mainpuri). (Meerut). (Almora).
	ODDH CIRCLE (includes the whole Province of Oudh).	1. SYED HAMID ALI KHAN 2. MUNSHI GUNGAPERSHAD VARMA 3. PUNDIT BISHAN NARAYAN DHAR 4. RAI KAKU MULL BAHADUR 5. LALA GOKAL CHAND 6. BABU PITAM ROY	(Lucknow). (do.) (do.) (Fyzabad). (do.) (Sitapur).
	„ „ „ (includes the whole Punjab except the Delhi Division).	1. LALA DHURM DAS SURI 2. DR. PRAMANAND 3. BABU JOGENDRO CHANDRA BOSE 4. BABA NARAYAN SING SODHI 5. DR. GUNGADIN 6. CAPTAIN A. BANON 7. LALA MURLIDHUR 8. BAKSHI JAISHI RAM	(Lahore). (do.) (do.) (Amritsar). (do.) (Kangra). (Umballa). (Jalandhar).

1st Day. Election of a Subjects Committee.	DELHI CIRCLE (includes the Delhi Division).	1. MOULVIE M. RUKUNUDDIN JADOO 2. „ SHAHABUDIN SAKEL 3. „ NISAR ALI SHOHRAT	(Delhi). (do.) (do.)
	GUZERAT CIRCLE (includes Guzerat, Cutch, Kathiawar and Panch Mahals).	1. H. NANABHAI HARIDAS, Esq.	(Surat).
	BOMBAY CIRCLE (includes Bombay City and Tanna, Colaba and Ratnagiri districts).	1. D. E. WACHA, Esq. 2. DADI ABANI KHARE, Esq. 3. NARAIN VISHNU, GOKHALE, Esq.	(Bombay). (do.) (do.)
	DECCAN CIRCLE (includes entire Deccan—(except the Sholapore district)—N. Canara and Khandeish).	1. M. B. NAMJOSHI, Esq. 2. B. G. TILAK, Esq. 3. S. B. BHATE, Esq. 4. R. P. KARANDIKAR, Esq.	(Poona). (do.) (do.) (Satara).
	SHOLAPORE CIRCLE (includes only the Sholapore district).	1. W. S. CAINE, Esq.	(Sholapore).
	BERAR CIRCLE (includes the whole of Berar).	1. DEORAO VINAYEK, Esq. 2. R. N. MUDHOLKAR, Esq. 3. G. S. KHAPARDE, Esq.	(Akola). (Amraoti). (Ellichpur).
	CENTRAL PROVINCES CIRCLE (includes the whole of the C. Pees.).	1. A. NUNDY, Esq. 2. C. V. NAYADU, Esq. 3. LAKSHMAN GOVIND RAO, Esq.	(Jubbulpore). (Nagpur). (Wardha).
	MADRAS CIRCLE (includes the entire Madras Presidency).	1. P. ANANDA CHARLU, Esq. 2. V. SUNDARAM SHASTRI, Esq. 3. M. RAMASWAMI NAIDU, Esq. 4. M. VIRARAGHAVA CHARIAR, Esq. 5. K. P. VISWANADA IYER, Esq. 6. TIRUMALAI MUDELIAR, Esq. 7. V. KRISNASWAMI IYER, Esq. 8. P. RATHNA SABAPATHI PILLAI, Esq. 9. R. SUNDARAM IYER, Esq. 10. S. KASTURIRANGA LYENGAR, Esq. 11. C. VIJAYARAGHAVA CHARIAR, Esq. 12. C. JAMBULINGA MUDELIAR, Esq. 13. C. CHIDAMBARAM ROW, Esq. 14. MADHAVA ROW NAIDU, Esq. 15. K. VENCANNA PANTULU, Esq. 16. J. P. KOTALINGAM, Esq.	(Madras). (do.) (do.) (do.) (Madura). (do.) (Tanjore). (do.) (Dindigul). (Coimbatore). (Salem). (Cuddapah). (Kurnool). (Vizianagram). (do.) (Cuddalore).
	EX-OFFICIO.	1. PHEROZSHAH M. MEHTA, Esq. 2. MONO MOHUN GHOSH, Esq.	(President, Bombay). (Chairman, Reception Committee, Bengal).
	„	3. SIR ROMESH CHUNDER MITTER, Kt.	(Proposer of President, Bengal).
	„	4. A. O. HUME, Esq., C. B.	(General Secretary, Punjab).
	„	5. THE HON'BLE PUNDIT AJOODHIANATH	(Joint-General Secretary, N. W. P.).
	„	6. J. GHOSAL, Esq.	(Joint Secretary, Reception Committee, Bengal).
	„	7. RAI RAJKOUMAR SARVADRIKARI BAHADUR	(do.)

THE PRESIDENT.—The Subjects Committee will now proceed to perform their proper functions; and I therefore adjourn this meeting to to-morrow, at 1 o'clock.

Half an hour later, when the Hall had been cleared, and the lamps lighted, the Subjects Committee met and sat until late. Next morning it re-assembled at 10 A.M., and sat until shortly before the re-assembling of the Congress.

Adjournment of the Assembly.

1st Day. Election of a Subjects Committee.	CALCUTTA CIRCLE—(contd.)	23. BABU BEPIN CHUNDER PAL	(Sylhet).
		24. " BARODA CHANDRA HALDAR	(Assam).
		25. " JANOKI NATH BOSE	(Orissa).
DACCA CIRCLE (in- cludes the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions).	1. BABU KOILASH CHANDRA SEN	(Dacca).	
	2. " KISHORILAL SIKKAR	(do.)	
	3. " DWARKANATH GANGULI	(do.)	
	4. " PRABU LAL ROY	(Bakergunge).	
	5. " RADHA BALLABH CHOWDHRY	(Mymensingh).	
	6. " PROSONNO KUMAR BOSE	(Tangail).	
RAJSHAHYE CIRCLE (in- cludes the Rajshahye Division).	1. BABU RAJKUMAR SIKKAR	(Rajshahye).	
	2. " KALI KISHORE MUNSHI	(Bogra).	
	3. " GIRISH CHUNDER ROY	(Pubna).	
BHAGALPUR CIRCLE (in- cludes the Bhagalpur Division.)	1. RAI SURYA NARAIN SING BAHADUR	(Bhagalpur).	
	2. " TEJ NARAIN SING BAHADUR	(do.)	
	3. DR. LADLI MOHUN GHOSH	(do.)	
	4. BABU PARVATI CHARAN DASS	(Purnea).	
	5. " AKHILESHVAR PRASAD	(Monghyr).	
AGPUR CIRCLE (includes the Chota Nagpur Division.)	1. RAI JADUNATH MUKHERJI	(Hazaribagh).	
BEHAR CIRCLE (includes the Patna Division.)	1. MOULVIE SHURFUDDIN	(Bankipur).	
	2. " ABDUL HAMID	(do.)	
	3. BABU SALIGRAM SING	(do.)	
	4. PANDIT SHAMBHAL NARAIN	(Patna).	
	5. BABU RAGHUBHUNSAHAI	(do.)	
	6. PRINGLE KENNEDY, Esq.	(Mozufferpur).	
	7. BABU RAMDHAN SAHAI	(do.)	
BENARES CIRCLE (includes the Benares Division.)	1. SHEIKH NUSSEEROODEEN	(Benares).	
	2. BABU GOVIND DASS	(do.)	
	3. BABU UPENDRANATH BOSE	(do.)	
	4. LALA SREE RAM	(Mirzapur).	
	5. LALA BENI PERSHAD	(do.)	
N. W. P. CIRCLE (in- cludes the whole N. W. P. except the Benares Division.)	1. PUNDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA	(Allahabad).	
	2. " BULDEO RAM DAVE	(do.)	
	3. MUNSHI MADHAVAPRASAD	(do.)	
	4. " SADRUDDIN AHMED	(do.)	
	5. BABU CHAROO CHANDER MITTER	(do.)	
	6. HAFIZ ABDUL RAHIM	(Allypore).	
	7. PUNDIT PRITHI NATH	(Cawnpore).	
	8. HAKIM FAKRUDDIN	(do.)	
	9. LALA DWARKA DASS	(Agra).	
	10. PUNDIT DAMMI LAL	(Mainpuri).	
	11. " RAGHUBHER SARAN	(Meerut).	
	12. " HARI RAM PANDE	(Almora).	
OUDH CIRCLE (includes the whole Province of Oudh.)	1. SYED HAMID ALI KHAN	(Lucknow).	
	2. MUNSHI GUNGAPERSHAD VARMA	(do.)	
	3. PUNDIT BISHAN NARAYAN DHAR	(do.)	
	4. RAI KAKU MULL BAHADUR	(Fyzabad).	
	5. LALA GOKAL CHAND	(do.)	
	6. BABU PITAM ROY	(Sitapur).	
PUNJAB CIRCLE (in- cludes the whole Punjab except the Delhi Divi- sion).	1. LALA DHURM DAS SURI	(Lahore).	
	2. DR. PRAMANAND	(do.)	
	3. BABU JOGENDRO CHANDRA BOSE	(do.)	
	4. BABA NARAYAN SING SODHI	(Amritsar).	
	5. DR. GUNGADIN	(do.)	
	6. CAPTAIN A. BANON	(Kangra).	
	7. LALA MURLIDHUR	(Umballa).	
	8. BAKSHI JAISHI RAM	(Jalandhar).	

DELHI CIRCLE (includes the Delhi Division).	1.	MOULVIE M. RUKUNUDDIN JADOO	(Delhi).
	2.	" SHAHABUDIN SAKEL	(do.)
	3.	" NISAR ALI SHOHRAT	(do.)
GUZERAT CIRCLE (includes Guzerat, Cutch, Kathiawar and Panch Mahals).	1.	H. NANABHAI HARIDAS, Esq.	(Surat).
BOMBAY CIRCLE (includes Bombay City and Tanna, Colaba and Ratnagiri districts).	1.	D. E. WACHA, Esq.	(Bombay).
	2.	DAJI ABASI KHARE, Esq.	(do.)
	3.	NARAIN VISHNU, GOKHALE, Esq.	(do.)
DECCAN CIRCLE (includes entire Deccan—(except the Sholapore district)—N. Canara and Khandeish).	1.	M. B. NAMJOSHI, Esq.	(Poona).
	2.	B. G. TILAK, Esq.	(do.)
	3.	S. B. BHATE, Esq.	(do.)
	4.	R. P. KARBANDIKAR, Esq.	(Satara).
SHOLAPORE CIRCLE (includes only the Sholapore district).	1.	W. S. CAINE, Esq.	(Sholapore).
BERAR CIRCLE (includes the whole of Berar).	1.	DEORAO VINAYEK, Esq.	(Akola).
	2.	R. N. MUDHOLKAR, Esq.	(Amraoti).
	3.	G. S. KHAPARDE, Esq.	(Ellichpur).
CENTRAL PROVINCES CIRCLE (includes the whole of the C. Pcs.).	1.	A. NUNDY, Esq.	(Jubbulpore).
	2.	C. V. NAYADU, Esq.	(Nagpur).
	3.	LAKSHMAN GOVIND RAO, Esq.	(Wardha).
MADRAS CIRCLE (includes the entire Madras Presidency).	1.	P. ANANDA CHARLU, Esq.	(Madras).
	2.	V. SUNDARAM SHASTRI, Esq.	(do.)
	3.	M. RAMASWAMI NAIDU, Esq.	(do.)
	4.	M. VIRARAGHAVA CHARIAR, Esq.	(do.)
	5.	K. P. VISWANADA IYER, Esq.	(Madura).
	6.	TIRUMALAI MUDELIAR, Esq.	(do.)
	7.	V. KRISHNASWAMI IYER, Esq.	(Tanjore).
	8.	P. RATHNA SARAPATHI PILLAI, Esq.	(do.)
	9.	R. SUNDARAM IYER, Esq.	(Dindigul).
	10.	S. KASTURIRANGA LYENGAR, Esq.	(Coimbatore).
	11.	C. VIJAYARAGHAVA CHARIAR, Esq.	(Salem).
	12.	C. JAMBULINGA MUDELIAR, Esq.	(Cuddapah).
	13.	C. CHIDAMBARA ROW, Esq.	(Kurnool).
	14.	MADHAVA ROW NAIDU, Esq.	(Vizianagram).
	15.	K. VENKATNA PANTULU, Esq.	(do.)
	16.	J. P. KOTILINGAM, Esq.	(Cuddalore).
EX-OFFICIO.	1.	PHEROZSHAH M. MEHTA, Esq.	(President, Bombay.)
	2.	MONO MOHUN GHOSH, Esq.	(Chairman, Reception Committee, Bengal.)
	3.	SIR ROMESH CHUNDER MITTER, Kt.	(Proposer of President, Bengal.)
	4.	A. O. HUME, Esq., C. B.	(General Secretary, Punjab.)
	5.	THE HON'BLE PUNDIT AJOODHIANATH	(Joint-General Secretary, N. W. P.)
	6.	J. GHOSAL, Esq.	(Joint Secretary, Reception Committee, Bengal.)
	7.	RAI RAJKOUMAR SARVADHIKARI BAHADUR	(do.)

THE PRESIDENT.—The Subjects Committee will now proceed to perform their proper functions; and I therefore adjourn this meeting to to-morrow, at 1 o'clock.

Half an hour later, when the Hall had been cleared, and the lamps lighted, the Subjects Committee met and sat until late. Next morning it re-assembled at 10 A.M., and sat until shortly before the re-assembling of the Congress.

Adjournment of the Assembly.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Saturday, 27th December, 1890.

THE Congress reassembled at 1-30 p.m.

2nd Day.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, in appointing the members of the Subjects Committee, yesterday, two names were inadvertently omitted—the names of two delegates from Assam—Mr. Bipin Chunder Pal and Mr. Majumdar. I beg to propose that these gentlemen's names should, now, be duly entered in the list of the Subjects Committee.

The motion was unanimously agreed to.

THE PRESIDENT.—In commencing the proceedings of to-day I have to make the announcement customary at all our Congresses as to certain rules to be observed in our procedure. It is absolutely necessary that some definite time should be allowed to the speakers, or the Congress might go on for ever. According to our established usage every mover of a resolution will be allowed ten minutes, and the seconders and supporters five minutes; and if speakers will only go straight to the point I am sure they will find that time sufficient. I will now call upon Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose to move the first resolution.

Res. I.
Expansion
and
Reform of
Legislative
Councils.

MR. LAL MOHAN GHOSE (*Calcutta, No. 12, in list*).—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I have much pleasure in proposing for your acceptance the following resolution:—

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

It seems to me, Sir, that this new and modified Bill affirms all the great questions of principle upon which we are all agreed, and I venture to think that it stands a much better chance of receiving a favourable consideration at the hands of Parliament than the scheme embodied in Mr. Bradlaugh's original Bill. There are, I believe, certain points on which there prevails an almost absolute unanimity of opinion amongst the thinking and educated classes of our countrymen. We are all united in demanding that there should be some substantial expansion of our Supreme and Local Legislative Councils; and this Bill provides for that expansion by proposing to raise the number of members of the Governor-General's Council to something between 40 and 60, and that of the Council of the various Lieutenant-Governors and Governors of Provinces to something between 36 and 48. Now there is no particular magic in any given number; but it seems to me that this proposal is so reasonable and modest that no honest or candid critic can accuse us of desiring suddenly to revolutionize the Government of this country. (*Cheers*). On the other hand, if there be any amongst us who think that the Bill does not go as far as it might have done in this direction, I would beg of them to remember that it is impossible for us to err on the side of moderation (*hear, hear*); and that the more cautiously these changes and reforms are introduced, the greater is the chance of their ultimate success. (*Cheers*).

The other point upon which we are also agreed is this, that there should be some fair share of popular representation in these councils, and, further, that this popular representation should be based upon some application of the principle of election. Now I have always been of opinion that, wholly irrespective of the capacities or qualifications of the persons whom the Government might nominate under the present system, even when the choice of the Government happens to fall, as I admit it does frequently fall, upon the very men whom we would ourselves be the first to elect—take, for example, the latest instance before us—the nomination by the Viceroy of our distinguished friend Sir Romesh Chander Mitter—(*Cheers*) even in such cases I have always felt that it would greatly improve and strengthen the position of our members of Council if they held their seats by the suffrages of their fellow-countrymen rather than by the grace and favour of the Government. With your permission, Sir, I will read one short sentence from a memorial that was presented to Lord Hartington by a large deputation of English and Indian gentlemen of whom I had the honor to be one, ten

years ago, just after the great Liberal victory of 1880: "Although some of these members" (alluding to the nominated members of Council) "render useful services to the State, it is obvious that so long as all the members are nominated by the Government, however carefully the selection may be made, the members so appointed cannot feel or be credited with that independence, which it is essential they should enjoy, nor can their opinions possess the weight and authority which belongs to the voice of representatives elected by the people." That short sentence, I believe, expresses the unanimous opinion of us all (*cheers*); and for my part I am unable to conceive the possibility, even, of any differences of opinion, upon this great question of principle. (*Cheers*).

But, Gentlemen, the question of representation is such a large one, and it is, moreover, so complicated by the existence among us of a variety of interests apparently conflicting with each other, which nevertheless have to be reconciled and safeguarded, that we must all be prepared to admit that there is very considerable room for honest differences of opinion when you come to discuss any particular method or scheme whereby effect is to be given to those principles to which I have referred. We must bear in mind that in a matter like this we should be prepared to make large and generous concessions to each other. We should be prepared to give and take. We should be ready, even, to make large allowances for the unreasonable prejudices of our political opponents whom we should constantly endeavour to conciliate and win over. Speaking for myself, and having regard to these considerations, to which I have briefly adverted, I must, frankly, tell you that I venture to think that the present modified Bill is a great improvement upon its predecessor. As I said the other day at the Town Hall at one of our meetings, I thought it my duty to abstain from any public criticism of that old Bill so long as it held the field; but now I am free to admit to you that the scheme of creating an electoral college never commended itself to my judgment. I may be right or I may be wrong. I desire to speak with the utmost respect for those who may have been the authors of that scheme, and also for those who may still cherish some preference for it; but in my humble judgment it seemed to me to be neither a practicable nor a workable measure. I found no precedent for it in the country whose political institutions seemed to me to furnish the worthiest models for imitation—the country with which our own political destinies are inseparably intertwined. But, Gentlemen, what is of much greater importance is this. That scheme was adversely criticised, not only by leading influential and friendly newspapers in this country, such as the *Statesman* and the *Indian Daily News*, but we have the authority of Mr. Bradlaugh himself, who, in his letter to the British Committee of the Congress, tells us that in England the Bill as read a first time has, with some exceptions, been disapproved by the press of all shades of opinion, and has not been very warmly supported by any considerable number of members of the House. Under these circumstances I myself believe, and sincerely hope and trust, that you will all be of opinion, in spite of any private predilections of your own (because we must be prepared to accept what there is anything like a prospect of getting), that Mr. Bradlaugh has exercised a very wise discretion in recasting the Bill in its present shape, so as to make it more acceptable to the press, to the people and to the Parliament of England. (*Cheers*).

Gentlemen, if this Bill passes into law, as I hope it may, the duty will be cast upon the Government of India of framing a scheme for election subject to the final control and approval of Parliament. And it seems to me that there is at least one great advantage in thus casting this duty upon the Government itself. We have in our midst, as you are aware, a variety of communities who, being in a minority in point of numbers, are, or at least some few members of these profess themselves to be, greatly alarmed at any proposal to introduce the elective principle into the institutions of this country. Well, Gentlemen, these communities, or, more properly speaking, such of the leaders of those communities as have been sounding the note of alarm, can hardly profess to apprehend anything like these dangers from a scheme to be drawn up by the Government of India itself, who surely may be trusted to safe-guard to the fullest extent all the legitimate rights and interests of all the minorities in this country. (*Cheers*). On the other hand, the Hindoo community all over India, who form the great majority in the population of this country, ought to be prepared to make very large and generous concessions: they ought to be prepared to have the largest amount of toleration for those of their brethren, for those of their Mohamedan or Parsee or European fellow subjects, who may fancy that their own special interests are in any way likely to be threatened or invaded. Let us have a spirit of entire toleration; let there be no attempt whatever at dictation; and, above all, let there be no abuse or condemnation, whether of individuals or of classes simply because, as yet, they are unable to agree with us upon every point of our political programme. (*Cheers*).

I think if you approach this great question in that generous spirit there is nothing that can prevent the ultimate triumph of the great cause we have at heart. All the signs of the times seem to be entirely favorable. I find gathered together under this great pavilion representatives of all nations, of all communities inhabiting this great country—a sight which,

2nd Day.
Res. I.
Expansion
and
Reform of
Legislative
Councils.

2nd Day. only a few years ago, nobody would have dreamed of as being possible. We have across the seas in England a British people willing and anxious to extend to us the right hand of fellowship. Res. I. Of late they have given us the sincerest, the strongest, the most convincing proofs of their Expansion and Reform of Legislative Councils. sympathy. British constituencies have emphatically endorsed the great doctrine of the Queen's Proclamation, the doctrine of the equal rights of all Her Majesty's subjects; they have endorsed them by going so far as even to invite some of your own fellow-countrymen to stand as their Parliamentary representatives. Who among us would have thought, twenty or, even ten years ago, that such a thing was within the bounds of possibility? I ask you, Gentlemen, if these things are not sufficient to cheer us, to encourage us to go on labouring firmly, generously and steadfastly, through good report and through evil report, until we have at last succeeded in convincing the people and Parliament of England that the reforms we ask for are just, moderate and legitimate, and calculated greatly to improve the administration of this country and to broaden and strengthen the foundations of the British Empire in India. (Cheers). Gentlemen, our motto is Reform, and not Revolution (*hear, hear*), and my own experience of the just and generous instincts of the English people convinces me that a measure which, like this Bill of Mr. Bradlaugh's, proposes to concede to us some share in the management of our own affairs and some voice in the administration of our own country, some representation in our councils, cannot fail to commend itself to the approval of the English nation. (Cheers).

MR. ANANDA CHARLU (*Madras, No. 611, in list*) seconded the motion. He said MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—Within the five minutes allotted to me I propose to undertake the task, not of amplifying, but of abridging and bringing to a focus the position to which this question has advanced. It is said that a poet's best thoughts are his first thoughts; and it so happens that the first thoughts of the Congress, on this question, appear to have been its best thoughts. If you will look at the Bill, which is submitted to our consideration, and compare its provisions with the resolution adopted at the First Congress, you will agree with me that the Congress deserves the praise bestowed upon the poet. The Bill before us is thus briefly described in a report which has been drawn up: "The electorate to be constituted for the purposes of representation is not defined. Mr. Bradlaugh has merely indicated in the Bill that the franchise should be conferred on at least two per cent. of the population of this country. Whether those who possess the franchise are to elect directly the members of Council or are to have immediate representation through an electoral college or colleges, or municipal bodies, or in any other manner, is left undetermined by the Bill itself. The Government of this country will frame the rules, and they will be subject to the sanction of Parliament. The people of India will have the opportunity of expressing their opinions upon the rules so framed, and we may well hope that the sanction of Parliament will not be given to rules that do not command the general assent of the people here." That, in brief, is the position of the Bill. If you will look at the resolution adopted on this subject by the First Congress you will find that it only advocated and emphasized the admission of a considerable number of elected members into the various Councils. But after the First Congress it so happened that there was a howl raised, that the proposition was vague, that there was no system propounded by it, that it was very easy to assert that a certain principle ought to be given effect to, but that the task of systematizing the method and giving effect to it was the real difficulty. (*Hear, hear.*)

Therefore, it was that the Congress did what was really not of much immediate practical use. We were tempted to go into particulars. At the Second Congress by resolution we, no doubt, affirmed and emphasized the resolutions arrived at, at the previous Congress, but we went further and set forth in what manner the electorate might be constituted and we went even further for the purpose of making clear what, in our opinion, the various powers of the Councils ought to be, and so on. That I considered at the time, and I still consider, and am glad to say we shall all now consider, was a work of supererogation. We abdicated a perfectly intregnable position for the purpose of satisfying an unreasoning howl; though, inasmuch as no notice was taken of the resolution first adopted, probably we were not far wrong in considering that we might make a move to attract attention on the part of those who were apparently unwilling to hear. With that view it was that at the Second Congress an amplified system was submitted and adopted. In the Third and Fourth Congresses we proceeded no further. We merely contented ourselves with re-affirming the resolution adopted at the Second Congress. But at the First, Second, Third and Fourth Congresses we equally enunciated the principles on which we relied; and, though we endeavoured to gratify the demand for practical suggestions that was raised, still our voice was as a cry in the wilderness—we were, as it seemed, only beating the air.

At that juncture Mr. Bradlaugh came to our help. No question, be it ever so good, will be taken up by persons in authority until it is brought within the domain of practical politics. That was our position before Mr. Bradlaugh came to our help. Before the last Congress came off however, Mr. Bradlaugh drew up a Bill on the basis of the Calcutta, Madras and Allahabad resolutions, which were practically one, and it became pretty clear that

before long the Bill would be introduced into Parliament. That was an immense step, and a very useful step, in bringing the question within the domain of practical, politics, for as we say, later, as soon as that step was actually taken, in came the Government with a Bill of its own—the Bill known as Lord Cross's Bill. To return, Mr. Bradlaugh drew up a Bill in accordance with the resolutions arrived at by the Congress in previous years. Before the last Congress was held that Bill was widely circulated, and it was sent to the various Congress Committees in this country. It was carefully looked into, and a scheme was submitted going into further particulars. Now that there was somebody to listen to us, now that there was somebody to give the matter a push in the proper direction, it was felt that, having gone so far, we must complete our work; and the last Congress adopted a resolution still further amplifying previous resolutions. Then Mr. Bradlaugh drew up and introduced a Bill in accordance with this our latest resolution; Lord Cross then at once came forward with his Bill and blocked this Bill, while our supporters in Parliament blocked Lord Cross's Bill, and nothing came of either.

Now a fresh start had to be made, and it became necessary to pause and consider whether it was worth our while, whether it was wise, to adhere to the position we had taken up by the Bombay resolution. That resolution set forth in some detail a definite scheme for giving effect to the principles in regard to which we were all agreed, and, though, as a matter of fact, we only offered this as a suggestion, those opposed to us seemed to fancy that the principles were dependent on the appropriateness of the details suggested, and everybody began to pick holes in these. Destructive criticism was to be found in abundance, but unfortunately no practical suggestions, for improving our avowedly tentative and suggestive scheme. The great merit of the present Bill is that there can be no longer any more destructive criticism upon it. It erects an independent platform, on which every one, who wishes to be heard, must come with some constructive criticism, and it is on that platform that the question will have to be fought out. The question is between Governmental selection and popular election. If election by the people be accepted, then there arises the further question whether the election is to be direct or indirect. And next, if it is to be indirect, is it to be by the bodies already existing in the municipalities or in any other way? All these are questions which remain to be discussed in the future, when this present Bill establishing our main principles has passed the two houses of Parliament. Therefore, Gentlemen, in adopting this proposition we give up no principle that we have enunciated in the past. We only abstain from reiterating former suggestions as to the methods in which effect might be given to those principles.

One word more before I retire. This is the year 1891. Lord Ripon's scheme of Local Self-Government was introduced in 1882. A year before that Mysore witnessed the birth of the germ of a system of Local Self-Government, called by courtesy a representative assembly. That so-called representative assembly has been greatly modified and improved during the past year, has in fact become, now, a reality; and I hope that this coming year will witness a similar advance, where we are concerned, to that which took place in 1882 in India over what had been done in Mysore in 1881. (Cheers).

MR. C. V. NAIDU (*Central Provinces, No. 604, in list*).—MR. CHAIRMAN AND BROTHER DELEGATES.—It is a great pleasure to me to attend this huge gathering and grand assembly, consisting of various castes, creeds and colours, hailing from all parts of the country, to discuss the political grievances of this vast Empire, and to submit its deliberations to the Imperial Parliament, which is the home of freedom and the abode of justice. This gathering is an indication of the tendency of the public mind to appreciate the importance of this national movement, which is the surest guarantee of the progress and liberty of the Indian people, and Progress and Liberty are, as you know, the great characteristics of the British nation, and the means of satisfying in the purest form the cravings of the Indian mind. Sir, I come as a humble delegate from the Central Provinces, and I hope I shall be able to do my duty nonestly as a delegate by truly representing the views of my electors in those Provinces. In fulfilment of this duty I have come here to support the resolution, which embodies the adoption of Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill, and I do so most heartily. During my sojourn in England, where I remained for three years, studying at the Cambridge University, I had the pleasure of submitting a similar resolution to the Indian Civil Service Society at Cambridge, by whom it was carried by a good majority. (Cheers). I also submitted and succeeded in carrying a proposal of a like nature in the Hardwick Society, consisting of lawyers, in London, where our esteemed friend and orator Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji lately delivered an address. I may further state that I had the pleasure of submitting a Bill, embodying the same principles to the Paddington Parliament. Perhaps, some members present do not know what the Paddington Parliament is. Let me inform them that London boasts of local imitation Parliaments of its own, which are formed on the model of the Imperial Parliament. It was my good fortune to represent

2nd Day.

Res. I.
Expansion
and
Reform of
Legislative
Councils.

2nd Day. at the Paddington Parliament the highest Indian official, the Secretary of State for India (*Cheers and laughter*), and in that capacity I had the satisfaction of carrying the Bill through the various readings, after a strong opposition from the Conservative party, without, at the latest stage, a single dissentient voice; and I earnestly hope that this (Mr. Bradlaugh's) Bill will be carried with the same enthusiasm and unanimity in the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain. (*Cheers*). I am sorry my limited time of five minutes prevents me from entering into the details of the resolution, but I hear the warning bell of the President, and as it has been fully and ably dealt with by my predecessors, the proposer and the seconder, it will suffice if I content myself with very heartily supporting it: (*Cheers*).

MR. DAJI ABAJI KHARE (*Bombay, No. 555, in list*).—**MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN**,—You have all no doubt come to the conclusion that the Bill which is at present proposed is a very good one and that we were, perhaps, not quite right in giving support to the elaborate scheme agreed upon at the last Congress. But I think that scheme has done us very good service, and that service is this. We have been blamed for being led by the nose, as it were, by the people of Bengal; but it appeared by our procedure last year that Madras was to prevail over all others. In giving our support to the principle of this Bill we of course admit that there may arise a variety of opinions as to the details of the scheme that will have to be worked out in giving effect to its provisions. What we all insist upon is this, that the rules and regulations which the Bill says the Government of India will frame shall be published before hand in this country so as to give us the advantage of being able to criticize them before the Government of India passes them and sends them for the approval of the Secretary of State in England and the Houses of Parliament. Substantially, of all that we wanted, we have the germs in this Bill. We accept it confessedly as only an instalment, but an instalment which we should gratefully receive. The Bill as it stands may be open to those general objections which have been taken from time to time to the introduction of representative institutions into this country; but I can assert without fear of contradiction that this Bill offers to us no big jump in the dark. It demands no Parliamentary institutions. No doubt it will bring into the Council some educated people elected by the masses at large, or by those on whom the franchise will be conferred; but the charge that the Congress is worked in the interests of educated people only is quite unfounded. We see that the present nominations that the Government is making are chiefly from the educated people in India; and if we choose from the educated people we think we can do it better than the Government themselves. (*Hear, hear*).

PUNDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA (*N.-W. Provinces, No. 394, in list*).—**MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN**,—It gives me very great pleasure to be allowed to speak in support of this resolution, not only because it is the most important of all the resolutions before the Congress, but also because I have always taken the keenest interest in the discussion of the subject of the resolution. You very well know that it is the position created by Lord Cross's Bill that has necessitated the introduction of the new Bill by Mr. Bradlaugh, and all that you are now required to do is to express your approval and record your support of that new Bill. There is, no doubt, a good deal of difference between this Bill and the previous one; but, as has been pointed out by other speakers, the difference lies, not in principle, but in matters of detail, and so long as the principle is assured, we should be satisfied with any, though a very modest, instalment of reform. (*Cheers*). Let us hope, however, Gentlemen, that while we are thus willing to be satisfied with even so modest a measure of reform as that embodied in Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill, those with whom it lies to accept or reject our proposals will lend a more willing and kindly ear to our representations of this year than they have hitherto done. (*Cheers*).

It must at the same time be clearly understood that it is not because we think that our demands in previous years were immoderate or unreasonable that we accept Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill. We have ever been moderate in our demands, as moderate as the circumstances of the country and the situation we were in required us to be. The one consideration that has induced us to accept Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill is a desire to conciliate, so far as may be in our power, without, of course, sacrificing the principle we have been contending for, those of our opponents who think the reform we have been seeking might lead to undesirable results. I hope that no reasonable man will any longer hesitate in giving the Bill his best support, and that Parliament will soon pass it into law. (*Cheers*).

If it be otherwise, Gentlemen, we shall all, we and other civilized countries, be greatly surprised and disappointed; for, Gentlemen, what is it that we ask for? Is it not for a limited and qualified—an extremely limited and qualified—application of that principle of representation in the administration of this country, which the genius of the English nation has for 600 long years recognised to be that best calculated to make governments good and the governed happy and prosperous? Six hundred years ago when the victory of Lewes had laid the despotism of King John low, and England breathed the air of liberty under Earl Simon de Montfort, an English poet well expressed

the theory of governments. Said he: "Let the community of the realm advise, and let it be known what the generality, to whom their own laws are best known, think on the matter. They who are ruled by the laws know those laws best. They who make daily trial of them are best acquainted with them, and since it is their own affairs which are at stake, they will take more care and will act with an eye to their own peace. It concerns the community to see what sort of men ought justly to be chosen for the weal of the realm." Ever since that time this has been the guiding principle of English political existence. Englishmen have extolled it in theory and maintained it in practice at the sacrifice of a large amount of treasure and life. They have carried it with them wherever they have gone, and the nations of Europe, long held in bondage by their despots, have learnt it at the feet of England and thrived under it. (*Cheers*). Englishmen rightly feel a pride in having been the apostles of this political christianity; and Mr. Gladstone expressed a widely prevalent belief, when speaking at the Piccadilly Hall in May last. He said: "It often happens in the counsels of Providence that each nation, or some particular nation, is appointed to work out great social, political or economical problems for the world at large. It has been given to this country, almost exclusively, to work out for the benefit of the world at large enormous advantages. In the adoption of that system (the system of representation) we long stood alone, but one after another the great countries of the world have come in, and the nations sprung from our loins have given further countenance and currency to our example, and now the man would be deemed mad who should denounce the system of popular representation." (*Cheers*). But I need not dilate further on this point. Everyone, if, as Mr. Gladstone says, he is not mad, or (permit me to add) if he has not been degenerated by contact with the worst phases of Oriental thought, will admit the soundness of the principle. And it is only for a partial introduction of this principle into the administration of our country that we have been so long, and hitherto vainly, praying. (*Cheers*).

I will now briefly deal with those objections which have been brought against the introduction of that principle here. The principal point of difference between ourselves and the Government in the matter of the reform of the Councils is as regards the manner of appointing the members of the Councils. The Government seem determined to retain the power of appointing all the members in their own hands exclusively. We think it absolutely necessary for the cause of good government that the people should have the privilege of electing at least some of the members. We discussed, most of you might remember, this question very fully last year, and I did hope that nothing further need be said to prove the grave disadvantages of leaving the power of nominating all the members of the Councils entirely in the hands of Government, and the necessity and expediency of allowing the people some voice in the appointment of some at least of those who are officially described as the representatives of the people. But I am sorry to find that there are still people who fail to understand the question. Possibly Gentleman, it will be enough for me to mention, in this connection, that even the *Times* of London—perhaps, at present,—for if the Radicals get into power it will be Radical forthwith—the most conservative of papers in existence—has denounced the system of nomination. In commenting on Lord Cross's Bill the *Times* said: "There is no doubt force in the argument that nomination is not calculated to give the Government the advantage of contact with some highly important factors in Indian society; no Government is likely to select as its advisers persons conspicuous for their political opposition, and thus the Viceroy's choice is almost certain to be hampered on the side where, perhaps, information at first hand is most needed." But that is not all. If the Government in England can seldom be expected to choose men conspicuous for their political opposition as councillors, the Government in India are even more unfavourably situated here in this respect. Our Government officials,—the district officials,—for it is through them that the Government chooses here members for the Council—are much less in touch with the people here than the officials in England. How—here where, Gentlemen, the great majority of respectable people abstain from visiting officials because they have to leave their shoes outside the bungalow and their carriages outside the compound—can we expect the Government officials, the chief authorities through whom recommendations for councillorships are made, to know and select those persons best fitted to help the Government in the work of legislation, and good government?

If, therefore, Gentlemen, Government wish to increase the number of members of the Council without giving us the right of electing some of them, let them not extend that cruel mercy to us. It will be the unkindest service the Government could render to the people. Is it necessary for me to tell you why? We have been complaining, as it were, that our homes and hearths are not properly protected, and that with the present chowkidars our homes and property are not safe. We have prayed for an increase of their number and for some voice in their appointment, that we may have some control over them, and how does the Government respond to our prayer? It wishes to increase the number of chowkidars without giving us even a shadow of control over them. It proposes to arm them with very fine weapons, the weapons of interpellation and the right of discussing the budget; but

2nd Day. it gives us no guarantee as to how those weapons will be used. When you wanted those weapons to be placed in the hands of persons whom you could trust, Government wishes to place them in the hands of men on whom you have no reliance, and who, for all that we know, might turn those weapons against us to do us injury thereby. (Cheers).

Res. I.
Expansion
and
Reform of
Legislative
Councils.

It is all very well for the Government to wish to nominate half a dozen more members into the Council, so that wherever any measure is brought forward, wherever any fresh tax is to be imposed, and the organs of public opinion loudly protest that the country is poor and unable to bear further burthens, these nominees of the Government may be trotted forth in Council to say that the country was never so happy and prosperous. It would be like those chowkidars saying, when we complain of our property being robbed: "You prefer this complaint so that you may escape taxation. You have not lost your property. It has not been stolen. You have yourself removed it to some other place to make a plea for escaping rightful taxation." The additional nominated members will be very much like those additional chowkidars over whom we shall have no control whatever (hear, hear), who will in no way be accountable to us for their conduct. Do you think, under these circumstances, there was no justification for the remark of one whom we highly respect, the greatest friend of India and England yet born, need I name Mr. Hume (loud cheers) when he said regarding the proposals of Government that when we asked for bread the Government cast a stone in our faces?

I am afraid I have taken up too much of your time (cries of "go on") I thank you for the concession, which I hope will be confirmed by the President. I will not dwell further on the disadvantages of the system of nomination. I will now briefly deal with another important point, namely, what some of the Viceroy's and the Secretary of State, and particularly the Marquis of Salisbury, have said to be the chief obstacle in the way of introducing the principle of representation in the administration of this country. They have said that no constituency could be found in India to which the privilege of electing members could be extended. It seems to me that nothing could be sadder than to see the Premier of England occupying the high position that he does, and the Secretary of State for India, putting forth such an utterly false and groundless plea against the introduction of the principle of representation in this country. It was to be expected that having had such long parliamentary careers, and having lived the greater part of their lives in England, the home of parliamentary institutions, they would know that constituencies are created not by the people but by the Government. The elements which go to make up a constituency no doubt exist; but until the Government chooses to confer the franchise on those elements, no constituency can possibly be created. But then they have the hardihood, I had almost said the audacity, to deny that there exist elements in India sufficient to form constituencies in this country. There also they show their utter ignorance—ignorance which, at any rate, is not pardonable in such men when they discuss political questions of grave importance—of the history of their own country and Parliament. You will, I am sure, agree with me when I say that no electorates that might be formed here could be half as bad as those which existed in the Anti-Reform days in England before the period of the passing of the Reform Bill. You have all heard of the close and rotten boroughs. But close and rotten as they were, even they did excellent service to the English nation by returning some of the brightest and most illustrious men of England to Parliament. Lord North, Mr. Burke, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Lord Granville, the Marquis of Wellesley, Mr. Canning, Lord Brougham, Lord Grey, and a host of others like them, were first elected by close and rotten boroughs. Mr. Sheridan was returned by a constituency of only 70 electors, and Mr. Wyndham by 145 electors. The great Lord Chatham was first returned by old Sarum, and his son, the renowned Mr. Pitt, the great parliamentary leader and minister, was returned by a constituency numbering only 100 electors. These close and rotten boroughs, therefore, rendered very good service to the country. It is anything but probable that these men would have found their way to Parliament, and their valuable services have been secured to their country if the only entrance to it had been in the hands of Government. How could the Government have known their talents and abilities, and would it have been so saintly as to select men who were noted for their independence and their hatred for all but what was righteous and just? (Cheers).

I have already received, Gentlemen, a note of warning from the President that I should not go further; but I hope he will permit me to say one word with regard to another objection put forth by Viscount Cross and Lord Salisbury in their speeches on the second reading of the Official Indian Reform Bill. Said the Secretary of State for India, "as was well said by the late Mr. Henry Maine in speaking of India: 'There is no more resemblance between a Punjabee and a Bengalee, between an Indian of Hindustan and an Indian of Malabar, than there is between an Englishman and a Roumanian, or between a Spaniard and a Swede.'" The Marquis of Salisbury added: "The difficulty of introducing

the elective principle, largely dependent upon the peculiarities of Eastern minds, is also, to a great extent, as the noble Lord pointed out, due to the fact that we have to deal with a deeply divided population. Representative government answers admirably so long as all those who are represented desire much the same thing and have interests tolerably analogous; but it is put to an intolerable strain when it rests upon a community divided into two sections, one of which is bitterly hostile to the other and desirous of opposing it upon all occasions." I think, Gentlemen, this grand assembly, composed of men of all the different provinces of India, is a living refutation of their Lordships' objection. (Cheers). It is absolutely untrue to say that the two great sections of our community are utterly hostile to each other and desirous of opposing each other on all occasions. Their interests are not only "tolerably analogous," but identical in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases out of every thousand that could come before the councils. The absence of a common faith, which Lords Cross and Salisbury considered a valid excuse for not introducing the elective principle here, is purely imaginary. They, no doubt, follow different religious persuasions, but there exists amongst them a common faith which is—

"Taught by no priest, but by their beating hearts,
Faith to each other; the fidelity
Of fellow-wanderers in a desert place,
Who share the same dire thirst and therefore share
The scanty water; the fidelity
Of men whose pulses leap with kindred fire,
Who in the flash of eyes, the clasp of hands,
The speech that even in lying tells the truth
Of heritage, inevitable as past deeds,
Nay, in the silent bodily presence feel
The mystic stirring of a common life,
Which makes the many one." (Loud Cheers).

I think, Gentlemen, we have shown all the most important objections brought forward by Lords Cross and Salisbury, and their like, to be untenable, and I earnestly hope that even they will lend their support to the new Bill introduced by Mr. Bradlaugh. (Cheers).

PUNDIT BISHEN NARAYAN DHAR (Oudh, No. 483, in list).—MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The discussion has hitherto been confined to the matter of principle involved in the resolution; but I think it is well, after the discussion of the principle of representation, that the delegates should also give their opinion upon the different points of detail, which are nearly as important as the principle itself. It was well said by Mr. Caine last evening that to-day's debate will be read with great interest by the Houses of Parliament, and I think Parliament should know the opinions of the delegates not only upon the principle of election, but also upon certain matters of detail. That portion of the Bombay scheme, which has excited the greatest amount of attention and public criticism in my part of India, is the clause providing for the representation of minorities—meaning, of course, Mohammedan minorities—upon the Legislative Councils. I wish that this portion of the subject had been discussed by my friend Mr. Hamid Ali, who is absent to-day. I think it is as well that the Congress and also the Houses of Parliament should be in a position to know the sentiments of at least most of my friends in Oudh and the N.-W. P. on the subject. I rejoice that the Congress has this year omitted the details; and that even the clause for the representation of minorities which does appear in the present Bill is in a very mild form as compared with that embodied in the previous Bill. I always thought that that minorities' clause was a mistake. I object to the principle of it on two grounds. I object to it because I think that what are called Hindu interests and Mohammedan interests have really no existence in political matters. (Cheers). The provision in the Bombay scheme was simply to give satisfaction to those of our critics who thought that the interests of minorities would be sacrificed unless there was some express provision in the scheme itself. But besides that I think that the Legislative Council is a body where national interests ought to be represented, and where all sectarian interests and class bias should be excluded. The object of a National Assembly is only to discuss those matters which are common to the whole Indian nation. On principle, therefore, I object to any clause for the representation of minorities. But I object on another ground also. I am glad that the Congress has left these matters of detail in the hands of Government, because it will save the Congress from a good deal of odium, and throw upon the Government the entire responsibility of adjusting the conflicting interests, so-called, of the Hindu and Mohammedan communities. But, Gentlemen, from this change of front, if I may so call it, in the National Congress, we must not expect too much. We must not think that it will conciliate our official opponents, or that it will in any measure soften the hearts of Sir Syed Ahmed and his friends. There was a time when Sir Syed Ahmed talked unceasingly on the unity of Hindus and Mohammedans; but now, like Timon of Athens, he has nothing but curses and imprecations on his lips for those who, in the political sphere at least, are trying to remove all invidious distinctions of colour and creed. I do not blame him because I think he and his friends are in this matter mere

2nd Day.
Res. I.
Expansion
and
Reform of
Legislative
Councils.

2nd Day. tools with which a certain section of the official class works out its own designs. I feel deeply the responsibility of my words, and I do not hesitate to say, from what I know in my experience in the United Provinces, that whatever we hear about Mohammedan opposition to political reform and about the antagonism of Hindu interests and Mohammedan interests, is due to the deliberate policy adopted by certain members, at any rate, of the governing classes. (*Cheers*).

Res. I.
Expansion
and
Reform of
Legislative
Councils.

It is a serious charge to bring against officers of Government, that they want to keep the people disunited, and seek to follow the low, evil maxim "divide and rule." But I am prepared to show from the writings of Anglo-Indian statesmen, who have held high position in this country, that some of them, at any rate, do believe that race antagonisms and religious rivalries are the chief factors that contribute to the strength and permanence of British rule in this country. (*Cheers and cries of "shame!"*). On this point I will quote the words of Sir John Strachey in a recent lecture on India: "So far as any elements of political danger from Mohammedans exist they are completely nullified by the fact that the feelings of all true Mohammedans towards idolatrous Hindus are far more hostile than towards Christians; and any religious outburst on their part would be met by Hindus with equal animosity and greater strength. The truth plainly is that the existence side by side of these hostile creeds is one of the strong points in our political position in India. The better class of Mohammedans are already a source of strength and not of weakness, and a continuously wise policy might, I believe, make them strong and important supporters of our power. They constitute a small but energetic minority of the population whose political interests are identical with ours, and who under no conceivable circumstances, would prefer Hindu dominion to our own." I think these words very clearly show what Sir John Strachey means. He means that the existence side by side of two hostile races in India is a strong point in its Government, and it follows, as a matter of course, that the strong point ought to be taken advantage of by the government, and that these animosities ought to be kept up, and kindled, if need be, to make the British rule more secure. (*Loud cries of "shame, shame!"*).

I call that an immoral doctrine (*Cheers*). I call it a shameful policy for those who have faith in the teachings of Christianity. At the same time it cannot be denied that that is the deliberate policy of some sections of our Indian bureaucracy. In the United Provinces we see the fruit of the seed that has thus been sown. This fruit is bloodshed and bitterness in the United Provinces; and in recent years the religious disputes between Mohammedans and Hindus, are, in the mind of every well-wisher of his country, a cause of regret or shame. For my part I attribute them entirely to the policy which the Government, or at any rate some of its component parts, have adopted towards this country. I know that Lord Lansdowne has administered a gentle rebuke to the contending parties, and Sir A. Colvin has also said something to the same effect; but can you believe that those words can have any effect upon the public mind so long as the policy of numbers of the local representatives of the Government is to maintain these differences as among the chief factors which contribute to its permanence?

We all know that those disputes in any aggravated form are of recent origin. Ten years ago they hardly existed. Even in Mohammedan times, Hindus and Mohammedans lived together peaceably. Even in times when, according to Sir James Stephen, the Mohammedans proposed to everybody the alternative of the Koran or the sword, Hindus enjoyed equal rights with Mohammedans, held the highest posts, and governed large sections of Mohammedans. But it appears to me that the Government of India, for it is, in the last analysis, this Government which must be held responsible for the acts of its subordinates, the Government of India, I say, has adopted a different policy. I think that Government may be reminded of a certain fact in the history of India. There was a time when India was divided into small sects, when the Mohammedans stood aloof from the conquered people, when the doctrines of religious toleration and free discussion were unknown. Enough time had not elapsed to mitigate the existing differences. At that stage there appeared a man who was destined to be the greatest Mohammedan ruler that India ever had. He adopted a new policy, he tried the grand and successful experiment of basing his rule not upon the fears of the people, but upon their affections. (*Cheers*). He ignored all class and religious differences, and proclaimed for the first time, in this country, the doctrine of universal toleration; and by his wise, noble, and far-seeing policy, he raised the Mogul Empire to a power and a glory that excited the envy and admiration of the world. Is that noble policy of Akbar going to be reversed by the British Government? Are the British people, who are "the heirs of all the ages," and "in the foremost files of time," going to reverse that policy and adopt a different one? "Divide and rule" may be a good principle for a time; but when a higher and a purer moral consciousness dawns upon the minds of our rulers, I believe they will see that that power alone is secure which rests upon the affections and the will of the nation. (*Cheers*).

LALA HUKUM CHAND (*Panjab, No. 525, in list*)—BROTHERS!—I have purposely used the term brothers, because we are all brothers; whatever religion we may follow, whatever calling

we may pursue, whatever part of the world we may inhabit, we are all brothers; our political interests are united, and we should be one (*cheers*)—one in the interests of the public and in the welfare of the country. I thank the President for permitting me to speak in support of this resolution already proposed, seconded and supported by eminent speakers of this learned country. It will be well if the Bill in its present form should pass. The proverb says that something is better than nothing. We shall not gain all we want by the adoption of this Bill, but in the end our object will be achieved. It is said that India is not a nation. I maintain that India is a nation, and this assembly is a proof of my assertion. Men have gathered together here from all the different parts of the Empire; men, adherents of all the different religions and creeds of this vast Empire, and why? To promote the welfare of their country, and to ask the Government to do something for the prosperity of their nation. We make no distinction of province, creed, or people on this, our national platform. All are one. (*Cheers*) I gladly support this resolution. (*Cheers*).

MR. V. KRISHNA SWAMI IYER (*Madras, No. 642, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—I make no preface and offer no apology for my presence here. I will simply state a few facts in connection with Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill and then retire. The Congress has been frequently charged with being immoderate in its demands. I will show you that that charge is absolutely without foundation. Take the first point. Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill says that one-third of the members of the Legislative Councils, at least, ought to be elected. Let me ask you to remember what the resolution was that you passed at the Congress in Calcutta four years ago. You then said that you would have not less than one-half of the members elected, and Mr. Bradlaugh in his Bill, presented at the beginning of this year, said that out of the 80 members he wanted that 40 should be elected—a proportion of one-half. In the present Bill the proportion insisted on is only one-third. Is not that a proof of the moderation of the Congress? Take another instance. Mr. Bradlaugh first asked that the Viceroy's Council should consist of 80 members, and the Lieutenant-Governor's 76 members; but in the present Bill it is said that the Viceroy's Council should consist of between 40 and 60 members, and the Lieutenant-Governor's of 36. Is not that again a proof of the moderation of the Congress? In the first Bill it was provided that whenever there was a difference of opinion between the Executive and the Legislative Council, when the Legislative Council carried a measure against the wishes of the Executive Council, the Viceroy might veto it; but he was bound to state the reasons, which were to be submitted to a Standing Committee of the House of Commons. There is no mention of that in the present Bill: there is no necessity for the Viceroy to state the reasons for overruling the decision of the majority of the Legislative Council. This abandonment of that portion of the scheme, justified by political prudence as one means, in Mr. Bradlaugh's opinion, of recommending the measure to the British electorate, is, I claim, a further and signal proof of the moderation of the Congress. (*Cheers*).

But I do not wish it to go forth and be understood in England that we accept every proposition of this Bill. There are some portions to which we cannot give acceptance, and to which we desire to draw the attention of Mr. Bradlaugh and of the British electors. It is said in the Bill that one-third of the members of Councils, Provincial or Imperial, at least, shall be elected, and not more than one-half. I think, and my friends who agree with me upon the matter think, that there should be no maximum limit imposed. Not that we claim that more than one-half, say three-fourths or four-fifths, should be elected, but that it should be left to the discretion of the Government of India, the minimum being fixed, to extend the number from time to time as they might desire. (*Cheers*). That is a matter upon which I should like to have a distinct pronouncement before the resolution is passed. Then there is another point. The original Bill stated that the tenure of office of every member of Council should be three years. In the present Bill, although three years is the term of office of a member of the Local Councils, the tenure of office of the Viceroy's and Lieutenant-Governor's Council is only two years. (*Cries of "no, no, you misunderstand the Bill."*) Well, that is how I interpret the draft, and I ask you to consider whether it is not desirable that a member of the Viceroy's Council, not merely for the sake of uniformity with local Councils, but on the score of principle, should hold his seat for three years in order that he may be able to render good service by means of the experience he has acquired in the Council. Is two years a sufficient period? (*Cries of "But you are wrong, the Bill provides three years for all."*) If it be so I am satisfied, but that is not how I read it. Then it is provided in one of the clauses that the sanction of Parliament has to be obtained to any rules passed by the Viceroy with reference to interpellation and the discussion of the Budget in his own Council; but Local Councils may make rules subject to the sanction of the Viceroy, and it is not necessary that they should be brought before Parliament for its sanction. I do not think you would allow such a statement to remain in the Bill. (*Cries of "There is no such statement."*) I think it would be the unanimous sense of the meeting that there ought to be no difference in the matter of interpellation and the discussion of the Budget as between the Viceroy's Council and

2nd Day.
Res. I.
Expansion
and
Reform of
Legislative
Councils.

2nd Day. the Local and Legislative Councils. (*Hear, hear, but you are wrong.*) Well, if that is not the intention of the Bill, then in Section 2, after the words "and any rule made" you must insert the words "or sanctioned."

Res. I.
Expansion
and
Reform of
Legislative
Councils.

To return to the charge of want of moderation. Look at a province which is directly under the control of the Government of India—the province of Mysore. That province has had a representative assembly for the last ten years. In the year 1881 the Dewan of Mysore created the nucleus of a representative assembly. It did not possess political privileges, but it had the right of stating grievances to the Maharaja. Last year, I believe, the Dewan of Mysore made a new and important departure with regard to the constitution of that assembly. As the arrangement now stands the franchise is restricted to persons having a certain property qualification—the payment of 100 rupees to the Government; but Local Boards and Municipalities are also entitled to elect a certain number of members. The persons elected in each district meet in the district itself, and they elect representatives to attend the representative assembly in Mysore, and that assembly has a right to put any question it likes to the Dewan and the Maharaja, and is entitled to receive an answer. That assembly has been created in a province which has not received the benefit of liberal education to the same extent as the provinces directly under the control of England, and has enjoyed this privilege in its original form for a considerable time, and statesmen ruling over that country have testified to the wisdom of the further advance made by the present Dewan.

I should like to read one short paragraph from the speech of the late Dewan, Mr. C. Ranga Charlu, C. I. E., delivered on the 26th of October 1882 to the Mysore Representative assembly.

He said: "If the spread of any high degree of education among the great mass of the people were to be insisted upon as a *sine qua non*, we may have to wait for ever; meanwhile every year under an autocratic system of Government will find the people less fit for representative institutions. The sprinkling of educated men who are sure to be found in these representative bodies will serve for all purposes of leading and guiding, but what is required in the great body of the representatives is common sense and practical views, which are sure to be possessed by men of ordinary knowledge engaged in industrial and other useful occupations."

It was not, you see, that the people should all of them be educated: it was not that there should be a large proportion of the people educated before they were entitled to have conferred upon them the privilege of electing members to the Legislative Council; the mere fact that there is a considerable body of the people, not necessarily a large percentage but a large body of educated people, who are qualified to take an intelligent interest in the proceedings of the Government, entitles them, according to the late Prime Minister of Mysore, to a voice in the administration. The fact that they are a "microscopic minority," or that they are not a large percentage of the people, is not to form a reason for their being debarred from enjoying the privilege of electing members or discussing Budgets. (*Cheers.*) How so infinitely superior a man, as Mr. Ranga Charlu, was only utilized by Providence as Prime Minister of a little state like Mysore, and so infinitely inferior a man, as the Marquess of Salisbury, is tolerated as Prime Minister of a vast empire like Great Britain, is one of those matters that fairly bewilder those who, like myself, believe in a righteous overruling power that guides and governs the affairs of mankind. (*Loud cheers and laughter.*)

MR. SHARFUDDIN (*Patna, No. 323, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—The resolution before you has, I think, already been discussed in almost all its bearings, and I will confine myself to two questions. The first is the clause for the protection of minorities. Let me say at once that from the first I was opposed to this clause, although I am a Mussleman, and so belong to a class, which, in this country, no doubt, is in the minority. My reason is this. We have municipal laws in this country, and we have district boards; but neither in the municipal Act nor in the Local self-Government Act is there any clause for the protection of minorities, nor has the absence of any such clause ever, anywhere, caused the slightest inconvenience. This, I think, you will take as a sufficient proof of the goodwill of the Mohammedans towards Hindus and of Hindus towards Mohammedans. (*Cheers.*) I am a delegate from a place, which now and then gets a westerly breeze from Aligarh (*laughter*). I come from Patna, where in the second week of this month there was a general election of the municipality, twenty members being elected under the Act, and out of those 20 members you will be surprised to learn that 13 were Mohammedans, and that these 13 were not elected by Mohammedans only, but also by Hindus. You will find, therefore, that my position in opposing the protection of minorities clause is not without due warrant. My second point relates to the Bill of Lord Cross. You will understand that Lord Cross is, no doubt, technically responsible for the introduction of this Bill into the House; but you will also understand that he is, or ought to be, guided by his Council. Lord Cross is nobody, and cannot possibly

know anything of Indian matters, except in so far as he represents his Council in the Indian office. His advisers are mostly those who have served in India a good many years, but who retired long before the existence of this Congress, and who, therefore, possess no knowledge of that new India which has grown up in this country. (*Hear, hear.*) So that to blame Lord Cross for the introduction of this futile Bill would be rather unjust. The councillors he needs are men of a different class, and we in this assembly would advise the Government in England to select as councillors of the Secretary of State for India, men who have full experience of the present state of the country (*cheers*), and who are not hampered by class traditions and prejudices. (*Loud cheers.*)

MR. NASIR ALI SHOHRAH (*Delhi, No. 534, in list*), speaking in Urdu, said: MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I rise to support in a few words the remarks of my esteemed friend Mr. Sharfuddin of Patna in regard to Mr. Bradlaugh's New Indian Councils Reform Bill. It does not give us all we want, but we shall all none the less be grateful if we get, soon, even as much as it provides for. Why should we not get it? Is there any class of people in England who disapprove the elective and representative system? To any free and constitutional Government such a system is essential. I would even say that England is what she is, and her system of Government, justly lauded throughout the world, what it is, almost mainly in virtue of this system. How can the English, who have given us so many other good things, now refuse to extend to us gradually, and this is all we ask for, this greatest blessing also? (*Cheers.*)

Of course many of the members of the Secretary of State's Council are opposed to this as to every other reform; but this does not surprise us in the case of such antiquated personages. The wonder is not that they oppose this measure, but that the English nation still allows such fossils to fill these important posts instead of replacing them by modern living men. (*Cheers and laughter.*) You can all understand that in choosing a pleader, we select one in active practice in the Courts, thoroughly up in the law of the present day, not some old fogey who has not read a new law for the last quarter of a century, and whose knowledge of the practice of the Courts is confined to that of fifty years ago! These councillors are absolutely ignorant of our Modern India of to-day. (*Cheers.*) During the last ten years, even, the entire country has been so metamorphosed as to be barely the same place it was. (*Loud cheers.*) Why do these worthy old gentlemen remain to clog the wheels of progress? And why do they oppose our modest demands for representation? Because, say they, of the disunion of Mohammedans and Hindus. But there is no sort of disunion amongst Mohammedans and Hindus on these political matters. (*Cheers.*) All are of one mind. (*Loud cheers.*) No doubt Sir Syed Ahmed and his now microscopic following tried to create such disunion, but all see now with what conspicuous failure. I fear I cannot give him credit for good faith. Had his motives been good, he would have given expression to his new views on the Congress platform, and have explained how it came about that he was now denouncing the very proposals that a few years back he had himself most strongly urged. Had he done this the whole matter would have been fully discussed and a fair decision arrived at. He did not do so, and from this the only possible conclusion is that he was not actuated by a pure desire for the public welfare, but by other motives. By his influence and vehemence he did in some places and instances succeed in creating some unpleasantness between Hindus and Mohammedans, and, perhaps, here and there evil traces of his unpatriotic work may yet linger. Yet, despite this, despite all he and his masters amongst the officials could do, there is practically at this present time absolutely no disunion as regards Congress questions between Musalmans and Hindus. (*Prolonged cheering.*)

MR. BIPRODAS BANERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 38, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The matter now before you is very important, and we have been fighting for it for the last six or seven years. It has been discussed not only here, but also by the people and the press in England, and even by the Continental press. It is, in short, the very turning point of our political career as a nation. The proposition before you is to affirm the Bill introduced into Parliament by Mr. Bradlaugh. It is our duty to see if we can get not only the native inhabitants of the country to our side, but also the non-official Europeans. For that reason I beg to propose that we postpone this question till Monday ("No, no.") I propose it for this reason. (A voice: "Support the proposition.") If you do you will support a fiction. The Bill is not before the members, and the printed paper was not placed in the hands of the members until past 2 o'clock. I do not wish to blame anyone. I desire that before coming to a final decision an opportunity may be afforded for seriously considering this Bill.

THE PRESIDENT: I am afraid that Mr. Biprodas Banerjee has not quite understood two things. I am sure if he had he would not have made this proposition for adjournment. I think you will bear me out when I say that the Bill has not only been before this Congress,

2nd Day.

Res. I.
Expansion
and
Reform of
Legislative
Councils.

2nd Day. but before the country for a long time (*hear, hear*); and secondly, he will be good enough, to remember what is the function of the Subjects Committee, with regard to the Congress. That Committee was appointed last evening for the purpose of drawing up the propositions to be laid before the Congress. They have performed their duty; the resolution has been moved, the subject fully discussed, and I ask you whether, having heard eleven speakers, you do not think that enough has been said in the way of discussion. ("Yes, yes.") If that is your view, I will at once put the first resolution ("vote, vote"), which will stand as follows:—

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

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

MR. KALI CHARAN BANERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 66, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—As an old driver of your omnibus (*laughter*) in regard to which, by-the-bye, it may soon be necessary to legislate as to how many it should be allowed to carry, I may be permitted to drive it once more. There will be no detention with a view to check the passengers; they are all familiar faces, and you would know them at a glance. The resolution I have to propose is—

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

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

issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.

Let me remind you that these resolutions were passed by previous Congresses, and you are now called upon simply to ratify and confirm them. In other words, you are called upon simply to be loyal to your traditions (*cheers*); for I take it that the Congress is old enough to have traditions of its own. In order to help your memories let me briefly describe to you the eleven passengers that I carry in my omnibus. I will begin with the last resolution. (1). We are grateful to our Government for the security that we enjoy as to life and property from human invasions; what we seek is that we should have security, also, as far as wild animals are concerned. (*Hear, hear*). And in that connection we desire it to be remembered that wild animals make no distinction between the European and the Indian. (*Laughter*). I have spoken of wild animals; what as to the wild men? We are grateful to our Government for the machinery that exists for the prevention and suppression of crime; at the same time we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the administration of justice in this country admits of improvement, and that it ought to be elevated to a footing in which it might be spoken of as self-justifying in its character. We desire, therefore, that the police should be reformed, so that it may not be possible for them to place, habitually, innocent men in the dock. We desire further to secure that when Magistrates hold a trial in any case, they should bring to the trial a mind which should be, as far as the facts of the case are concerned, a *tabula rasa*. I do not mean that they should bring to the trial of cases a mind that should be a *tabula rasa* as far as the law of the case is concerned. (*Laughter*). We desire further that in the administration of justice in this country, the people should be allowed the benefit of the judgment of their peers, that this privilege should not be confined to a few favoured spots, but that it should be extended to all parts of the country to which it may be extended with advantage. We desire further that this privilege of having the judgment of one's peers in any case should not be allowed to become a farce and a nullity by being in danger of being set aside even by the highest court in the country. I may describe these six resolutions as being on a certain level, that is, the level of protection. I now pass on to another class of resolutions that we have in this omnibus, and in order to help your memories I will mention a word which begins with the same letter—P. I am going to place before you four P's. Following protection I will give you the watch-word: plenty. We desire that the poor of the country should be enabled to live, at any rate, from hand to mouth; that they may be in no danger of having what little they may possess for their sustenance diminished by the imposition of any species of taxation which is likely to press hard upon them, whether as regards the nature of the tax itself or as regards the administration of the tax. Then after plenty let me give you the word peace, and here I take it that I am not wrong in regarding the British nation as under an inspiration which ought to enable it to usher in a reign of peace which is prophesied as part of the faith which inspires that country—a reign which when it is once inaugurated shall lead men to beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks. A nation that lives and moves under such an inspiration is surely destined to usher in this reign of peace rather than to go on in a direction which indicates the permanence of war. We desire, then, that the military expenditure of the country should be reduced rather than allowed continually to increase. But if the British nation happens to be lacking in faith so that they are not in a position to lay hold of the "sure word of prophecy," we make to them a certain offer, by way of an earthly support. That is, we invite them to allow us to train ourselves in that same art of war so that when they do need earthly help we shall be prepared, all of us, to render it. I now come to the last, which I describe as the *panacea*; because after all when we seek to introduce reforms into our country it is not possible for any of them to take root unless the people are educated to help in the cause of reform. (*Cheers*). So it is that we desire to secure that the expenditure in aid of education in all its branches should not be diminished. And here I ought to draw your attention to what is prominently brought out in one of the resolutions, that there should be no distinction ever suggested between high education and low education. An educated carpenter stands on the same footing exactly as an educated lawyer. There is no such thing as high and low in the matter of education. If education is to be a passport to the various services of the country, we desire that those passports should not be hampered by conditions which may render them simply inaccessible to certain persons who cannot fulfil those conditions. Gentlemen, the omnibus has now reached its destination, and the occupation of the driver is gone. (*Laughter and cheers*).

MR. K. P. VISHWANADHA IYER (*Madras, No. 613, in list*), in seconding the resolution, said: MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In the first place the necessity for reform on the lines suggested in some of the clauses that make up this omnibus resolution has been admitted by the Government itself; for instance with respect to the separation of the judicial from the

2nd Day.

Res. II. Confirmation of Resolutions passed at previous Congresses in re Judicial and Police Reforms, Military Colleges, Volunteering, Income Tax, Education, Reduction of Expenditure, Simultaneous examinations in India and England, and the Modification of the Arms Act Rules.

2nd Day.

Res. II.
Confirmation
of
Resolutions
passed at
previous
Congresses
in re
Judicial
and Police
Reforms,
Military
Colleges,
Volunteer-
ing, In-
come Tax,
Education,
Reduction
of expendi-
ture,
Simulta-
neous
examina-
tions in
India and
England,
and the
Modifica-
tion of the
Arms Act
Rules.

executive functions, with respect to police administration, and with respect to technical education. Yet what has the Government done with regard to these very necessary reforms? As to the separation of the executive and judicial functions it has done absolutely nothing, and as to technical education nothing worthy of the name. The question then arises, why this inactivity? On the other hand, look at the mischievous activity with respect to the Uncovenanted Civil Service. I ask you will there be this inactivity if we have our own representatives in the Legislative Council with respect to these important matters of reform? It appears to me that all this covert opposition of the Local Governments and their unwillingness to legislate according to our prayer, even when they admit that our prayers are just, arises in this way: They seem to say to themselves: "Have we not done and are we not still doing a good deal for these people? Why do they still speak of wrongs and grievances? They do not simply come to us for redress of any grievances they have, but they meet and discuss and say they will go to Parliament and to the British nation, which know nothing of them, while we know everything. So long as they do so they shall not have what they want, or, at least, they shall not have it soon." But if we petition what is it they say? "Ah! these B.A.'s, these seditious!" We have been called by our opponents mere place-hunters and self-seekers. This omnibus resolution gives the lie to it. Look at the resolution relating to the police, to accused persons, and particularly to the income tax. And, looking out of our omnibus, look at the resolution relating to the salt tax, which will soon be before us. Considering these particular matters the present resolution may be called, as it has been called, the poor man's resolution. Our opponents, while they are kind enough to call us by all sorts of names, do not protest against the salt tax or against the abolition of import duties; but they want to do away with the income tax, the only tax that touches them. Under these circumstances well may we say, save us from our friends. As to education, while we are twitted with being half-educated B.A.'s, do they want us to be better men, to be better educated? No. We are not to have even our higher education as it stands; we shall have none of it, no higher education at all. Education makes us seditious. If we want it let us pay for the whole of it. This is their opinion; it is an open secret; but who will say that they are right? With these few remarks I beg to second the resolution. (Cheers).

Mr. G. S. KHAPARDE (*Benar, No. 534, in list*)—LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I rise nominally to support this proposition, which, however, in reality needs no support of mine or of any one else. It has already been before you, piecemeal, and to its various component parts you have devoted much time, and your closest attention in the past, and have come to certain conclusions which are now embodied in these eleven clauses. I have only to support them as a sort of supernumerary on the omnibus, to employ my leader's phraseology. But I would not compare this resolution to an omnibus, but rather to a casket of jewels. We have formed, after due deliberation, certain ideas, and I call those ideas jewels, and we offer them to the Viceroy and ask him to decorate the people of India with them. Let us see how far they have been given. One of them has been given very reluctantly and with a very grudging spirit indeed to a few districts in the Madras Presidency; the rest of us have to look and ask for some of them. I hope we are not envious, but we sincerely desire that some of these jewels may be given to us also. I am speaking of the first part of the resolution regarding the separation of the judicial function from the executive. Ten of these jewels have not even partially been given to anybody, not even lent on a holiday, or for a drive, or an airing. (Laughter and cheers). There is one jewel that some of us especially desire to possess. Some of us would like to hold office in her Majesty's army. We live, I joyfully admit, under the protection of the British Crown and flag, and we desire that we should be allowed to fight under that flag. We fight as soldiers; I should like to fight as an officer; I want to command a few hundreds. That is all we ask—not much. One would think that to give me the command of a hundred sepoy or a few cavalry soldiers would not be very dangerous, the Commander-in-Chief and the General and the Brigadier and the Colonel being all above me. Yet, they say "No, you are not fit." I ask, Have I been examined and found wanting? They will not answer that question, and they will not send me to school. They are just like a stepmother to us! (Laughter). I think I have now done my part as a supernumerary, and I retire. (Cheers).

LALA DHARAM DAS (*Punjab, No. 521, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I also beg to support the resolution that has been so neatly proposed. We all know that Government should be prepared to defend the country against foreign invasion, and consequently we admit that great expenses must be borne by the people to help the Government to carry out the necessary plans of defence. We do not complain that we are taxed, but that we are injudiciously and inequitably taxed. Persons whose incomes are below Rs. 85 a month are hardly able to bear anything in the shape of income tax, until the resolution says it is expedient that the taxable minimum should be raised so that the tax may not press upon such persons. We have read the disappointing and disheartening communication received from the Government by the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce; but after the speeches delivered on the occasion of the St. Andrew's Dinner, we

may now hope that the Government will again consider the question, not of the abolition, but of the readjustment of this tax. We are grateful to the Government for the many benefits we enjoy under their paternal care. It is painful, however, to find the sympathies of the lower classes alienated from the Government because of the extremely unsatisfactory manner in which this tax is collected. Government ought to be aware of this. We ask for a readjustment, and so possibly a reduction in the gross proceeds of the tax, and at the same time we ask for a reduction of unnecessary expenditure. For some years past the military expenditure of the country has been increasing by leaps and bounds, and it is absolutely necessary that there should be a check placed upon this wicked waste. It is a matter of regret that our demands have so far been, save in some small matters, practically ignored. It is the educated alone who can fully appreciate the blessings of good government, and who are able to point out its defects. No doubt educated persons do demand a share in the administration of the Government; and have not noble and just British statesmen admitted from time to time the justice of such demands? The people of India want justice—real justice, not sham. The resolution declares the necessity of holding Civil Service examinations simultaneously in England and in India. The Government have practically closed the Civil Service against natives by holding competitive examinations in England only, and there are but very few of the qualified Indian candidates who can succeed in going to England. It is absolutely necessary that the Government should appoint a mixed Commission to enquire into the industrial condition of the country. As to military appointments, even the chiefs, who are thoroughly loyal, cannot get real commissions, (they now and then get honorary ones), nor is it possible for them actually to serve in the army except by entering as private soldiers. There are no colleges in the country for their training. The Punjab and Bombay Governments recommended the establishment of such colleges, and it was hoped that their recommendation would be favourably considered, especially as H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught had been pleased to attest the expediency of the proposal. But with one stroke of the pen the Secretary of State decided the other way. Let us once more bring to the notice of the Government what the country feels about the unsatisfactory character of the system of police administration, and let us at the same time hope that the necessary reforms will be effected at no distant date now that the Police Commission has been appointed by the Government. You must all have read of the sufferings of the people at Amritsar, due to the conduct of a police officer brought to light by our local paper, *The Tribune*. The people all over the Punjab are anxiously waiting to see what redress can be obtained from the House of Commons in this matter. (Cheers).

MUNSHI SADRUDDIN AHMED (*Allahabad, No. 332, in list*) then spoke in Urdu, and said: Glory in the first place to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the leader of disunion, the patriarch of jealousy, the parent of obstinacy, the ancestor of doggedness, and the living saint of Anti-Congressists! (Loud laughter and cheers).

Gentlemen, I stand here to support some of the clauses of the resolution; but by far the most important clause to which I shall refer relates to the Arms Act Rules.

The taking of arms from the natives and the enforcement of, practically, prohibitive rules regarding the grant of licenses is not only prejudicial to the natives of India, but is equally calculated to weaken and cripple the Government itself. Hundreds of millions of people are now under the sway of the British Government in India, none of whom can possibly entertain the remotest feeling of hostility to the Government. On the other hand, they are loyal and faithful subjects, and, as the Indian Mutiny of 1857 amply proved, their attachment did not waver even in those troublous times when every stupid and faithless sepoy broke into open rebellion. Is it under the circumstances advisable to render powerless and emasculate, on mere suspicion, a nation whose loyalty has been tested and tried during the last hundred years, by depriving them of the privilege of carrying arms and keeping themselves in touch with the methods of modern warfare? (Cheers). If out of the hundreds of millions that inhabit this vast empire, only a few lakhs were allowed the privilege of carrying arms, the Government would have beside it, without incurring any additional expenditure, a vast array of armed men to support and to assist it in times of need. (Loud cheers).

The Emperors of old had confidence in the bravery and faithfulness of the people, and never deprived them of arms, and derived considerable assistance from the people in return. The martial spirit of the people of the country raised the descendants of Taimur, Akbar in particular, to the highest pitch of supremacy and power. If the people of India with arms in their hands and bullets in their pockets could remain subject to the Mohammedan's empire and accepted its supremacy, does it stand to reason that they would rebel against so just and civilized a Government as that of the British people? (Loud cheers). The peace and prosperity of a people are among the first requisites of sovereignty, and these cannot be secured unless the rulers and the ruled repose mutual confidence in each other. The confidence of the people is dependent on the non-interference of the sovereign with the privileges of the people and their right to do such lawful acts as they please. At any rate

2nd Day.

Res. II.
Confirmation
of
Resolu-
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passed at
previous
Congresses
in re
Judicial
and Police
Reforms,
Military
Colleges,
Volunteer-
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come Tax,
Education,
Reduction
of Expen-
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Simulta-
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examina-
tions in
India and
England,
and the
Modifica-
tion of the
Arms Act
Rules.

2nd Day. arms are the sole protectors of life and property; and their deprivation causes disappointment and dejection which knows no bounds.

Res. II. Confirmation of Resolutions passed at previous Congresses in re Judicial and Police Reforms, Military Colleges, Volunteering, Income Tax, Education, Reduction of Expenditure, Simultaneous examinations in India and England, and the Modification of the Arms Act Rules.

If, God forbid, India were to be pounced upon by any enemy from the West, women with their curses, and unarmed men with empty abuses, will face the enemy, and the enemy will laugh and say:—
Is sadgi se kaun na marjai ai Khuda,
Larti hain our hathmen talwar bhi nahin.
Oh, God! who would not die at this simplicity.
They dare to fight though they have not a sword in their hands. (Cheers.)

No Emperor ever feared the sword of his subject, nor ever emasculated a brave nation by force. The natives of India belong to a race which opposed Alexander and turned him back beyond the Indus. They are descendants of those brave people who, in the battle of Telaveri, made Shahabuddeen Ghori taste the efficacy of a sword, and made him retreat headlong with his army for upwards of forty miles. To convert such brave and faithful people into protectors of the Throne and guards of the State is to invigorate and strengthen the foundations of the Government. You must have read in history that when Nadir Shah once summoned the Nawab of Furrukabad to Delhi for an interview, and the Nawab replied that he could not come without his armour and weapons, Nadir said: "Go and tell him he may come with his artillery." (Cheers.) What a revolution! There was a time when the Emperors of old were not afraid of the arms of their enemies; a time has now come when we, unfortunately, though loyal and faithful subjects, are distrusted even by our own Government. (Loud cheers.)

In regard to the police system it is sufficient to say that the police, if they do not consider their powers more extensive than those of God himself, at least do consider them to be co-equal with His. (Cheers.)

This should be considered and the people should be relieved of their oppression. (Hear.)

One word more about the income tax. It is on all hands admitted that both the black and the white are the progeny of Adam and the subjects of Her Majesty the Queen. Then why should one be favoured more than the other? As persons possessing an income below one thousand rupees are exempted in England from the income tax, the people of India, who are far poorer, possessing an income below rupees one thousand should be similarly exempted. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

BABU BISHNUPADA CHATTERJEE (Hoogly, No. 161, in list).—I rise, Sir, to support this resolution. I do not know how many horses are needed to drag an omnibus in England. On the occasion of the last Congress this proposition was ably moved by Mr. Kalicharan Banerjee and seconded by Mr. Chandavarkar, and it was carried unanimously. You may ask me why it is brought forward again. The answer is that the disease is still prevalent, the doctors are not forthcoming with their medicine, much less their advice. But I am assured you the case is not hopeless. Everything depends upon united action and constant agitation. I have a great fancy for one of the passengers in the omnibus, namely (1) "the necessity, if any real justice is to be done to the people of India, of holding simultaneously, in England and India, examinations, at present held only in England, for the civil branches of the Public Service in India." I am not going to give facts and figures; that has often been done. I will only quote a line from the despatch: "They have no desire to extend the practical application of this principle further than political necessity requires." Now we say that political necessity requires that the Government of a country should at any rate be largely composed of the people of that country, of persons thoroughly conversant with the habits, customs, views, wishes, wants of the people, of persons whose interests are to a great degree identical with those of the people. Whereas under the existing system the Government is exclusively composed of foreigners ignorant alike of everything that really concerns the people, and whose interests are distinctly, in most cases, antagonistic to those of the country. Having regard to these anomalies, I say it is absolutely necessary that there should be simultaneous examinations in India and England (cheers), so that gradually the Government may come to be largely composed of Indians. (Cheers.)

THE PRESIDENT: Several names of speakers have been sent up ("vote.") If you think that the matter has been sufficiently discussed, I will not give these gentlemen the trouble of coming up ("vote, vote.")

Then our second resolution will stand thus:—

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

(a) the urgent necessity for the complete separation of executive and judicial functions, such that in no case shall the two functions be combined in the same officer;

- (b) the expediency of extending into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, the system of trial by jury;
- (c) the necessity of withdrawing from the High Courts the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal by juries;
- (d) the necessity of introducing, into the Code of Criminal Procedure, a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate they be committed to the Court of Sessions;
- (e) the highly unsatisfactory character of the existing system of Police Administration in India, and the absolute necessity of a fundamental reform therein;
- (f) the expediency of both establishing Military Colleges in India, whereat the Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army, and of authorising, under such rules and restrictions as may seem necessary, such a system of volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country as may qualify them to support the Government in any crisis;
- (g) the extremely unsatisfactory character of the Income Tax Administration, especially as regards incomes below rupees one thousand, and the expediency of raising the taxable minimum to this amount;
- (h) the extreme importance of increasing, instead of diminishing, as the present tendency appears to be, the public expenditure on education in all its branches, and the necessity, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of the appointment of a mixed commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country;
- (i) the necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual increase to, the military expenditure of the country;
- (j) the necessity, if any real justice is to be done to the people of India, of holding, simultaneously in India and England, examinations, at present held only in England, for the Civil branches of the Public Service in India;
- (k) the expediency of so modifying the rules made under Act XI of 1878 (the Arms Act) that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally to all persons residing in or visiting India; that licenses to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and generally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops; and that these, and all licenses issued under the rules, shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.

The resolution was then put to the vote and carried unanimously.

MR. W. S. CAINE (Sholapore, No. 582, in list).—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The resolution which I have to submit is as follows:—

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

This, Sir, is a resolution which has been submitted at previous Congresses, but which has not had the effect that the Congress desire; for the House of Commons has taken no notice of the petition which was sent from Bombay, and it is, therefore, important that the resolution should be re-affirmed, not in an omnibus, but in a carriage of its own (cheers and laughter), so that, if possible, we may secure the restoration of one of the most important rights which India previously possessed. The old principle, which is almost as old as Parliamentary institutions in England, that grievance should come before supply, is one of the rights which are held to more tenaciously by members of Parliament than perhaps any other parliamentary rights. This resolution craves the restoration of a privilege which is the equivalent, so far as the Indian people are concerned, of that ancient charter of our liberty that grievance shall come before supply. It is, also, no doubt, a distinct grievance, and one felt throughout India, that the Budget dealing with the whole finances of the British Empire should be discussed on a single evening at the hottest time of the year at a period when members of Parliament are weary with six months hard work, and when the bulk of them have left London for their holidays. ("Shame!") It has long been the

2nd Day.

Res. II. Confirmation of Resolutions passed at previous Congresses in re Judicial and Police Reforms, Military Colleges, Volunteering, Income Tax, Education, Reduction of Expenditure, Simultaneous examinations in India and England, and the Modification of the Arms Act Rules.

Res. III. Modification of the Rules and practice of the House of Commons in regard to Indian Budgets.

2nd Day.

Res. III.
Modifica-
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the House
or Com-
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regard to
Indian
Budgets.

custom to treat what I consider one of the most important subjects that come before Parliament with such scant courtesy as that which I have now described. There is no doubt that all Indian questions, with the exception of the Budget itself, are shut out from discussion, except under the chances of a ballot. The only mode by which members of Parliament interested in Indian questions can bring them before the House is by balloting for an opportunity of moving a resolution on what is called private member's nights—Tuesday and Friday. When you remember that every Tuesday and Friday, while the House sits, from 150 to 200 members of Parliament place down different subjects in which they are interested to be balloted upon, you will see that the chances of an Indian question coming on, there being perhaps only three or four members to put such questions down, are about one in fifty. The Bill you have been considering in the first resolution I am afraid has no chance of being discussed in the present Parliament, because Mr. Bradlaugh had no good luck with his ballot and all sorts of questions of the highest importance brought in by Bill and by Resolution have constantly to give way to questions of minor importance, the movers of which find it impossible to bring down 40 men to the House to discuss them. In the old times before 1888, when this privilege was taken away, if we missed our opportunities of bringing Indian grievances before Parliament by resolution on a private member's night, we had the privilege of grievance before supply on the Budget night to fall back upon. That is now gone, and we wish to have it restored. You must remember that the responsibilities of Parliament towards India are increasing every year. More and more India is being brought into touch with England. (Cheers.) During the last five years the interest which has been taken by all politicians, especially by Liberal politicians, in the action of the Indian National Congress, has done much to stimulate the interest of English people in India. But, as our responsibility increases, we find that our powers decrease. There is no doubt that, as time goes on, every year will bring about an increased interest in India. If it had not been for the early meeting of Parliament during the current year, I believe between 30 and 40 members of the House of Commons would have been in India; at the present moment, studying your questions for themselves and realizing their responsibilities. (Cheers.) I am glad to say that we have one member of Parliament present, but he is the only one, so far as I know, who is now in the country. Now, the only way by which Indian grievances can be discussed in public and opinion taken upon them in India is before the National Congress, and in England before the House of Commons. You, when you get members of Parliament, receive them with hospitality, treat them with rare courtesy and kindness, and do the utmost in your power to make them familiar with the wants and aspirations of the Indian people. These "travelling members of Parliament" are not so popular with the governing class as I should like to see them. (Laughter.) We come here to do what we can to help the authorities of India to govern this country wisely and well; and our good intentions are called in question, and our services are not welcomed. We are constantly enabling them to improve their own administration, as you will find affirmed in the resolution which follows the present one. We instructed them two years ago with regard to the administration of one of the most important departments, and they have carried out those instructions with a reasonable amount of fidelity. These travelling members of Parliament will go back to their country, and you will have presently an army in Parliament, an increasing army anxious to discuss what you yourselves cannot discuss in your Parliament and legislate upon for yourselves. Now there is only one way by which the Government of India can get rid of the nuisance of travelling M. P.'s who come and poke their noses into their affairs. We in Parliament do not particularly want to be troubled with Indian affairs. We have affairs of our own in which we are deeply interested, and it is only under compulsion that we take your matters in hand at all. I simply look upon Parliament as holding Indian affairs in trust until this promising child, which is present in this building, arrives at the age of maturity; and then we shall be glad to give up our trust to our ward. Then if the Government of India dislike, as I believe they dislike, the interference of Parliament, and of members of Parliament, they can get rid of that interference by acting up to the spirit of the first resolution which you have carried, and by admitting you to some share in a representative Government of your own. (Cheers.) When that comes our functions will have gone; we shall be no longer required; you will then be able to deal with your own affairs without our help; you will be permitted, I should hope, to vote your own Budget, and we shall be relieved of a considerable responsibility and a considerable burden. I have great pleasure in moving this resolution. (Cheers.)

MR. R. D. MEHTA (Calcutta, No. 670, in list).—MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES and SISTER DELEGATES.—I find that coming after so distinguished a speaker as Mr. Caine, who has also proved himself to be able (laughter), I have very little to add. In former years, when the House went into Committee upon the Indian Budget, any member of the House had the privilege of laying before the House any question affecting the Indian People. The new rule, however, disallowed this privilege, and, I need not say, with most prejudicial results to India. But this is not all. Our Budget statements, as Mr. Caine has pointed out, are brought forward for discussion in the dog days of August, before a row of empty benches, and the Under-Secretary finds himself addressing perhaps a couple of Anglo-Indian members. I should like to know how the

English people would tolerate a farce of this kind with regard to their own Budget. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer were to discuss the English Budget before empty benches, there would be such a howl of indignation that absent members would know how to conduct themselves next time. But we, the inhabitants of an unrepresented Empire, may cry at the top of our voices, and no one listens to the protests of a people who have no share, no part, no vote in the Government of their country. I will not detain you longer, but I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution so ably and eloquently proposed by Mr. Caine. (Cheers.)

MR. G. YULE (Calcutta, No. 13, in list) (in response to repeated calls) said: I thought I should have been allowed to escape, even showing myself at a higher altitude * than alongside the President. (No, no.) I sympathize most cordially with the resolution which is at present before you, and I am quite convinced that if we had the opportunity of discussing the Budget in Parliament, I could undertake, in the question of stores alone, to save as much, at all events, as would enable the Government to raise the taxable minimum for income tax to Rs. 1,000. (Cheers.) I do not know any commercial undertaking, and I am certain that there is no Government undertaking of a commercial character, which is carried on as the Store Department is, without knowledge on the part of superiors; and with insufficient payment on the part of those who are entrusted with the purchasing of stores for us. I say that there are no commercial men who would not come to the conclusion that, after twenty years of such a mode of carrying on business without check, there must be a great amount of bribery and corruption. On that account alone if this resolution were to have the ear of the House of Commons and to be passed, I confidently assert that we should be able to save the people of India at least one-half of the present amount of income tax. (Hear, hear.) I support the resolution most cordially, and I hope you will see it passed in the House of Commons as soon as you expect it. (Cheers.) (Cries of "vote, vote").

THE PRESIDENT: Shall I now put the resolution (Yes, yes). Very well, then the third resolution will stand:—

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

The resolution was then carried by acclamation.

MR. D. E. WACHA (Bombay, No. 543, in list), in proposing the fourth resolution, said: The resolution entrusted to me is this:—

That while recognizing the action taken in response to its previous prayers in the matter of excise reform by H. M. Secretary of State for India and the Supreme Government, here, and noting with pleasure the increase to the import duty on spirits, the taxation imposed on Indian-brewed malt liquors, the decision of the Bengal Government to abolish the outstill system, and the closing of over 7,000 liquor shops by the Madras Government in 1889-90, this Congress regrets that it is still necessary to urge the Government of India to insist on all Provincial Administrations carrying out, in their integrity, the policy in matters of excise, enunciated in clauses 103, 104 and 105 of the despatch published in the Gazette of India of March 1st, 1890, especially as to subsection 4 of clause 103, viz.: "That efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of the local public sentiment, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to such opinion when ascertained."

This is the third time in the history of the Congress that I have been asked to propose a resolution on excise reform. It was at the Allahabad Congress that the question of abkari administration was first brought forward, partly as a political and partly as a social question. But at the time it took the form of a prayer, that in view of the increasing intemperance in the country the Government might be moved to appoint a Commission to enquire generally into the abkari administration. The first fruit of that resolution was that the matter was earnestly taken up by the redoubtable Mr. Caine in the House of Commons. With his assistance, and that of his colleague, Mr. Samuel Smith, the House of Commons passed the famous resolution of 30th April 1889, with which we are all familiar. It was the first step taken towards practical reform. In fact, as the President very properly observed in his eloquent address yesterday, the abkari question is one of the two questions out of the many which the Congress has discussed on which some practical action has been taken. The other

* The speaker's tribune was elevated above all the other seats and places.

2nd Day.

Res. III.
Modifica-
tions of the
Rules and
practice of
the House
or Com-
mons in
regard to
Indian
Budgets.

Res. IV.
Necessity
for further
Reform in
the Excise
Administra-
tion.

2nd Day. question related to the abolition of the silver plate duty, on which also I had the honour to speak at the last Congress at Bombay. From the tenor of the resolution which I have just read out to you, you will have observed that it comprises three distinct matters. Firstly, that we recognize the practical action the authorities have taken in the matter of the reform of our excise administration; secondly, that we also recognize efforts which at least two of the Provincial Governments have already made to check the consumption of liquor; and thirdly, that we still require other Provincial Administrations to carry out in their full integrity the instructions laid down in the excise despatch of March 1890.

Res. IV.
Necessity
for further
Reform in
the Excise
Administra-
tion.

It is, indeed, a source of gratification to us that our agitation on abkari matters has so far borne fruit, that we have not only elicited a practical resolution from the House of Commons, but also from the Government of India in that ponderous despatch of March 1890. In consequence of the despatch, be it said to the credit of the Bengal Government, and especially of Sir Stuart Bayley, the consumption of liquor in Bengal has decreased, and also the revenue. That is exactly the thing we want. There ought to be, as far as possible, a minimum of consumption, never mind what the revenue may be, because the reform is in a great measure a moral one. It must also be said, to the credit of Lord Connemara and the Madras Government, that they have been able in one year to close 7,000 liquor shops in a population of 35 millions. This is an augury, that, so far as the Madras Presidency is concerned, we are entering upon an era of social reform. (*Cheers*).

I regret that I cannot speak similarly of my own Province; the Bombay Government has done absolutely nothing. Nay, the Bombay Government, instead of reforming its ways, has become a worse sinner since the date of the orders of the House of Commons. That is to me a matter of great regret, because, after all our efforts, we are no better off than we were three years ago. Indeed, instead of the Government of Bombay taking the lesson to heart, as given in the resolution of the House of Commons, and by the Government of India itself, it has been going in the wrong direction and increasing the consumption and increasing the revenue. ("Shame!") For your information I beg in a very short compass to put some statistics before you from which you will see that the statement I have made is not a mere haphazard statement, but a statement borne out by official statistics. The revenue in 1881-82 was 38 lakhs; in 1889-90 it had reached 74 lakhs—an increase of 95 per cent. The consumption has also increased from 18 lakhs of gallons to 27 lakhs, an increase of 50 per cent. Then, again, while Madras justly takes credit for having closed 7,000 liquor shops in a single year, what do we find in Bombay? This: That in 1887-88 we had 4,413 shops, and in 1888-89 we had 4,739 shops, an increase of about 300. This, let me say, has reference more to country spirits than to toddy or other liquor. One of the strongest grievances involved in the abkari administration is that regarding new toddy. Toddy in Bombay, as in other parts of the country, is drunk by the labouring classes, for whom Manchester philanthropists have been exerting themselves with so much solicitude. (*Laughter*.) It is comparatively innocuous, not having the strength of ordinary alcoholic beverages; but it is boycotted in Bombay in order that the consumption of ardent spirits may be stimulated. What is the result? Ten years ago there were lakhs of palm trees tapped in different directions, but now the trees stand yielding nothing from the soil they occupy; not a single tree is allowed to be tapped by its owners. The fact is that the original drawers of toddy have lost their industry, and they are now eking out a miserable subsistence in all sorts of miscellaneous and possibly some of them questionable ways; and I should not be surprised if many of them have gone to swell the large number of people of whom Sir William Hunter speaks as going with half a meal a day in India. This is a sad picture of the disastrous results of the Bombay abkari administration. Under these circumstances I think you will agree with the statement in the resolution that it is necessary, at this stage, that the Government of India should actually call upon those provincial administrations which have not carried out this reform, to do so without delay. The farming system is still flourishing in Bombay; the traffic has been stimulated, and it has brought shops to many villages where there were none. The result has been that intemperance has increased.

With regard to the last and most important part of the resolution I believe there is no one who has given two minutes consideration to this subject who would not say that, in a country like India, sober from ancient times (whatever may be said to the contrary), it is absolutely necessary that the principle inculcated by the House of Commons, as far as local option for India is concerned, should be carried out, even though in some localities it may be necessary to do this slowly and gradually. I cannot better impress you with the importance of this than by a quotation from a statement of the Government of India. They say "that efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of local public sentiment, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to such opinion when ascertained." I will give you an instance of "the reasonable amount of deference paid to such opinion" in Bombay! In the centre of the mill district at Ahmedabad the Collector lately gave a license to open a liquor shop. All the owners of the mills asked to have it closed, but the request was not granted. Then again these same people at Ahmedabad, fully aware of the evil of intemperance, requested Lord Harris

when on a visit to the town, that local option might be introduced, but this also was refused. This refusal is a matter of regret; firstly, because it was a disobedience of the instructions of the Government of India; and, secondly, because the introduction of the system there—when the people voluntarily asked for it—was an experiment worthy of trial, if only to prove the goodness and sincerity of the intentions of Government. Lord Harris is, no doubt, new to this country, but I do hope and believe that when he has studied the whole question in all its aspects, he will at least try to do his best to introduce this system of local option in Bombay, because I believe that on this question the salvation of India, so far as drinking is concerned, mainly rests. (*Cheers*).

2nd Day.

Res. IV.
Necessity
for further
Reform in
the Excise
Administra-
tion.

MR. KASHINATH NATU (*Poona, No. 557, in list*); in seconding the resolution, said,—If one of our forefathers, who lived 150 years ago, were to stand here and see this august assembly, with what wonder would he regard a sight which, in his own day, would have been an absolute impossibility! But he would be still more wonder-struck to find a proposition being made for which there was no necessity whatever in his day. In the elevated sanctuaries of the Himalayas he devoted his time and thoughts to the contemplation of the infinite and absolute; but the entire devotion of too many of his descendants seems to centre nowadays on a cupboard full of bottles, and he would be astonished to find not a few outcastes, here and there, but legions of the highest caste men slaves to the grossest of all vices, intemperance. If we are slow in other matters, we have made almost incredible progress in this. Not long ago in our province the income from this source was only Rs. 10,000, but it is now no less than ten lakhs. ("Shame!") Where there was no man seen drunk in the streets, there are now hundreds.

I have come here to support a proposition that ought, I think, to be self-supporting: certainly it needs no support from one so little known as myself. But I speak from the natural impulses of my own heart, and I have a very strong hope that the day will come when, to adapt the Englishman's saying, "we shall not have a single slave to contaminate our soil," we shall not have a single drop of spirit to contaminate our sons. Some gentlemen who are otherwise kindly disposed say that this is all the result of education. And who has given us that education? I am inclined to allow the Government to stand *in loco parentis*. "You are our kind parents and, occupying that position, are you going to open grogshops in every town and street?" It is a thing about which there can be no two opinions even in the House of Parliament. We earnestly ask the Government to do what? To lessen that vice, the prevalence of which is owing in great measure to their own policy. They gave us education, no doubt, but they also made us acquainted with the drink bottle. "It is you," we can truly say to them, "who have brought the evil into our country, and to whom, if not to you, shall we go to find a remedy?" You cannot say no to us. You must close the grogshops. It is said we are not fit to govern ourselves. You have given us the municipal franchise and empowered us to deal with sanitation and other matters; and yet in the same breath you say that we are not fit to regulate our grogshops, to decide on the numbers we will have, or to resolve that we will have none at all. I cordially support this proposition, and I hope the day will come when India will say, "No liquor, no brandy here, but only Adam's ale—pure water!" (*Cheers*).

HALA MURLIDHAR (*Punjab, No. 531, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES AND LADY DELEGATES,—You do not expect a mouse to roar like a lion; and you do not expect from me an eloquent speech such as you have had from our friends who have preceded me. At the first Congress I confessed that I was a murderer—of the Queen's English—but then I escaped punishment. But the President of the present Congress has doomed me to death. He gives me but five minutes to live. (*Laughter*.) Now that I stand on this platform I feel like the unhappy man who has been sentenced to be hanged. (*Laughter*.) In the presence of so many spectators, and at the sight of this august assembly and of so many learned scholars, I feel as if I had lost the faculty of speech; in four minutes more the President will sound the gong—the drop will fall—or at least I shall drop out of the tribune—now can you wonder that I feel just like the man about to be hanged? (*Laughter*.)

Now I come to the point. I do not know why you blame these grogshops and groggers, and those who promote the drink traffic. There is more philosophy in a bottle of wine than in all the schools, because it proves in a minute what sages have taken long ages to solve—the problem of the transmigration of souls. (*Cheers and laughter*.) It proves how a human being passes into a brute, and can assume the form of a donkey at will. (*Laughter*.) Yes, even the Theosophists will be puzzled to solve this problem. While the East has taught the West mathematics, astronomy and other sciences, in exchange the West has given us liquor—damnation instead of salvation. That really is a very good barter! We have bargained away our souls, and what have we in exchange? A bottle of gin or a glass of whiskey. A very good exchange, indeed! We have proved very wise in our generation—very wise, indeed, to permit the growth of such a traffic. I feel sincerely thankful to the Punjab Government that

2nd Day. it has really tried to give effect to the resolution passed by the Secretary of State and the Government of India. All the *Chandoo** shops in the Punjab Province have been closed; there are now none in the Amballa district; while there are thousands in other provinces. But, in spite of all this, people have become more addicted to drink, because it has been thought to be an adjunct of Western civilization. It is thought that a man cannot become a perfect gentleman unless he drinks a glass of wine. Now another Governor has come to the rescue of the present generation, and he says that if a person indulges in a glass of whiskey there is no harm in it. Is there no harm? Is that the idea of the Governor of millions of people, that there is no harm in throwing temptation in the way of the poor wretched creatures who live on one meal a day? They have their children living in misery—clad in rags.....lying in the mud; but all this is not enough, there must be these foul liquor shops to tempt them to make things even worse! (*Shame, shame.*)

Even our Mohammedan rulers hated and held the liquor traffic accursed. It has been left for our Christian rulers to love it, pet it, stimulate it, and make money by crores out of it! (*Hear, hear.*)

Now we find, even in Burmah, a newly conquered Province, we find that liquor shops have been started. And for whose benefit? Not certainly for the benefit of the Burmese, whose creed forbids strong drink, and who are only now, under British tuition, learning how to grow into drunkards and beasts? (*Hear.*) For whose benefit then? The benefit of the British Government, and I marvel equally at the folly and the wickedness of the course adopted. Will a drunken population serve them as well, will it, in the long run, even fill their exchequer as full as a sober one? (*Cheers.*) How too can men, who pretend to believe in God and a future state, thus set to work coldly, cruelly, systematically to seduce the people committed to their charge by Him into all kinds of sin and misery? And what wickedness does not the habit of drinking lead to? It is not for me to speak much about the evils of drinking. You who have been born in this country and have never tasted liquor have always held it to be only another name for—damnation. (*Laughter.*) With these few words I support the resolution. (*Cheers.*) I will only add one word. You laugh at me and think that I am a fool. ("No, no"). Really I am a fool (*laughter*), and you must thank the Punjab people, because the representative character of this National Congress would not have been perfect without the presence of one fool at least to represent the many. (*Laughter and prolonged cheers.*)

GURU PRATAP SINGH SODHI (*Lahore, No. 526, in list*), speaking in Panjabi, said: FRIENDS,—With great respect I beg to state that we Sikhs heartily sympathize with the National Congress; for the national blessings which it is conferring, and will confer, cannot be looked for from any other organization or institution.

I belong to the family of Sikh Gurus known as Sodhi. I, with my followers, am a supporter of the Congress with body and wealth. My followers are about 25,000 men, and range from Lahore to Candahar.

Drinking is positively prohibited in our creed as it is in others. No one dare speak in favour of drink. I am much struck that nowadays it should be needful to warn people against drinking. There was a time when a drunkard would have tried in vain to force his vile liquor on his neighbours; in vain, for people avoided drink, with very rare exceptions, out of respect for their creeds. Now, alas, it is quite common to find men lying naked, and insensible from drink, about our streets.

What are the best loved things in the world for which all people toil? Is it not wife and children? But those given to drinking do not spare even these, but despoil them of their jewels, clothes, nay of their very food, to satisfy their accursed craving.

The helpless wives and children of this legion of beasts addressed their prayers for succour to God, who listened mercifully and moved the hearts of Mr. Caine and the Congress leaders to espouse their cause and endeavour to rescue the people of India from this great sin and misery that the Government has unwittingly brought upon them.

This Congress, bent upon this and other good works for our suffering brethren, is not an assembly of men, but of Devas.† It is a place of pilgrimage which purifies the heart choked by the impurities of a life time.

The ruler for the time being is the Vicegerent of God on earth. Our Gracious Empress now occupies such a place. It is in Her name and encouraged by the sacredness of Her position,

* *Chandoo* is a very deleterious preparation of opium.

† *Vis.* Semi-divine beings.

that we of the Congress lift up our voices against this and other great evils from which India is now suffering. May God incline Her heart to listen to our prayers. **2nd Day.**

Since this work of the National Congress has begun, educated men have commenced to labour for the good of their fellows, and especially to devote their energies to rooting out this drink evil. **Res. IV. Necessity for further Reform in the Excise Administration.**

More than one local Government has taken steps in the right direction, and for this we have to thank both Englishmen like Mr. Caine and his supporters in England, and our National Congress here in India.

Government revenue will decrease, and some think this will harm Government; but when the people benefit, as in this case, any wise Government counts all such losses a gain. Nay where Government got one rupee by the drunkenness of its subjects, it will gain ten by their sobriety.

It is very strange that though education has so widely spread, drink seems to have done so equally. Either education has not produced the expected results, or there has not been enough of it, or it is not the right sort, not sufficiently embodying a moral element. I do not rightly understand, but I pray God Almighty to crown the efforts of this Congress, and of all who side with them in endeavouring to save the people from this evil of drunkenness, and may he crown our Queen Empress with the choicest blessings and incline her heart to decree the rescue of her people from this grim monster.

I altogether go with this resolution. May it triumph.

MR. W. S. CAINE (*Sholapore, No. 582, in list*) in response to repeated calls, rose and said: I have much pleasure in supporting this resolution. (*Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT: You have just heard one of the shortest and sweetest speeches that we have yet had (*laughter*) and are no one doubt prepared to vote. (*Cries of yes, yes, vote, vote.*)

Our fourth resolution then will stand thus:—

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

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

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT: I now adjourn this assembly to 11 A. M. on Monday.

The Subjects Committee then resumed its sittings.

On the Sunday, the Social Conference assembled in the Congress Pavilion, and passed, after much discussion, various important resolutions in regard to matters of Social Reform. But the Social Conference will, as in former years, publish its own separate Report, and nothing further need be said of it here. The matter is only mentioned because this year, for the first time, some few persons belonging to the old conservative party, addressed a number of representations to the President and General Secretary, and to the Delegates as a body, urging them not to permit the Social Conference to use the Congress Hall, and it is satisfactory to be able to record that not one single Delegate was found willing to support this intolerant proposition.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Monday, 29th December, 1890.

The Congress re-assembled at 11-30 A.M.

3rd Day.

THE PRESIDENT: GENTLEMEN,—We have an extensive bill of fare before us, and must fall to with good appetites. *(Laughter)*. There is no time to be lost, and I will call upon Mr. Kennedy to hand round the first dish, which at any rate will not be wanting in salt. *(Cheers)*.

Res. V.
Reduction
of the Salt
Duty.

MR. PRINGLE KENNEDY *(Behar, No. 352, in list)* in addressing the assembly, said: MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW DELEGATES,—The resolution I have the honour to propose is as follows:—

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

Not everybody in India is a contributor to the abkari revenue, and, if Mr. Caine has his way, the number of such contributors will dwindle by shrinkage to a vanishing quantity. All the inhabitants of India are not fortunate enough to possess Rs. 500 a year, and to have in consequence the pleasure of submitting to the income-tax. But every man, woman and child in this country must eat salt, and thus be a feeder of the Imperial treasury. *(Hear, hear)*.

The salt-tax is an income-tax on all incomes down to the lowest. The poorer a man is, the heavier is its incidence. What that incidence is, I shall hereafter show. In England a labourer who drinks neither alcoholic beverages, nor tea, nor yet smokes tobacco, pays nothing to the State. In India the lowliest peasant, the poorest coolie, nay, the very beggar widow in the street, has to drop her mite into the Imperial Treasury. *(Hear, hear)*. Such a tax needs very cogent reasons to defend it. Those ordinarily given are—first antiquity, second facility of collection, third that the people do not mind it, fourth lightness of assessment, fifth financial necessity. As to the first, all that I have to say is that other things, such as human sin and human misery, are old, older than even the salt-tax. As to the second, facility of collection, I must remind you that the working of every revenue department in India eventually rests with red-turbaned gentlemen, in whom the predatory instinct is, I am afraid generally too strong for any curb of conscience. As to the third point, when I hear that the people do not mind it, the only meaning that I can put to this expression is that people do not speak of it. Gentlemen, an eel is said not to mind skinning. It is used to it. I suppose it seems to them a visitation of an inscrutable providence; and hence no doubt, our people, unless questioned, do not, in many parts of the country, speak much about it. But when I think of the salt-tax, my thought takes me to Feuda France, when that existed under the name of the Gabelle. They did not mind it, so the rulers said: and no doubt, even if they did, they rather hesitated to press the point, for, in those days, a gallows was found to be even more disagreeable than a poll tax, and their rulers were quite handy at hanging all who differed from them on such political questions. But, Gentlemen, if the wheels of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small, and the end came, I need not say how.

Now I come to the incidence of the Indian salt-tax. Bear with me while I give you a few figures. I shall try to make them as round and simple as I can. First of all, from enquiry, amongst other places, at Her Majesty's jails where luxuries are not likely to be given I find that nine or ten chittacks a month, or seven seers and a little over—we will drop the little over—are necessary to keep an adult in health. Now, there are more than twenty-five tens of millions of people in India, and making a deduction for children and others, who need a less quantity of salt than adults, we may take it that 20 tens of millions of salt at the rate above mentioned or something over 3½ tens of millions of maunds of salt are necessary to keep the people in health. And this quantity at Rs. 2-8 per maund, the

present rate of duty, should yield 8½ tens of millions of rupees. But if I turn to the latest revenue returns, I find that 7½ tens of millions of rupees roughly was the last year's salt revenue. This gives 6 annas a head, and it shows since the tax is one anna a seer, the fact that each person has 6 and not 7 seers of salt a year, as he ought to have at the least. *(Hear, hear)*. As a matter of fact in British territory, (they are better off in some of the native states,) the Government itself calculates the consumption at, not more than 10lbs. or a little less than 5 seers, per head. There is doubtless considerable smuggling on the one side, but on the other it must be mentioned that human consumption is not the sole, though the chief, use of salt, and that many of the people consume a far greater quantity than the minimum we have given. I know perfectly well that many of the people have not sufficient bread either, but the price of that is not artificially raised by Government.

3rd Day.

Res. V.
Reduction
of the Salt
Duty.

Let us look at the subject from a different view. In an article in the *Pioneer*, some months ago, by Mr. Robertson, it was stated that a Madras official, who had made a careful study of the question, had ascertained that the average monthly income of the agriculturists in the district of Karnal was 12 annas per head, say Rs. 4 for a family of five. Very rough calculations on my part give me similar results for the districts of Durbhangah and Mozufferpore. The *Gazetteer* published several years ago gives the expenditure of a well-to-do Tirhoot peasant, and therefore I presume the income, at about Rs. 11 per month. This was for a family of five. The poorer, it is said, have to reduce their expenditure to about half of this. Let us say Rs. 5 for a family of five. Now if these five ate 24 seers of salt in the year, in accordance with the official calculations already stated, they would do, this would be (leaving out any calculation for the increased price, which, as all economists know, considerably exceeds the amount of the tax itself), at 1 anna a seer Rs. 1-8, and so a family having Rs. 60 a year would have to pay Rs. 1-8 as their salt duty. This is a tax of nearer five than four pies a month and this too on incomes not over Rs. 500 a year, but of only Rs. 5 a month. If mine and the Madras civilian's figures be taken, the people of these districts would be paying over 6 pies in the rupee, and if they ate 7 instead of 6 seers, the tax would be nearly 7 pies in the rupee, and that on incomes of less than Rs. 50 a year. Think of these facts, ye Gentlemen, who have incomes over Rs. 500 a year and grumble at the payment of 4 pies in the rupee! Meditate over them those of you who possess an income of over Rs. 2,000 a year and whine at the payment of 5 pies in the rupee!

Now, Sir, only one word more about figures. If the tax were reduced to Rs. 2, salt would sell at about 13 seers instead of 10 seers as it now does. If the duty were reduced to one rupee, as Lord Mayo, Sir J. Strachey, and subsequently Sir Evelyn Baring desired, salt would sell for 20 seers for the rupee, and if salt were duty free, a blessed day, but I am afraid far away in the millennium, salt would sell at 40 seers for the rupee in those places even where it is now dearest, and in many provinces it would be far cheaper. Why the actual cost of producing one maund of salt at the Mayo mines, the Sambhur lake, the Kareghora works and the Madras coast works is under two annas! But, Gentlemen, Government, like other people, must live. We do not ask for the abolition of the whole tax. Mr. Caine is for doing away with the abkari revenue, others for reducing the income-tax. We say that already the financial situation is so improved—on this point, I believe, a speaker after me will dilate—that a part of the salt tax may be remitted, and by judicious economy and reduction of military expenditure and home charges the tax may be still further lowered.

When you get your Representative Councils, you may be sure that the Government will listen to you, when you propose to tax yourselves, if in no other matter. If then this burden is still too heavy for the millions of the land after all economy is made, the only way whereby you can alleviate its weight is by taking some of it on yourselves. Gentlemen, when some fifty years ago John Bright lay prostrate under one of the greatest afflictions that can befall mortal man, Cobden came to him and said: "Your grief is great, but remember that there are millions of widows and widows' sons who perish this day in England from lack of cheap bread." In this great land of India there are millions of men and women and children this day who have their lives shortened, their physique stunted, and with their physique, their moral and intellectual faculties blunted, by lack of cheap salt. *(Hear, hear)*. I address many of the great of this land. Will they use all their influence to make this precious necessary of life cheaper? Fellow Delegates, will you show that they accuse you falsely, who say your care is all for yourselves and that this movement is simply one for the substitution of Indian dark-skinned for European fair-skinned Brahmans, by saying: "If in no other way can this yoke be made less grievous, tax us, tax the rich but let the poor go! I appeal to you, one and all in this Hall, to show that Western education has brought with it an increase of sympathy and charity for your

3rd Day. poorer brethren, for the dumb millions of the land, without which sympathy and charity, all the knowledge of this earth is but as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal." (*Loud cheers*).

**Res. V.
Reduction
of the Salt
Duty.**

DINSHAW EDULJEE WACHA (*Bombay, No. 543, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW DELEGATES.—You have already heard Mr. Kennedy on the question of the consumption of salt and the oppressive incidence of the salt tax on the people. I will, however, make a few further observations on this part of the subject, before I dwell at some length on the financial condition of the country, which is the ground on which we propose to memorialise the Government of India to reduce the tax. The principal object of the Resolution before you is to urge upon the Government the justice of remitting the enhanced salt duty of 8 annas per maund which is no longer imperative on account of the material improvement which the finances of the Empire have undergone since the date of its imposition. It is needless for me to recall to your memory the pretext under which the enhancement was justified in the early part of 1888, despite the fact that well-informed critics in the press and responsible associations at the time conclusively showed that it was uncalled for.

Previous to the imposition of the augmented duty, the Government of India had absorbed in two years 8½ crores of rupees, *viz.*—

By Income Tax	...	...	...	...	Rs. 2,75,00,000
Improvements and Economies	...	...	...	...	" 2,00,00,000
Curtailment of Provincial Allotment	...	...	...	...	" 1,00,00,000
Appropriation of Famine and Railway Fund	...	...	...	...	" 3,00,00,000

This colossal amount of nearly 9 crores was wasted on the following questionable and hazardous enterprises:—

Upper Burma acquisition	...	...	...	...	Rs. 3,51,00,000
Penjdel Field Force	...	...	...	...	" 2,11,00,000
Transfrontier Defences and Railways	...	...	...	...	" 2,00,00,000
Additional Military Expenditure	...	...	...	...	" 98,00,000

But even after the absorption of such a vast amount there was a heavy deficiency which, the Government regretfully urged, necessitated a recourse to additional taxation in the shape of an enhanced duty of 8 annas per maund on such a necessary of life as salt. The deficiency was chiefly attributable, according to Lord Dufferin's statement, to the fall in the value of silver.

We need not, however, trouble ourselves much with the past. We are now here to remind the Government that our finances are in a condition to justify the remission of the enhanced duty. For that purpose let me put some statistics before you. I know that statistics are very dry, and that blue books of a dry-as-dust character are never looked at by the public; but considering the importance of the Resolution before you, I hope you will give your attention to the figures I am going to place before you.

Previous Finance Ministers, particularly Sir John Strachey and Sir Evelyn Baring, two of the ablest ministers since the days of the late Mr. Wilson and Mr. S. Laing, repeatedly declared that the lower the salt duty the better for the country and the better for the Imperial revenue, because a lower duty stimulates consumption and a higher one restricts it. Government itself has admitted the soundness of this doctrine, and I will now proceed to show by figures how a lower or higher duty affects consumption. In 1876-77, when various rates of duty were enforced in the different provinces of the Empire, the total recorded amount which paid the salt-tax was 25,847,830 maunds. In 1878, Sir John Strachey brought about an equalization of the duty everywhere by fixing the uniform rate of Rs. 2-8 per maund. It remained in force till 1882. During this period the annual quantity of salt which paid the duty of Rs. 2-8 per maund averaged 27,288,569 maunds. This annual average, compared with the consumption recorded in 1876-77, showed a growth of 5.5 per cent. In 1882, the government of Lord Ripon reduced the duty to Rs. 2 per maund, at which it remained till it was again raised to 2-8 by Lord Dufferin in 1888. The quantity which paid the reduced duty of Rs. 2 averaged during the five years 30,830,847 maunds per annum.

The increase during this quinquennial period, compared with the average of the previous four years, was 3,512,278 maunds, equal to a percentage of 13. Thus, while in the period when the duty was Rs. 2-8, the increase equalled 1.37 per cent per annum; in the period when it was Rs. 2 the growth equalled 2.6 per cent per annum. (*Cheers*). It is obvious that, had there been no enhancement, the progress in consumption up to date would have been maintained at that or even a higher rate. But just as this progress was perceptible all throughout the country, the financial embarrassments of the Government led, as they asserted, to the augmentation of the duty and with it to a restricted consumption. In his last financial statement Sir David Barbour has tried to show that the progress of consumption has

received no check. According to his own figures, however, as given in the 23rd paragraph of that statement, it is clear that consumption in 1890-91 is estimated at about 31,930,000 maunds, which is less, by 900,000 maunds, than the recorded figures of 1886-87.

**3rd Day.
Res. V.
Reduction
of the Salt
Duty.**

Sir David attempts to demonstrate that, in spite of the increased duty, consumption, which had evidently fallen, is again creeping to the old level. But Sir David forgets two important factors: Firstly, that population is increasing at the rate of one per cent per annum; and, secondly, that but for the enhancement, the percentage of progress observable till 1887 might have been better in 1890-91. Indeed, it is a question whether the consumption per head has not fallen below the average of 10lbs. per annum. That average is considered everywhere, but in India, to be quite inadequate, especially as we allow nothing in our computation for the consumption of cattle, hundreds of thousands of whom annually lose condition for want of salt and die off consequently on the smallest failure of pasturage, and thus cripple to a serious extent the means which mainly contribute to the production of our national wealth.

I will give you some figures of the consumption of salt in Europe and America, from which it will be easily perceived how much India falls short of what may be called an adequate consumption of salt. In the United Kingdom there is no duty, and the consumption is 80lbs. per head, but of course this includes much salt for manufacturing purposes. In France it is 50lbs.; in Germany 25; in Russia 19—Russia whose economic conditions are in some respects identical with those of India; in Austria 14, in Italy 18, in Spain and Portugal, poor as they are, 17lbs. The consumption in the United States is 39lbs. the average in Europe is 26lbs.

Then look at the incidence of the duty. The average income per head of the European population is £15 4s. 7½d. per head, while the salt duty per head averages 11d. Now, taking the rupee at 1s. 6d. the average income of the population in India is £2, while the salt duty per head averages 5d. and 1½ farthings. Therefore in Europe the salt duty is 0.3 per cent on the income, while in India it is over 1.1 per cent—or, in other words, the incidence of the salt tax is now nearly four times as heavy in India as in Europe. Formulated in other terms it means that India, with an income hardly more than 1/10th that of Europe, pays nearly half as much as a tax on a necessity of life like salt. Thus the duty operates as a real hardship on the poorest people; who constitute the large majority of our population. How great is the hardship may be realised by taking a concrete example. A family of five consumes on an average, say, 50lbs. of salt annually. But there are only two bread-winners, man and wife, the rest being young persons or children. Taking the average income of each earner at the official computation, *viz.*, Rs. 27 per head, and calculating the lowest retail bazar price at Rs. 3½ per maund, it will be found that there is a burden of nearly 4 per cent. on the combined income per annum merely for salt. Imagine an income-tax of 4 per cent. on a poor family of 5 and nearly one-sixth of this is due to the extra 8 annas. Thus the enhancement of the duty, however small, operates with great hardship on the masses.

Under these circumstances it is a matter of deep regret to us, all that the two native gentlemen, who were present at the meeting of the Viceregal Council when this enhancement Bill was passed, should have observed that the increased duty would not be felt by the people! I believe that statement was directly opposed to the, all but absolutely, universal opinion outside the Council Chamber. The statement was more to be regretted because it misled Lord Dufferin into observing later on in his speech that the Council were "glad to hear that the enhancement of the duty would not be considered a hardship." This is the way in which nominated members of the Viceregal Council fulfil their trust. It is evident that had there been elected representatives of the people, as proposed by us for the reformed Legislative Councils, no such opinion would have been allowed to prevail and mislead the Government. (*Cheers*). Eight annas may appear trifling to most of us; but they mean a great deal to the poorest. What they signify may be best stated in the substance of the words of Sir Evelyn Baring: "Eight annas to the poor ryot means the purchase of either 3 yards of cloth or a little *lota*."

Gentlemen, all through the history of the salt tax it has been said that it is a poll-tax, and that it falls heavily on the poor. My personal opinion is that it should have no place in our fiscal system, for it is a tax on a necessary of life, and is, moreover, at its present rate fully 25 times the actual cost of production. Eminent statesmen, from Sir John Lawrence to Lord Ripon, have disapproved of it. But it is now too late to abolish it altogether. It is of no use contending with existing facts. All that we should strive for is a low duty on the sound principle that it is conducive to greater consumption both for men and cattle.

3rd Day.
Res. V.
Reduction
of the Salt
Duty.

I now pass to the second part of the Resolution. I hold in my hand a copy of the explanatory memorandum by the Under Secretary of State for India, presented to Parliament in August last. At page 50 there is a table of *Net Revenue and Expenditure* for the three years ending 1889-90, and also budget estimates for the current official year. Comparing the complete accounts of 1887-88 with the estimates of this year what do we find? This only, that there is a satisfactory growth of revenue under all the principal heads. Leaving alone opium, salt and provincial rates I find that the increase under the other heads amounts to 143 lakhs of rupees as under:

	Accounts. 1887-88.	Budget Estimates. 1890-91.	Increase. 1890-91.
Land Revenue Rx.	19,653,000	20,119,000	466,000
Stamps "	3,669,000	3,846,000	177,000
Excess "	4,374,000	4,645,000	271,000
Customs "	1,182,000	1,378,000	196,000
Assessed Taxes "	1,383,000	1,514,000	131,000
Forest "	402,000	563,000	163,000
Registration "	123,000	150,000	27,000

Thus, apart from salt, which now yields a larger revenue on account of a higher duty, apart from opium which is precarious in its yield, and apart from provincial rates which are mere transfer receipts, there is a growth in four years of 143 lakhs. But beyond this improvement on the revenue side there is, gentlemen, a material saving in one item of Imperial expenditure. I refer to the interest charge on the ordinary debt. In 1887-88, the net charge under this head was Rs. 46,950,000. In the estimates of expenditure for 1890-91 it is put down at Rs. 35,060,000. The saving in four years amounts to 118 lakhs. While we note this improvement in our national expenditure with great satisfaction, we cannot but feel aglance when we discover that expenditure under other heads had risen by leaps and bounds by no less than 308 lakhs.

	Accounts. 1887-88.	Budget Estimate. 1890-91.	Increase.
Civil Department Rx.	11,410,000	12,075,000	665,000
Miscellaneous Charges "	3,155,000	3,702,000	547,000
Buildings and Roads "	4,850,000	5,128,000	278,000
Army Services "	19,357,000	20,522,000	1,165,000
Special Defence Works "	456,000	892,000	436,000

Thus in four years they have managed to run up Civil and Military charges, including defence works, by the enormous extent of 3 crores. The army-services alone have increased by a crore and sixteen lakhs! not to speak of defence works having been run up 100 per cent! It is these stupendous charges which eat up your growing revenue. It is the so-called defence policy, the safeguarding of our frontiers and transfrontiers from a bugbear of their own creation, created to find staff appointments, and employment to the already ruined European classes which is at the root of the financial embarrassments of the Government, and at the root of the starvation and misery which are eating away the lives of tens of millions of our pauper Indians. There are military and other critics who disapprove of that policy. Our late lamented friend Mr. Slagg characterised it two years ago, as you may remember, as a "mad" policy; when speaking on the subject in the House of Commons. I believe that it is a "mad" policy. I know that it is a wicked policy and as long as it is pursued headlong it will continue to embarrass the finances and add millions yearly to our already alarmingly heavy death roll. The embarrassments arising from the fall in the value of silver are in my opinion nothing—a mere fleabite compared with the financial difficulties in which the Government of India is plunged by this insane military policy. I repeat; that unless a great effort is made at future Congresses to force the Government to desist from these reckless and indefensible operations beyond the natural lines of Indian defence, there can be scarcely any hope of pecuniary relief to the taxpayer—scarcely any hope for the amelioration of the miserable condition of our starving millions. Since the Panjdeh scare they have spent, according to the official statements, full 13 crores on the so-called trans-frontier defences; but we have not yet seen the last of them, for in the last financial statement reference is made to a further probable expenditure of a crore!

I now come to the practical part of the resolution. Of course we have to submit resignedly to this ruinous, this unprincipled trans-frontier policy of the Government until we succeed in awakening the consciences of our British fellow-subjects. We are British subjects now of our own free choice; we have thrown in our lot with England for better and for worse, and it is this which enhances England's sin in permitting the continuance of this hateful policy. Will our British brethren never awake? Meanwhile more ammunition, more explosives, more fireworks and even more troops are being requisitioned. These costly pastimes, amusements to our rulers, death to our people, may deter the authorities from giving ear to our prayers and protests. But it is well, none the less, to remind them of their own declaration that the enhanced duty "must go" as soon as the finances permit.

3rd Day.
Res. V.
Reduction
of the Salt
Duty.

One of the principal grounds on which Lord Dufferin stated that he was obliged, "with the greatest reluctance," to increase the duty, was the loss by exchange. I quote from the speech he made about the beginning of 1888. "Unfortunately, it has become my lot on several occasions to add to the taxation of the country, but in justification of this hard necessity, it is sufficient for me to remark that since my arrival in India, owing to the depreciation in the price of silver, the annual accumulation of loss to the Government has progressively increased yearly by a million." He goes on to say: "The loss in 1884-85, when I first took up the reins of Government, stood at 3.40 crores; in 1885-86 at 4.40 crores; in 1886 at 5.40 crores, and in 1887-88 at 6.60 crores." The latest financial statement gives the loss on exchange at 7 crores. It was, however, promised by both Lord Dufferin and Mr. Westland that the duty should be remitted on the first opportunity that the finances were relieved of this embarrassment. That opportunity has now arrived. Since the publication of the last budget you are all aware that exchange has greatly improved, and the consequence, possibly, of the action taken in regard to silver in the United States. Though we had violent fluctuations in August and September last, exchange still stands to-day at about 1s. 6½d. The amount to be remitted this year to the Secretary of State is nearly 15 millions sterling. The rate of exchange was estimated in March last at 1s. 4½d. and the probable loss at that rate was computed to be 7 crores. But already 11 millions have been remitted at an average rate of 1s. 6½d., and there is no reason to doubt that the balance of the remittance will be made at or about the same rate. Sir John Gorst himself stated when presenting the budget in August last that the rate would probably be maintained at 1s. 6½d. So that it may be taken for granted that the loss by exchange will be very much less than the budget estimate of 7 crores. I compute it at only about 4.66 crores. Thus, apart from all other fluctuations of revenue and expenditure, there would be a saving under this head alone of nearly 2½ crores. Sir John Gorst counts on a surplus 1.87 crores. Taking his figures and the actual surplus of 2 crores of last year, it may be reasonably expected that there will be available a surplus of not less than 4 crores in all. And unless the authorities persevere in muddling it away on military mischief that surplus should suffice, not only for the remission of the enhanced duty, but for reduction of this latter to Rs. 1-8. (*Loud cheers*).

But I beg to bring to your notice two more facts which will convince you that even apart from these surpluses, the financial condition of the Imperial Treasury has so far improved as to justify our demand for a remission. The additional duty yields, it is asserted, 1½ crores (it is not really so much), and I say that that 1½ crores could be dispensed with easily for some years to come. According to Sir David Barbour's statement, there has been a permanent growth in the principal heads of revenue of ¾ of a crore per annum; exchange, again, is unlikely to go back to 1s. 4½d. for some time to come. Looking at current events and the further agitation on silver in America, it seems that a rate of 1s. 6½d. or even 1s. 6d. will be fairly maintained. But even if exchange could be maintained at 1s. 5½d. that would diminish the loss on the Secretary of State's bills in future to the extent of 1 crore roughly speaking, for an improvement of a penny in exchange gives a saving, according to official estimates, of just that amount. This saving, plus the permanent increase of ¾ of a crore in the principal sources of revenue, make up 1½ crores, so that the Government is in a position to safely give up the 1½ crore now supposed to be derived from the additional duty of 8 annas per maund; as a matter of fact the loss, owing to increased consumption, would, after the first year, be less than one crore. Both financial conditions and the justice of the case demand, imperatively, that a remission should be made. I think, Gentlemen, I have now shewn substantial reasons for the remission. And if you think I have made out a substantial case on which to base our representation to Government to remit the duty, I am sure that that representation will at any rate deserve an attentive and favorable consideration at the hands of the authorities. (*Loud and prolonged cheers*).

MR. G. K. GOKHALE (*Bombay, No. 560, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—I have been asked to support this proposition that has been ably proposed, seconded and explained by previous speakers. My predecessors have dealt with certain aspects of the question, and I will with your permission deal with one or two others. I say that the measures for the enhancement of the duty on salt in January 1888 by a mere executive order of the Government of India was a cruel departure—I might almost say a criminal departure—from the wise policy long since laid down by the Government of India and re-affirmed, strange as it may seem, when Lord Lytton was our Viceroy and Sir John Strachey our Finance Minister, namely the policy of raising a revenue from salt by a low rate of duty and unrestricted consumption instead of by a high rate of duty and restricted consumption. I say that this new departure was extremely unjust, that as a measure of statesmanship it was extremely impolitic, and that its consequences have been simply disastrous. I know these are serious charges, but I think I can substantiate them. First, with regard to the charge of injustice. When Lord

3rd Day.

Res. V.
Reduction
of the Salt
Duty.

Dufferin's government passed the Income Tax Act of 1886 his Lordship said that the measure was not brought forward in any spirit of apology, that the masses of the country were already contributing more than their proper share to the expenses of the country, and that the income-tax would only equalize the burdens on the various classes. Well, the burdens being thus equalised in 1886, I ask on what principle of justice and equity was it that when two years afterwards a new emergency, as Government were pleased to call it, arose for additional taxation, it was the poor masses who were selected? How was it that when it was found necessary to create a fresh inequality in the taxation of the country matters were so arranged that the inequality was again prejudicial to the toiling masses? I do not know whether it was because the masses were almost certain to suffer silently without protest—I would even say without complaint—whereas their wealthier brethren were as certain to denounce any taxation on them in the public press and at St. Andrew's dinner speeches. So much with regard to the injustice of the measure: now with regard to its impolicy. We have on our side an authority not only infinitely greater than myself but one to which the Government of India owe a bow—I mean the authority of the Secretary of State for India, Lord Cross himself. Three months after the measure of enhancement his Lordship wrote a Despatch to the Government on the subject. It was dated April 12th, 1888, and in it he expresses his great regret at the enhancement of the salt duty, and directed the Government of India in very distinct, unequivocal, and I would say peremptory terms to take off the additional eight annas on the first opportunity afforded by the finances. He then went on to say that even from the point of view of expediency the enhancement was extremely undesirable, because in the case of so vast an empire as India it was absolutely essential for the Government always to hold in hand some financial reserve which they might utilize on occasions of any sudden and dangerous crisis. So much with regard to impolicy: now, with regard to consequences, I am going to show that consumption has actually been restricted by this measure. In 1888 Mr. Westland, our Finance Minister, said that the enhancement would not affect the consumption of the country. The figures supplied by Sir David Barbour himself belied that prediction. The last year unaffected was 1886-87, and then the consumption stood at 3 crores and 10 lakhs of maunds. The next year, 1887-88, the first year affected by the measure, there was a fall of 6 lakhs of maunds, the figures being 3 crores 4 lakhs. The next year there was a further fall of 6 lakhs, the figures being 2 crores 98 lakhs. It is true that the figures have now gone up to those of 1886-87, but that does not show that the restrictive operation of that enhancement has ceased, because we have to take into consideration the important factor of the increase in the consumption of salt owing to the normal growth of the population. That normal growth is one per cent per annum, and taking the consumption at 10 lbs. per head, you find that every year there ought to be an increase of fully 3 lakhs of maunds in the consumption of salt.

Taking this into account you will see that in the first year affected by the enhancement there was a fall of 9 lakhs, in the second of 18, and in the third of 9. Altogether in the last three years 36 lakhs of maunds less have been consumed by the people than they would have consumed if there had not been the enhancement. (Cheers.) Sir John Gorst speaking the other day in the House of Commons, said that the diminution in the consumption of salt was not appreciable—that was the term he used. I do not know what dictionaries would justify the use of the term, but Sir John Gorst is welcome to use the word in this connection. But I ask him, and those who think with him, who are the persons affected by this diminishing consumption? I dare say there is not a single person present, not a single member of those who are called the middle and upper classes, who have consumed, during the last three years, one grain of salt less than he would have done if there had been no enhancement. Who are the persons affected? They are those who have been estimated by Sir William Hunter at 40 millions, and by Sir Charles Elliott at 70 millions, who always exist on the borderland of famine, so that, directly there is the least failure, down the precipice they go. The persons affected by this enhancement are they to whom the lines of the Corn Law poet might aptly be applied:—

“Landless, joyless, helpless, hopeless,
Gasping still for bread and breath
To their graves by trouble hunted
India's helots toil till death.” (Loud cheers.)

When you call to mind the thin emaciated figures of these unhappy, miserable, brethren, who have as much right to the comforts of this, God's, earth as you or I or any one else; when you remember that the lives of these brethren are so uniformly dark and miserable, that they are hardly cheered by a single ray of hope, or relieved by a single day of rest; when, further, you remember that a person does not generally trench upon his stock of necessities before he has parted with every luxury, every single comfort that he may allow himself; when you recall all these things, you will clearly understand what grievous and terrible hardship and suffering and privation, this measure of enhancement which has curtailed the poor

man's consumption of salt by thirty-six lakhs of maunds has really entailed. (Cheers.) We are appealing in the present instance to the Government of India to reduce the duty on salt from two rupees eight annas to two rupees per maund. My friend Mr. Watcha has shown that the state of the finances permits of such reduction. We are appealing to the sense of justice of the Government of India. We are appealing to their statesmanship, to their righteousness, and I will even go further and say to their mercy. The past is in the past and no one can recall it; but this much can surely be done—further evil and misery from this source can be averted. It is with this hope that I support this proposition, and in this hope I ask you to carry it with acclamation. (Cheers.)

MR. JAMIETRAM NANABHAI HARIDAS (Bombay, No. 545, in list)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I most cordially support this proposition. My support, however, is really superfluous after the able speeches we have heard. It was previously adopted by the Congress; what we now do is to confirm, ratify and reiterate it with emphasis. Its very importance obliges us,—may it be our sacred duty—to protest strongly against the continuation of an enhancement, which tells so much upon the fifty millions of paupers over which India now mourns. Let “united, strenuous and continuous efforts, combined with willing and resolute determination, till success is achieved,” be our motto. We are under a greater obligation to try again and again till we are heard, for we do so on behalf of the poor dumb masses. Need I remind you of their extreme poverty? Need I prove it before you—you of the Congress who are of the people, and who mix among them so frequently—you who every day personally witness it? Need I labour to establish the very apparent proposition that salt is one of the necessities of life? Need I tell you that the price of salt has been artificially raised by the action of Government to many times, 30, even 40 times, the actual cost of production? So we have these facts before us: salt is necessary for life, salt is very dear, and the people are extremely poor. This is hard, very hard, and exceedingly cruel. Good men exult over the successes achieved in the prevention of cruelty to animals; but I fail to see why we should not have a society systematically working to prevent cruelty to higher animals, viz. human beings! Cruel, indeed, is the working of the salt-tax laws. The proposition before us goes not far enough. For not only is this taxation itself radically bad and wrong—a tyranny of the rich over the poor which, instead of being reduced by only eight annas as we are asking, should be reduced, except in times of war and sudden financial crisis, by two rupees, or at any rate by Re. 1-8, but the law imposing the taxation is so framed as to involve almost a maximum of annoyance to the people. Every one knows this, but day by day the law reveals new grounds for detesting the whole system. One very harsh provision was only recently brought to light in two cases, both of a similar character. You will find from these, that if accidentally you happen to pour water over your salt, and so dissolve it, you will be guilty of an offence as soon as you apply heat to recover the salt. Thus has been created an artificial and technical offence out of an act which is both religiously and morally innocent. I am afraid that if the next rainy season turns your salt into water, you must throw it away. You cannot, without committing a crime, recover it by applying heat, artificial or natural. How long is the country to endure this systematised oppression? Well, every little helps and I cordially support this present resolution as going, at any rate, a single step along the right road. (Loud cheers.)

MR. A. NANDY (Central Provinces, No. 607, in list)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I also with great pleasure to support this resolution, and to add my testimony to the great pressure of this salt taxation on the masses of India. Previous speakers have adequately referred to the special reasons which led to the increase of the duty on salt; they have graphically described the evils attending on this iniquitous impost; and they have further established, beyond a shadow of doubt, that the time has now arrived when this heavy duty on salt should be reduced. I have no desire to dilate further on these points; but I wish to bring home to your minds, Gentlemen, that the Central Provinces, from which I have the honour of being sent as a delegate, has a special interest in this question. It has been shown that it is a matter of grave necessity that this duty on salt should be reduced all over India; but I say, Sir, that it is not only a matter of necessity, but of great urgency that this reduction should be carried out in the Central Provinces, and that this should be done promptly and without delay.

You are all aware, Gentlemen, that the temporary settlement prevails in the Central Provinces. I am not going to speak on the advantages of a permanent settlement, for I should thereby be encroaching on the duties of the speakers on the resolution which follows this; but I wish merely to point out that, owing to the new settlement, which is now in progress, a state of things is being brought about, which demands that relief of some kind, at least, should be given to the impoverished masses of the Central Provinces, and that this relief can, to some extent, be obtained by a partial reduction of the salt-tax. As most of you are aware, the periodical settlement took place in 1864-65, and it shortly expires. For the last three years, survey and settlement officers are traversing the country, and what has been the result?

3rd Day.

Res. V.
Reduction
of the Salt
Duty.

3rd Day.
Res. V.
Reduction
of the Salt
Duty.

The Government revenue has been increased as regards some villages 40 per cent., 50 per cent., and even 100 per cent. This, Gentlemen, let me assure you, I say on the highest authority possible. Now, who is to pay this increased revenue? I shall show you that eventually it is the poor ryot who will have to pay it. I ought here to remind you that besides the Government revenue, the malguzar, that is the owner of the village, has to meet a variety of other demands. He has to pay the education cess; he has to pay the putwari-cess; he has to pay for the maintenance of the hospitals; and, lastly, he has to pay the road-cess. The Imperial Government requires him to pay these cesses; but there are other local demands which he has to satisfy. The District Officer proceeds on tour, the unfortunate malguzar has not only to see that the road is carefully prepared for his progress; but he has to meet the hundred and one demands of his camp-followers, whose requirements it is not easy to satisfy. So great does this evil become sometimes that the malguzar dreads nothing more than the dubious honour of a District Officer passing through his village.

Having met these Government and other demands, what is the financial position of the Malguzar? I have been assured not by one, but by a number of these malguzars, that after paying up these demands, they find that sometimes there is hardly any surplus left for themselves—and they too must live—and if any, a very small one indeed. And now the Government steps in and increases the revenue by 40, 50 and 100 per cent.

When this last settlement took place it was declared that the revenue then assessed would not be increased for at least a period of 30 years; but what did the Government do? It did not directly increase the revenue; it dared not be guilty of such a shameless and open breach of faith, but by means of incidental charges and cesses it has indirectly increased the charge by 25 per cent. Besides these there are a number of other indirect demands which the malguzars have to meet; there is the imperial road-cess of which I have spoken, but besides this there is another road cess, the District Officers' road-cess. When a District Officer goes on a tour through the country, or goes on a *shikar* (or shooting) expedition, they have to prepare the road for him and have to provide the incidental expenses which the followers of the camp are put to. There are also other demands. Last year I asked one of the malguzars for a subscription to the National Congress Fund; but he said it was a very inconvenient time, for shortly before he had been giving a sum of money for a memorial to one of the officials. I asked the official's name, and he said—let us say—"John Smith." I asked "Of what service?" and he mentioned "the service." "Why did you give it?" I asked. "Well," he said, "I never had the pleasure of meeting the officer, but I gave the money at the instance of the tahsildar, who had been asked by the officials to get contributions towards the memorial." Now I put it to you, was that a voluntary contribution, or was it not a species of tax? This then being the case with the malguzars, the question arises, are they in a position to meet any extra revenue which the Government imposes? Many of them have proved to me that after all these demands are paid there is scarcely any surplus left to them; if there is any it is very small. To what then will the malguzars be reduced? To either one of two alternatives: either to quit their villages or to increase the rent of their tenants. It is impossible to expect them to quit, and the necessary consequence is that the poor will have their rents raised. And who are these? Not the well-to-do ryots, but those who have small holdings and live from hand to mouth—these will have to pay the enhanced revenue, and will have starvation facing them. I therefore put it to you whether the position of the Central Provinces does not demand that this resolution should be carried and that some response should be made to it by the Government. The Government has the right, as the law stands, to arrange periodically the revenue imposed on each village, and they are not likely to give up exercising that right so long as a permanent settlement is not conceded. So long as they exercise that right, the landholder already pressed for means will accept no share of the new burthen. The well-to-do cultivators, with occupancy rights and means to defend these rights in the Courts, will allow no portion of it to be laid upon their shoulders, and all enhancements will have to come from those who have only small holdings, who have no fixed tenures and no means, from the very poor in fact, the members of that army of martyrs, our starving fifty millions, on whom it is that this heavy salt tax presses heaviest—one small relief for these this resolution advocates, and I therefore most cordially support it, small and insignificant, comparatively speaking, as that relief is. (*Prolonged cheers*).

LALA MURLIDHUR (*Panjab, No. 531, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—In bygone days our time was divided into three great divisions—youth, manhood, old age,—each spread over more than a score of years. But now the angel of death has prescribed a period of five minutes for a speaker to exist in this Tribune. (*Laughter*.) Having wasted

3rd Day.

Res. V.
Reduction
of the Salt
Duty.

so many years of my life, I will not waste these precious minutes which have been allotted to me, and therefore I will at once proceed to make my last will and testament. Mr. Watcha has said that this is a dry subject. I do not see why people should dislike a dry subject. They do not dislike a dry dress, a dry room, dry weather, or dry salt; but they do not like a dry subject. (*Laughter*). It is strange indeed. Now I take it that it is the duty of every man who eats the salt of another to prove true to the salt, to be faithful to him. And Government being in the position of a public servant, it is the duty of the public servant to be true to the public. But has it been faithful to the public? I submit it has not. I have to deal with the subject of salt. What does the salt duty mean? Do those who adorn the benches of the Legislative Councils stand in need of salt? Of course they do; they like it very much. But then they say, "It is not liked by the poorer classes; it is a necessity for us, but not for them." Is that just or reasonable? If there are any people whose only luxury in life is salt, and who are denied the blessings which God has conferred upon others, they are the famine-stricken people who live in huts. The rich people, it is said, require salt, but the poor do not. Of course they do not. They live on sufferance; life is a long misery to them; and it would have been better had they not been born in this miserable world than be denied this, their sole luxury, which is a necessity to other people. Shame, gentlemen, why does this state of things prevail! Because you have not proper representatives of these poor classes who stand in need of salt on the Legislative Council. It is only Sir Syed Ahmed who is a fit representative of these poor classes. I ask, is he a proper person to understand their needs? If you deny salt to these poor people, you may as well deny them air to breathe, light to see, and water to drink. What does the salt duty mean? It is a tax on hunger and on thirst; it is a tax on one's life. It is a wrong which presses hard on these people. Place yourselves in the position of these poor men; go to their homes and see for yourselves what sort of life they lead; and then say if you will deny them the last thing which makes the scanty insipid scraps of food, which is all they can ever compass, at all palatable to these wretched creatures. (*Cheers*.) For God's sake, I say, do not deny them this one luxury which they stand much in need of. Do any of us approve this cruel grinding of our pauper brethren? Do I, do any of us? No, I at any rate will that henceforth there should be some mitigation of their sufferings in this respect at least, and this being my last will and testament, I would ask, as it is nuncupative, some gentlemen here, either the reporters for the press or some registrar or magistrate in this august assembly, to go and register, after my death, this last will and testament of mine in the Government Office; and as the time of my dissolution is fast approaching, I make this last appeal to the Government to reduce the tax and make the poor people a little less miserable. (*Cheers*).

MR. DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARI (*Calcutta, No. 57, in list*)—I have listened, Sir, with great care and attention to the interesting and able speeches in support of this resolution, but you will excuse me if I confess that I am by no means persuaded that the resolution as it now stands is fit for your adoption. Facts and figures, no doubt, have been quoted which tend to a conclusion with which no one would quarrel; but we must not forget that that conclusion being conceded, the other things which we demand do not necessarily follow. I know it is a difficult task for one like myself to address so large and mixed a gathering in opposition to the prevailing sense of the meeting. But I feel it my duty to speak; and permit me to remind you that in a deliberative assembly like this one is apt to be led, unconsciously, no doubt, into the adoption of views and opinions which are not likely to commend themselves to their better judgment.

(A voice: "Move your amendment.") I will bring it in at the proper time. ("Read it.") I will read it presently.

THE PRESIDENT: If it is the wish of the meeting that the amendment should be read, I think it should be read.

MR. SARVADHIKARI: I will obey the Chair and read it. You will see that it does not materially alter the resolution, but to a certain extent it goes counter to it. It is to the following effect:—

"That the condition of the finances of India having improved, and those special circumstances, on which the Government relied to justify the recent enhancement of the salt-tax, having partially ceased to exist, this Congress considers that the provisions of the Salt Act, regarding the preparation and consumption of salt for the preservation of cattle and industrial purposes, should be modified according to special circumstances prevailing in different localities, and empowers its President to submit a special memorial on the subject in its name and on its behalf to His Excellency the Viceroy."

3rd Day.

Res. V.
Reduction
of the Salt
Duty.

You will observe that I only suggest such an alteration as would be consistent with the former part of the programme that you have already adopted. It behoves you to give special care and consideration before you commit yourselves to the adoption of the original resolution. I am aware that it has received the sanction of a previous Congress; but that to my mind does not go for much. A lawyer by profession, and perhaps by instinct and tradition, I should be inclined to attach due importance to case law; but I ask you on a question of national importance not to be solely guided by precedents that are by no means sound. I take the liberty of pointing out to you that the resolution as it stands is not fit for your adoption (*cries of "it is, it is"*): first, because it is based upon an insufficient conception of facts, and, secondly, because it involves the acceptance of principles which are unsound at bottom notwithstanding their specious appearance. The resolution alludes to the great improvements which have taken place in the finances of India. We have had a formidable array of facts and figures, which, however, appear to be an illusory dream, having nothing more than a paper existence. Upon the supposition of this surplus numerous demands have been made upon the Government which the Government has not been able to accede to, partly because of its notorious disinclination to reduce any existing burden the renewal of which would be objected to in time of need, but especially because it has never had any tangible and real surplus with which honestly to meet those demands. Taking, however, the surplus to be real, and not supposititious, what should be the first demand for relief? Surely not this indirect burden which they, perhaps, do not perceive in the long run, which, though objectionable in principle, is lightly felt because of its pretty even distribution and pretty equitable incidence. I think your first demand should be with regard to those obnoxious imposts of an inquisitorial character ("*no, no*"), "those little premia for safety and security," in the felicitous language of Lord Dufferin in announcing to the tax-paying world at Agra the resuscitation of a monster whom we had taken to be dead for good, under the fostering care of Lord Northbrook. You have been crying "*no, no*," and I perfectly sympathize with you; but, in carrying out the omnibus resolution, you ought to have remembered that you are giving effect to a demand for a partial abolition at any rate of the income-tax. You are responsible members of a national assembly which, though not "endowed with power," should so act and deliberate as to make the rulers of our destinies think that we are well fitted for the exercise of any powers that may be conceded to us. Having adopted one part of the programme, it remains for you to be consistent. I am sorry that I have had to diverge. I will now come to the point. You have been crying out against the income-tax with commendable loudness and constancy (*A voice: "No, never; only against its low incidence; loud cheers"*) although with not much appreciable result so far. In the course of your present deliberations, as I have pointed out, you have accepted this principle of indirect taxation. You did the same thing in former years by asking for the reimposition of those import duties, which were abandoned in a fashion which it would not be prudent to characterize in the presence of the honorable member for Manchester. Well, your representatives in the press and on the platform have repeatedly emphasized that principle, and some of you are clearly of opinion (*no, no*) that the octroi should replace all other forms of municipal taxation, though thereby the food and clothes of the meanest and poorest citizens should be taxed. Those of you who are acquainted with the working of the octroi in the North-Western Provinces and elsewhere will know that the burden is not very heavily felt, and yet the municipal finances flourish ("*Question, to the point*"). Evils, no doubt, there are concomitant with a system like that, but they are evils of detail which it is for the executive to rectify. I do not deny that evils exist in connection with the salt-tax also, but they are evils to be rectified. Those who are acquainted with the hardships felt by seaside people who have been so long accustomed to make their own salt, which they are now precluded from doing, will no doubt sympathize with the resolution at the first glance; and I myself sympathize with it. All I ask you is to consider whether you will allow your sympathies to go counter to reason and common sense. Sentiment has, no doubt, its place in the counsels of the Empire; but sentiment alone cannot shape a nation's laws. They should be founded upon the sure basis of facts; and if some details are oppressive let them be remedied.

Ask the Government to allow people to make their own salt for the preservation of cattle and for industrial purposes. Let there be an amendment of the local and imperial laws in that behalf. Bombay or Madras cases of hardship and severity alone cannot control legislation. There are no doubt extreme cases, and I should have been glad if this resolution had been pertinently addressed to the rectification of those evils. If you wish to hear the last of these complaints you will have to abolish the tax altogether, and that you cannot do. I am no apologist for taxation; no one is. But the millennium is not so near at hand; you have to grapple with the situation as you find it, and under existing circumstances neither the total abolition nor the material reduction of the salt tax would be possible. Therefore you ought to accept it with the best grace. I know that my amendment will be lost, but I feel it my duty to move it. Some of you go so far as to ask for the total abolition of this tax (*no, no*); you

59

ask very properly that a portion of the excise duties should be abandoned; you ask for a large expenditure on education; you ask for a separation of the judicial and executive functions; and you ask for other improvements for which there must be money. Government must have money, and it is one of the duties of loyal citizens to find money, and, if that is so, we must find it in the least objectionable way. It is for you to consider whether indirect taxation is not what will suit the country best (*no, no*). I appeal to you not to be led away by hasty impulses and first impressions. You should look coolly at the matter and decide as responsible members of a responsible assembly to which powers may come in due time. I am sorry to go counter to the prevailing sense of the meeting, but I ask you to give the matter your careful deliberation. Bombay has conferred great obligations upon us; no abler man than Dadabhai Naorojee could be found; but I appeal to them not to mar the generosity shown to us by forcing upon us propositions which are at war with reason and common sense, and, above all, with the spirit of moderation. (*No, no, bosh!*)

MR. R. D. MEHTA (*Calcutta, No. 670, in list*), who was received with cheers, said: MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN.—Let me first of all thank you for your plaudits, and, secondly, let me beg the favour of your not hurling me down from this exalted pulpit by your cries of "*no, no*." I am sure, addressing as I am practical and sensible men who have come from such great distances to deliberate on the wants of the country, that I shall be able to carry my point and convince you. We have had the good fortune of listening to facts and figures cited by my esteemed fellow-countryman Mr. Watcha, who has no doubt made a great study of them; but are you wiser than you were when you entered this pavilion? (*yes, yes*). There may be a few exceptional cases, but I say *no* (*and we say yes, yes*). Suppose the eight annas reduction is brought into effect, what would be the saving per head? That is a point to be carefully considered. Shall we put forward a resolution like this which will meet with nothing but a rebuff from the Government of India? (*Shame!*). If Mr. Watcha had told us what would be the saving per head, I would not have come before you. (*He has—sit down.*) The able seconder of the motion has brought forward for your sympathy the question of the preservation of our cattle. Are we not all agreed that the preservation of cattle should be the chief care of every civilized man? It is on behalf of those dumb creatures that my friend has moved his amendment (*no*). I think you have not quite understood the terms of it. Neither the mover nor myself desires to go against the resolution, but we propose something in the nature of an addition which we think cannot but carry great weight with the Government. When you say "reduce the duty by eight annas per maund," do you know the amount you ask? (*Yes, a million sterling*). And do you offer anything to compensate it? (*No, because Government can now afford it.*) You do not know anything of the kind. Let us be moderate in our demands. Let the Government understand what we are craving for—the preservation of our cattle—in that we are all unanimous. The amendment is not contrary to the resolution (*it is, it is*); and if you will permit the insertion of the words proposed in the amendment, it will meet our wishes and the wishes of the general mass of the people whose representatives we are (*no, no*). What is the alteration we propose? The resolution says: "The condition of the finances of India having materially improved." We propose to expunge the word "materially," and we also propose to say "those special circumstances, &c., having partially ceased to exist," not practically ceased to exist. Then the amendment proceeds: "This Congress considers that the provisions of the Salt Act regarding the preparation and consumption of salt for the preservation of cattle and industries should be modified according to special circumstances prevailing in different localities, and empowers its President to submit a memorial on the subject in its name and on its behalf to H. E. the Viceroy in Council." Wherein lies the substantial difference between the original resolution and the amendment? What we all want is to see that one great point is gained—the preservation of our cattle, on which the proposer and seconder of the resolution have laid so much stress. (*"First preserve the people."*)

MR. MOHINI MOHUN CHATTERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 24, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES.—In coming here this morning I thought I should not have to speak, because a multiplicity of words is not necessary to recommend what I may call the people's resolution to the people's Congress. (*Cheers*.) In one way I am glad that this amendment is before you, for it allows us an opportunity of considering our position, though I believe that there has never been at any time any misconception about it. Mr. Mehta asks what is the substantial difference between the original proposition and this so-called amendment. (*Cheers*.) They are utterly different and distinct. (*Cheers*.) We say that the salt-tax generally should be reduced, so that all our pauper millions who chiefly feel the tax, throughout the Empire, should be relieved *pro tanto*. He says make special rules for special localities, so that some small isolated communities may be benefited.

Our proposition is simple and practical—his absolutely impracticable. (*Cheers*.) Of course he has not studied the question. Of course he does not know that differential rates of duty involving cordons to keep the cheaper salt out of localities where it is not intended to be used are

3rd Day.

Res. V.
Reduction
of the Salt
Duty.

3rd Day. absolutely indefensible; that from Lord Mayo's time the whole aim of every reformer has been to get rid of these cordons by having one uniform invariable rate of duty throughout Hindustan; that this by infinite pains has been accomplished; and that his resolution proposes to resuscitate all the evils inseparable from differential rates. Our resolution asks for a practical reform,—his for an impracticable retrograde movement: that is the substantial difference! (*Loud cheers.*)

Res. V.
Reduction
of the Salt
Duty.

As far as I can understand its scope the amendment proposed, with the exception of the verbal alteration suggested, comes to this: Let rules be made enabling particular communities or men in particular localities—I don't think it can mean the country generally or there would be an end of salt taxation—to make their own salt, never mind how unwholesome it may be. Rules it seems are to be made with reference to local peculiarities, which, to my mind, only means, let those who are living on the sea coast make their own salt; and how is this salt to be prevented from going inland? But if these rules are to be general, then every man living anywhere where there is even salt earth may make his own salt, cheap and nasty; and we do not want that; and, moreover, nothing short of millions of preventive officials can prevent this cheap and nasty salt, once made, from circulating over the entire country; and we don't want a new army of licensed blackmailers; and without this army the cheap salt will circulate and salt taxation come to an end; and we don't want that even, as yet; we can't afford it, though we can afford to reduce the rate by eight annas, and thus no doubt sacrifice about one million sterling of revenue which Mr. Wacha has shown that we can well spare if there be no new frontier extravagances. (*Loud cheers.*)

The salt-tax is objectionable because it is a tax on life. It is not an income-tax, but a tax on life itself. (*Cheers.*) As to the remedy proposed by the amendment, it is worse even than the malady. (*Hear, hear.*) Independent of the army of blackmailers, the salt thus made will be bad salt, full of sulphates and nitrates, not only of sodium, but also of lime and magnesium. It is really better that the people should have no salt than have salt which will introduce disease into the system.

There is one other point in connection with the amendment to which I wish to make reference. If it were practically carried into effect in the manner in which I believe it to be intended; the result will be great inequality in the taxation levied upon salt in different parts of the country. If we could exempt classes and so arrange that the poor should get their salt free, there would be something in it. But that is impossible; even with differential rates they can only be applied to localities; all in which, rich or poor, must enjoy the cheaper salt—to me an absurd proposition. I do not know what you think, but certainly I should think that this would be a great evil. Why should one locality pay Re. 1 and another Rs. 3 duty per maund on its salt? This was the old vicious exploded system. Are we to go back to this? We do not want that some parts should have a plentiful and cheap supply, while in others salt should be scarcer and dearer even than at present. What we want is wholesome salt, cheap, and plenty of it; and that, as I have tried to show, the amendment does not provide for.

The argument advanced in support of it is: if you do away with the salt-tax where are you to get the money to keep the Government going? The answer is, firstly, that by the arrangements hinted at by the very vague amendment, an even greater amount of revenue would be sacrificed; either by the free circulation of the home-made salt, or by the prodigious establishments needed to prevent this, than by the reform that we have suggested; secondly, that this latter involves at most a reduction of one million in the revenue, and this our finances can now bear. The proposer of the amendment did not omit to mention the remission of import duties. If the question suggested were ever addressed to us; if it were said, "We having remitted the import duties, where will you now find the money to pay our way if you reduce the salt-tax?" I only should reply in the language of the proverb: "Having put your finger into my eye, do you ask me why I shed tears?" (*Loud cheers.*) But the fact is our resolution cannot call for any such question. We are now paying our way—far more than paying our way; there will be a surplus if the finances are honestly administered, and we ask that a portion of this should be assigned for this reduction.

Then, again, I am surprised that neither the mover nor the seconder of the amendment has taken the slightest notice of the fact brought before you very clearly by the able seconder of the resolution that a low tax on salt always increases consumption. So, therefore, though the loss might be a million sterling in the first year, there is every reason to believe that increased consumption and increased population would soon make up even this large amount, thus balancing both sides, and that is another strong argument for the reduction.

In the next place, I think the proposer of the amendment was hardly correct when he characterized the improvement in the finances of the country as somewhat illusory and supposititious. Our Finance Minister, I believe, has himself declared that there has been a perma-

nent improvement in the finances of the country; that he expects out of the general revenue there will be a surplus of three-quarters of a million, not this year alone, but from year to year. As the able seconder of the resolution has shown, upon exchange there will be a saving of another three-quarters of a million on the least sanguine estimate, altogether one and a half millions; and if the tax were reduced by eight annas the loss would only be about a million. So that if there is no compensation by increased consumption, at all events the surplus will be able to meet the loss. Now, the question we have to consider is whether or not, under the present circumstances of the country, this—to the very poor—bitterly oppressive tax is not on the whole the most important to be dealt with, and whether it should not be brought at once within more moderate proportions. We can imagine upon the occasion of some great festivity at Government House a poor widow coming with her helpless orphans and saying: "By reducing this tax on salt you will give me and my orphan children at least six extra meals in a year." In order to appreciate the full significance of that, let me remind you of the fact that more than one-fifth of the population of this great country gets from year's end to year's end scarcely one full meal a day. Six annas saved to every family means six additional meals during the year; and I say, considering the expensive scale upon which the Government of this country is conducted, we ought to put aside all other considerations, and we ought first to try and find those six additional meals a year for the poverty-stricken, disease-stricken, helpless poor of this country. (*Cheers.*)

When gentlemen occupying high positions, coddled in the lap of luxury, say, "Oh, the poor won't feel it," there is something so chilling, so discouraging, so sickening in this cynicism that the power of adjectives is quite unable to properly characterize such base and selfish utterances. Well might the poor of the country say:—

"Nay, take my life and all
"You take my life when you thus take the means,
"Whereby I live!" (*Cheers.*)

MR. JAMBULINGAM MUDALIAR (*Madras, No. 645, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—When I saw my name in the list, almost at the end, I thought I should have very little to say, and that I might depart from this pulpit simply remarking that I supported the proposition, and as I listened to the force and completeness with which the able mover and seconder of the resolution put the facts and figures of the case, I felt that it would be superfluous and almost impertinent to try to add anything to what they have said.

Now, however, if I occupy the five minutes allowed me, it is because of the amendment that has just been moved and seconded. I will, however, confine myself to one point. The mover of the amendment argued that the salt-tax, being an indirect tax, and even and equitable in its distribution, is an excellent one. Now I cannot understand how he makes out the even and equitable distribution. If he simply means that it peculiarly affects all people, poor and rich, to an equal extent that may be so; but if he also means that the incidence, the real quantum of taxation, is equal as between the poor and the rich, then I differ from him. As far as the human consumption of salt is concerned, the poor man does not eat much less than the rich man; but the necessities of the agriculturist, the necessities of the ryot, require that they should purchase an infinitely larger quantity of salt for their own and their cattle's use than is required by the rich man. I believe it may be taken at ten or twenty times as much. If you consider that aspect of the case, you will see at once that, independent of the difference in size of the funds from which it is disbursed, the tax, actually, and not merely relatively, falls much more heavily on the poor man than upon the rich man. (*Cheers.*) What then becomes of the statement that the salt-tax, being indirect, and evenly and equitably distributed, is a good tax?

With regard to the income-tax, the mover of the amendment has been under an erroneous misapprehension as to the scope of our prayer. He appeared to think that we asked for the abolition of the tax. Certainly not. If we have a prayer with reference to the income-tax, its scope is the same as that with reference to the salt-tax. We want to reduce the salt-tax to help the masses, not to benefit ourselves. We want the taxable minimum to be raised to Rs. 1,000, and that not to help ourselves, pleaders, medical men, merchants, and men of that kind, but to help the masses. Then we are assured that if we went for a reduction of the salt-tax we should meet with a rebuff from the Government. That point has been referred to by Mr. Wacha, who has distinctly shown us that the enhancement of the salt-tax was greatly against the inclination of the Government, and that the Secretary of State sent his mandate that a reduction should be effected at the earliest opportunity that presented itself. I do not, therefore, understand why we should get a rebuff from the Government if we ask a reduction to the former limit. If we should get a rebuff, then all I can say is more shame to the Government. (*Loud cheers.*) We, at any rate, shall have no cause for shame.

3rd Day.
Res. V.
Reduction
of the Salt
Duty.

3rd Day.

Res. V.
Reduction
of the Salt
Duty.

As to the amendment itself. I ask you to consider whether, consistently with the monopoly of salt by the Government, it is possible to frame acts or rules in the manner proposed. Is it possible to separate the salt required for agricultural purposes from that required for home consumption, and yet to maintain the monopoly? I submit it is utterly unworkable. I am informed that a system of the same kind was tried at Madras, and, being found to be a thorough failure, was given up. Indeed, common sense is enough to show that it must be a failure, and that it is not possible to maintain the monopoly consistently with giving indulgences for other purposes. I trust, therefore, that the amendment will be unanimously rejected. (*Cheers.*)

SWAMI ALARAM (*N. W. P., No. 133, in list*) then spoke in Hindi and said: FRIENDS!—God, who himself is neither a Hindu, nor a Mussulman, nor a Christian; nor a Parsi, sees all sorts of religion with an equal eye. That impartial God has entrusted Her Majesty the Maharani Victoria with this special function of seeing with an equal eye; for in the year 1858 Her Majesty has promised that she would equally deal with the Hindus, Mussulmans, Christians, Parsis, and believers in other religions. Similarly in the year 1833, some six hundred and fifty members of the Parliament and several lords made the same promise. Therefore it is our duty that, leaving aside animosity, we should ourselves unite, and beg from Her Majesty our rights. The Government has framed the Penal Code to put an end to quarrels amongst us. If we do not unite, we shall be criminals in the sight of Government.

You see that the duty on salt has increased so much that the poor cannot procure salt to cook their pulses with. Lord Ripon reduced the duty to Rs. 2 per maund, and expressed a hope of gradually reducing it to only one rupee; but Lord Dufferin, on the contrary, has enhanced the duty to Rs. 2-8 per maund, and for this the poor are suffering much. This action is improper.

It is the wish of the National Congress that as the son lodges his complaints before his father so the complaints of the poor and destitute should be made known to Her Majesty the Maharani. Friends, the National Congress does not ask for sovereign power, but the National Congress desires that the supremacy of the British Government might remain so long as the sun and the moon are not destroyed. The National Congress does not want to form a Parliament, but it wishes that the English Parliament might remain intact all along. Without any bias, I am speaking out the truth that the National Congress wants this, that the amount of duty on salt, which has become an instrument of oppression to the poor, might be reduced. Victory be to Her Majesty the Maharani and the Indian National Congress!

THE PRESIDENT: I will now put the amendment, and then the resolution, which, you will observe, asks for the remission of the recent enhancement to the salt duty, not the total abolition of that duty. The amendment differs from the resolution in this essential particular, that it wishes to retain the enhanced salt tax, and only asks that, though the circumstances that justified the enhancement have to a considerable extent ceased to exist, the tax should still remain, but that the provisions with regard to the preparation and consumption of salt should be modified according to local circumstances. You see, therefore, that there is an essential difference between the original resolution and the amendment.

The amendment was then put, but only two hands, those of the proposer and seconder, were held up in its favor, nearly all hands being held up against it. The resolution was afterwards put and carried without a dissentient voice.

THE PRESIDENT: Then I declare that this, our fifth resolution,

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

has been unanimously carried, and I call upon Mr. Mudholkar to move the sixth resolution.

Res. VI.
Extension
of the
Permanent
Settlement.

MR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR (*Barar, No. 585, in list*), who was loudly cheered, on rising, said: I am very grateful to you, my friends, for the cheers you have given me; but, as the time allotted to me is very short, I will directly address myself to the subject. Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen, the resolution with which I am entrusted is one, like its predecessor, entitled to be called a people's question. Like the salt-tax, the question of a permanent settlement is one with which the comfort, the very existence of the masses is intimately connected.

Throughout the length and breadth of the land you find that the staple industry of the country is agriculture, and that being so, the system of tenure under which our agricultural operations are carried on, is one of the greatest importance to us. Resolution No. VI., with which I am entrusted, runs thus:—

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

I confess that the question with which this resolution deals is one of vast importance, and at the same time one of considerable perplexity, and the time allotted to a speaker by the rules will not enable me to do full justice to it. I will, however, lay before you, as briefly as I can, certain considerations which go far to justify and support the demand we make. As I have said, India is an agricultural country. "The wealth of India" of which the poet speaks has vanished. The gorgeous fabrics which India produced are now reduced to an almost inappreciable quantity. Wherever you go you find that the people are being thrown on the soil. Take the estimates framed by the Famine Commission, and you find that 90 per cent. of the rural population is closely connected with the soil, and 80 per cent. of the whole population is wholly dependent upon the soil. Taking later calculations, you will find that the proportion has risen to as much as 86 per cent. and, with our indigenous industries dying out, this pressure of the population upon the land is growing every day, and you find that vast tracts which were at one time considered as not being fit for cultivation are being taken up for this purpose. The arable area under cultivation has increased vastly; and though this industry is not in many places paying, through sheer necessity people are compelled to have recourse to poorer and poorer soils. The effect of this has been that land which was required for grazing purposes is now taken up for agricultural purposes, and the result of that you see in the deterioration of your agricultural stock. If you compare this area with the amount of population, you will find a state of things which must make us really very anxious; that is, that while the area under cultivation is estimated to be a little less than 190 million acres, the population which it has to support is nearly 197 millions. I take my figures from the latest Government statistics. This means less than an acre per head, and, according to Sir William Hunter, at least an acre per head is required to maintain a man sufficiently. Here, therefore, is this one great problem before you. You find that the only industry by which you can maintain your people is in a very unsatisfactory condition. You may almost say that the widest limit of cultivation has been reached, and the question is, what are we to do? The only solution is improvement in cultivation itself, and here it is that the question of permanent settlement becomes of the greatest importance.

If the oldest industry we have is to be maintained in a state of prosperity it is necessary that that industry should be improved. But here, throughout the major part of the country, you find that there is an almost insuperable obstacle to all improvement interposed, and that is on account of the temporary settlement and the fatal discouragement of improvements which this involves. The policy with regard to land tenure followed by the Government for nearly 100 years has been one of violent oscillation. Whenever there is a crisis in the agricultural history of the country you find that the heads of the Government are quite willing to accept statesmanlike and broad views; but when the crisis is past and the danger is over, for a time, there is a return to a huckstering policy,—a policy of trying to make as much money out of the landholder as possible. The famine in Bengal in 1770 secured to Bengal the permanent settlement. In 1860 there was a famine in the N. W. Provinces, and the gravity of the famine and the danger which the Government saw in the recurrence of such famines led to the appointment of a Commission. That Commission took evidence and went carefully into the matter, and came deliberately to the conclusion that in the interests of the country it was absolutely necessary that fixity and permanency of tenure should be granted.

This is what the Commission say in the Report submitted by their Presidents: "Entertaining the most earnest conviction that the State interests and popular interests will be alike strengthened in an increasing ratio by the step, the first and, as I believe, most important measure, I have respectfully to submit, for consideration, is the expediency of fixing for ever the public demand on the land, and thus converting the existing settlement into a settlement for perpetuity."

3rd Day.

Res. VI.
Extension
of the
Permanent
Settlement.

3rd Day.

Res. VI.
Extension
of the
Permanent
Settlement.

This recommendation of the Commission was endorsed by the Lieutenant-Governor and Council, and it met with the approval of the Viceroy, that great man, Lord Canning.

The Governor-General said : " His Excellency believes that increased security of fixed property and comparative freedom from the interference of fiscal officers of the Government, will tend to create a class which, although composed of various races and creeds, will be peculiarly bound to the British rule ; while, under proper regulations, the measure will conduce materially to the improvement of the general revenue of the Empire."

This report of the Commission, with the recommendation of the Viceroy, was sent to the Secretary of State, and this was what Lord Halifax laid down in his famous despatch of 1862 : " After the most careful review of all these considerations Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the advantages which may reasonably be expected to accrue not only to those immediately connected with the land, but to the community generally, are sufficiently great to justify them in incurring the risk of some prospective loss of revenue in order to attain them, and that a settlement in perpetuity in the districts in which the conditions required are, or may hereafter be fulfilled, is a measure dictated by sound policy, and calculated to accelerate the development of the resources of India, and to ensure in the highest degree the welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in the country."

A more satisfactory resolution, a more statesmanlike wish, a more just and humane conclusion could not have been arrived at. But it has been our misfortune that, when a thing has been offered by one hand, the other hand has always been ready to snatch it away. There was a change of government in England, and pressure was brought to bear by the members of the India Council to prevent the carrying out of the recommendations in the despatch of 1862. The clear promise, however, and the generous principles laid down in that despatch were such that they could not be abrogated ; and what was sought to be done was to saddle those recommendations with further conditions. The only condition laid down in the despatch of 1862 was that its terms were to be extended to those provinces where four-fifths of the land was brought under cultivation. It was found that this condition was satisfied by a number of estates, and it was also found that other persons were willing to carry out the terms of the resolution. Here it was that mischief was done. A new condition was imposed in the despatch of 1865, and that was that the recommendations in the despatch of 1862 should be extended to estates only if, in the opinion of the executive authorities, the public works of the Government were not likely to be so extended within the next 20 years as to benefit the estates to the extent of 20 per cent. Well, you will find that those conditions have been satisfied ; nearly 27 years (certainly 25 years) have elapsed, and as to public works you find that all the main lines and feeder lines of railways have been constructed, and the main irrigation works have also been completed. And as far as cultivation itself is concerned, a few facts, taken from the latest statistical abstract published by the Government in England, will show that all those conditions have been practically carried out in the greater part of the country except in parts of the Punjab and the Central Provinces.

In Madras you find that 28 millions of acres have been cultivated, and only 8 millions are available for cultivation. In Bombay more than 36 millions have been under cultivation, and only 8 millions are available for cultivation. In both cases, of course, these 8 millions are of the lowest quality, and much of it really not worth cultivation. In Berar more than 7 million acres are under cultivation, and only 700,000 are available for cultivation. In the North-West Provinces over 27½ millions are under cultivation, and only 7 millions are available for cultivation. In Oudh over 9 millions are under cultivation, and only 3 millions are available for cultivation. You see, therefore, that the conditions have been carried out, and yet the same system continues—that system which has been stigmatized by Government itself as one which is harassing to the people, as one which unsettles all relations between landlord and tenant, and as one which causes the greatest uneasiness. I am not using my own expressions, but the words used in the resolution of Lord Ripon in 1883. The view which was laid down in 1862 was, as I told you, opposed by Government officials in India and England ; but a justification of those recommendations was supplied by stern facts which happened later on. In 1874 the riots in Bombay resulted in considerable loss of property and damage to person. Then there was the famine of 1877, and the Government officials were obliged to admit that nearly 40 millions of people belonging to the agricultural population were on the brink of starvation. Still you find that there was a disinclination to carry out the principles laid down over and over again, and the justice of which was admitted. I will only refer to two authorities, whose eminence in these matters is not disputed, Sir Louis Malet and Sir James Caird, both of whom stigmatize the present system. Sir James Caird moreover distinctly says that a thirty years' settlement cannot be expected to produce sufficient stimulus to ensure improvement in the agriculture of the country ; that is the deliberate opinion of the President of the Famine Commission. In spite of these things we find that the system is continued. The evil is to be

deplored in more respects than one. In the first place rent in India, or revenue, has nothing like it anywhere. Take the proportion of rent to gross produce in any country in Europe, and you will find that India is placed on a basis of its own. In Great Britain the proportion of gross produce to rent is 1 to 33 ; in Europe generally 1 to 50. The lowest in Europe, Denmark, is 1 to 27. In India it is 1 to 3 or 1 to 4. That is, for every four rupees you get from the land you give one rupee to the Government ; whereas in Europe, out of 50 rupees coming from the soil, only one goes to the landlord. Then it is not only the high rate, but the uncertainty of the enhancement. You do not know in what way the enhancement may come. There is the re-classification of soils, which means raising the soil of an estate from the third class to the second or the second to the first, and so on, and the consequent raising of the land revenue itself, and there is the enhancement of the revenue independent of any such supposed change in the status of the soil. All these operations have been productive of the great mischief of putting an end to all improvements.

These are facts that require serious consideration. I admit there are grave difficulties in the way of Government from the rupee going down. Of course it would be difficult to settle the question in an off-hand manner ; but I do not think the difficulty is such as to baffle the resources of statesmanship, nor do I think that our administrators are so devoid of statesmanship as to be unable to grapple with it. What we ask is that there should be some fixity. That fixity need only be as regards production. If the proportion of produce to rent were fixed ; if it were laid down once for all that each plot should pay yearly the money value, settled quinquennially, on the basis of the preceding five years local prices, of so many maunds of jowar, bajra, wheat, barley, cotton, sessamum, as the case might be, due reference being had to the culture prevalent in each village, I suppose that would satisfy the requirements of the people. It is a problem which can be solved. I appeal to Great Britain and to our administrators here to make a real effort to solve it, and thus carry out the principles laid down by successive Governments in England—principles which have their greatest justification in justice and in humanity. (Cheers.)

It being 2 P.M. the Congress then adjourned for half an hour.

On the re-assembly of the Congress—

MR. RATNA SABAPATHI PILAI (*Madras, No. 646, in list*), resuming the debate, said : I beg to support this resolution. I come from the district of Tanjore in the Presidency of Madras, where re-settlement operations are at this moment in full swing. I am a landholder myself ; I know the ins and the outs of this question, as it affects the ryots of Southern India ; and I can assure you that there is at the present moment a reign of terror in my district ; there is not a ryot who is not filled with alarm as to the expected results of the settlement operations. Security of property is no less a function of Government than security of person. We are all thankful to Government for the security of person and property that we enjoy. The protection we enjoy is from robbers, dacoits and lawless subjects ; but we want the protection of our property from the Government itself (*loud cheers*) ; we want to be saved from our own friends.

The Bengal Presidency, or part of it, has had the blessing of a permanent settlement conferred on it ; and I ask, why not extend the same to other parts of the Empire ? The wealth of the nation is the wealth of the Government itself. What ryot will dare to invest his savings, if any, in his holding with the periodical visitations of the Settlement Department before his mind's eye ? This unsettled state of mind has a most demoralizing effect upon landholders, who are already living from hand to mouth ; it is destructive of all agricultural progress, nay decent well-being. Seventy-five per cent. of the landlords in the district of Tanjore, which is commonly talked of as the garden of Southern India, are involved in debt. I dare not look into the future. Already rumours are afloat that the assessment will be increased by 50 per cent. Even if it is increased by 30 per cent the result, I fear, will be simply disastrous. But Government may say, " We must move ; we cannot afford to stand still ; we must obey the law of nature : the world itself moves." But I should be glad if the Government would apply this law of nature to the administrative machinery of the country, and grant us the voice that we demand in the affairs of our own country. (Cheers). The change is necessitated by the changed circumstances of the Empire. The Government are eager to obey this law of change whenever the changes tend to fill their own exchequer ; but they are exceeding loth to move in any matter if the change touches their prerogatives or privileges. Only last year a friend of mine, a landholder in the district of Tanjore, suffered by speaking out his mind, by writing to the papers complaining of the threats of illegal exactions on the part of the subordinate officials of the Settlement Department. Although he was a landlord he happened to be a servant of the Government as well. He was a Professor in a Government College and also M. A. of the University of Madras. Government, taking advantage of

3rd Day.

Res. VI.
Extension
of the
Permanent
Settlement.

3rd Day.
Res. VI.
Extension
of the
Permanent
Settlement.

his position, suspended him for a period of six months, because, in the *bona fide* protection of his own interests, and the interests of his co-landholders, he wrote to the press bringing to the notice of the public the threats of exaction on the part of subordinates of the Settlement Department. I am glad to tell you that the Government of Madras which took this unprecedented step felt it to be such on reconsideration, and by way of amends elevated my friend to a position of greater trust and responsibility. (*Cheers*). I trust that the Government of India will make an equally edifying repentance, and having first tried to crush our movement, and allowed its officers in many places virtually to persecute our members, will now hasten to accede to the reasonable demands of this assembly, and, amongst other things, take steps to secure to us a permanent settlement and fixity of tenure. (*Cheers*.)

MR. BOIKANTHA NATH Sen (*Bengal, No. 107, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, FELLOW DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have much pleasure in supporting this resolution, the more so that I had the honor to support a similar one at Bombay. The time allotted to me does not permit of any lengthened discussion. The observations which have been made may be considered as the principal arguments put forward. Those I now propose to place before you may be tacked on to them, and the whole may be regarded as one series of arguments placed before the public for the due consideration of the Government.

This is a resolution in which there is no question of sentiment. It is a question which affects materially the prosperity of the country and which affects the Government also in a very material way. It has been observed that this is a resolution not for the benefit of the delegates, but for the benefit of the people. I go further and say that it is a resolution which, if carried, and accepted loyally by the Government, will bring benefits to the Government itself. (*Cheers*). Let me notice the way in which the resolution has been divided. It refers, you see, to the despatch of 1862, confirmed by that of 1865. It says that the Government is "now in honor bound." Observe the force of the word "now." Let me place before you another fact, that a permanent settlement was accorded to Bengal in 1793, when you will find a minute by the Board of Revenue at Fort St. George, delivered by Mr. White, and approved of by a Select Committee which was appointed to investigate the affairs of the East India Company. That approval was made in 1812; that principle was recognised, and emphasized and a line of action was formulated 50 years afterwards in 1862, in the despatch of the Secretary of State. Twenty-seven years have now passed, and we are where we were in 1812, because there is no indication of a permanent settlement being carried out in those provinces where it was not conceded very nearly a century ago.

Why is it so? We all know that land revenue forms the central figure in the group of English taxation, and there is an apprehension of a loss of prospective increment in the Government revenue, based on what is supposed in a mistaken way to be the results of the permanent settlement in Bengal, and what is still erroneously considered to be a wanton sacrifice, as it were, of the resources of the State by Lord Cornwallis, for the sole purpose of giving satisfaction to the landed proprietors. Now it is on account of apprehensions and misapprehensions like these that effect has not been given to the despatch of 1862. Before I proceed further let me place before you further statistics. The territories which are under the administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal extend over an area of 140,000 square miles, of which 120,000 enjoy the benefits of the permanent settlement. But at the time when the permanent settlement was granted to Bengal only one-third had been brought under cultivation. The land revenue from Bengal is about four crores and the gross rental is about 20 crores (I make a technical distinction between revenue and rental.) Then the incidence of the land revenue in Bengal is Rs. 55 to 100 persons of the population; in the Punjab, Rs. 109 to 100 persons; in the North-Western Provinces, Rs. 129 to 100 persons; in the Madras Presidency, Rs. 134 to 100 persons; and in Bombay, Rs. 234 to 100 persons. Now, apart from other questions which are undoubtedly of a very weighty nature, and which, in summing up, I shall have occasion to refer to, I venture to think that the high standard of revenue which has been attained ought of itself to be considered a sufficient reason for the Government according a permanent settlement to those provinces where it has not been extended.

You have heard from the able mover of the resolution what area has been actually brought under cultivation, and what little, and that of the poorest quality as a rule, yet remains to be cultivated; so that the time has surely arrived when, apart from other questions, this high ratio of cultivation would justify the Government in giving fixity to their demands. Let us see a little further how the matter stands. There is much more to be said. The experiment of 100 years in Bengal furnishes us with certain data which will enable you to solve the problem in a satisfactory way. This permanent settlement must be considered as the very best manure you can give to the land: for shortly after the permanent settlement of Bengal there was a wonderful

increase in the cultivation. Before the permanent settlement only a third was under cultivation, but now you will scarcely find one-thirtieth uncultivated.

Then you may look upon this permanent settlement as a very important agent in the distribution of the proprietary interest in the soil among the various classes. It has also been a very important factor in bringing about social reform. Who ever had an idea of a middle class? I say, this middle class is to a great extent the growth of the permanent settlement. Where is it anything like so strong in numbers and in wealth as in Bengal? (*Cheers*.) Although now the example of Bengal has more or less pervaded the entire Empire. But for that permanent settlement India would have had, as in Russia, the poor and the rich but no middle class such as you find crowding this great hall. These, then, have been the direct benefits of the permanent settlement. Now let us see what can the Government expect more. Would it be a sufferer in the long run? Look at the case of Orissa. Orissa was temporarily settled for 30 years, and the lease expired in 1866. There was then, as you all know, a famine, and the Government could not possibly on that occasion think of enhancing the revenue by making a re-settlement, so that it had to renew the settlement for another 30 years. That settlement is still going on, and it will expire in 1895. Progress has been kept in abeyance for 60 years. No capitalist would venture to invest his money in land in Orissa. For 60 years progress has been retarded by the inactivity (if nothing else) of the Government.

We find that from that portion of Bengal which has not received this boon Government does not expect much. There are authoritative reports to Government that if a permanent settlement be withheld from those other provinces, there would be at best (as I had occasion to remark on the last occasion) a gain to the Government of 30 lakhs of rupees. Now let us see how we fare in Bengal. In the Civil administration alone in the whole of India there is a loss of 12 lakhs, the expenditure exceeding the receipts by that amount. But in Bengal there is a surplus of 14 lakhs, and what is this owing to? In education, in Bengal, 83 lakhs are spent, out of which only 21 lakhs are spent by the State, the balance being spent by private individuals who are able to pay on account of the permanent settlement. See how the Government has been gaining in this way. If, then, the permanent settlement be extended to other provinces, I venture to submit that there is not the least reason for the Government suffering in any way in its finances. Whatever it may apparently suffer, from a purely treasury point of view, in the matter of direct loss of future enhancements of land revenue, will be more than compensated by gains from other sources through new channels which will be created by this permanent settlement of its own force. Now, while the Government has pledged itself by its despatch of 1862, confirmed by the despatch of 1865, it is undoubtedly in honor bound to redeem its pledge. By according this concession the Government will derive benefit in two ways: in the first place by saving its honor by the redemption of its solemn pledges; in the second, even financially as sharing the enhanced prosperity of its people.

Its good deed may directly diminish by a few lakhs the land revenue of fifty years hence; but crores to replace these will have poured down from the happy consequences of that honest policy. As Kalidasa says:—

"The sun draws the water from the soil, but this is returned a thousandfold in the shape of rain." (*Cheers*.)

BABU JANOKI NATH BOSE (*Orissa, No. 190, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have much pleasure in giving my cordial support to this resolution. My simple desire is to let this august assembly know what are the feelings of the people of the province, which I have the honor to represent, with regard to this very important question. You have been told that a permanent settlement has not been introduced into the backward province of Orissa. I happen to work there as a lawyer though I am not a permanent resident of the province. During the years I have been practising there I have acquired some knowledge as to the condition in which the agriculturists of the province are placed. It has been said in very high quarters that India's land revenue is very flexible; that it can be compared to India-rubber and drawn to any length to meet emergencies; that it is a source of income which can be increased to any extent. But as India-rubber being drawn beyond certain limits will break, so this source of revenue, if strained to extremes, would certainly fail and with disastrous results. If continued to be carried to extremes, as has been hitherto too often the fashion, the temporary land revenue system must produce rack-renting, which already exists in many provinces, which has already led to dire famines, which, as it grows, must mean direr famines still in even closer succession.

This question affects not only zemindars but all of every grade who draw subsistence from the soil, and a permanent settlement would prove not only a blessing to agriculturists but even, in the long run, to the Government itself. In the case of land revenue it should be borne in mind that it is really not nearly so flexible as it is thought; that there is a limit to its capacity for expansion;

3rd Day.

Res. VI.
Extension
of the
Permanent
Settlement.

rd Day. and that if you strain it beyond those limits the whole system will collapse. There are provinces where this is even now imminent. What do we see in the province of which I am a representative? The zemindars are almost all deeply involved in debt; they cannot pay the Government revenue at the proper time; often you see their properties being sold at public auction to meet the demands made upon them; they have no resource but to incur debts at a very high rate of interest. If we look at the condition of the ryots what do we see? That they are being rack-rented; they cannot get a full meal in two days; they cannot get a waistcloth even once a year. Such is the condition to which Government has reduced the zemindars and ryots through their unwillingness to introduce a permanent settlement, and through the consequent impossibility of the vivification of this national industry by capital. Contrast the state of Bengal with that of other provinces where there is no permanent settlement. Here we find the zemindars occupying a high place, but in other parts they are poor men and cannot take part in any national undertaking that requires money. Look at the ryots. We have some poor, no doubt, but look at the millions of well-to-do tenants of all grades. In what other province do you find any large proportion of such? For 50 years at least six millions sterling have yearly gone into the pockets of the people, that would, under the temporary settlement system, have gone into those of the Government, to be wasted doubtless in frontier defences (*cheers*), and I venture to say that those six millions have profited the country ten times more than they would have done had they gone into the coffers of the State. (*Cheers*). The temporary settlement system is everywhere ruining the zemindars. It has been said, let the zemindars be ruined, we do not care, provided we have got peasant proprietors. But that is a very idiotic and narrow policy. In the first place the zemindars, the landed aristocracy of our country, constitute, in many provinces, a definite and important institution which has taken deep root and cannot hastily be done away with, and in the second place the same cause that wrecks the zemindars will, as time runs on, ruin even peasant proprietors. There are many who say "if the permanent settlement can give rise to peasant proprietors it is all right, but if it will only enrich the zemindars we are not for it." I submit that that is a ridiculous view of the case. In the first place all through Bombay and Madras, it is just with peasant proprietors that we desire to see a permanent settlement. Again where we have zemindars they are none the less a portion of the people, and from their position whatever affects them injuriously affects all subordinate classes of agriculturists equally injuriously, while what benefits them, benefits equally directly and indirectly not only all subordinate holders of land but, in a country like this where everything hinges on the land, the entire community.

Now, what do we see in Orissa? We see that the zemindars are mostly over head and ears in debt, and that what with their irrigation tax and the rent the poor ryots are being trodden under foot; their condition is most deplorable; they have not a full meal every two days, they have nothing in times of scarcity to fall back upon, they are perpetually on the verge of starvation. I am sure that if the permanent settlement is introduced into that province, if there is no more Government rack-renting, if the Government ceases to threaten them with periodical re-assessments, you will find that capital will flow into the land, that cultivation will improve, and that in 30 years the condition of the zemindars and ryots will be so much improved that no one in that flourishing land will be able to recognize this now backward, miserable, poverty-stricken region. Moreover, apart from the consequences, on abstract principles only, the action of the Government in increasing the land revenue every 25 and 30 years is not just.

It is a case of reaping where they have not sowed, of greedily grasping the fruits of the tiller of the soil's persistent labour, of arbitrarily confiscating the fruits of its subjects industry, it is unjust I say in principle, and like all injustice it is thoroughly bad policy in the long run. From every point of view, therefore, a permanent settlement is desirable, and holding this I most strongly support the resolution now before you.

LALA JAISEE RAM (*Punjab, No. 532, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The resolution I have been called upon to support is one of the greatest importance. I come from the Punjab, and I shall speak from a Punjabi's point of view. Our province is the poorest province, I fear, in the whole British empire. As elsewhere, so in the Punjab, the enterprise of British merchants has almost brought about the complete extinction of all native indigenous arts and industries. Past history shows us that the Punjab has produced but very few enterprising merchants, and it is so circumstanced that its physical situation will never bring it on a level with its sister provinces in regard to trade. The Punjab is essentially an agricultural province. Its prosperity depends on the prosperity of the holders and tillers of the soil, and nowhere is the necessity of a permanent settlement more felt than in the Punjab. Our existing temporary settlements seem mere embodiments of that leading principle of the old Sikha Shahi rule, that Government should get, or in other words extort, the utmost possible pie from the people. The fluctuating nature of the settlement and the perpetual liability to an increased demand on the part of the State,

64
takes all heart out of even the hardworking Jât and keeps him ever in poverty. Our present system is a tax on—nay a confiscation of—the values of improvements, and thus deters the agriculturist from ever making the best of his land. (*Hear, hear*). The settlement itself, so long as it is in progress, and it lasts for years, is always a curse to the zemindars. The heavy expenses unnecessarily incurred by Government are in this matter payable by the people—aye! and much more, as black mail, in one shape or other. It is not uncommon too for the greedy subordinate officials to stir up strife by making false entries, and this adds to the fast increasing litigation which has already proved so ruinous to the zemindars. The anxiety we feel for a permanent settlement is not altogether novel, nor one that originated wholly with us. Thirty years ago the local Government declared the expediency of commencing a register of permanent settlements for fully cultivated tracts, but it was not allowed to give practical effect to its views then for reasons which it is needless now to discuss, for time has brought forth happy changes, and there is nothing now which stands in the way. The chief condition laid down in the despatch was that at least four-fifths of the culturable area should be redeemed and brought into cultivation. If any other province has not fulfilled this condition, the Punjab has. Take a trip from Delhi to Peshawar, exclude the hilly barren tracts from consideration, and you will find the whole of the land under cultivation. It may be said that the finances of the Government will suffer by conceding a permanent settlement. But this argument can be at once overthrown by the long experience of a hundred years in Bengal.

Has the Government of India, has the country at large suffered in consequence of even this badly arranged and prematurely conceded permanent settlement in Bengal? Look to the commerce of Calcutta; look to the density of the population; look to the great spread of education and the enormous masses of well-to-do people, the like of all of which is to be seen nowhere else, and then let any man dare to deny that even this crude, imperfectly carried out settlement, conceded before more than one-third of the culturable area was under culture, has been, solely in virtue of the one attribute of permanence, an immense boon to the people and a gigantic source of strength to the Empire. (*Prolonged cheers*.)

MR. DEORAO VINAYEK (*Berar, No. 590, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution which is now before you, coming as I do from the same quarter as the delegate who proposed it. The resolution simply asks the Government to fulfil their noble and benevolent promise made more than a quarter of a century ago. Some may say that Government has made the promise, and is capable of fulfilling it unrequested. It may be so or it may not; but the time is such that we cannot get anything unless we seek it. Demand ought to precede supply, as the saying goes. My predecessors have read you the despatches and some figures in regard to the satisfying of the required conditions for the bestowal of permanent settlement on nearly the whole of India. They have shown you that Government is in honor bound to fulfil their promises, and they have shown by certain experience in Bengal that the permanent settlement, if given at all, will not disappoint the Government. I will not take up your time unnecessarily by reading those notable despatches again. I will simply refer to one or two questions which, in my humble opinion, it is very important to have discussed in this assembly.

I come from Berar, and I had the honor of discussing this question with some high revenue officials there. They discussed them with a free mind, always open to reason. Their views may be against permanent settlement, and they may have reasons to substantiate those views; but they listen to what we say with open minds. When we convince them that what we claim is not unreasonable they admit it, and I hope that they will assist us if we prove our case to be a strong one, at all events, that they will not bring forward any opposition. Amongst their objections to a permanent settlement are these: First, they say that by a permanent settlement Government will be bound down to a certain fixed revenue, and that with ever increasing administrative charges there will be no corresponding increase of revenue. They also say that the boon of a permanent settlement, if granted at all, will not benefit those in whose interest that boon is claimed—that is the cultivators. These are very grave questions now, and to answer them in the time allotted is impossible. I should like to be permitted to read one or two passages from a paper read some time ago by a very high official of the Revenue Board of this province in England: "An examination of those results (of permanent settlement) will, perhaps, lead us to the conclusion that the permanent settlement was a wise and statesmanlike measure; that politically it has been a tower of strength to the Empire; that, from a social and economic point of view, it has stimulated the prosperity and fostered the intelligence of the province; and that, even from a strictly financial stand point, the surrender of an increased land tax has been in some measure compensated by the steady development of other branches of the public revenue." He has given some figures, which one of my predecessors has referred to, showing

3rd Day.

Res. VI.
Extension
of the
Permanent
Settlement.

3rd Day.

Res. VI.
Extension
of the
Permanent
Settlement.

how the province of Bengal has been benefited financially by the permanent settlement. I will not, therefore, read any more passages. The same gentleman lays down that the creation of an independent middle class is not an evil, but a blessing. (*Cheers.*) It is the middle class that has taken advantage of all the reforms introduced by British rule in India. It is that middle class which mainly fills this pavilion, and the authority I have quoted says further that it is a fruitful source of strength to the State. The creation of that class is, not to be deplored. Suppose, for instance, though this can never be generally true, that the permanent settlement does not benefit the ryots, or say some classes of the ryots in a poor agricultural district. What is the practical effect? Is it undesirable that the land should be held mainly by those who can afford to improve it? Is it desirable that the land should be generally cultivated by poor hand-to-mouth cultivators? Is it not better that those agriculturists, who are so poor that they can give nothing to the land, should be labourers rather than holders of the land? Is this not better for these men themselves,—better for the land, better for the country? If the permanent settlement has the effect of converting in some places starving tenants into well-fed labourers, of creating a strong middle class, is this any argument against a permanent settlement? Is it not desirable that the material wealth of the country, for the increase of which the British Government is so anxious, should be increased? And how can that material wealth be more certainly increased than by the creation of a class of small capitalists—a middle class in fact?

These two objections then are invalid. All we ask is that the Government should open a discussion on the subject. We say to them: "You have closed discussion for a quarter of a century, don't close it any more." I come from Berar. You know it is, by an official fiction, not under British rule; but all the same it has British rulers, British missionaries, British laws, and the advantages and disadvantages of British rule. We have no legislation for ourselves, nothing like it. If a permanent settlement is granted to other provinces we know, of course, that we shall not get it as soon as you do, if at all, my friends. We shall be left behind lamenting, I fear. But that is no reason why we should hesitate to join you in reasonable demands. We Berarese are first of all Indians, and we have joined the Congress, not because, perhaps, any direct benefit will be gained by Berar even when the Congress triumphs, but because this triumph will benefit our country; because we are all one; because your happiness, your prosperity, means the advancement of our native land, and a source of perennial rejoicing to us; even though we poor Berarese have to sit in darkness outside the banquet hall. (*Loud cheers.*)

MR. R. P. KARANDIKAR (*Poona, No. 375, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Allow me to thank you on behalf of the persons who have sent me here for enabling a humble delegate like myself to bring their difficulties before you. They have asked me not to make a long speech, but to place before you the practical side of the question as viewed by the Bombay people themselves.

Directly after the despatch was received every local Government applied to bring into operation the recommendations made by the Secretary of State, but for the time the matter lapsed. Twenty years or so later, by the influence exercised on the Bombay Government from various directions, it was induced to take up this subject in the form of a small legislative enactment by the Act of 1888. That is not an enactment which deals directly with the permanent settlement question, but it tries in its own way to allay the fears of the cultivators in regard to enhanced taxation on the land. We, Bombay people, cannot sufficiently thank the gentlemen who represented them in the Bombay Legislative Council, nor the Government that appointed those members. I need hardly refer to such distinguished personages as the Hon. Mr. Ranade, and also to one whose recent elevation to the Bench has deprived the Congress of one of its most modest and moderate supporters, Mr. Justice Telang. I mention these two names, not to magnify the matter, but to tell you that, despite the assistance of these gentlemen and others (I include European officers and gentlemen on the Council), very little could be done in that direction. I will tell you why. In Bill No. 5 of 1885, which assumed the form of law in the Act of 1888—a pretty long time for a measure to be hung up—three points were intended to be secured: First, all improvements made by the cultivator out of his own pocket and by his own labors were to be free from enhanced taxation; second, after 1892 there was to be no re-survey; and, third, the assessment was never to be increased by more than a certain maximum ratio fixed by the Act. These were the three important features of the Bill. But let me point out that all this, practically, goes for nothing. There has been going on a re-survey now, for no one knows how many years. The survey officers have authority to re-classify the land under the cultivation of a particular cultivator. The point suggested was: "If you have classified the land in the year 1862, what is the necessity for allowing the Survey Department to exercise its functions in re-classifying it after the lapse of 30 years?" The true answer was: "In

3rd Day.

Res. VI.
Extension
of the
Permanent
Settlement.

order that there may be oppression upon the people." Of course that would not be the official answer at the time, but it is the only true one. It was pointed out how impossible it was for the Survey Department officers to distinguish between land brought to a superior quality by the exertion and the money of the cultivators, and the land which was, on their own supposition, included in an inferior class owing to a mistake on their own part. In that case it was suggested that it was absurd to expect the cultivator to prove that the land was brought to a superior quality by his own particular exertions. The burden was thrown entirely by the Act upon the cultivator, which is a simple absurdity. This was pointed out to the Council, but His Excellency, as far as my knowledge goes, said it was for the cultivator to prove that he has brought the land up to a superior quality. I ask you, as sensible men whether, after the lapse of 30 years patient toil, gradually improving his holding by sheer hard work, a cultivator can possibly be in a position to point out that it is by such and such a process that he has brought his land to a superior quality. It is elbow grease that has done it—and how can he prove that except by pointing to the land? But the Government say no; looking to the land we think we made a mistake and under assessed it 30 years ago—you prove that we did not. Would it not be reasonable to expect that the survey department officers who first assessed the land as of a particular quality should prove that they had committed a mistake in the first instance? Consequently the burden of proof was, in my humble opinion, mislaid. That touches too the question about not enhancing the revenue in consequence of improvements made by the cultivator. As there is nothing to distinguish between the improvements made by the long persistent labour of the cultivators and mistakes made by survey officers, naturally this enactment had not the effect of assuring people of the good faith of the Government. Then comes the second question about the maximum limit fixed by the Act. As you all know this was placed at so high a figure, that having regard to the circumstances under which the country is labouring, any enhancement at all approaching this maximum would absolutely ruin nine-tenths of our Bombay landholders, whose land, as pointed out by able speakers, is already much more highly taxed than that of any other province. This enactment is, therefore, a mere sham, utterly ineffective and insufficient; and anything short of permanent settlement will entirely fail to improve the wretched condition of ryots, an object which one must needs think should be cherished by all generous-minded Governments in all countries. (*Cheers.*) Having this re-classification sword still hanging over their heads, you will see that our cultivators are dissuaded, discouraged, I may say practically debarred from putting any money into the land, from even giving it one particle more labour than is necessary to extract its present scanty crops, and all capitalists are prevented from interfering to aid the improvement either of the land itself or of the staples it now produces. This want of security, of permanence of tenure, it is which has retarded the progress of agriculture in India, which, you know, is mainly an agricultural country—may which has brought about a gradual deterioration in our lands as a whole, and in our own old careful system of tillage. That is bad, and not less so that the people should hoard or bury their little savings, or even place them in Savings Banks, and should not be able to put any of them into the land.

One point more: The function of the Government is to frame the assessment and that is done quite *ex parte* and without a hearing of the assessee. It is said: "You have a right of appeal—any cultivator that thinks himself aggrieved may petition the Government." But you all know what giving such right of appeal means—a poor ignorant villager appealing against a great Government Department. That is a position that the cultivator is unable to occupy, and it is simply adding insult to injustice to ask him to take it. I say then, that the required conditions have long been fulfilled, and the Government is in honor bound to take up this question of a permanent settlement, and I support most energetically on behalf of the people of the Bombay Presidency the resolution now before the Congress. (*Cheers.*)

BAWA NARAYAN SING (*Punjab, No. 527, in list*) spoke in Punjabi and said: Gentlemen and well-wishers of the country and of the British Government,—Permanent settlement of land is as much beneficial to the Government as it is to the natives of the country. A person does not make permanent arrangements for a particular place until he is sure of permanently settling there. When an officer goes to a new district he generally first stops at some hotel and afterwards he makes other arrangements for his stay in the place, but he makes permanent arrangements when he knows that he is pucca, and that he will stay there permanently. It is our desire that the British Government may remain as our rulers permanently, and therefore we pray for a permanent settlement from them now that the country has, under the fostering care of the Government, sufficiently improved as far as cultivation is concerned. It is well known that prosperity has followed the permanent settlement of Bengal, and the people of that Province on the whole have enjoyed great advantages. The permanent settlement was made nearly 100 years ago by order of the then Government

3rd Day. as calculated to improve the condition of the soil and the people, and as a matter of fact that result has followed. But in later times other high officials have entertained the opinion, which is by no means sound, but on the contrary shallow and one-sided, that the Government has suffered a great loss owing to the permanent settlement of Bengal. It should be considered that no such vast improvements as we witness here this day would have been at all possible if the permanent settlement had been denied to the people of the Province. Now we cannot expect any similar great improvements in the other Provinces if permanent settlements are not granted to these also in good time. Government may look for an increase of revenue, with the increased produce of the soil no doubt, but people make no efforts to increase, as they could if they chose, the produce of the soil, when they know they will not get the benefits, as the next settlement will swallow up the fruit of their labours. Therefore Government should consider it a sufficient gain to increase the prosperity of the country and secure the affection of the people. And the Government will be liked by the people more and more if they conclude a permanent settlement. That Government is I hold fortunate whose subjects ask the Government for a permanent settlement, because with this prayer there is involved a desire for, and belief in, the permanency of the Government. When we ask the Government to grant us permanent settlements we at the same time virtually pledge ourselves to the permanency of the British rule over India, or what would avail their permanent settlement, and our rulers should congratulate themselves that they are sufficiently approved by the people for this. If the Government will not sanction permanent settlements now when it is needed and is thus pressed for, it will be the Government itself that will suffer more than even the people. (Cheers).

MR. HAMID ALI KHAN (Lucknow, No. 481, in list).—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In the first place let me express my sincere regret that owing to many engagements which it was impossible to postpone I was not present when my name was called out on Saturday to support the resolution. It has been often remarked in my part of the country that this resolution is a resolution of the rich people, the zemindars and the talukdars; but in my opinion it is a resolution of those about whom the poet sang nearly a century ago in words somewhat to this effect:—

"Princes may flourish, or Princes may fade;
A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
But the poor peasantry, their country's pride,
When once destroyed can never be supplied."

It gives me sincere pleasure that this resolution embodies the views of a friend of mine, Sir A. Colvin, because in 1874, when he was Secretary to the Board of Revenue, he wrote a very important memorandum condemning the re-settlement in the N. W. P. and other parts of India. It has been well remarked that India is an agricultural country, and as such must continue for centuries to come. You know that the zemindars take only a 30 years' interest in the land, because they know that if they spend anything upon the land, and if the profits increase, these will not go into their pockets, but into the pockets, at least in great measure, of the Government.

I wish to say a few words with regard to the provinces from which I come. About 25 years ago the settlement of Oude was made, and the condition of the talukdars is now such a deplorable one that they have not yet forgotten the misfortunes and troubles which they suffered in that settlement. The debts they then incurred in greasing the palms of all and sundry have not yet in many cases been cleared off. The period is again approaching; and there is not a single talukdar or landholder, big or little, in our province who is not trembling in his shoes, and who is not praying day and night for the blessing of a permanent settlement. The expenses, you know, of all that great body of the talukdars continually increase, and as they have not yet benefited by English education, and the Government always exacts larger and larger contributions from them, their ryots suffer and the condition alike of talukdar, zemindar and ryot will be still more deplorable before this coming settlement is accomplished. Before I conclude let me say, apart from the question we are discussing, that my co-religionists must bear in mind that they are Indians first and Mahomedans next. (Cheers).

HAFIZ ABDUR RAHEEM (Aligarh, No. 446, in list) spoke in Urdu and said: MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—After hearing the able speeches of Mr. Madholkar and Babu Bykantha Nath Sen and others I hesitated to rise; but in obedience to the order of the President I have no other alternative than to speak a few words. The resolution which is before us just now is based on two Despatches of the Secretary of State for India; but I shall support it on a ground quite independent of the Despatches. Mr. Eawcett, in his Political Economy, observes that in countries where labour is done by slaves the people never thrive, for since the slaves know that what they earn is not their own they do not care to work as hard as they would otherwise do. This is the case with those districts where the settlement is

temporary. No zemindar or tenant tries to improve or to be diligent for fear the revenue or the rent may be enhanced.

Some people think that the permanent settlement is only advantageous to the zemindar. This is a mistake. At a permanent settlement the rights and privileges of the tenants ought to be distinctly defined and provisions made for their protection. I am a resident of Zillah Jounpur, where the permanent settlement prevails, and practise as a pleader in Aligarh, which is temporarily settled. I am therefore in a position to express an opinion as to the effects of both these forms of settlement. In Jounpur landed property is very rarely put up to sale, and there is always a large number of purchasers at public auctions, whereas in Aligarh sale of land is very common and sales are very frequently put off for want of bidders; and it often happens that decree-holders themselves are compelled to purchase the lands they have put up for sale. In Jounpur the price of land is nearly double that in Aligarh; and this fact is even recognized by the legislature. Under the Court Fees Act the valuation of land in permanently settled districts is ten times the revenue; whereas it is only five times the revenue in districts not permanently settled.

There is another point which is fit to be taken into consideration. It would seem from the Despatches that the Government is of opinion that a country should be permanently settled after it has been fully cultivated, whereas zemindars think that they should wait to make improvements till the land is permanently settled. So that the Government is waiting for the zemindars to improve, whereas the zemindars are waiting for the permanent settlement. But the Government cannot compel any one to make improvements, so that, under the circumstances, there is no other course but that the Government should be the first to move in the matter. If it is wished that the country should be prosperous a permanent settlement is an absolute necessity; otherwise those parts of Hindustan which are not permanently settled will remain in the backward condition of those countries where labour is done by slaves. I have therefore great pleasure in supporting the resolution that is before us.

MR. SAJJAD HUSSAIN (Lucknow, No. 480, in list) then spoke in Urdu:

(It has been impossible to procure any report of this gentleman's speech.)

THE PRESIDENT: I really think, Gentlemen, that we must finish this discussion. Do you desire any more speeches on this question (No, no. Vote, vote.)

Then I put our sixth resolution which runs thus—

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

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT: I will now ask Mr. Manomohun Ghose to propose the seventh resolution.

MR. MANOMOHUN GHOSE (Calcutta, No. 8, in list) said: MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The Subjects Committee have decided that it is the duty of the Chairman of the Reception Committee to move the next resolution, and I have, therefore, no option but to rise and discharge that duty to the best of my power. It will, however, not be necessary for me in discharging that duty to detain you more than the minimum period which the President has prescribed for speakers in this assembly. Your attention has probably been drawn to a very remarkable advertisement, which has been appearing in the public papers of Calcutta, whereby, apparently officially, the Government of Bengal directs, or rather professes to advise, that its officers should not attend the Congress even as visitors. (Shame, shame.) I am not surprised at this display of feeling on your part, because speaking for myself, ever since I saw that resolution, it has filled me with grief and amazement, and it must have had the same effect upon every one of you. Gentlemen, it strikes me that a more short-sighted policy could not be conceived than that which is the cause of this strange action on the part of the Government. To my mind it displays a want of statesmanship for which I confess I was not prepared. The Government of a country may have a right, I am not prepared to say that it has; it may claim to itself the right that its officers should not take any part in any

3rd Day.

Res. VI.
Extension
of the
Permanent
Settlement.

Res. VII.
Protesting
against
orders pro-
hibiting
Govern-
ment offi-
cials from
attending
the Con-
gress even
as specta-
tors.

3rd Day. political meetings or political discussions. Such a course may be open to a Government to take, although I myself should consider it to be almost amounting to a confession of weakness. But the Government, if we rightly interpret its action, professes to go further. It says not only shall its officers not take any part in any public meeting, but they shall not attend even as silent spectators or visitors. (*Shame, shame.*) To my judgment this amounts to a sad confession of weakness. (*cheers*)—a confession of weakness which I do not think the Government of this country has any need to make. It must imply one of two things; and, looked at from either point of view, the action of the Government is one which we cannot but deplore. It must imply either that the Government has so little confidence in its own officers that it cannot trust them to resist being contaminated by the discussions in the Congress, or it must imply that the Government is really hostile to our constitutional method of public agitation. Looking at it from either point of view, the action of the Government is exceedingly to be deplored. So far as it implies a confession of weakness, I consider that the Government of India is much too strong to justify its making such a confession. I consider it to be a very strong Government, not because, as it is sometimes supposed, it is based upon the fears of the people, nor, as it is said, because it is based upon the disunion and discord which are said to exist between the different races of India, but, it is strong, because it is based upon the willing allegiance of a loyal people. (*Cheers*). Looked at therefore from any point of view, it is an action which is wholly unintelligible to me, and I believe to most of you. (*All, all*). We are, however, in this predicament; we have not before us any authoritative declaration, certainly not in the words of the Government of India, as to what its orders are on the subject, except an advertisement, which is not altogether consistent with another document, written by the Secretary of the Lieutenant-Governor to our Secretary of the Reception Committee. In the advertisement we are told that the Government considers it not advisable for its officers to attend such meetings. In a letter, which is placed before us and printed, and which I shall presently read, we are told that the orders of the Government of India definitely prohibit the presence of any officials, or indeed by implication, of any members of their household. (*Cheers and laughter*). For my own part, not knowing what the exact terms of the orders of the Government are, I think, we cannot do better than adopt a course which the resolution, which I am about to move, suggests should be adopted. We cannot take any action in the matter until we know what are the exact terms, and what the intentions of the Government of India are. We desire, therefore, that the Government of India should be respectfully moved to place us in possession of such information as it thinks fit to disclose on the subject. It is for these reasons, therefore, that I move this resolution in the paper before you. (*Cheers*). It runs thus:—

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

"THE CONGRESS."

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

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

"Belvedere, 26th December, 1890.

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

*"Yours faithfully,
"P. C. LYON,
"Private Secretary."*

"To J. Ghosal, Esq., Secretary, Congress Reception Committee."

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

Mr. GEORGE YULE (Calcutta, No. 13, in list), in seconding the resolution, said: I have given some study to the instructions that have been issued by the Government, and also to the letter, which has been written by Sir Charles Elliott, and I must say that

I am unable to comprehend their meaning or their purport. (*Hear, hear*). If their objection lies in the fact that we are a Congress of people, I want to know what is a Congress. It is an assemblage of persons of indefinite size. If that is so, then I wish to ask is the St. Andrew's Dinner not an assemblage of persons? Is that too not a Congress. (*Cheers*). Are political subjects not talked of there? (*Hear, hear*). Of late years, in fact, the St. Andrew's Dinner has been made the platform from which political spouting might be made. (*Cheers*). Yet that is not only patronized by Government Officials, but it is availed of by the highest Government Officials to propound their views. I take it, therefore, Gentlemen, that there has been some great mistake about this instruction, that it has been issued by some Dogberry "clothed in a little brief authority." If it has been issued with the sanction of a higher authority, then I state as a positive conviction, that it is a great and serious mistake. (*Cheers*). But if it has received the sanction of the highest authority, if that instruction has been published, and that letter written with the highest authority of the land, deliberately, then I also deliberately say that it is a piece of gross insolence offered to a body of men, whose chief public characteristics are, firstly, devotion to the Queen (*cheers*), and, secondly, devotion to the true interest of the country (*cheers*), and who are animated with as true and as honest a purpose as any official in the land. (*Renewed cheers*). Any instructions, therefore, which carry on their face, as these instructions do in my judgment, an insinuation that we are unworthy to be visited by Government officials, I resent as an insult, and I retort that in all the qualities of manhood we are as good as they. (*Loud cheers*). I think, however, Gentlemen, that we may charitably conclude that this piece of business is simply a mistake on the part of a subordinate official, and in that spirit I cordially second the motion that is now before the Congress. (*Cheers*).

THE PRESIDENT: I think, gentlemen, I may now put this resolution. I think you will all agree with me, that whether Mr. Yule's charitable hypothesis be correct or not, the matter is one of very little importance to us. (*Laughter*). It may involve the gravest discredit to Government (*hear, hear*), and we are bound to give them an opportunity of extricating themselves from the undignified and ludicrous position, if not worse, in which these precious orders apparently place them; but beyond this, so far as we are concerned, the matter having served to amuse us for an hour, may be dropped. (*Loud cheers and laughter*). Shall I put the resolution? (*Yes, yes, vote*).

Then our seventh resolution stands:—

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

"THE CONGRESS."

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

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"To

*"J. GHOSAL, Esq.,
"Secretary, Congress Reception Committee."*

*"Yours faithfully,
"P. C. LYON,
"Private Secretary."*

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

The resolution was then carried by acclamation.

THE PRESIDENT: It is getting very late, and I therefore adjourn the Congress until tomorrow at 12 noon. The meeting then broke up with loud cheers.

3rd Day. Res. VII. Protest- ing against orders pro- hibiting Govern- ment offi- cials from attending the Con- gress even as specta- tors.

FOURTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Tuesday, the 30th December 1890.

[73.]

4th Day. THE PRESIDENT said: I shall now call upon the Hon'ble Pundit Ajoodhia Nath to move the eighth resolution, which runs thus:—

Res. VIII. That the best thanks of this Congress be tendered to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., for the invaluable services rendered by him during the past year, as also to Sir W. Wedderburn, Mr. W. S. Caine, Mr. J. Bright McLaren, M.P., Mr. J. Ellis, M.P., Mr. George Yule, and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for the unselfish zeal and ability with which they have presided over the British Agency of the Congress; further that they put on record an expression of their high appreciation of the manner in which Mr. Digby, C.I.E., Secretary of the Agency, and Messrs. Surendra Nath Banerji, R. N. Mudholkar, W. C. Bonnerji, Eardley Norton and A. O. Hume, delegates to England, respectively, discharged the onerous duties imposed upon them and of their gratitude to all those members of the British public, who so kindly welcomed and so sympathetically gave audience, in over fifty public and a far larger number of private meetings, to one or more of these delegates.

PUNDIT AJOODHIA NATH (N.-W. Provinces, No. 339, in list) said: MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Many of you have performed with conspicuous ability the duty of moving, seconding, or supporting the resolutions that have already been passed, but it was left to me to undertake the nobler and more pleasant task of asking you to express some little measure of your gratitude to those friends who have helped us at a time when we needed that help most. (Cheers.) A friend, in need is a friend indeed, and we must endeavour to repay our obligations. (Loud cheers.)

I am afraid I spoke too hastily. We are so much in debt that we cannot lift our head even under that load of obligations, let alone repay them; but by passing this resolution you may at any rate prevent interest from accumulating. The kindness of those friends who helped the Congress in its infancy cannot be too highly eulogized. This child, which, only a few years ago, was simply a baby in arms, is now able to walk, but it has not learned to walk intuitively. It has been most affectionately and most carefully taught walking by fathers and uncles, by brothers and cousins. (Cheers.) And it is nothing but fair that we should acknowledge the support which they have all along most readily accorded to us. But when a family is about to thank its supporters, it does not name the parents first. And leaving alone for the present, the Father of the Congress, first and foremost amongst those who are entitled to our acknowledgments is Mr. Charles Bradlaugh with his constituents. (Cheers.) The services of Mr. Bradlaugh have been simply invaluable. (Cheers.) You all know that last year, when the Congress was held at Bombay, he came to India to see this august assembly for himself, although he was not in a fit state of health to do much work. But that is not all; he has drafted several Bills, and two he has introduced already into Parliament, for the reform and expansion of our Councils. He has also, in many respects, helped us and our British Committee with his valuable advice. It is partly by his exertions that the duty on silver in England has been abolished, and he has put a great many questions relating to India to the ministry—questions which have instilled a wholesome sense of their responsibilities into the hearts of numbers of officials heretofore practically irresponsible and, in their own eyes, infallible. He could not have done all this without the permission of his constituents. These constituents also are, therefore, entitled to our best thanks. (Cheers.) Let me assure Mr. Bradlaugh and all our English friends who have lent us a helping hand that their kindness and confidence has not been misplaced or thrown away. They have helped a nation, which is devoted to its Sovereign and its country, (cheers) whose claims are most moderate and reasonable, whose methods are always legal and constitutional, who know how to appreciate kindness, and who are ever ready to do all that lies in their power to secure the permanency of British rule. (Cheers.)

I may further be permitted to say that England in helping India helps herself. (Cheers.) If we are truly grateful to Great Britain for the many blessings conferred upon us, England may well be proud of this dependency. India is the brightest gem in the English Crown, and sheds upon it, its greatest lustre. To increase the brilliancy of this gem is to add to the lustre shed upon that Crown. (Cheers.)

The next claimants to our gratitude are our British Committee, and their claims are, indeed, well founded. That the Chairman of the Committee, Sir William Wedderburn (cheers), presided last year at the Congress, is already well known to you. Another member of that Committee is now amongst you, and his services to our cause, his kindly feelings towards our countrymen, require no commendation from me. You can easily understand whom I mean—Mr. W. S. Caine. (Cheers.) Another member of that Committee is the old veteran champion of our cause, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. (Cheers.) Another of our esteemed friends is Mr. George Yule. (Cheers.) I will not take up your time by enlarging upon the valuable assistance you have received from them. This is too well known to be mentioned again here. (Cheers.) The other members of the Committee are Mr. J. Bright McLaren, M.P., and Mr. J. Ellis, M.P., and they, and the entire Committee, have one and all rendered conspicuous services to us.

We must not also forget the claims of the indefatigable Secretary of that Committee, Mr. William Digby. (Cheers.) The zeal and energy with which he has discharged his duties deserve the highest commendation. I refer to his exertions on behalf of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, not to his work in his Private Political Agency, of which we in the Congress know nothing officially. The Indian National Congress does not officially recognize the so-called Political Agency, though we all privately wish it success for Mr. Digby's sake. The Congress is in no way connected with this Agency, nor is it in any manner cognizant of or responsible for its proceedings. It must be clearly understood that those who support that Agency do not, in the least, contribute to the funds of the Indian National Congress. Our leaders have not the remotest connection with that Political Agency. I am commending the exertions of Mr. Digby as our Secretary, as the Secretary of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. (Cheers.)

While I am introducing these distinguished men to your notice, I see before me those excellent friends who did us excellent service in England this year as our delegates. Their countenances seem to betray a feeling that I had forgotten them; but I am not so ungrateful as to forget their services. We know that it is due to their wise and strong advocacy that a very important section of the English community take such a lively interest in the affairs of this Congress. (Hear, hear.) It was through their exertions that that glory of England and the blessing of India, the Right Honorable William Gladstone (hear, hear), promised to support Mr. Bradlaugh's motion before the House of Commons this year. If we receive no hearing from the Conservative party, it is no fault of ours. If they do not wish even to give us an impartial hearing and condemn us, we cannot help it. We have always been anxious, and are still so, that Indian questions should not form part of the English Political programme.

We value the help and co-operation of one party as much as the other. But I am sorry to say that the course we desired to take is impracticable. I must not conceal from our English and Indian friends that many of my countrymen believe that they have very little to expect from a party who have for their leader a statesman who, as far India is concerned, does not hesitate to call white, black. ("Shame.") Do not run away with the idea that I refer to the incident between Lord Salisbury and Dadabhai Naoroji. There is, however, a point in that incident which, to the best of my knowledge, has not been publicly noticed. Lord Salisbury had in his public speech called Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji a black man. There arose then a storm of adverse criticism against which even the premiership of England did not afford sufficient protection, and Lord Salisbury was obliged to offer an explanation. But what did the noble lord say? That he meant nothing except that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji belonged to a different race and could not represent the interests of Englishmen in Parliament. To offer such an explanation was really to plead guilty to the charge; the whole sting of the remark lay in the so-called apology. You all know that the phrase "black man" is a contemptuous, contumelious expression applied to us by our Anglo-Indian detractors. It means to imply inferiority of race and our disqualification to hold any office of trust and honor. And little did I think that this infection had reached England. But I admire the candour of Lord Salisbury. I now find that this contamination has reached, through the India Office, the English Cabinet. Be that as it may, I hope the better classes of the Conservative party will give us a hearing when our friends go to England, and will not allow it to be said that the Conservatives of England are affected by political bigotry and superstition.

Our delegates met with a splendid reception in England, not only from the constituency of Mr. Bradlaugh, whom I have recommended to you for your warm acknowledgments, but also from Glasgow, Aberdeen, Newcastle, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth and a great many other communities. These delegates have done us good service, and indeed it could not be otherwise when you think who they were. I have only to mention their names, and you will see that after that selection had been made the result achieved was a foregone conclusion.

4th Day.

Res. VIII.
Thanking
Mr. Brad-
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Among the delegates were Mr. Surendra Nath Banerji (*cheers*); Mr. R. N. Mudholkar (*cheers*); our valued friend Mr. W. C. Bournerjee, Mr. Eardley Norton of Madras, and last, but not least, one who is the pride of England and the lover of India, one who is the soul of this Congress, Mr. Hume. (*Enthusiastic cheers*.) Mr. Hume has been truly described as the "father of the Indian National Congress." He retired from the public service much earlier than he need have done, and he denied himself the honor of being the ruler of a province, and ever since that time has spared neither time nor money nor energy to make the Congress a complete success. He has worked day and night for us, neglecting his own private affairs, and when he knew that we could not help ourselves, he opened his purse most generously. (*Hear, hear.*) He has been working for us on his sick-bed. If any body knows that by working in that way for us he has ruined his health it is I. In doing that, he has been only following the noble traditions of his family. (*Cheers.*) His father had worked hard for the good of the land of his birth (*hear, hear*), and to introduce reforms into Parliament, and this worthy son of the worthy father has laboured for the good of the land of his adoption. (*Cheers.*) But alas! in the midst of all that kindness, he is inclined to be not only unkind but cruel. He, at times, says that the time has arrived that he should retire from the office of General Secretary. (*No, no.*) The reply to this question by the Congress is one and one only. The Congress says, do not be cruel. Do not leave your most beloved infant child an orphan while you are still living. His connection as General Secretary is too sacred to be broken while he and we are alive, and when we are gone the coming generations of India will cherish his memory with feelings of the deepest gratitude. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, I hope and trust that, long before I die, I shall have the pleasure and gratification of seeing his statue erected by the people he has helped. I now move the resolution for adoption, and I hope you will carry it with acclamation. (*Loud cheers.*)

MR. HAMID ALI (*Lucknow, No. 481, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN.—I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution. The services of the gentlemen enumerated in the resolution are too well known to require any mention or even allusion from me. I believe I express the sense of the entire assembly when I say that language is too poor to give us words strong enough to express our heartfelt gratitude and obligations to them. Besides, I think it is not in the power of this Congress to convey sufficiently our obligations and gratitude, and, therefore, I am satisfied to leave this task to posterity, who will thank them from the bottom of their heart. To serve, is a far higher and nobler law of life than even to rule (*hear, hear*), and this principle has been well expressed in the lives of those gentlemen who have done so much for our country. In the words of the Poet Laureate:

"Not he who breaks the dams, but he
Who through the Channels of the State
Conveys the people's wish, is great;
His name is pure, his fame is free." (*Cheers.*)

I have not the slightest doubt that their names and fame, inscribed on the page of time in deathless characters of gold, with this noble inscription, "these were the workers who knew how to serve," will be handed down to a far distant posterity. (*Cheers.*)

BABU NARENDRA NATH SEN (*Calcutta, No. 671, in list*)—I have been asked to support this resolution, and a more agreeable duty it has seldom fallen to my lot to perform. Differences of opinion might exist in regard to some of the other matters which have come up here for our consideration, but there can be none in regard to the subject of this resolution. There is not another man who has earned our gratitude more deservedly, by his persistent and wholly disinterested advocacy of the cause of India, in Parliament, than Mr. Charles Bradlaugh (*cheers*), the Junior Member for Northampton, but more familiarly known to us all as the Member for India. This last title formerly belonged to that devoted friend of this country, the late lamented Mr. Henry Fawcett. It has now worthily descended to Mr. Bradlaugh, whose good services in our behalf are even much greater than those of Mr. Fawcett, great as those services undoubtedly were. In fact, it has been our good fortune to secure in Mr. Bradlaugh a friend in Parliament, whose powerful advocacy is proving simply invaluable to us. In this rare acquisition I, for one, see the hand of Providence. God has, I believe in his good time, prepared Mr. Bradlaugh to write and work for India, and this overpowering thought ought to stimulate all the more our future efforts. I am sure that we shall find more friends in Parliament like Mr. Bradlaugh, if we only can prove that we deserve to have them. Everything depends on ourselves. I have often and often heard the question asked—what good has come of the Congress movement? Well, if the reply was to come from me, I should say that the Congress has brought to us Charles Bradlaugh, our staunchest friend, our redoubtable champion in the British Parliament. The Congress may have done nothing more—but because it has been able to secure such a friend as Mr. Bradlaugh it has deserved well of the country, and all our labours and pecuniary

sacrifices have not been put forth in vain. We have now, thanks to the Congress, at least one man in Parliament, to whom we can turn in the hour of trial, to whom we can apply hopefully in an emergency, and for the redress of our grievances. The great English Tribune has, by his unceasing efforts in furtherance of our cause, infused a most wholesome terror into the dual Government of this country, and has at least succeeded to some extent in keeping Anglo-Indian officials on the alert. He has evidently made them uncomfortable; and herein lies the secret of so much official opposition to the Congress in this country. No earthly gifts in our power can repay our debt to Mr. Bradlaugh. We can only make him our heart's offering of love and gratitude. (*Loud cheers.*)

But if he has rendered invaluable services, the services of the British Congress Committee have been none the less valuable. Such a Committee of influential Englishmen was very much needed for a long time, and in this Committee, which we have now got in London, under the leadership of Sir William Wedderburn, we have at last got what we so long wanted. With a powerful Committee in London to help our cause, and with Mr. Bradlaugh and other friends to take care of our interests in Parliament, we can surely calculate upon achieving a great deal. It is said that Mr. Digby is a paid agent of ours, and that a paid agent cannot carry much weight in England; but Mr. Digby is entirely in the hands of the English Committee, who are working most disinterestedly and unselfishly for us. The Committee are only adding to the load of obligations to England, under which India is placed on various grounds. It is an article of faith that Englishmen are unconscious instruments in the hands of God for the complete uplifting of our countrymen. When they choose to take us by the hand, we cannot have more sincere and staunch friends than they in the whole world. (*Cheers.*)

And how shall we thank our own delegates whom we sent to England to plead our cause? How can we sufficiently thank Mr. Hume, Babu Surendra Nath Banerji, Mr. Norton, Mr. Joshi, and Mr. Mudholkar? They showed a self-sacrificing spirit which others of us would do well to imitate. It is this spirit, which is very much wanting in us, which we most need to advance us as a nation. In the proportion in which every one of us gives proof of such personal sacrifices, in the same proportion will India progress. All our delegates discharged their duty most nobly and manfully. But the gentleman who, from all accounts, created the greatest impression in England by his eloquence was my esteemed friend, Babu Surendra Nath Banerji. (*Cheers.*) He has quite won the hearts of the Indian people by the great service he has rendered to them. (*Cheers.*)

Before I sit down, I have one word to add, and that is that our venerable friend, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, has practically become our standing delegate in England, and by his presence there he is doing all he can to protect the interests of this country. He deserves our warmest thanks, and so do the Liberals of the Finsbury constituency, who are trying to provide him with a seat in Parliament. I will not take up more of your time. I am sure that you will most gladly and enthusiastically adopt the resolution which I have had the pleasure of supporting. (*Cheers.*)

MR. J. K. CAMA (*Bombay, No. 544, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—It is with peculiar pleasure that I am here in response to the President's call to support this resolution, not because it is a resolution that requires any support, for I know full well that the names before you belong to gentlemen whose praises it requires no bard or songster to sing; that they are names which are cherished as amongst the richest and choicest gems of the land; but because it is a matter of peculiar gratification to me to be in a position to tell you that it has been my good fortune to have had the opportunity of taking an active share in the candidature of one of these gentlemen, a true and noble son of India, whom you did the honor of electing as your President some four years ago in this very city. I refer to our esteemed countryman Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who stood as a candidate for the Holborn division of Finsbury at the General Election of 1886.

Knowing as I do the keen interest you have always taken in the candidature of natives of India in the British Constituencies, and the very close and lively interest with which you have followed Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's campaign, I cannot help thinking that a short sketch of that campaign will not be without some interest to your active and energetic minds. For it was in that campaign that it was pre-eminently shown what a true born native of India could achieve under the most adverse and trying circumstances. It was then that Mr. Dadabhai's indefatigable industry, his indomitable courage, his great erudition and his supreme sacrifice were most markedly shown. I will at once take you into the thick of that campaign. It was on the 12th of April 1886 that our friend set foot in Great Britain with the object of finding a constituency in which to stand. It was in the midsummer of that memorable year that Mr. Gladstone's Parliament was dissolved

4th Day.

Res. VIII.
Thanking
Mr. Brad-
laugh, the
British
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Congress
and the
country du-
ring 1890.

4th Day. and Great Britain was threatened with one of the gravest crises that have stirred it for some time. It was in the midst of all this trouble and turmoil that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji had the good fortune to secure a constituency, but only three weeks before the day of the poll. His constituency in the very heart of the great metropolis, a constituency essentially Conservative in its elements. And what was his situation? He found that the Liberal cause in the Holborn Division of Finsbury was lying idle; it was asleep, and it wanted a man with Herculean power to awaken it. There was no Liberal organized committee there; and what did Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji do? Did he shrink or flinch from this Herculean task? No, Gentlemen, he went bravely to work and organized a Liberal committee; meetings were called in various halls, open-air gatherings were summoned, addresses were delivered and the campaign was fairly begun. The shrewdness of his speech, the soundness of his arguments, and his incontestable statistical statements, won for him the applause and the good graces of his hearers. When he placed before the British public the grievances and the just claims of the teeming millions of India, when he reached the heart of John Bull through the prayers of the bleeding lambs of India, it was then that the sympathy and support of his hearers were strong and loud. What was the end of the campaign? Rome was not built in a day, and a seat in Parliament cannot be gained in three weeks. His was a victory unparalleled in history. The victory was his because he obtained, in the first place, a constituency; the victory was his because he was nominated as a candidate; the victory was his because he went to the poll; and, more than all, the victory was his because he succeeded in reducing the majority of his Conservative opponent who was returned. But, Gentlemen, although he was not returned to Parliament, his voice commenced to be heard, and is now heard in Parliament through those English members who are sitting there, ready and willing to seek information from, and take council with him. At present he is the accepted Liberal candidate for Clerkenwell, and there he works ardently and incessantly for the good of India; and great will be the day for India—and I think the day must come, and I hope it is not far distant—when Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is returned to Parliament to the glory and honour of this great Empire. (Cheers.)

MR. BEGLAR (Calcutta, No. 150, in list)—MR. PRESIDENT.—It is a great pleasure to be one of the supporters of this resolution. It is only natural that the Congress should be grateful to its teacher, its "gooroo," (for that is the relation to the Congress in which our worthy secretary, Mr. A. O. Hume stands), to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, its champion, and Sir William Wedderburn, its leading advocate, a man who has exerted himself in the good cause, not only in India but everywhere else. I am only sorry that there are not more to be thankful to and to include in our resolution. It appears to me that these men, who have supported us at a time when all kinds of insinuation and opposition prevailed against the Congress, deserve our thanks in a way quite exceptional; in a way in which those who come after them will certainly not merit.

We have heard it said that the Congress people are only for themselves; that the Congress demands are excessive; that the Congress is seditious; that it only thinks of itself and would be tyrannical over minorities; that it does not care to look to the other side of the question. It appears to me that all these objections have already vanished. It is now indisputable that the Congress delegates are not sham delegates, but are really elected by large sections of the people, not only the learned and educated, but the masses of the people earning their 5 or 10 rupees a month. Our resolutions have shown that the Congress cares for other people, that it cares for the poor. The resolution as to the salt tax is distinctly intended for the relief of the poor. It is said that we might get a larger number of supporters if our methods were a little more moderate. Our demands are certainly moderate,—there is nothing immoderate in these, but—perhaps they mean that we might adopt a more moderate tone.

THE PRESIDENT: That is not the question.

MR. BEGLAR: I am trying to show that there are possibly means by which the number whom we have to thank may be increased year by year.

THE PRESIDENT: That is not the proposition before the Congress.

MR. BEGLAR: I need only add, then, that I for one am deeply grateful to all these gentlemen named in the resolution (cheers) and support this latter from the bottom of my heart. (Cheers.)

MR. HEM CHANDRA RAI (Calcutta, No. 201, in list) in supporting the resolution 4th Day. said: MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I am extremely grateful to you for the opportunity you give me of taking part in the deliberations of this great national gathering, the more so because I need not add any words of my own to what has fallen from the previous speakers in commending the resolution under discussion, to your acceptance and approval, for there cannot possibly be any two opinions, as to the propriety and, what is more, the extreme necessity of acknowledging, however humbly, the great services rendered to our cause by the distinguished gentlemen, whose names figure in the resolution which I have the honour to support.

No words can be adequate to describe the priceless services rendered by Mr. Bradlaugh, and I will not mar the intense, if silent, feeling of national gratitude which pervades the Indian continent, from one end to the other, towards that remarkable personage by attempting to delineate it by any feeble words of my own. And Mr. Bradlaugh has been ably seconded in his great undertaking by some other English philanthropists, whose unselfish devotion to India, the language of panegyric, however you may strain it, would be inadequate to express. One of these, Mr. Caine, we have been able to welcome in our midst. Last time when he was here his outspoken denunciations of the excise policy of the Indian Government brought down upon him fierce attacks by the Anglo-Indian Journals, one of which went so far as to make the silly proposal to deport him out of India. (cries of 'shame.') I am not at all surprised, Gentlemen, that you respond to my mention of that un-English suggestion by cries of shame, for that is the only term which expresses the intense feeling of indignation that we all experienced on the occasion. Happily, however, the threatened deportation did not take place. Mr. Caine has managed to survive those invectives, and there he sits to-day, honoured and applauded by all, and ready to help us by his wise counsels and weighty support. Ladies and Gentlemen, attacks like the above only indicate the difficulties which beset the path of our English friends; all the more necessary, therefore, that we should, in unmistakable terms, give public expression to our feelings of thankfulness, for their human efforts on our behalf. Not that they themselves desire such an acknowledgment for who can imagine, much less believe, that any but the purest motives actuate Mr. Hume, also now bereft of his dear partner in life, in the noble example of self-sacrifice which he displays—an example equaled only by that of John Howard of immortal name—not that they themselves desire such an acknowledgment, but because we have a duty to discharge, which we cannot possibly shirk. Nor, in making this public acknowledgment of the services of our English benefactors, must we omit to couple the names of, and pay our humble tribute to, those distinguished countrymen of ours who, at considerable sacrifice of time, money, and energy, undertook a trip to England to enlighten the British public as to our wrongs and disabilities, our needs and aspirations. Doubtless they

Have sown some generous seed.

Fruitful of further thought and deed.

But their work needs a healthy continuity, and we only hope that the work so auspiciously commenced will evoke widespread response, and that round this little group of Indian patriots there will be formed a large company of patriotic gentlemen ready to go similar sacrifices on similar errands. And, in return for their noble services, let us them our humble, yet heartfelt thanks, and that which is, indeed, the highest reward a public man can aspire to—the deep and lasting gratitude of a United People.

MOULVI RUKUNUDDIN (Delhi, No. 533, in list) spoke in Urdu and said: GENTLEMEN.—This great gathering, which has drawn us all here to Calcutta from every Province and City of Hindustan is the sixth sitting of the Indian National Congress. Throughout the years over which these sittings have extended, the aims, the objects of the Congress have been day by day growing more and more familiar with the entire population and more and more accepted by all as indicating the true road of progress for our country. Look back at what India was six years ago—look at it now. If the Congress has no other merits, all, even our adversaries, must admit that it has proved itself an unexampled organization for the political education of our people. (cheers.) They who were so lately sunk in hopeless ignorance of their natural rights, those whose hearts seven years ago knew neither hope nor longing for better things—now know; and, do not forget that if union be strength, knowledge is power. (loud cheers.) I am a Delegate from Delhi—a Musliman, and I am glad now even at this sixth sitting to have the chance of publicly avowing the gratitude that, for my country's sake, I feel for the Congress and its past labours. I have been rather suddenly called upon to support this resolution of thanks to those English and Indian gentlemen, who during this year, now almost past, have rendered conspicuous services to the Congress, in other words to India's cause. I support it with all my heart; the names of Bradlaugh and Hume, of Caine and Digby are becoming household words

4th Day. throughout the land, but all this has been already well said by other speakers: it is useless to prolong the debate, and I will therefore only ask you now to pass this resolution with acclamation. (Yes, vote, vote).

Res. VIII.
Thanking
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THE PRESIDENT: Then, I put this 8th resolution:—

RESOLVED.—That the best thanks of this Congress be tendered to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., for the invaluable services rendered by him during the past year, as also to Sir W. Wedderburn, Mr. W. S. Caine, Mr. J. Bright Macdaren, M.P., Mr. J. Ellis, M.P., Mr. George Yule, and Mr. Dadabhai Naorojee for the unselfish zeal and ability with which they have presided over the British Agency of the Congress; further that they put on record an expression of their high appreciation of the manner in which Mr. Digby, C.I.E., Secretary of the Agency, and Messrs. Surendra Nath Banerjee, R. N. Mudholkar, W. C. Bonerjee, Eardley Norton, and A. O. Hume, delegates to England, respectively, discharged the onerous duties imposed upon them, and of their gratitude to all those members of the British public who so kindly welcomed and so sympathetically gave audience, in over fifty public and a far larger number of private meetings, to one or more of these Delegates.

THE PRESIDENT: The resolution has been carried by acclamation. I will now call upon Mr. Monomohun Ghose to propose the 9th Resolution.

MR. MONOMOHUN GHOSE (Calcutta, No. 8, in list)—It is unnecessary for me to make another speech. My only excuse for intruding upon your attention once more is that it is appropriate that the pleasant and agreeable duty involved in moving the Ninth Resolution should devolve upon the Chairman of the Reception Committee. This is the Resolution:—

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

I am sure that in the city of Calcutta no better place could have been selected than the one in which we are assembled to-day. Calcutta is an exceedingly difficult place for the reception of such a large assembly, and the Reception Committee have had great difficulty in selecting an appropriate place for this occasion, and had it not been for the kindness of the proprietors of these gardens and of the palatial residence, in which some 200 of you are luxuriously lodged, it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, for us to have received and accommodated you in the way we have been able to do. (Cheers); and I am sure you will all agree with me that the necessity of thanking the friends who have thus aided us devolves not only on the reception Committee but also on yourselves; and that thanks of the entire Congress are due to the proprietors of these fine gardens and princely residence. (Cheers.) I may add as regards one of these Babu Bhupendra Nath (cheers) that, independent of his and his partner's liberality in the matter of placing great palace the Mohan Bagan Villa at our disposal, no man connected with the Reception Committee has worked harder or with greater zeal. (Loud cheers) I must not forget to mention also in this connection the cordiality with which several other public spirited gentlemen of the city have come forward to place at our disposal their own residences for the reception of some of the delegates who have come to Calcutta. (Cheers) prominent amongst them is our distinguished friend Sir Romesh Chandra Mitra (Cheers); there is also Mr. T. Palit who has placed his beautiful residence at the disposal of the Reception Committee; and there are gentlemen whose names are embodied in the resolution, Babus Janokee Nath Roy, Gopee Mohan Roy, Harendra Nath Roy, Kissorsy Mohan Roy, Ramanath Ghose and Jamadar Ghasiram, owners of houses lent for the use of the delegates, all of whom have voluntarily come forward to help the Reception Committee in a public spirited manner. (Cheers) I am sure no words of mine are necessary to commend the resolution to your approval, and that you will carry it by acclamation.

BABU NAFFER CHANDER PAL CHOWDHURIE (Bengal, No. 139, in list)—I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution. If you adopt it you will only be giving these gentlemen what is justly due to them. I am rather surprised that it has been considered necessary to have a seconder, as I think the resolution ought to have been carried by acclamation as soon as it was proposed by my predecessor.

THE PRESIDENT: I accept the suggestion made by the seconder, and will ask you to carry it by acclamation; it is our Ninth Resolution and is thus worded:—

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

Carried by acclamation.

MR. A. O. HUME (Punjab, No. 319, in list), who, on rising, was received with vociferous applause, the entire Congress standing, said: GENTLEMEN, I do not know whether I shall be able to make myself heard. I have such a terrible cold that I am afraid my voice will hardly travel over this vast assembly (cries of we can hear every word). All right! Then, allow me, in the first place, to thank you for the very, very kind reception you have just given me. It is far more warm and enthusiastic than I have deserved. ("No, No"). But then it is the nature of the people of India to be extremely, excessively, I say almost say, exaggeratedly, grateful for everything done for them: ("No, No"). Knowing then your grateful and generous hearts, I accept your enthusiastic reception of me not as a just tribute to any merits of mine, but as the necessary outcome of your own kindly, loving natures.

And now I ask you to allow me to propose to you the little formal resolution which, as in past years, it falls to my lot to bring before you. There is only one little difficulty about it. I am going to ask you to say that the next Congress shall be held..... where? It is not quite settled, and we are obliged, therefore to lay before you two alternative names. The Madras Committee have very kindly and liberally offered to have the Congress there. We all like the Madras people, and many of us would prefer going there to anywhere else; but we feel that it would be very far for the delegates of many circles to travel. It would be very difficult to get a reasonably good attendance of delegates from the Punjab, from Oude, the North-West Provinces, Behar, and even Bengal, unless gentlemen were prepared to go by sea, and all our delegates are not prepared to do this, and 96 hours journey by rail is no joke. We have therefore all thought that, if possible, we ought to have the Congress at a more central situation—Nagpore is the capital of the Central Provinces and about the most central spot in the Empire, and it is a place at which the Congress has never before met, and we have hopes of being able to arrange for the Congress being held at Nagpore next year. Unfortunately, owing to sickness and other circumstances, the real leaders of our party in Nagpore are not present at the Congress this year, and until we consult them no positive decision on this point can be arrived at. You are now in a position to understand the wording of the resolution which I shall read to you:—

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

If you all agree to this, and I am sure you will, as you are all reasonable and sensible men, you will please carry it at once; and do not let us waste the time of the Congress by requiring any one to second it. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

THE PRESIDENT: The tenth resolution has been carried by acclamation.

BABU NARENDRO NATH SEN (Calcutta, No. 671, in list) then moved the Eleventh Resolution, viz:—

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

He said: MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In moving this resolution, I have only to remind you that, after all, it is England that is the last resort for appeal on all India questions. Our ultimate judges are the British Public, the British Press, and the British

4th Day.

Res. IX.
Vote of
thanks to
house pro-
priators
who lent
their
houses and
grounds
for the
erection of
the Pavi-
lion, or the
reception
of Dele-
gates.

Res. X.
Next Con-
gress to
be held at
Nagpore
or
Madras.

Res. XI.
Provisional
arrange-
ments for
holding a
Congress
in London
in 1892.

4th Day. Parliament. The Government of this country is not now what it was of old, and our affairs are administered more from the India Office in London than from Calcutta or Simla. The Government of this country is carried on by constant reference to the Secretary of State and his Council. The real seat of our Government is not now Calcutta or Simla but it is London, and our real rulers reside in the Metropolis of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Sir we have held already six annual sessions of the National Congress in India. I think, and many others think with me, that since London is the *de facto* seat of our Government and our real rulers reside there, the Indian National Congress may not now unfitly hold a session in that great city. The assemblage of the Congress in London will create an impression in England, such as the six sessions of the Congress have not together produced. Our delegates, who visited England last year, incline to this view, and they urge on us the importance of the Congress meeting in London some time in April or May 1892. You need not be reminded what good the visits of our delegates to England from time to time have brought forth. Whatever interest Englishmen take in the affairs of this country to-day has resulted, mainly, from the periodical visits of our delegates. If, then, the stray visits of a few delegates have done so much good how much more may we not expect from the meeting of the delegates to the National Congress in London? It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of holding a session of the Congress, say, at Exeter Hall or St. James' Hall, in London. My friend, Babu Surendra Nath Banerji, from his late experience as one of our delegates to England, is particularly anxious that we should adopt this course. Mr. Caine decidedly shares this opinion. I myself have long been convinced of the wisdom of such a step, and have, in fact, been advocating the adoption of this course for the last three years or more. Sir, hitherto we have been crying more or less in the wilderness. Let the Congress cry be now heard in England itself from the mouths of its assembled delegates, and then the cry may be heeded. I cannot too strongly recommend you to adopt this resolution, which I believe to be the most important resolution that has been brought before the Congress this year. We need not hold a very crowded Congress in London. A minimum of, say, a hundred delegates will be sufficient for all purposes. If we can find more delegates to go, why so much the better. We do not force the delegation upon any body. It is proposed to make such arrangements for the voyage and back, and during the time of the stay of the delegates in England, as shall be in consonance with the habits and religious feelings of even the most rigidly orthodox Hindus. The presence of a hundred Indian delegates, or more, in London, in Congress assembled, appealing to Englishmen in their very homes, must, let us hope, result in the appeal being granted. But apart from the political effect of such a Congress, the social effect on us all will be great and all-permeating, and besides, in the present state of public feeling in England, the cause of India cannot fail to be very much advanced. I am glad to be able to say that each of the Presidencies and Provinces in India undertakes to send a number of delegates to make up the full complement of the minimum number wanted.

In commending this resolution to your approval, I have only to tell you that thirty-eight years ago, in this great city, when the Indian legislature passed the Lex Loci Act by which a Hindu, who renounced his religion, was declared qualified to inherit his ancestral property, the orthodox Hindu community, with Rajah Sir Radhakanta Deb. at their head, appealed to Parliament for its repeal. Mr. John Farley Leith, the eminent Barrister, was retained as agent in London for the Calcutta Hindu community. Mr. Leith urged the necessity of a deputation from among the orthodox Hindus proceeding to England, and seeking justice personally at the hands of Parliament, in order to convince that body of the depth of Hindu feeling which the passing of the Lex Loci Act had roused. The orthodox Calcutta Hindus then seriously thought of acting upon Mr. Leith's suggestion, and I know it for a fact that preparations were actually in progress for that purpose. But some causes, other than social, led to the abandonment of the idea. I strongly feel that if the idea had been then carried out, and followed largely throughout India, we should have been better governed during the interval between then and now, and the progress of India would not have been hindered for such a length of years. Ladies and gentlemen, I have much pleasure in moving the resolution and recommending it for your acceptance. (Cheers.)

BABU SALIGRAM SINGH (Calcutta, No. 60, in list)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The manifold advantages which would accrue to the cause of the Congress by holding a meeting in England, I need not dwell on, because they have been so clearly stated by the speaker who preceded me. There is, however, one matter in connection with this resolution to which I beg to draw your attention: It is apprehended that there may be some difficulty in the case of orthodox delegates in proceeding to Europe; but I may mention that I had an opportunity of speaking to some of the leading delegates of Behar and Oudh last evening, and I am assured by them that there would be no such difficulty if suitable arrangements could be made for the voyage. Further, I am hopeful that there may be no difficulty, because I know that there have been precedents and that orthodox Hindus have

gone beyond the seas—I refer to the soldiers who went to Abyssinia and Egypt—(cheers) who, on their return, were received, without any loss of caste status, by their people. Their cause was a noble one, namely, to fight for the Crown and for the Government under whom they lived; and that was one of the considerations which led their people to receive them on their return. The cause for which we are contending is equally laudable. We are fighting for the cause of our people, and there is no reason to doubt that the delegates, when they come from England, will be received with acclamation by their own people, without any dissident voices. (Cheers.)

MR. VIRARAGHAVA CHARIAR (Madras, No. 620, in list)—MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW DELEGATES,—I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution. This question is not new to us. It has been before the country for the last two years. A certain gentleman from Bombay addressed a letter and submitted his proposals for an English session of the Congress to the various Standing Congress Committees, and they were received with great attention and approval. Moreover, you will remember that some years ago, when there was a rumour that Government had an idea of suppressing the Congress, we had almost made up our minds to hold it in London, as also that many offers and promises of funds were made in case such a measure proved necessary.

You will, no doubt, be surprised to find me speaking as one of the supporters of the proposition, coming, as I do, from Madras, where a sea voyage is actually prohibited, especially among the Brahmins; and not only this, but where there is a difficulty as to dining together, even among the Brahmins themselves. But this great national movement, though ostensibly a political one, is still a social one. Ever since it had its origin in the Great Hall at Bombay it has been spreading its wholesome influence in all directions. It has been bringing us together and making for us friends all over the country who are helping each other in a thousand and one ways. But, Gentlemen, after two years existence it brought forth in Madras a social conference to work equally in other directions, and if next the Congress be held in Madras it will bring forth another child—the British Congress to be held in London. Had it not been for this Congress, Madras would have been nowhere. It has been greatly helping the people in Madras. Before that time Madras was called benighted. Now we have all throughout the Presidency Standing Congress Committees to help the Central Committee at Madras. Much has been said about the orthodox opinions that would prevent our undertaking a sea voyage to England. On behalf of my province I venture to say that we have never allowed and never shall allow orthodoxy, or any other doxy, to stand in the way of our political advancement. (Cheers.)

It was in the highest days of orthodoxy in Poona that we ventured to cross the barriers of the Indus and the Suliman range and establish our forces in Afghanistan, and it was in those days that the first diplomatic deputation was sent to the English court. I think, therefore, that every one of you will say that, as it is necessary in these days to send a delegation to England and hold a session in the very heart of London, the proposal should meet, as I am sure it will in my province, the cordial support of the public. I have not the least doubt that you have considered that an English agitation is very essential to the success of our undertaking. It is no use breaking one's head against the stone or wooden walls here. You have already considered it necessary to have an English agency in England. Then you have sent pioneers to clear the ground for us. I mean the delegates appointed last year whose good work you have so heartily recognized. What then remains? To remove your battle-field to England, to the very heart of London. That is the logical sequence of the delegation sent last year to England. (Cheers.)

Then, speaking from a business point of view, you have an English Agency, and, although you may recognize its services, it is a good commercial principle, not to depend entirely upon agents, but to do part of the business yourself. Consequently, from a business point of view, it is necessary that you should hold a sitting of the Congress in London, if not this year or next year—sooner or later. This resolution, therefore, comes in as a sequence to what you have done. All things being convenient (by which it is understood the political situation in England being favourable to our aspirations at the time) we propose in the summer of 1892 holding a Congress in London, and thus driving this national agitation home in every sense of the word. (Cheers.)

MR. DEORAO VINAYEK (Berar, No. 590, in list)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have not been called upon to support this resolution because my predecessors have left anything unsaid, but because I come from a province from which no one else has been called upon to speak to this point. The proposition is such that very little need be said upon it. We have held our six meetings of the Congress in

4th Day. this country, and the seventh we hope to hold in Madras. We have fought our battle here, and the time has nearly come when we should move our camp to a stronger and more commanding position where we shall have a greater chance of success. Here, in India, we have been misrepresented, our objects and aims misreported, our methods misconstrued and all Congresswallahs denounced as bad men! But we prove by our actions that we are not so bad as we are represented to be. Our Government ought to know this. It is our duty to show them that we are not bad men. From a political point of view we think we must go to London, where we shall show our true rulers, the people of Great Britain, that we are not bad men. We do our duty not only to our country but to our Government as well. Remembering the difficulties of the Government we make our representations absolutely moderate and quite practical. I support the resolution with pleasure.

Res. XI.
Provisional
arrange-
ments for
holding a
Congress
in London
in 1892.

Socially speaking, there is no difficulty. No duty is superior to our duty to the country in which we were born. We have all of us duties to discharge to our countrymen and friends, and if we do not discharge them we do not fulfil the noble purpose by which alone our existence is justified. Some social objections there may be. If you want to go to England for your profit, for pecuniary purposes, your people may or may not object to take you on your return back into your own caste; but, when you take a nobler duty in hand, when you have gone forth and crossed the stormy ocean solely to serve your country, even the old people, let alone younger generations, are not so blind as to think of putting an obstacle in their patriot brethren's noble course, and they will not only receive you on your return into the bosom of your caste, but receive you with open arms, with rejoicings, praise and gratitude. (*Loud cheers.*)

MR. DHONDO SHAMRAO GARUD (*Bombay, No. 548, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In supporting this resolution I feel my task very much lightened by what the able speakers who have preceded me have said. The grateful acknowledgments which you felt it your duty to make, only a short time ago, of our obligations to the delegates who, at no small sacrifice of time and money, went across the seas to represent our cause before the people of England, will prepare you to admit freely that the scheme of holding a special session of this Congress in England is by no means a visionary one. If three or four men only benefited our cause so markedly, surely a deputation of a large body of earnest men, such as it is proposed to send, is calculated still more largely to conduce to the national benefit. If we thereby secure the sympathies of a larger number of members of Parliament irrespective of parties, that is in itself a service which cannot be over-rated. But over and above that there are the sympathies of English electors themselves, which a larger diffusion of a correct knowledge of Indian subjects and of the loyal aims and aspirations of this assembly, will not fail to win over to our side. (*Cheers.*)

It must be admitted that there are at the outset great difficulties, both pecuniary and social, to contend with in such an undertaking. But I do hope and trust that the patriotism of our countrymen will rise superior to other minor considerations, and that if we but give "a long pull, a strong pull and a pull altogether," it will not be difficult for us to achieve our object. (*Cheers.*) It cannot be denied that if we succeed in carrying it out we shall have an ample return in the advantages it will bring back to us in every shape, whether political, social, moral or educational. Of the necessity of such an undertaking there can also, I think, be no two opinions. Gentlemen, the uncovenanted services lately had a Parliamentary Committee to inquire into their grievances, and it cannot be denied that it brought to them a large measure of relief. But, although we have for a long time been asking for a Royal Commission to inquire into the material condition of India, we have not yet succeeded in obtaining it. In the good old days of the East India Co., Royal Commissions were a settled institution; but there has been no Royal Commission since the direct assumption of the Government by the Crown, that is to say for more than thirty years past. So long, therefore, as there is no Royal Commission the next best thing we can do is to select picked and typical representatives, people from all parts of the country, who will go to England and lay our case before the English people, the very persons who hold the political destinies of our country in their hands. (*Cheers.*)

MR. HARDEO RAM NANABHAI HARIDAS (*Guzerat, No. 538, in list*)—LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The subject before you is a very important one and deserves your serious consideration. There is no question as to its political utility, since the British are ever ready to come to the assistance of oppressed nations. Those who emancipated the negro slaves will surely come to your assistance, you who are Aryans like themselves, and give you a political franchise and political salvation. A suggestion like the present one was made a year or two ago, but serious difficulties were raised, and the suggestion could not readily be accepted. But after all a compromise was effected, and instead of holding a Congress in England it was decided to send a few delegates to London to try the

experiment of the political utility of such a step. But, Gentlemen, when our leaders went there, when they were fighting hard for the benefit of their country, engaged in a noble service, our enemies taunted them with being representatives of themselves and not of the dumb millions of India. Last year, being excited by this taunt, our Congress decided that the delegates for this year should not go without holding in their hands credentials of representation, and therefore certain gentlemen were appointed to go to England as representatives of the Congress and plead before our large-hearted British fellow subjects in their own homes. But this year we go a step further in the process of evolution. From being representatives of a few people assembled in the National Congress, our representatives will be elected by the dumb millions themselves to plead before the British Nation and to tell them what our grievances, our disabilities and our aspirations are. You all know the success with which the batch of noble political pilgrims, headed by their venerable chief, and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, pleaded our cause, and with what devotion they smoothed the way for our political salvation. They did a credit to themselves and to the poor country that sent them. At the same time we should be cautious; we should not be overborne by too much zeal and enthusiasm. Of course hold the Congress, but in selecting delegates the greatest care should be exercised. Select your very best men and send them by all means. If such a deputation from us hold sittings in London the greatest political good may be expected: the British Nation will then be in a position to judge how far the accusation that we Congresswallahs are a set of sedition-mongers, place-seekers discontented do-nothings, holds water. The London session of Congress will also be an epoch in the history of the world; and if we but succeed in educating British opinion in our favor, the work of the Congress will be done. But, Gentlemen, in our flights of enthusiasm we should not be blind to other considerations. Care should be taken that the susceptibilities of the orthodox party should not be roughly overridden in our Oriental enthusiasm. No pressure, however little, should be used to induce delegates to go to the London Congress. I do not object to the London Congress, I am entirely in favour of it, but I give you this warning, and resume my seat. (*Cheers.*)

MR. LUCHMAN ROW GOVIND (*Central Provinces, No. 609, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—This is the first time that I have stood before you, and I will be as brief as I can. After the able, vigorous and energetic support which this resolution has received at the hands of several preceding speakers, it would be superfluous in me to add anything more to prove its importance and necessity. Nor need I dwell upon the advantages and benefits that will follow from it. I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution. (*Cheers.*)

SODHI PRATAP SINGH (*Amritsar, No. 526, in list*) then spoke in Punjabi and said: MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—It is with great pleasure that I support the proposal that some hundred or so of our best men should meet as a Congress in London in 1892. London is the capital of our royal mother Queen Victoria, at whose footstool all aggrieved seek redress. There we shall have a chance of informing our mother of all we suffer and all we want. Though the papers and our reports convey to her some idea of our needs, yet that is not the same thing as it will be when we appeal to her, as it were, at her Palace gates. Surely she will bring about a granting of our prayers, and see that we return back rejoicing, our wishes realized and crowned with fruition.

There also we shall have an opportunity of stating our case fully and clearly before British audiences all over the United Kingdom, and the more good men we send, the greater number of meetings we shall be able to address. That we should have come so far and have made such sacrifices to lay our grievances before the public there, will in itself be no little guarantee of their reality. I come from the Punjab and no one there is opposed to the idea of holding a session of the Congress in England. In the Punjab none now a days object to a man's going to England, on the contrary many desire to go there. I held a commission in the 12th Bengal Cavalry and have been to Abyssinia, Malta and other places over the sea, but neither I nor any of my comrades have ever been outcasted. Thousands of other Panjabi soldiers have similarly crossed the black waters without incurring any social penalties. If no one objected when we went merely to fight for the British Government is it possible that any one should object when we go to England to serve our own country and our own countrymen? In the days of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, Sikh forces fought in Afghanistan, they were never outcasted and no one will be outcasted in my province who goes now to London on this public service. By going we shall all be able to get a clearer idea of the British constitution, and how it works, and how best we may under its shadow obtain our rights and our wishes. We shall do something towards securing a more widespread sympathy amongst our British fellow-subjects and it may even be that they, under our Maharani's favouring glances, may send us back

4th Day.
Res. XI.
Provisional
arrange-
ments for
holding a
Congress
in London
in 1892.

4th Day. with our political mission to some extent crowned with success. Even if it be not so we shall have taken a new and important step in that direction. So I cordially support the resolution. Res. XI. Provisional arrangements for holding a Congress in London in 1892. (Cheers.)

PANDIT SHAYAM NARAYAN MASALDAN (*Lucknow, No. 484, in list*), then spoke in Urdu and said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I come before you not only to give a formal support to the resolution which is now before you, but because I think that it is really a useful resolution. We, the delegates of the Congress, enjoy perfect freedom of thought and speech, and when we give our opinion upon any subject, we do so after much careful consideration. We are not like the members of the Viceroy's Council, who would support any measure that is introduced by the Government. (Cheers.)

And this is not a mere opinion which may or may not be true, but the statement of a fact which rests upon the authority of some of the highest statesmen who have been in charge of Indian affairs, and which is one of the principal reasons why we are desirous of passing the present resolution. Some twenty years ago, the Duke of Argyle, who was then our Secretary of State, wrote to the Viceroy to the effect that "the Government in India were merely Executive Officers of the Home Government, who hold the ultimate power of requiring the Governor-General to introduce a measure, and of requiring also all the official members to vote for it." Some 15 years later this doctrine was emphasised by Lord Dufferin in words of wider and clearer significance. In his Minute on Council Reform, which fortunately saw the light, before the Official Secrets Act came into existence the following remarkable words occur: "The executive that represents her (the Queen's) Imperium in India is an executive directly responsible, not to any local authority, but to the Sovereign and to the British Parliament. Nor could its members divest themselves of this responsibility as long as Great Britain remains the paramount administration in India."

Now without wishing to say one word as to the morality of the doctrine which has been so authoritatively propounded, and which divests the Government of all responsibility to the people whom it governs, I may invite your attention to the position in which this theory of the British Government places us. The fountain-head of our legislation is the Supreme Council. Every measure that is introduced therein is passed by the vote of the appointed members who form the majority. But their vote is controlled by the Secretary of State, who in his turn is controlled by Parliament, and Parliament reflects the opinion of the British nation.

In the last resort then the responsibility rests upon the British nation, who know little about Indian affairs, and whose knowledge of India is confined to purely official sources. Now, the principal source of such knowledge is, of course, the Secretary of State, but he himself has to rely upon the India Council; and yet what is this India Council? It is composed of Anglo-Indian Officials who are at least thirty years behind the age, whose knowledge of Indian matters consists of things which existed a generation ago, but which have entirely changed now, and who, therefore, have little sympathy with the hopes and aspirations of New India. These gentlemen, are the Secretary of State's Councillors, and they have to sit in judgment upon their own past acts. It is not likely that these old officials would take an unfavourable view of things of which they themselves were the authors, or of the system under which they have passed the best years of their lives. Thus, then, the knowledge of Indian matters which the Secretary of State derives from them is such as is allowed to pass through the hands of his Councillors who, of course, on all occasions rely on official blue books which give a purely imaginary and rose-colored view of Anglo-Indian administration.

The value of even this one-sided information and advice is very much diminished when we remember that the Indian Council gives its advice to the Secretary of State under no sense of responsibility to the public or the Government since their minutes are not published, nor the Secretary of State bound to follow them.

But, nevertheless, they exercise a decisive influence upon his judgment, even in their irresponsible position, because, although not bound to follow their advice, yet, as a matter of course, the Secretary of State, having no better guides and assistants upon whom he may rely for Indian experience, has to follow them and shape his Indian policy, as a rule, in accordance with their suggestions.

Thus, the position of Indian politics is this: The Viceroy cannot do anything without the sanction of the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State either will not move unless some Parliamentary pressure is brought to bear upon him, or, if he moves at all, it will be in the

direction of Anglo-Indian opinion. Parliament won't move unless the nation compels it to do so; and the British nation won't move unless it is made alive to the real grievances of the Indian people, and its mind is disabused of the delusive accounts it has heard through official sources of the so-called peace and prosperity of this country.

At present Parliament is not much interested in Indian matters. Our Budget is placed before it at the fag-end of the session, and those who speak upon it have to address empty benches. And yet it was the Duke of Argyle who, in a remarkable pamphlet on the Administrations of Lord Dalhousie and Lord Canning, which he published some thirty years ago, said that at a time when the Indians had no representatives of their own in the Council, and when there was no strong public opinion to check the despotism of the ruling class, it was the duty of Parliament to keep a vigilant eye over Indian matters, and to act as the protector of the people against the aggressions of the Anglo-Indian community. (Hear, hear.)

Thus, it is our first duty to acquaint Parliament and the British people with that side of the picture which is generally concealed by the official class, and to remind them of the sacred and solemn task which God, in his inscrutable wisdom has imposed upon them of governing two hundred and fifty millions of human beings. Therefore the step which you propose to take by holding a future session of the Congress in London is dictated alike by our present political necessity and by the constitution of our Government. It indeed will be a grand day in the history of this country when the representatives stand face-to-face with the great British Nation, not as State prisoners used to stand before Oriental despots with halters round their necks, but as fellow-subjects and fellow-citizens with the charter of liberty in their hands, able to state their grievances before it and entreat it to extend to them the same principles of justice and generosity which it has extended to the Colonies. (Cheers.)

It is said that the people are not fit for the reforms they advocate; that the desire for political progress is confined only to the educated classes who form but a mere fringe of the whole society, and that the vast bulk of the people are perfectly satisfied with their present lot. Now this is I submit a mistake. Whatever may be the aspirations of the English-knowing classes, I stand before you as a specimen of that vast body of Indians who have not received the light of Western knowledge, but, while speaking on behalf of such men, I can assure you that, call them what our critics may—ignorant, bigotted, semi-civilized, old-fashioned "black men"—they are as ardent advocates of reform as the educated classes themselves; and possess among them materials of political knowledge, which can never fail to be of use to the Government and the country. (Cheers.)

It is, however, a happy augury for the future of this country that Parliament has of late begun to manifest some increasing interest in her affairs, and I doubt not that, if you succeed in carrying into practice the resolution which you are about to pass, you will open to England a new world of knowledge and information upon Indian matters, in the light of which she will be able to see the wrongs and injustice which her servants have done to us in her name; and as soon as she sees them she will remove them and will satisfy our just aspirations, which are the fruit of the civilization she has spread amongst us. (Cheers.)

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA (*N. W. Provinces, No. 394, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I should have very much liked to be excused from supporting this resolution for two reasons: in the first place, because I think the resolution is sufficient in itself, and, in the second place, because I am far from well. It has, however, been thought desirable that speakers from every part of the country should testify to the feeling likely to be entertained by the people at large when this proposal is made public. In trying to do this I will venture to point out that if this proposal is accepted by a very considerable proportion of our countrymen who, either through ignorance or misapprehension or some other cause, are opposed to the idea of going to England, or think that a voyage to England disqualifies men in certain respects, the sole consideration which will reconcile them to the proposal will be that they will realize that, thereby, good will be done to this country. I wish you clearly to understand that it is wholly a political mission, with nothing whatever of a social character attached to it, and that if we venture to think of holding a Congress in England, while a considerable portion of our countrymen are, for some reason or other, opposed to that idea, it is simply because we are prompted by the best of motives to do good to our fellows. It is not a matter of choice; but a matter of clear, and I would say, sheer necessity. I should be happy if the necessity did not arise. I should rejoice if before 1892 comes Parliament has passed Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill, and made us those other concessions which we have been claiming, so that we may then have no necessity for holding a Congress in England. Not that I undervalue the great social, literary and other advantages which will accrue from a voyage to England, I covet and value them as highly as any person present, but I confess I covet and value

4th Day.

Res. XI. Provisional arrangements for holding a Congress in London in 1892.

4th Day.

Res. XI.
Provisional
arrange-
ments for
holding a
Congress
in London
in 1892.

the affections of those near and dear to me a good deal more. I value the sympathy of those in whose midst my lot has been cast, and for whose benefit I wish to labor to the extent of my power; and if any act of mine could alienate their sympathy I would abstain from it. But one consideration which will reconcile them to the idea is that we shall be going to England, not for any social or private personal advantages, but simply for the sake of securing for them concessions which will promote their happiness and welfare. I wish also to point out that our belief is that we shall not have to do anything but what we may desire, and what our religious precepts enjoin, in going to England, and that those of us who want to be true orthodox people, and are really so, can be as orthodox by going to England as by remaining here. No one will force you to do anything you think to be against your religion or the teachings of your ancestors; only make up your minds to make the sacrifice that is necessary. Of course, the sacrifice is very great. It is a greater sacrifice than anything I can think of for a man to run the risk of alienating the sympathy of his people, or diminishing the warmth of the affections of those near and dear to him. But many great and heavy sacrifices have to be made when you want to benefit your country. Do you not, when there is a distinct call to fight for your country and your sovereign, go into the battle and try to do the best you can? You lay aside all personal and private considerations. You may to a certain extent injure the feelings of your people, but you do it simply because you think it a clear call of duty. So it will be in this respect. If we go to England it will be in response to the clear call of duty, and I hope that all our countrymen, the most orthodox even, will be reconciled to the idea when they look at it in that light, and that no one will try to put it in any other light. (Cheers.)

MR. PRAN NATH SARASWATI (*Calcutta, No. 42, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW DELEGATES,—If I were to consult my personal inclinations I should not be here at this time of the day. I know full well the value of time, and I am fully conscious of the absence on my part of those gifts of oratory which are calculated to reach the ears and hearts of a large body of men like this. If, therefore, I stand here to-day, it is more in the position of a witness than of an advocate, because, I take it, this duty has been imposed upon me so that I may disclose the attitude of the conservative party, so to speak, in Upper India. Gentlemen, belonging as I do to a race whose limits are the snow-clad Himalayas and the dark waters of the ocean, and claiming as I do some acquaintance with our ancient Brahman literature, I can truly testify that there is nothing in the tenets of our religion which prohibits sea voyages *as such*; that, I am confident, is the better opinion, and I can also testify, as being in touch with the true orthodox opinion in Upper India, that if it should please the country to endorse the mandate of the Congress, with regard to the meeting in London in 1892, which I hope will be endorsed at our next Congress meeting in India, and if you will take care to meet to the best of your power the special requirements of orthodox Hindu gentlemen—and I have no doubt the best endeavours will be made—if these wants are met I can assure you there will be no difficulty in getting representative orthodox Hindu gentlemen from Upper India to represent your country. (Cheers.)

RAJ KUMAR NILKRISHNA BAHADUR (*Calcutta, No. 10, in list*)—LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The cheers that you have accorded to the various speakers are a clear indication of your views as to the necessity of a mission to England. I never could have thought that so many gentlemen would be required to support this resolution, believing that you would at once adopt it when it was proposed. We stand before the British public as complainants, and the Indian Government is the defendant. The British Parliament should be considered as the real jury before whom we are to lay our case. Under the circumstances I think it is only proper and necessary that we should send this our proposed grand mission to England as you have already sent a few individuals to feel the way for them. I trust that you will carry this resolution by acclamation. (Cheers.)

RAI KAKUMAL (*Oudh, No. 513, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—I ask permission to speak on this subject, not because I am an orator or that I have anything to add, or that anything has been left unsaid that ought to be said, but because there have been none of my caste among the supporters of this resolution, and, if I did not speak, it might be understood that my community is keeping aloof from this question. I have great pleasure in supporting the resolution on behalf of my community; and I think that by so many of us going so far across the sea, at our own expense, we shall prove to the Great English Nation that we are in earnest, and that our grievances are real and not imaginary. (Cheers.)

MR. SHARFUDDEEN (*Patna, No. 323, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I think I have been called upon to say a word with regard to the feelings of Mohammedans in general with reference to this resolution. Although I cannot claim to be a very orthodox

Mohammedan, I am in a position to inform you that Mohammedans, as a religious body, have not the least objection to crossing the seas, for the best of reasons that they came to India by crossing the seas. I believe I am to be the last speaker, and I will ask the President to put the matter to the vote.

THE PRESIDENT: Before I put the resolution perhaps you may like to hear what Mr. Caine may have to say upon the subject. (Loud cheers.)

MR. W. S. CAINE (*Sholapur, No. 582, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—It has always been the custom, I believe, at previous Congresses, when a place has been finally decided upon at which the next Congress should meet, for some one from that place to get into the tribune and say how pleased he and his friends are that that particular place has been chosen for the next meeting. Now, you have not finally decided upon where the next Congress is to meet, but I hope when I have finished, what I have to say, you will settle definitely where the one after that is to meet, and I sincerely trust that that will be London. (Cheers.) I have been greatly impressed by the debate that has just taken place, and so I trust will be the general public, from the fact that out of fifteen speeches thirteen have come from orthodox Hindus, one being a Sikh and one a Moslem. That, I think, is a most important fact, for it demonstrates completely that orthodox Hinduism has no objection whatever to crossing the sea if Hindustan is to be served thereby, and does not fear any evil consequences from taking that particular course in a good cause. (Cheers.) The resolution says that the Congress is to be held in England, "all things being convenient." That is a very considerable proviso. I can only say on behalf of your friends in England, who are many more than you think, that it will not be in the least inconvenient to us to welcome you and entertain you when you get there. (Cheers.) The only risk of inconvenience is that some of your friends may be engaged in fighting for positions in Parliament, from which, in time to come, they may fight your battles. (Cheers.) The only thing I think that can prevent the success of the Congress meeting in London in 1892 will be that the present government, which has great tenacity, will be hanging on by tooth and claw till that particular year (laughter); but if public opinion can succeed in turning them out, next year, then I think there will be nothing, so far as we are concerned, that need in the least degree interfere with the convenience of your meeting in London. One thing, at any rate, I can promise you, that, if you meet in London, no manifesto will be issued forbidding Secretaries of State or even penny-post men (laughter) from listening to what you have to say. I think that Her Majesty the Queen is much more likely to invite you all to Buckingham Palace than to forbid any of her faithful servants from taking seats in the galleries, that I am sure will be thronged at every meeting of the Congress in London. (Cheers.) The time has gone by for making speeches on this occasion ("Go on"). Well, I look forward to the time when a hundred, or it may be a thousand Indian gentlemen will find their way across the ocean to hold a Congress meeting in London. It is not always easy for the members of the political agency at home, and those of us whose business it is to advocate your cause at public meetings, and in the press, to bring home to the minds of the English people what this great assemblage really means. I endeavour, when I am in India and attending your Congress meetings, to write home to the press some feeble description of the marvellous scenes and the fascinating debate, within your halls; but no pen can describe and no artist depict satisfactorily either to the eye or the mind of English people what the Indian National Congress really means. It will then be a great object lesson to the English people if we can gather together in Exeter Hall or the Crystal Palace or some other building of great dimensions, the Indian National Congress, that men may hear for themselves and have reported verbatim in every newspaper in the land the reasonable, sensible, statesmanlike and truly patriotic speeches which are delivered here. If the authors of that manifesto, which was so justly censured yesterday, will take the trouble, when the verbatim report of the proceedings of this Congress is published, to read it through from beginning to end, I think they can only lay the volume down with a feeling of profound shame (hear, hear), that they have interdicted Government servants from even listening to the loyal speeches that have been delivered. I have sat here throughout the whole of these proceedings, and not one single word have I heard that could give the slightest justification for the disgraceful manifesto which appeared in the papers yesterday. (Cheers.) At all events, when you come to England you will be listened to, your meetings will be free and open, and I venture to prophesy that there will be hardly a single member of either the upper or lower Houses of Parliament who will not seize the opportunity of seeing and hearing for himself what are the true aspirations of educated Indians. I can only promise on my own behalf, and I think on behalf of all your friends, that when you come you shall have a right royal welcome. (Cheers.) Everything we can do to make your visit pleasant, to make it useful to the cause you have at heart, and to make it tend to the binding together of the Great British Empire of which we are, all, so justly proud, shall be done; and if any of you are still bound by caste rules to any rigid extent, we will do every

4th Day.

Res. XI.
Provisional
arrange-
ments for
holding a
Congress
in London
in 1892.

76

4th Day. thing we can, if you will only tell us how to do it, to make it perfectly easy for the most orthodox of Hindus, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, to visit England without the slightest chance of breaking caste or breaking any of the rules of their religion which they are endeavouring to carry out, and in which every good man must encourage and support them. In the name of all your friends in England—and I will go further and say, in the name of the great English people—I promise you that when you come you will receive such a welcome as will make your hearts rejoice. (*Loud Cheers*).

Res. XI.
Provisional
arrange-
ments for
holding a
Congress
in London
in 1892.

THE PRESIDENT: I now propose that we pass the Eleventh Resolution, but so many speeches have intervened since you heard it that I will read it to you again.

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

Now those of you who are in favour of this resolution hold up your hands. (*Cries of all, all.*) Now those who are of the contrary opinion. (*None, none.*)

Then this resolution has been unanimously carried, and I call on Mr. Watcha to propose the Twelfth Resolution.

Res. XII.
Additions
to the per-
manent
fund of the
Congress.

MR. D. E. WATCHA (*Bombay, No. 543, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The resolution entrusted to me is a formal one and I do not think it need detain you more than a minute. The resolution is:

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

This Resolution requires no speech from me to commend it to your approval, for, really it is a resolution concerning our own domestic economy. The last two days we have been busily engaged with external politics, this is a mere matter of detail of domestic politics, putting our household together, husbanding our resources, and seeing how we can make the Congress stronger and stronger by conserving the sinews of war. You will rejoice to hear that there is a nucleus of a permanent fund which we owe in no small degree to the eloquent appeal which our friend Mr. Banerjee made last year at the Congress. We are now in a position to add to that fund another twenty thousand rupees. You will rejoice to hear that the Congress fund is progressing with the Congress. Gentlemen, we hope now that a good foundation has been laid, that, year by year, as the Congress progresses we shall also progress with our funds, and that our permanent fund will reach twenty lakhs of rupees. (*Hear, hear.*) Twenty lakhs of rupees is nothing in a population of twenty crores. It means one per cent. You are paying two and a half per cent. income tax, and this one per cent. for a patriotic object will not be serious. With these observations I beg to propose this resolution. (*Cheers*).

THE REVEREND RAM CHUNDER BOSE (*Lucknow, No. 505, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW DELEGATES,—I represent among you the garrulity of age and you will not be surprised if I fly off at a tangent from my text, and make an observation or two on what I have seen during this Congress session.

The resolution I have to second is not a source of such great pleasure to me as the resolution you have just passed. The idea of holding a Congress in London is, I believe, the grandest that has flashed on the collective intellect of the National Congress. (*Hear, hear.*) Why? Because we are sure to have in England the sympathy, the encouragement and the co-operation which we have failed to elicit in this land.

There is between England and ourselves and this National Congress what may be called a community of aim. To explain this I must go down to one of the fundamental principles of political science. Several accusations have been preferred against us, and these are obviously ridiculous. If we were accused of idealism, I might be disposed to plead guilty to the soft impeachment. There can be no realism without pre-existing or precedent idealism. All our demands are realistic, but I have not the slightest hesitation in admitting that they have all emanated from an ideal. A great writer in view of the common saying "man is metaphysical *nolens volens*," says that "man

is a politician *nolens volens*." Sensible thoughtful men have before their mental vision an ideal of political development. What is that ideal? The ideal is government of the people by the people and for the people, not government by a monopoly and for a monopoly. Towards this ideal all the best Governments and most enlightened countries of the world are working, and especially England. In the home of constitutional liberty all the foremost thinkers are working up towards this great ideal; and my friends, we aspire to see our Government working up to it also. England is taking grand steps towards this ideal. We ask our Government to take incipient steps towards it. But the step, whether incipient or matured, is one and the same, or has one and the same object in view. The goal is one, and therefore the aim of England and the aim of this Congress are one and the same. (*Cheers*).

But there is between England and this National Congress not only a community of aim but community of interest. The destinies of this country are inseparably bound up with the destinies of England. A prosperous India is to England a source of strength; a weakened, debilitated, impoverished India is to England a weakness. What will be the upshot of the Congress! The National Congress is the great lever, and is fitted, eminently fitted, to raise this country in intelligence, in wealth, in prosperity and in glory. (*Cheers*). And when the country is raised in glory, in strength and prosperity, it will be a source of strength to England. Therefore between England and the National Congress there is a community of interest and therefore a community of method, if you will allow me the expression. The methods utilised by us are the very methods that have been utilised in England by its great political agitators. I do not for a moment maintain that English political agitators have never gone beyond the hallowed line of legitimate and constitutional methods. I am aware that at times these agitators have broken windows and smashed chandeliers. (*laughter*); and these are vagaries that we could never tolerate. (*Cheers*). But the methods utilised there are on the whole constitutional; and our methods are constitutional. There is then a harmony between the methods employed there and the methods employed by us. (*Cheers*).

And, lastly, between this Congress and England there is a community of hope. What is England's grand mission in the world? It is to spread constitutionalism, and the glory of civilization that has evolved from it, throughout the world. And when the National Congress shall have done its work in India, India's glorious mission will be to spread constitutionalism and the civilization emanating from it, throughout Asia, throughout Africa, nay, throughout the whole world.

Two remarks more, and I shall have done. Our English friends, and especially Mr. Hume (*cheers*), who has justly been described as the father of the National Congress, have been represented by the Anglo-Indian Press almost universally as denationalized. They are not denationalized, they are de-Anglo-indianized, and re-nationalized. (*Cheers*). The great heart of Great Britain beats in unison with the heart of this Congress. Their aspirations are in union with our aspirations, and those who deny our aspirations, and who stand in the way of Government making progress when it ought to make progress, are guilty of the highest sedition against the highest principles of Government. They are denationalized: our friends are anglicized. (*Loud cheers*).

These remarks of course are not on the subject of the resolution. (*Laughter*). When I was in America a gentleman was going to a meeting and a friend of his met him and said "are you going to speak on the subject?" No, he said, I am not going to speak on the subject but I am going to speak on some subject. Now I have spoken on some subject, if not on the subject. (*Laughter and Cheers*).

THE PRESIDENT: Now we will come to the subject, and I will ask you to vote for the Resolution No. 12.

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

The resolution was carried unanimously.

4th Day.

Res. XII.
Additions
to the per-
manent
fund of the
Congress.

4th Day. Mr. MUDHOLKAR (Behar, No. 585, in list)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—
 Res. XIII. Expenses of the British Committee and General Secretary's Office. This again is purely formal matter which requires the sanction of the Congress. Only an hour ago you passed a resolution approving of the action of the Delegates whom you deputed to England last summer. The proposition with which I am entrusted is one which is closely connected with the carrying on of the work which was begun by you in December last, namely, that of sending deputations to England. Resolution 18, of which I am in charge, deals with the question of ways and means for carrying out that object and others connected with our British Committees' work. It runs thus:—

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

When I was in England every week there were telegrams sent by your friends here to apprise the British public that the Congress movement in India was dying of inanition, that the funds of which such promises were held out in December last were not forthcoming, and that the Congress cause was in danger of extinction. Those of us who knew how the facts really stood were in no way afraid of what the consequences would be. We knew that sooner or later the money would be forthcoming; and even at the time the telegrams were being sent, money was found for the purposes for which it was promised. I hope that the spirit shown by our people last year will still be manifested as long as it is necessary, as long as we live as a nation, ay, as long as one individual is left among us. (Cheers). Only a very small sum, 40,000 rupees, is wanted for the English expenses, and only 6,000 rupees for the expenses here, and I am sure the generosity of the public is not so dead that we shall not be able to find this sum. (Cheers).

MR. A. CHOWDREE (Calcutta, No. 62, in list)—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution. I will not add another word. (Cheers).

MUNSHI SAJJAD HUSSEIN: (Lucknow, No. 482, in list) then spoke in Urdu.
(It has been found impossible to procure any report of this gentleman's speech.)

THE PRESIDENT: I may now, I think, put this 13th Resolution.

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

The resolution is carried unanimously.

Res. XIV. Reappointment of General and Joint General Secretaries. THE PRESIDENT: The next resolution is one which at all previous meetings of the Congress, which I have attended, has been moved by my friend Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, and it is a matter of the greatest regret to me that he is not able to attend to-day and move it in this Congress. I have asked another delegate to take his place. I hope he will not consider me imperious or dictatorial; but with deference even to my friend Sir Romesh Chander Mitter, I am going to issue a writ of prohibition both on the speaker not to speak one word more than to move the resolution, and on you gentlemen not to call upon him to say a word more. I know of course that in your heart of hearts you would wish to hear not only his one word, but a long speech from him; but he has only with difficulty just left a sick bed and he must positively not be asked to exert himself.

MR. SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE (Calcutta, No. 52 in list) who was received with prolonged and enthusiastic cheering, said: BROTHER DELEGATES,—I am not going to transgress the writ which has been issued against me and against you by my friend the President. Physically I feel unequal to reply to that demonstration of enthusiasm which has been displayed on my behalf. I feel truly grateful for it, and it will be an incentive to me to exert myself still more in furtherance of those patriotic duties which I hold dearer than life itself. (Cheers.) I have now to move a formal Resolution, which I think you will carry by acclamation.

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

I am sure it does not need a seconder. (Cheers.)

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

THE HONORABLE PUNDIT AJOODHIA NATH (N. W. Pres. No. 399, in list)—MR. President and Fellow Delegates,—I have not come upon this scaffold (laughter) a second time to trouble you with another speech. I have to move a formal resolution though a very important one. It requires only to be read to commend it to you.

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

In accepting this resolution you will only be following the precedent of last year.

THE PRESIDENT: I do not think that this Resolution needs a seconder.

The Resolution was carried by acclamation.

THE PRESIDENT: And now, Gentlemen, our long list of resolutions has come to an end—the dishes have all been handed round and the banquet is over. (Laughter).

MR. MONMOHUN GHOSE (Calcutta, No. 8, in list)—Not quite yet (laughter), but the time has now come when I must ask permission to usurp the functions of the President, and to call upon some one to move a vote of thanks to the chair. I have been considering who the person ought to be, and my choice has fallen upon one whom I trust you will also, by general consent, approve of. One of the most notable features of the last Congress in Bombay was the presence of lady delegates. The same interesting feature exists at this Congress also. And if lady delegates are to appear amongst us, it is right that we should recognize their presence and assign to them such part as they may wish to take. I think from what I know of the views and feelings of my friend Mr. Pherozshah Mehta (laughter) that he will take it as a compliment if I ask one of the lady delegates, Mrs. Kadumbini Gangooly to propose the resolution. (Prolonged cheers).

MRS. KADUMBINI GANGOOLY (Calcutta, No. 78, in list) (who was received with loud applause) said: MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I thank you for your kindness and for the honour you have done me by placing me at this high altitude. I am not going to make a long speech, as a woman's voice is not strong enough to make itself audible in this enormous hall. But the resolution which I am going to move does not require much speechifying. It has always been usual for the Congress to select its President, not from the Province in which it is held but from a sister Province. Bengal has followed that example. It called upon a sister Province to send a president whom it would select, and Bombay came forward with its true and noble son Mr. Pherozshah Mehta (Cheers) in order that we might elect him as our President. We are rejoiced to have him, and I think you will all agree with me that we could not have found a better man. (Cheers). There could be no truer heart than that of Mr. Pherozshah Mehta. Manfully and nobly he has discharged his duties, and we are deeply indebted to him for his services. With these few remarks I will retire, asking Mr. Monmohun Ghose to come forward, and with his powerful voice call upon you to carry this vote of thanks by acclamation. (Cheers).

MR. MONMOHUN GHOSE (Calcutta, No. 8, in list)—I am sure you do not require me to put the vote of thanks formally. It is but the outward and visible sign of the feelings which fill every heart here. (Cheers).

The vote of thanks was then carried amidst prolonged and reiterated cheers.

THE PRESIDENT: Mrs. Kadumbini Gangooly, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am quite sure that I must be an object of envy to all my predecessors in this chair, including Mr. Yule whom I see before me, because my Presidency has been rendered illustrious by the circumstance that it is a lady delegate whom you have asked and who has been kind enough to propose this vote of thanks to me. My thanks are doubly due to you for this act of kindness: they are due to you for the cordial manner in which you have received this vote of thanks and for the way in which you have enabled me to earn it by the steady and unanimous support which all of you have given me during these four long days' proceedings. I am really grateful to you for the way in which you have assisted me in carrying these proceedings to so successful a close.

4th Day.
 Res. XV.
 Appointment of Delegates to England.

Vote of Thanks to the President.

President's concluding address.

4th Day. And now the very pleasant task devolves upon me of proposing in my turn a vote of thanks to those who have laboured to make this Congress the great success it has been. Gentlemen, I move a cordial vote of thanks to the Chairman and the members of the Reception Committee who have given us so hearty a welcome in the principal city of Bengal. It is not necessary for me to say one word with regard to its Chairman, Mr. Monomohun Ghose. All who knew him, knew well how he would carry himself in the important position in which you have placed him. Gentlemen, it would be invidious to name the different members of the Reception Committee who have worked for the purpose of making this Congress all it has been. But I do not think I should be discharging my duty properly if I did not name one who has been working all along with heart and soul to make our reception so splendid—I mean my friend Mr. Ghosal. (*Loud cheers*). I have seen him labouring with my own eyes day and night, and I think that the success of this Congress is in no small measure due to his untiring exertions. (*Hear, hear*.) Then there are other members of the Reception Committee whom I am bound to mention, though I will name them briefly for fear of doing injustice to those whom in justice I might name, and who have worked with great assiduity. I must mention the name of my friend Mr. Charoo Chunder Mitter (*cheers*), who has been working, though for a brief period, as earnestly, as indefatigably and zealously as we remember that he worked at the Congress at Allahabad. I think you will also expect me to name Raj Kumar Sarvadhikari, who also has devoted a great deal of time and labor to the matter. Then I cannot forget the name of Baboo Bhupendra Nath Bose (*cheers*), and I must of all things not forget the name of our friend Captain Banon who has worked for the success of this Congress, as he has worked for the success of all previous Congresses. (*Loud cheers*.) Then I will briefly mention our friends Baboo Dwarka Nath Gangooly and Posluputti Bose, who have also laboured hard to make our reception as charming as it has proved. But, Gentlemen, having named the members of the Reception Committee I must not forget that our thanks are due to those, of whose names, some 400 in number, I cannot give you a list; but whom I must mention as having come forward to assist the Reception Committee—I refer to the volunteers. (*Cheers*.) It was perhaps a humble task to perform, but unless that task had been performed in the manner in which they did it, it would have been impossible to preserve order and make our deliberations as orderly as they have been; impossible for any of the delegates to have enjoyed those comforts which have made our sojourn here a real pleasure. I must not forget either the members of those Committees who have also aided in the good work—the members of the Engineering Committee, the Medical Committee and Sanitary Committee. If I were to specify all the names I ought to specify I might go on for ever. I will only ask you to say that all these gentlemen and all these committees, whom I have named, deserve our warmest thanks for the great exertions that they have put forth in making our reception as complete and cordial as it has been. I think I am entitled in the name of the whole Congress (*cries of yes, yes*), and I hasten to do so, to thank Mr. Monomohun Ghose and the members of the Reception Committee, and all the other gentlemen whom I have named or referred to, for their kind co-operation in promoting the success of the Congress. (*Loud and prolonged cheers*.)

Nothing now remains but to dissolve the Congress with the constitutional cheers which we always give: "Long live our Queen-Empress."

Loud and prolonged cheers for the Queen-Empress were then given, and repeated many times, and then, as dusk closed in, the assembly dissolved.

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

SIXTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT CALCUTTA, DECEMBER, 1890.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1	Bengal	Calcutta	British Indian Association.	Hon'ble Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, K.T., B.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar; Member, Viceroy's Legislative Council of India; late Chief-Justice, Bengal, High Court; and Fellow of the Calcutta University, Puddapukur Road, Bowbani-pore, Calcutta.	At a Meeting of the British Indian Association held on the 24th December 1890, and at a General Meeting of the Committee of the Southern Metropolitan Electoral Division, Calcutta, December 10th, 1890.
2	"	"	"	Babu Judd Lal Mullick ...	Hindu Sannyasi.	Landholder and Honorary Magistrate and Justice of the Peace.	At a Meeting of the British Indian Association held on the 24th December 1890.
3	"	"	"	" Kunja Lal Banerjee	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar and late Judge, Calcutta Court of Small Causes.	do.
4	"	"	"	Rajah Sasi Shekhareswar Roy.	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
5	"	"	"	Kumar Rameswar Malia ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar, Merchant, Honorary Magistrate; Member, National Chamber of Commerce; President, Howrah People's Association; and Member, British Indian Association, 6, Cullen Place, Howrah.	do. and at a Public Meeting held at the Howrah Town Hall, December 6th, 1890.
6	"	"	"	Rai Raj Kumar Sarvadhikari Bahadur, B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Honorary Presidency Magistrate; Fellow, Calcutta University; Secretary, British Indian Association, and Editor, "Hindu Patriot," 27, Mott's Lane, Calcutta.	At a Meeting of the British Indian Association held on the 24th December 1890.
	"	"	"	Mr. J. Ghosal ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar, Merchant, Mill-owner, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner of Calcutta; Member of the Government Committee of Management of the Bethune Female College; Trustee, Adi-Brahmo Samaj, &c., &c., Secretary, Congress Committee, Calcutta, and of Bengal Provincial Conference, &c., &c., Kashiabagan Garden House, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.	At a Meeting of the British Indian Association held on the 24th December 1890, at a Public Meeting at Town Hall, December 23rd, 1890, and at a Meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, December 1st, 1890.

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8	Bengal	Calcutta.	Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division, Calcutta.	Mr. Mono Mohun Ghose ...	Hindu Kayestha.	Barrister-at-Law, 4, Theatre Road.	Public Meeting at Town Hall, 23rd December 1890.
9	"	"	"	Maharaj Kumar Behoy Krishna Deb.	do.	Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Raja Nobo Krishna's Street.	do.
10	"	"	"	Maharaj Kumar Nil Krishna Deb.	do.	Zemindar, Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Raja Nobo Krishna's St., Calcutta.	do.
11	"	"	"	The Honorable Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, M.A., B.L., LL.D.	do.	Vakil, High Court; Member, Bengal Legislative Council; Fellow, Calcutta University.	do.
12	"	"	"	Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose ...	do.	Barrister-at-Law, 11, Store Road, Ballygunge.	do.
13	"	"	"	Mr. George Yule ...	English Christian.	Merchant ...	do.
14	"	"	"	Babu Abhoy Kumar Bose	Hindu Kayestha.	Vakil, High Court, 117, Cornwallis Street.	do.
15	"	"	"	Babu Rajendra Nath Banerjee, L.M.S.	Hindu Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Bhim Ghose's Lane, Calcutta.	do.
16	"	"	"	Babu Sadananda Misser, B.L.	do.	Pleader; Editor, "Sarsudha Nidhi," Burrabazar, Calcutta.	do.
17	"	"	"	Babu Ram Lal Set	Hindu.	Zemindar, Bertola Street ...	do.
18	"	"	"	Dr. Trolleykhy Nath Mitter, M.A., B.L., LL.D.	Kayestha.	Vakil, High Court; Fellow, Calcutta University.	do.
19	"	"	"	Babu Saroda Churn Mitter, M.A., B.L.	do.	do.	do.
20	"	"	"	Babu Poshupati Nath Bose	do.	Zemindar, Bagh Bazar Street	do.
21	"	"	"	Rai Bipin Behari Mitter	do.	Zemindar, Shambazar ...	do.
22	"	"	"	Babu Protap Chandra Muzoomdar, L.M.S.	Hindu Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner ...	do.
23	"	"	"	Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Attorney-at-Law; Vakil, High Court, 14, Bolaram Ghose's Street.	do.
24	"	"	"	Babu Mohini Mohun Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Attorney-at-Law, 10, Old Post Office Street.	do.
25	"	"	"	Babu Umesh Chunder Dutt, B.A.	Brahmo.	Principal, City College, 13, Mirzapore Street, Calcutta.	do.
26	"	"	"	Babu Heera Lal Johury	Hindu Jain.	Merchant, Burra Bazar, Cross Street, Calcutta.	do.
27	"	"	"	Dr. U. Banerjee, M.R.C.P.	Hindu Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Bendon Street, Calcutta.	do.
28	"	"	"	Babu Gopal Pathuck	do.	Merchant ...	do.
29	"	"	"	Babu Nobin Chunder Boral.	Hindu Subarnabandick.	Attorney-at-Law, Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, 10, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.	do.
30	"	"	"	Babu Kamini Kumar Guha, M.A., B.L.	Kayestha.	Attorney-at-Law, Bonomali Sircar's Street, Calcutta.	do.
31	"	"	"	Munshi Ferok Hossain	Mahomedan.	Pleader, Small Cause Court, Sealdah, Calcutta.	do.
32	"	"	"	Munshi Dasareetolla	do.	Landholder ...	do.
33	"	"	"	Moulvi Enayat Haq	do.	Merchant ...	do.
34	"	"	The Southern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Kumar Satya Badi Ghosal	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner, and Honorary Magistrate, Bhokailash, Kidderpore, Calcutta.	Elected at a General Meeting of the Southern Metropolitan Electoral Division, Calcutta, on the 10th December 1890.
35	"	"	"	Mr. William Swinholce	European Christian.	Lawyer, Merchant and Municipal Commissioner, Calcutta, Ballygunge.	do.
36	"	"	"	Babu Ashutosh Bose, B.L.	Kayestha.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Alipore.	do.
37	"	"	"	Babu Mohendra Nath Sen	do.	Zemindar, Vice-Chairman, South Suburban Municipality, Calcutta, Russa Pagla, Tallygunge.	do.
38	"	"	"	Babu Bipro Dass Banerjee	Hindu Brahmin.	Editor, Lawyer, Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Gorpar, Calcutta.	do.

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39	Bengal	Calcutta	The Southern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Rev. Nunda Lal Dass ...	Bengalee Christian.	Professor and Missionary, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.	Elected at a General Meeting at the Southern Metropolitan Electoral Division, Calcutta, on the 10th December 1890.
40	"	"	"	Moulvi Zabodur Rohim Zaid, M.A., B.L.	Mahomedan.	Zemindar and Pleader, Judge's Court, 62, Sankaripara Road, Bhowanipore.	do.
41	"	"	"	Moulvi Hazi Bussiruddia ...	do.	Muktear, Alipore, Magistrate's Court, and Landholder, Chetla.	do.
42	"	"	"	Babu Pran Nath Pandit (Sarasvati), M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, and Zemindar.	do.
43	"	"	"	Babu Umakally Mukherjee, B.L.	do.	Lawyer, Kidderpore, Calcutta.	do.
44	"	"	"	Babu Debendra Chundra Ghose, B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Government Pleader, District Court, Alipore; Bhowanipore, Calcutta.	do.
45	"	"	"	Rev. C. N. Banerjee, B.A.	Bengalee Christian.	Missionary, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.	do.
46	"	"	"	Babu Okhil Chunder Mukherjee.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner, Kidderpore, Calcutta.	do.
47	"	"	"	Babu Jogendra Nath Sen, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Lawyer, Bhowanipore ...	do.
48	"	"	"	Babu Iswar Chunder Chuckerbutty, B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Lawyer and Zemindar, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.	do.
49	"	"	"	Babu Tara Podo Ghosh ...	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar, Kidderpore ...	do.
50	"	"	"	Babu Bosunto Kumar Bose, M.A., B.L.	do.	Lawyer ...	do.
51	"	"	The Indian Association.	Raja Rajendra Narayan Deb Bahadoor.	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar and President, Indian Association.	Elected by the Indian Association at a Meeting dated 22nd December 1890.
52	"	"	"	Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Barrackpore; Municipal Commissioner; Editor, "Bengalee."	do.
53	"	"	"	Babu Lal Behari Bysack ...	Hindu	Municipal Commissioner and Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta.	do.
54	"	"	"	Babu Tarini Das Banerjee, M.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar, 17, Iswar Mitter's Lane, Goa Bagan.	do.
55	"	"	"	Babu Jadab Chundra Dutt, M.A.	Hindu Tanti.	Attorney-at-Law, High Court, Calcutta.	do.
56	"	"	"	Babu Satya Prosad Sarbadhikary.	Hindu Kayestha.	Medical Practitioner, 1, College Street, Calcutta.	do.
57	"	"	"	Babu Deviprosad Sarbadhikary, M.A., B.L.	do.	Attorney-at-Law ...	do.
58	"	"	"	Dr. M. M. Bose, M.D., L.R.C.P., EDIN., &c.	Brahmo.	Physician; Zemindar, 64-I, Raj Bazar, Calcutta.	do.
59	"	"	"	Babu Tarapodo Choudhury, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Pleader, High Court; Zemindar, Merchant, 5 Mohesh Chunder Choudhury's Lane, Bhowanipore.	do.
60	"	"	"	Babu Saligram Sing, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Vakil & Honorary Magistrate, 119, Ripon Street, Calcutta.	do.
61	"	"	"	Mr. S. J. Padshah	Parsi.	Journalist, "Indian Mirror," Durrumtole.	do.
62	"	"	"	Mr. A. Chaudhuri, B.A., LL.M. (Cantab) M.A., Calcutta.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Haripore, Pabna; Barrister-at-Law, High Court, Calcutta; Officiating Secretary to the Indian Association.	do.
63	"	"	"	Babu Surendra Nath Dass	Hindu Kayestha.	Attorney-at-Law, 10, Sreenath Das's Lane, Calcutta.	do.
64	"	"	"	Babu Upendra Nath Mukherjee, B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil ...	do.
65	"	"	"	Dr. K. G. Sircar, M.B., L.R.C.P., Edin., L.F.P.S., Glasgow.	Bengalee Christian.	Medical Practitioner, 4, Wellington Square, Calcutta.	do.
66	"	"	"	Babu Kalli Churn Banerjee, M.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta; Fellow of the Calcutta University, 51, Baranasi Ghose's Street, Calcutta.	do.

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67	Bengal	Calcutta	The Indian Association	Babu Nilkomal Mukherjee	Hindu Brahmin.	Banian and Zemindar	Elected by the Indian Association at a Meeting dated 22nd December 1890.
68	"	"	"	Babu Bhubun Mohun Das	Brahmo.	Vakil and Attorney-at-Law, High Court, Calcutta, 48, Populputty Road.	do.
69	"	"	"	Babu Promotho Nath Sen, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta, 5, Kenderdine's Lane.	do.
70	"	"	"	Dr. Praa Dhun Bose, M.B.	Bengalee Christian.	Practice of Medicine, 24, Mirzapur Street.	Elected by the Bengalee Christian Conference on the 5th December 1890.
71	"	"	"	Revd. Peary Mohun Mukherjee, S.P.C.	Bengalee Christian.	Missionary	do.
72	"	"	B. National Chamber of Commerce.	Babu Harindra Lal Roy...	Hindu.	Merchant and Zemindar	Elected at a Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Chamber held on the 1st December 1890.
73	"	"	"	Babu Damodar Das Bormon.	do.	Zemindar	do.
74	"	"	"	Babu Bhola Nath Dhar	do.	Merchant	do.
75	"	"	Calcutta.	Mrs. Hemanta Kumari Sakul.	Brahmo.		At a Ladies' Public Meeting held at 81, Barranosi Ghose's Street, Calcutta, on the 24th December 1890.
76	"	"	"	Mrs. Susila Mazumdar.	do.	Lady Superintendent of Girls' Boarding School.	do.
77	"	"	"	Mrs. Hemanta Kumari Choudhuran.	do.	Editor of "Sugrihni," a monthly journal.	do.
78	"	"	"	Mrs. Kallumbini Gangooly, B.A., G.M.C.B.	do.	Lady Doctor	At a Meeting of Ladies held at Calcutta on the 22nd December 1890.
79	"	"	(24 Pergunnahs) Diamond Harbour.	Babu Ganendra Chandra Roy Chowdhury.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, Diamond Harbour	At a Meeting of Branch Indian Association held at Diamond Harbour on the 8th December 1890.
80	"	"	"	Pandit Bakhul Chandra Tewary.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Diamond Harbour.	do.
81	"	"	"	Babu Upendra Nath Bose	Kayestha.	Honorary Magistrate. Zemindar	do.
82	"	"	"	Babu Raj Kumar Sircar	do.	do.	do.
83	"	"	(District 24 Pergunnahs) Baranagar	Babu Mohit Chandra Bose, M.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Baranagar	At a Public Meeting held at Baranagar on the 14th December 1890.
84	"	"	"	Rai Jotindro Nath Chowdhry, M.A., B.L.	do.	Zemindar, Baranagar	do.
85	"	"	Ichapore.	Babu Rajendra Lal Mukerjee, M.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder, Ichapore, 21, Jhamapukur Lane.	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Ichapore under the auspices of the Reform and Young Men's Association on the 6th December 1890.
86	"	"	Shahapore.	Pundit Kali Prossosso Kavyabisard.	Agnostic.	Editor, "Union," Allahabad; Editor, "Cosmopolitan," Calcutta; Proprietor, Sunilar Press, Bhowanipore, &c., &c., 69-70, Bolaram Bose's Ghat Road, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.	Elected at a Public Meeting held at the Association Rooms on the 21st December 1890.
87	"	"	Barrackpore Sub-Division (24 Pergunnahs).	Babu Bhubonath Nath Banerjee.	Hindu Brahmin.	Chairman, South Barrackpore Municipality; Zemindar, Pleader, 26-1, Scott's Lane, Calcutta.	By a Public Meeting held in the Barrackpore Sub-Division in the month of November 1890; (23rd) held at Khurdah.
88	"	"	Howrah.	Babu Mohendra Nath Roy, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Sudra.	Vakil of the Calcutta High Court; Law Professor, City College, Calcutta; and Landholder. Honorary Magistrate of Howrah, Member of the District Board.	Elected at a Public Meeting held at the Howrah Town Hall on the 6th of December 1890.
89	"	"	"	Babu Akshaya Churn Dass, B.L.	Hindu Kaiburto.	Pleader, District Court, Howrah; Honorary Secretary, Howrah People's Association.	do.

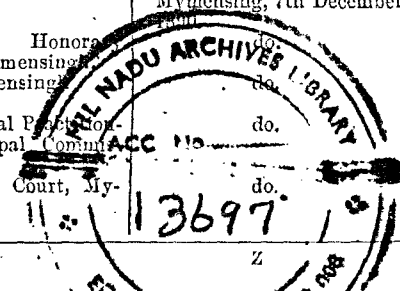
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90	Bengal	Calcutta	Howrah	Babu Nuro Singha Dutta, B.L.	Hindu Surnabank.	Vakil, High Court; Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner, Howrah.	Elected at a Public Meeting held at the Howrah Town Hall on the 6th of December 1890.
91	"	"	"	Babu Kedar Nath Bhatta-charjee.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar and Merchant, Saifragachi, Howrah.	do.
92	"	"	"	Babu Gurudass Kundu Chowdhuree.	Hindu Teli.	Zemindar and Merchant, Moharis, Howrah; Member, District Board and National Chamber of Commerce.	do.
93	"	"	Utterparah Union, (Howrah District).	Babu Sree Krishna Roy Chowdhuree.	Hindu	Secretary, Utterparah Union.	At a Public Meeting at Utterparah held on 25th December 1890.
94	"	"	"	Babu Kisori Mohan Banerjee.	Brahmin		do.
95	"	"	Bali (Howrah District).	Babu Abinash Chunder Banerjee.	do.	Merchant.	Elected at a Meeting held at Balli Rivers Thompson School, on 30th November 1890.
96	"	"	Oolubaria (Howrah District).	Babu Moni Mohun Ghose.	Kayestha	Zemindar and Pleader, Oolubaria, District Howrah.	At a Meeting of the Oolubaria Branch Indian Association held on the 29th November 1890.
97	"	"	Murshidabad.	Sheikh Kurrim Buksh	Mohamedan.		At a Public Meeting of the Murshidabad Association, held on the 29th November 1890.
98	"	"	"	Meer Ekram Hossein	do.		do.
99	"	"	"	Babu Jagger Nauth Prosad Gupta.	Hindu Vaishya.	Zemindar	do.
100	"	"	"	Babu Bijoy Krishna Moitra, B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Honorary Magistrate; Pleader, Judge's Court, Murshidabad.	do.
101	"	"	"	Kumar Woomesh Chunder Roy.	Kayestha	Zemindar	do.
102	"	"	"	Babu Sirish Chunder Basu Surbadhikary.	do.	do.	do.
103	"	"	"	Babu Gopal Chunder Mahapadhyaya, M.A., B.L.	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.	do.
104	"	"	"	Babu Nuffor Dass Roy	Kayestha	Secretary, Murshidabad Association; Municipal Commissioner, Honorary Magistrate.	do.
105	"	"	"	Babu Mukunda Lal Burman	Hindu Kshatriya.	Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Silk Merchant, Zemindar.	do.
106	"	"	"	Babu Bono Beharee Sen	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar	do.
107	"	"	"	Babu Boikunt Nauth Sen	do.	Honorary Magistrate, Zemindar, Municipal Chairman, Burhampur; President, Murshidabad Association; Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.	do.
108	"	"	"	Babu Hemendra Nauth Sen, B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Pleader, Judge's Court	do.
109	"	"	"	Babu Krishna Ballobh Roy.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, Zemindar; Chairman of the Municipality and Local Board, Jangipur; Member, Dist. Board, Murshidabad; Honorary Magistrate, Public Notary.	do.
110	"	"	"	Babu Mohendra Nath Mukhopadhyaya.	Hindu Brahmin.	Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Pleader, Judge's Court, &c.	do.
111	"	"	"	Babu Gour Bullobh Sen, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.		do.
112	"	"	"	Babu Mohesh Narain Roy.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Pleader	do.

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113	Bengal	Calcutta	Kandi (Murshidabad.)	Babu Ramindra Sundar Trivedi, M.A., Premchand Raichand Student.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar.	At a Public Meeting held at Kandi, December 14th, 1890.
114	"	"	Burilwan.	Babu Tara Prasanna Mukherjee, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Zemindar, Burdwan.	At a Meeting of the inhabitants of Burdwan held on the 13th December 1890.
115	"	"	Cutwa (Dt. Burdwan.)	Dr. Brajendra Nath Sen, L.M.S.	Hindu Vaidya.	Medical Practitioner, Honorary Magistrate, second class, and Chairman, Local Board, Cutwa.	At a Public Meeting held at Cutwa on the 30th November 1890.
116	"	"	Amadpur (Burdwan.)	Babu Sripada Chowdhuri.	do.	Zemindar and Agent, C.S.N. and Co., Ltd.	At a Public Meeting held at Amadpur, Dec. 13th, 1890.
117	"	"	Birbhoom.	Babu Dhankrishna Ghose, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha	Pleader, Zemindar and Chairman, Suri Municipality.	By a Public Meeting held in the Bar Library, Suri, 7th December 1890.
118	"	"	"	Babu Chandragati Mustofi, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Zemindar and Member, District Board, Suri, Birbhoom.	do.
119	"	"	Rampurhat (Birbhoom)	Babu Ananta Deb Banerjee.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Munsiff's Court, Rampurhat.	At a Public Meeting held at Rampurhat, December 7th, 1890.
120	"	"	Bankura	Babu Ramanunda Chatterjee, M.A.	do.	Professor, City College, Calcutta.	At a Meeting of the Bankura Association, December 22nd, 1890.
121	"	"	"	Babu Mahesh Chandra Banerjee, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Judge's Court and Member, District Board, Bankura.	do.
122	"	"	Noakhally	Babu Rajani Kanta Bose	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Noakhally.	Elected at a General Meeting of the People's Association of Noakhally, 7th December 1890.
123	"	"	"	Babu Radha Kanta Aich, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Npakhally; Chairman, Noakhally Municipality.	do.
124	"	"	"	Babu Koruna Kumar Dass, B.L.	Hindu.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Noakhally.	do.
125	"	"	"	Babu Rajani Kanta Bose ...	Hindu Kayestha.	do.	do.
126	"	"	"	Babu Girija Kishore Ghose.	do.	Teacher, R. K. Jubilee School, Noakhally.	do.
127	"	"	Khulna	Babu Beni Bhusan Roy, B.L.	Hindu Kayestha	Pleader, Khulna	At a Public Meeting held at Khulna, on Friday, the 5th December 1890.
128	"	"	"	Babu Amrita Lal Baha ...	do.	Talukdar; Member, District Board, Khulna.	do.
129	"	"	"	Rev. Gagan Chundra Dutta.	Christian.	Khulna Town Missionary, Municipal Commissioner; Member, District Board.	do.
130	"	"	Bagirhat, (Khulna District.)	Babu Behari Lal Guha Roy, B.A.	Hindu Kayestha.	Head Master, H. E. School ...	At a Public Meeting of the Bagirhat People's Association, on the 18th December 1890.
131	"	"	Moolghar (Khulna District.)	Babu Surendra Nath Gupta.	Brahmo.	Head Master, Naldha School	At a Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Moolghar, Naldha, Mumbhoge, &c., held on the 21st December 1890.
132	"	"	Jessore	Babu Jadu Nath Ghosh, M.A.	Hindu Kayestha.	Landholder, 65/1, Mirzapore Street, Calcutta.	Elected at a Public Meeting held on the 13th December 1890, Branch Indian Association, Jessore.
133	"	"	Sub-Dvn. Magurah (Jessore District.)	Babu Basanta Kumar Bose	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, Sub. Dvn.	Elected at a Special Meeting of the Magurah Branch Indian Association, held on the 29th November 1890.
134	"	"	"	Babu Jogendra Chundra Dass, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Pleader and Landholder, Magurah.	do.
135	"	"	"	Babu Ambica Churn Sirkar	Hindu.	Landholder, Sub. Dvn. Magurah; Honorary Magistrate and Member, Magurah Local and District Boards.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
136	Bengal	Calcutta	Narail (Jessore District.)	Babu Kali Sankar Sukul, M.A.	Hindu	Principal, Narail Victoria College.	At a Public Meeting held on the 12th December 1890.
137	"	"	Krishnagore (Nuddea District.)	Babu Tarapada Banerjee, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, Judge's Court, Krishnagore.	At a Public Meeting held at Krishnagore, November 25th, 1890.
138	"	"	"	Babu Jadu Nath Chatterjee, B.A., B.L.	do.	do.	do.
139	"	"	"	Babu Nafur Chundra Paul Chowdhury.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Merchant, Tea and Indigo Planter; Vice-Chairman, District Board, and Honorary Magistrate, Krishnagore.	do.
140	"	"	"	Babu Prasanna Kumar Bose, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Vakil, High Court; Honorary Magistrate and Pleader, Krishnagore.	do.
141	"	"	"	Babu Banko Behari Sinha	Hindu	Zemindar, Merchant; Vice-Chairman, Local Board, and Member, District Board, Krishnagore.	do.
142	"	"	"	Babu Akshoy Kumar Mukherjee.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Krishnagore.	do.
143	"	"	"	Babu Bishambhur Roy, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Pleader, Judge's Court; Member, Local Board and District Board.	do.
144	"	"	"	Babu Nunda Gopal Bhaduri	Hindu Brahmin.	Merchant and Landholder ...	do.
145	"	"	Kishengunge (Nuddea District.)	Babu Pulin Vihari Lahiri...	do.	Pleader, District Court; Vice-Chairman, Local Board, and Member, District Board, Krishnagore.	By the Committee of the Mahajan Shabha, Kishengunge, December 15th, 1890.
146	"	"	"	Dr. Jogadish Chandra Lahiri.	do.	Medical Practitioner, 101, College Street, Calcutta.	do.
147	"	"	Santipore (Nuddea District.)	Dr. Bepin Behari Maitra ...	do.	Medical Practitioner, 45-9, College Street, Calcutta.	At a Public Meeting held at Santipore, December 14th, 1890.
148	"	"	Ranaghat (Nuddea District.)	Babu Bacharam Ghuttack...	do.	Broker	At a Public Meeting held on the 10th December 1890.
149	"	"	"	Babu Surendra Nath Pal Chowdhury.	Hindu	Zemindar, late Chairman, Municipality, and Honorary Magistrate with 1st class power, Ranaghat.	At a Public Meeting, December 14th, 1890.
150	"	"	Chogdah (Nuddea District.)	Mr. Joseph Daviditch Melik Beglar.	Armenian	Landholder, Civil Engineer, and Antiquologist.	At a Public Meeting held at Chogdah, December 7th, 1890.
151	"	"	"	Babu Akshoy Kumar Mittra.	Hindu Kayestha.	Talukdar, Chogdah	do.
152	"	"	Meherpore (Nuddea District.)	Babu Nitya Saran Mukerjee.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar, Meherpore.	At a Public Meeting, December 13th, 1890.
153	"	"	"	Babu Ramani Mohan Mullick	Hindu Vaidya.	do.	do.
154	"	"	Kushtea (Nuddea District.)	Babu Durga Das Banerjee...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Zemindar	At a Public Meeting held at Bahadarkali, November 28th, 1890.
155	"	"	"	Babu Purna Chandra Roy...	do.	Zemindar, Mukhtear, and Chairman, Local Board, Kushtea.	do.
156	"	"	"	Babu Basanta Kumar Chatterjee, B.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, Judge's Court, and Secretary to the Krishnagore Branch Indian Association.	do.
157	"	"	Kumarkhali (Nuddea District.)	Babu Hecamba Chandra Maitra, M.A.	Brahmo	Professor, City College, Calcutta, and Member, District Board, Nuddea.	At a Public Meeting held at Kumarkhali, November 18th, 1890.
158	"	"	Chuadanga (Nuddea District.)	Babu Akshay Kumar Maitra, B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Zemindar, Krishnagore.	At a Public Meeting held on the 30th November 1890.
159	"	"	"	Babu Upendra Nath Acharya	do.	Mukhtear, Chuadanga	do.
160	"	"	"	Babu Prassanna Chandra Roy, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Pleader and Zemindar, Chandipur, Kuraluchi.	do.
161	"	"	Hughli.	Babu Bishnupada Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Judge's Court, and Municipal Commissioner, Hughli.	At a Public Meeting held at Chinsurah, December 21st, 1890.
162	"	"	"	Babu Hejoy Gopal Ghose	Hindu Kayestha.	Landholder, Banker, Honorary Magistrate and Assistant Secretary, Local Congress Committee.	do.
163	"	"	"	Babu Hari Mohan Soor	Hindu	Pleader, Judge's Court, Hughli, and Municipal Commissioner, Chandernagore.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
161	Bengal	Calcutta	British-Chander-nagore (Hughli District.)	Babu Satyaprasanna Ghose	Hindu	Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting held at Chinsurah, December 21st 1890.
165	"	"	"	Babu Keshub Chandra Shahu.	do.	Merchant	do.
166	"	"	Bansberia (Hughli District.)	Raja Purnendu Dev Roy	do.	Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
167	"	"	Serampore (Hughli District.)	Babu Nunda Lal Goshain	Hindu, Brahmin.	Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner, Serampore.	At a Public Meeting held at Serampore, December 7th 1890.
168	"	"	"	Raj Kedar Nath Chatterjee Bahadoor, B.L.	do.	Medical Practitioner and Vice-Chairman, Serampore Municipality.	do.
169	"	"	"	Babu Mahendra Chandra Lahiri.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Serampore.	do.
170	"	"	"	Muushi Golam Rosul	Mahomedan.	Zemindar	At a Meeting of Serampore Mofussil Association, Janai October 24th, 1890.
171	"	"	Tamluk (Midnapore District.)	Babu Durga Ram Bose, B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Vakil, High Court	Elected at a Public Meeting held on the 1st December 1890.
172	"	"	"	Babu Surendra Nath Chatterjee.	Hindu Brahmin.	Legal Practitioner	do.
173	"	"	Ghatal (Midnapore District.)	Babu Radha Shyam Gu	Hindu Tanti.	Talukdar, Merchant	At a Public Meeting held at Ghatal on 16th December 1890.
174	"	"	"	Babu Naryan Prosad Dutt	Hindu.	Pleader and Municipal Chairman, Ghatal.	do.
175	"	"	Contai (Midnapore District.)	Babu Shiva Ram Bosu, B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Chakdar and Pleader, Contai.	At a Public Meeting held at Contai, December 6th, 1890.
176	"	"	Midnapore.	Babu Bhubaneswar Mitra.	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar and Medical Practitioner, Bibigunge, Midnapore.	At a Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Midnapore held on the 29th November 1890.
177	"	"	"	Babu Jogendra Chandra Roy.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar, Pleader and a Member of the District Board, Midnapore, Colonel-golah, Midnapore.	do.
178	"	"	"	Babu Saroda Prosad Chatterjee.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader	do.
179	"	"	"	Babu Bhugunath Dass, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Karan.	Zemindar and Pleader, and Vice-Chairman of the Midnapore Municipality and of the Sudder Local Board, and a Member of the District Board, Midnapore, Colonel-golah.	do.
180	"	"	"	Babu Jogendra Nath Sen	Hindu Kayestha.	Talukdar and Pleader, Member District Board, Midnapore, Bibigunge, Midnapore.	do.
181	"	"	"	Babu Krishna Lal Majumdar.	Hindu Vaidya.	Zemindar and Pleader	do.
182	"	"	Arbalia	Babu Upendra Chandra Bose.	Hindu Kayestha	Vakil, High Court, 59, Puddopukur Road, Bhowanipore and Arbalia; Zemindar, President, Arbalia Gyan Vikashiney Sabha.	At a Meeting of the Managing Committee of the Arbalia G. V. Sabha, held on 20th November 1890.
183	"	"	"	Babu Bejoy Lall Dutt	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar; Assistant Secretary, Arbalia Gyan Vikashiney Sabha, Arbalia, 59, Puddopukur Road, Bhowanipore.	do.
184	"	"	Chittagong	Babu Suresh Chandra Singha, M.A.	Hindu Kayestha.	Professor of Science, General Assembly's Institution, Calcutta.	At a Meeting of the District Board Association held on the 18th December 1890.
185	"	"	Tipperah.	Babu Gobind Chandra Dass, M.A., B.L.	Vaidya.	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.	At a Meeting of the District Board Association, Tipperah, held on the 18th December 1890.
186	"	"	Chandpore (Tipperah District.)	Babu Kritanta Kumar Bose, M.A., B.L.	Kayestha.	Lawyer	At a Public Meeting held at Chandpore on the 5th December 1890.
187	"	"	"	Babu Haridyal Nag	do.	do.	do.
188	"	"	Balasore.	Babu Umesh Chandra Mondie.	Hindu Subarnabanik.	Zemindar and Merchant, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner, Chinsura.	Elected at a Public Meeting held on the 7th December and at a Public Meeting held at Chinsurah, December 21st, 1890.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
189	Bengal	Calcutta	Balasore	Babu Bhagwan Chandra Dass.	Brahmo Urya.	Zemindar and Merchant, Balasore.	At a Public Meeting held on the 7th December 1890.
190	"	"	Cuttack (Orissa Association.)	Babu Janaki Nath Basu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, District Court, Cuttack.	At a Meeting held at Cuttack on 3rd December 1890.
191	"	"	Assam	Babu Ghunesyam Burroo	Brahmin.	Pleader	At a Public Meeting of Nowgunj Ryats' Association; Assam.
192	"	"	"	Babu Manick Chunder Borooa.	Hindu	Honorary Magistrate and Vice-Chairman, Local Board, Assam; Merchant, 135, Bow-bazar Street.	At a Public Meeting of the Assami Gentlemen, &c., held in Calcutta.
193	"	"	Nowgong (Assam District.)	Babu Ram Durlova Mazumdar.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, Deputy Commissioner's Court, Nowgong.	Elected at a Meeting at Nowgong on 3rd December 1890.
194	"	"	Dhubri (Assam District.)	Babu Boroda Nath Haldar	Hindu Brahmin.	Manager to the Estate of Rani Abhageswari Devi of Bejni, Goalpara.	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Dhubri on 22nd December 1890.
195	"	"	"	Babu Kali Kumar Sircar, B.L.	Hindu.	Pleader	At a Public Meeting, 21st December 1890.
196	"	"	Sylhet (Assam District.)	Babu Bepin Chandra Pal	Brahmo.	Secretary, Calcutta Public Library, 161-1, Old Bytakhana Bazar Road.	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Karimgunge on 17th December 1890.
197	"	"	"	Babu Radha Nath Chowdhry.	Hindu.	President, Karimgunge Association; Vice-Chairman of the Karimgunge Local Board; Editor and Proprietor, Faridra Newspaper; Proprietor and Manager, Sylhet National Institution; Municipal Commissioner, Sylhet.	do.
198	"	Dacca	Dacca	Babu Chandra Mohan Sen, M.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Vakil, High Court practising at Dacca.	At a Public Meeting held at Dacca, 17th December 1890.
199	"	"	Manik-gunge (Dacca District.)	Babu Pramatha Nath Sen, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Vakil, High Court, 5, Kender-dine's Lane, Calcutta.	At a Public Meeting held at Manikgunge, 10th December 1890.
200	"	"	"	Babu Sarat Chandra Rai, B.L.	do.	Zemindar, Vakil, High Court, & Assistant Secretary, Pashchim Dacca Hitakari Sabha, 12, Nebootola Street, Calcutta.	do.
201	"	"	"	Babu Hem Chandra Rai, M.A., B.L.	do.	Zemindar & Pleader, Judge's Court, 12, Nebootola Street, Calcutta.	do.
202	"	"	Munshigunj (Dacca District.)	Babu Dwarika Nath Gupta.	do.	Banker and Hony. Magistrate, Munshigunj.	At a Public Meeting held at the Munshigunj Bar Library, 11th December 1890.
203	"	"	"	Babu Satyanand Basu, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.	do.
204	"	"	"	Babu Jagat Chandra Roy	Hindu	Pleader, Hony. Magistrate and Member, Local Board, Munshigunj.	do.
205	"	"	"	Babu Kailash Chandra Sen.	do.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Barisal.	do.
206	"	"	"	Babu Dwarka Nath Ganguli.	Brahmo.	Asst. Secy., Indian Association and Journalist, Calcutta.	do.
207	"	"	Mymensingh.	Babu Parvati Sankar Roy	Hindu	Zemindar, Teeta	At a Public Meeting held at Manikgunge, 10th December 1890.
208	"	"	"	Babu Upendra Nath Roy, B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, District Court, Mymensingh	At a Public Meeting held at Mymensingh, 7th December 1890.
209	"	"	"	Babu Devendra Kishore Acharjya.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar and Honorary Magistrate, Mymensingh.	do.
210	"	"	"	Babu Mahima Chandra Rai Chowdhuri.	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar, Mymensingh.	do.
211	"	"	"	Babu Barada Kanta Bose	do.	Talukdar, Medical Officer and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
212	"	"	"	Babu Srikantha Sen, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Mymensingh.	do.



Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
213	Bengal	Dacca	Mymensingh.	Mir Masharaf Hossien ...	Mahomedan.	Editor, "Hitakari," Honorary Magistrate and Manager of Karimmunesa Khanum Choudhurani, Mymensingh.	At a Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Mymensingh Association, held on the 16th December 1890.
214	"	"	"	Moulavi Abdul Hamid Khan Ahmadi Yusufzai.	do.	Editor, "Ahmadi" & Talukdar, Mymensingh.	At a Meeting of the Mahomedan Assembly, held at Calcutta, 24th December 1890.
215	"	"	"	Moulavi Kazi Meshabuddin Ahmadi.	do.	Zemindar, Mymensingh ...	do.
216	"	"	"	Moulavi Kazi Abdul Latiff	do.	Religious Preacher ...	do.
217	"	"	"	Babu Gurudas Chatterjee...	Brahmo.	Municipal Commissioner & Teacher, City Collegiate School, Mymensingh Branch.	At a Public Meeting held on the 7th December 1890.
218	"	"	"	Babu Brajendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar, Gouripur, Mymensingh.	do.
219	"	"	"	Babu Jogendra Narain Acharja Chowdhury.	do.	Zemindar, Muktagachi, Mymensingh.	do.
220	"	"	Iswargunge (Mymensingh District.)	Babu Shyama Charan Bose, B.A.	Hindu Kayestha.		By a Public Meeting.
221	"	"	Jamulpore (Mymensingh District.)	Babu Amar Chandra Dutt	Brahmo	Editor, "Charuvarta" ...	At a Public Meeting held at Sherpore, Mymensingh, 15th December 1890.
222	"	"	Jamulpur (Mymensingh District.)	Babu Ram Ratan Dey ...	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Member, District Board, Jamalpur (Mymensingh.)	At a Public Meeting held at Jamalpur, December 14th, 1890.
223	"	"	Netrakona (Mymensingh District.)	Babu Gagan Chandra Shome	Kayestha	Talukdar, 22, Sitaram Ghose's Street, Calcutta.	At a Public Meeting held 23rd November 1890.
224	"	"	"	Babu Broja Nath Goswami.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Vice-Chairman, Municipality, and Member, Local Board, Netrakona.	do.
225	"	"	Pingna (Mymensingh District.)	Babu Ishan Chandra Chakravarty.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Munsiff's Court, and Member, Local Board, Pingna.	At a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1890.
226	"	"	Backergunge.	Babu Biraj Mohan Rai Chowdhury.	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner.	At a Meeting of the Barisal People's Association, December 21st, 1890, and at a meeting of the residents of Barisal, December 14, 1890.
227	"	"	"	Babu Pyari Lal Roy, B.L.	do.	Vakil, Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate and late Chairman, Barisal Municipality.	do.
228	"	"	"	Babu Tarak Nath Biswas ...	do.	Zemindar, Jalabari ...	do.
229	"	"	"	Babu Aswini Koomar Dutt, M.A., B.L.	do.	Landholder, Pleader, Vice-Chairman, Municipality, Member, District Board, Secretary Barisal People's Association and Member, Local Board, Barisal.	do.
230	"	"	"	Babu Kailash Chandra Sen	Hindu Vaidya.	Mukhtear ...	At a Meeting of the Barisal People's Association, December 21st, 1890.
231	"	"	"	Babu Dino Pandha Das ...	do.	Pleader ...	do.
232	"	"	"	Babu Shashi Kumar Rai Chowdhury.	do.	Zemindar and Member, Local Board, Barisal.	do.
233	"	"	"	Babu Hara Kanta Sen ...	do.	Secretary, Barisal Local Office, and Assistant Secretary, People's Association.	do.
234	"	"	"	Moulavi Asmatuli Khan Chowdhury.	Mahomedan.	Zemindar and late Member, Local Board, Barisal.	do.
235	"	"	"	Moulavi Abdul Kader ...	do.	Lecturer on Arabic and Persian, B. M. Institution, Barisal.	do.
236	"	"	Madaripore (Furcedpore District.)	Babu Amritlal Roy Chowdhury.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar ...	At a Public Meeting held on the 24th November 1890 by the Madaripore Branch Indian Association.
237	"	"	"	Babu Syama Churn Rai Chowdhury, B.A.	do.	Zemindar and Teacher, F. C. Institution, Calcutta.	do.
238	"	"	Kishoregunj. (Furcedpore Dist.)	Babu Guru Prasad Chakravarty.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader: Hony. Magistrate, and Vice-Chairman, Municipality and Local Board, Kishoregunj.	At a Meeting of the Kishoregunj Branch Indian Association, 30th December 1890.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
239	Bengal	Dacca	Furcedpore	Babu Ram Narayan Agasti, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Head Master, Kishoregunj H. E. School; Madager, Dewan Sahab's Estate; Hony. Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Member, Local Board and President, Branch Indian Association, Kishoregunj.	At a Meeting of the Kishoregunj Branch Indian Association, 30th December 1890.
240	"	"	"	Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Pleader, Zemindar and Chairman, Municipality, Furcedpore.	At a Public Meeting held at Furcedpore, 14th December 1890, and also by Furcedpore Surhitsuabha.
241	"	"	"	Babu Girija Sankar Mazumdar.	do.	Vakil, High Court, and Zemindar, Banibaha, Furcedpore.	At a Public Meeting held at Furcedpore, 14th December 1890.
242	"	"	"	Babu Umesh Chandra Sen, L.L.	do.	Pleader, Judge's Court, and Talukdar, Batajore, Jessore.	do.
243	"	"	"	Babu Kishori Lal Sarkar.	Hindu Kayestha.	Vakil, High Court and Talukdar.	do.
244	"	"	"	Babu Gora Chand Das, B.L.	Hindu.	Pleader, Barisal ...	do.
245	"	"	"	Babu Jageswar Ray Chowdhury, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, Judge's Court, 24 Parganas.	At an Ordinary Meeting of the Furcedpore Surhitsuabha, 7th December 1890.
246	"	"	Bhanga (Furcedpore District.)	Babu Rajkumar Dutt ...	do.	Zemindar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Bhanga, December 1890.
247	"	"	Alisakanda (Furcedpore District.)	Babu Prasanna Kumar Bose.	Brahmo.	Landholder and Superintendent, Sanjibani.	At a Public Meeting held at Alisakanda, 15th December 1890.
248	"	"	"	Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, B.A.	do.	Landholder, Editor, Sanjibani and Superintendent, City College (School Dept.).	do. And also at Tangail, 15th December, 1890.
249	"	"	Goalundo (Furcedpore District.)	Babu Jafnoki Nath Pal, B.L.	Hindu Baroe.	Pleader, Rajbari, E. B. S. Ry. Station.	At a Public Meeting held at Goalundo, 7th September 1890.
250	"	Rajshahye.	Rajshahye.	Babu Taran Krishna Bhau-mik.	Hindu Sudra.	Talukdar, Jotedar, and Money-lender; Honorary Magistrate, Bangari, Rajshahye.	At a Meeting of the Rajshahye Association, on 22nd December 1890.
251	"	"	"	Babu Rakhal Charan Mandal.	do.	Zemindar and Banker, Rampore Beaulah.	do.
252	"	"	"	Babu Jogendra Nath Chowdhury.	do.	Zemindar and Medical Practitioner, Dhakdhar, Rajshahye.	do.
253	"	"	"	Raja Ramani Kanta Roy, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar, Chowgong, District Rajshahye.	do.
254	"	"	"	Babu Jadob Chandra Chowdhury, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Rajshahye.	do.
255	"	"	"	Babu Suresh Chandra Maitra, B.A., B.L.	do.	Landholder; Pleader, Judge's Court, Rajshahye; Member, Rajshahye District Board; Municipal Commissioner, Rampore Beaulah, and Secretary, Rajshahye Association.	do.
256	"	"	"	Babu Hiralal Roy, B.A. ...	Brahmo.	Honorary Magistrate and Head Master, H. E. School, Naogaon, Rajshahye.	At a Meeting of the Rajshahye Association, on 22nd December 1890, and at a Public Meeting at Naogaon, on 19th December 1890.
257	"	"	"	Babu Rajkumar Sarkar ...	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar and President, Rajshahye Association, Karachmaria, Rajshahye.	Public Meeting at Beaulah, 30th November 1890.
258	"	"	"	Babu Hari Charan Maitra, L.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Judge's Court, and Honorary Magistrate, Rajshahye.	do.
259	"	"	"	Babu Mukunda Mohan Maitra, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Rajshahye.	Public Meeting at Rampore Beaulah, on 30th November 1890, and at a Meeting of the Rajshahye Association, on the 22nd December 1890.
260	"	"	"	Babu Tara Nath Choudhuri	do.	Zemindar, Taherpur ...	do.
261	"	"	"	Babu Pratap Chandra Roy, L.L.	do.	Pleader; Chairman, Local Board; Member, District Board, and Municipal Commissioner, Pabna.	At a Public Meeting held on the 23rd November 1890.
262	"	"	"	Babu Girish Chandra Roy, B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, Honorary Magistrate, and Zemindar, Pabna.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
263	Bengal	Rajshahye.	Bogra ...	Babu Pyari Sankar Das Gupta.	Hindu Vaidya.	Medical Practitioner, Honorary Magistrate, and Municipal Commissioner, Bogra.	At a Public Meeting at Bogra, on the 27th November 1890.
264	"	"	Dinajpore	Babu Madhab Chundra Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Dinajpore.	At a Public Meeting, held on the 12th November 1890.
265	"	"	"	Babu Hari Mohun Singha, B.A.	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar ...	do.
266	"	"	"	Babu Michu Chundra Sankar.	do.	Zemindar and Merchant, Dinajpore.	do.
267	"	"	"	Babu Gouranga Sundar Mazumdar.	do.	Zemindar, Dinajpore ...	do.
268	"	"	"	Babu Umesh Chandra Khasnavis.	do.	Mukhtear, Dinajpore ...	do.
269	"	"	Julpaiguri.	Kumar Jagadindra Deb ...	Hindu.	Jotedar, Municipal Commissioner and Vice-President, Julpaiguri Branch, Indian Association.	At a Public Meeting of the Branch Indian Association, Julpaiguri, 14th December 1890.
270	"	"	"	Babu Upagati Roy, B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader; Secretary to the Branch Indian Association, and Director to the Julpaiguri Banking and Trading Corporation, Limited.	do.
271	"	"	"	Babu Akhoy Kumar Bose ...	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, Julpaiguri ...	do.
272	"	"	"	Babu Tarini Prasad Roy, B.L.	do.	Pleader and Secretary to the Ratepayer's Association, Julpaiguri.	do.
273	"	"	Rungpore.	Babu Ramani Mohan Roy	do.	Zemindar, Kankina, Rungpore	At a Public Meeting held at Rungpore on the 7th December 1890.
274	"	"	"	Babu Hem Chandra Mitra, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Rungpore ...	do.
275	"	"	"	Babu Kailash Chandra Roy	Hindu Vaidya.	Mukhtear, Rungpore ...	do.
276	"	"	"	Babu Biseswar Sen	do.	Pleader, Rungpore ...	do.
277	"	"	"	Babu Baroda Prasad Bagchi	Hindu Brahmin.	do.	do.
278	"	"	"	Babu Prasanna Nath Chowdhury.	do.	do.	do.
279	"	"	Nilphamari (Rungpore District.)	Babu Rajkumar Bhattacharya.	do.	Pleader, Nilphamari ...	At a Meeting of the Nilphamari, Sanmilani Sabha on the 24th August 1890.
280	"	"	"	Babu Gopal Chandra Chatterji, M.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader; Member, District and Local Board; and Honorary Magistrate, Nilphamari.	do.
281	"	"	Sherpore (Bogra District.)	Babu Kali Kishore Munshi	do.	Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate, and Chairman, Municipality, Sherpore.	At a Public Meeting held at Bogra 7th December 1890.
282	"	Bhagulpore.	Bhagulpore.	Babu Sharoda Prosad Mookerjee B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Bhagulpore ...	At a Public Meeting held on the 28th November 1890 in the Bhagulpore Institution.
283	"	"	"	Babu Dinabandhu Banerjee, B.A., B.L.	do.	do.	do.
284	"	"	"	Babu Harendra Lal Roy, B.A., B.L.	do.	do.	do.
285	"	"	"	Babu Srikumar Choudhuri, M.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, Madhepurah (N. Bhagulpore.)	do.
286	"	"	"	Babu Moti Lal Misra ...	do.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Bhagulpore.	do.
287	"	"	"	Babu Shyama Pada Ghose, L.M.S.	Hindu Satgopa.	Medical Practitioner, Madhepurah (North Bhagulpore.)	do.
288	"	"	"	Babu Panchum Narayan Singh.	Hindu Rajput.	Zemindar, Koiriapatty, Gambhari P. O., Madhepurah (N. Bhagulpore.)	do.
289	"	"	"	Babu Lukshmi Narayan Singh.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Honorary Magistrate; Member, District and Local Boards; Zemindar Bahini Gambhari, P. O., Madhepurah (N. Bhagulpore.)	do.
290	"	"	"	Babu Kuldip Lal ...	Hindu Agarwalla.	Zemindar; Municipal Commissioner and Hon. Magistrate, Bhagulpore.	do.
291	"	"	"	Babu Mohabir Prasad ...	Hindu Jaiswar.	Assistant, Messrs. T. N. Singh and Son of Calcutta, Jalalabad (S. Bhagulpore.)	do.
292	"	"	"	Rai Tejnarayan Singh Bahadur.	Hindu Jaiswar.	Zemindar, Banker, Indigo Planter and Honorary Magistrate, Bhagulpore.	do.

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293	Bengal	Bhagulpore	Bhagulpore	Babu Juggernath Prasad, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar and Pleader, Bhagulpore.	At a Public Meeting held on the 28th November 1890 in the Bhagulpore Institution.
294	"	"	"	Babu Shiva Sankar Sahai.	do.	Pleader, Bhagulpore, Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Member District Board.	do.
295	"	"	"	Babu Abinash Chandra Basu, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	do.	do.
296	"	"	"	Babu Sunkata Charan Mitter.	do.	do.	do.
297	"	"	"	Rai Surya Narayan Singh Bahadur, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Banker, Zemindar, Vice-Chairman District Board, and Municipal Chairman, Bhagulpore.	do.
298	"	"	"	Dr. Lally Mohun Ghose ...	do.	Medical Practitioner, Honorary Magistrate, and Secretary, T. N. Jubilee College, Bhagulpore.	do.
299	"	"	"	Babu Rashbehari Lal Mondal.	Hindu Gwala.	Zemindar and Member, Local Board.	do.
300	"	"	"	Babu Upendra Chandra Singh.	Hindu Kayestha.	Municipal Commissioner; Member, District Board; Honorary Magistrate and Zemindar, Naga, Champamagur P. O. (Bhagulpore.)	do.
301	"	"	Monghyr.	Babu Narayan Das B. L.	Hindu Agarwalla.	Pleader, Monghyr ...	At a Public Meeting held at Monghyr on the 20th December 1890.
302	"	"	"	Babu Akhileswar Prasad, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar and Pleader, Monghyr.	do.
303	"	"	Purnea.	Babu Chetnarayan ...	Hindu Kayestha.	Landholder, Mukhtear and Municipal Commissioner, Purnea.	At a Public Meeting held at Purnea on the 2nd December 1890.
304	"	"	"	Babu Golabnarayan	do.	Landholder and Mukhtear.	do.
305	"	"	"	Babu Shiva Prasad	do.	do.	do.
306	"	"	"	Babu Nauuck Pershad ...	do.	Pleader, Landholder, Vice-Chairman, Purnea Municipality; Municipal Commissioner and Member, District Board, Purnea.	do.
307	"	"	"	Babu Newalkishore ...	Hindu Agarwalla.	Zemindar, Hon. Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner, Purnea.	do.
308	"	"	"	Babu Bishen Chaud	do.	Landholder, Indigo Planter, Honorary Magistrate, and Member, District Board, Purnea.	do.
309	"	"	"	Babu Jogendra Nath Mukherjee, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Purnea ...	do.
310	"	"	"	Babu Parbatty Churn Das, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmo.	Pleader, Landowner, Member, District Board, Purnea.	do.
311	"	"	"	Babu Kamakhya Nath Ghose, L.M.S.	Hindu Satgopa.	Doctor, Municipal Commissioner, Honorary Magistrate, Member District Board, Purnea.	do.
312	"	"	"	Mir Jowhar Ali	Mahomedan.	Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
313	"	Chota-Nagpore.	Hazari-bagh.	Rai Jadu Nath Mookherjee, B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil; Honorary Magistrate; Vice-Chairman, Municipality; Director, Chota-Nagpore Banking Association, Ltd.; President, Union Club; Secretary D. C. Public Institution; Member, District Committee, and President, Hazaribagh Association.	At a General Meeting of the Hazaribagh Association and the residents of the town of Hazaribagh and its suburbs, the 7th December 1890.
314	"	"	"	Malik Hossain Bux	Mahomedan.	Landholder and Private Service.	do.
315	"	"	"	Mirza Imdad Ali Beg	do.	Landholder, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
316	"	"	"	Babu Hari Charan Mitra, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, Hazaribagh; Vice-Chairman, District Board; Municipal Commissioner, Honorary Magistrate, and Director, Chota-Nagpore Banking Association.	do.

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317	Bengal	Chota-Nagpore.	Hazari-bagh.	Babu Girindra Kumar Gupta, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner; Secretary, Chota-Nagpore Carrying Company, Limited; Joint-Secretary, Hazaribagh Union Club; Assistant Secretary, Hazaribagh Girls' School, and Secretary, Hazaribagh Association.	At a General Meeting of the Hazaribagh Association and the residents of the town of Hazaribagh and its suburbs on the 7th December 1890.
318	"	"	Ranchi.	Babu Jagat Pal Sahay	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader; Municipal Commissioner and Member, District Educational Committee, Lohardugga.	By a Public Meeting at Ranchi on the 18th December 1890.
319	"	"	"	Babu Banwari Lal	do.	Zemindar and Muktear, Ranchi.	do.
320	"	"	"	Babu Panch Courry Dey, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Lohardugga, Municipal Commissioner, Member, District Educational Committee.	do.
321	"	"	Purulia.	Babu Ram Chandra Sinha, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Purulia	Purulia (Sub-Committee, on the 3rd December 1890).
322	"	"	"	Babu Baidya Nath Ghatak, B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Purulia	do.
323	"	Behar.	Patna District.	Syed Sharfuddin	Mahomedan.	Barrister-at-Law and Zemindar, Bankipore; Vice-Chairman, Patna District Board; Chairman, Dinapore Local Board; and Municipal Commissioner, Patna.	At a General Meeting held at Bankipore, on the 6th December 1890.
324	"	"	"	Babu Guru Prasad Sen, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Zemindar and Vakif, High Court, practising at Bankipore; Municipal Commissioner, Patna, and Editor of "The Behar Herald and Indian Chronicle."	do.
325	"	"	"	Babu Biseswar Sinha	Hindu Kshatriya.	Zemindar and Pleader, Bankipore; Honorary Magistrate, Patna, and Member, Arrah Local Board.	do.
326	"	"	"	Moulavi Abdul Hamid, B.A., B.L.	Mahomedan.	Zemindar and Pleader, Bankipore; Honorary Magistrate, Patna; Member, Patna District Board, and Vice Chairman, Dinapore Local Board.	do.
327	"	"	"	Moulavi Basharat Hossein.	do.	Zemindar, Bankipore	do.
328	"	"	"	Moulavi Syed Ali Rashid.	do.	Zemindar and Contractor, Bankipore.	do.
329	"	"	"	Moulavi Syed Naruddin Ahmed-Balkhi.	do.	Zemindar and Pleader, Doon-dibazar, Patna City; Municipal Commissioner, Patna.	do.
330	"	"	"	Babu Mahabir Sahay, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Vakil, High Court and Zemindar, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.	do.
331	"	"	"	Babu Purnenda Narayan Sinha, M.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, Bankipore	do.
332	"	"	"	Babu Sham Narain	do.	Zemindar and Pleader, Bankipore; Member, Dinapore Local Board.	do.
333	"	"	"	Babu Surja Kumar	do.	Zemindar and Pleader, Bankipore.	do.
334	"	"	"	Babu Hanuman Sahay	do.	Zemindar, Shorampore via Phulbari P.O.	do.
335	"	"	"	Babu Raja Ram	Hindu Vaisya.	Zemindar and Banker, Patna City, and Honorary Magistrate.	do.
336	"	"	"	Pundit Jainarain Bajpai	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar and Banker, Patna City.	do.
337	"	"	"	Babu Narain Prasad, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Kshetry.	Vakil, High Court, Patna City; Municipal Chairman, Patna.	do.
338	"	"	Shahabad.	Syamal Nanda	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, Zemindar, Baboo Bazaar, Arrah (Shahabad); Municipal Commissioner, Member, District and Local Board.	At a General Meeting held at Arrah on the 14th December 1890.

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339	Bengal	Behar	Shahabad	Babu Ragunundan Pershad, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar; Vakif, High Court, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.	At a General Meeting held at Arrah on the 14th December 1890.
340	"	"	"	Babu Ram Rajendra Deo Narayan.	do.	Zemindar, Matulpar, Shahabad; Member, Local Board.	do.
341	"	"	"	Babu Raghubans Sahay, B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, Calcutta High Court; and Zemindar, Arrah; President, Arrah Bar.	do.
342	"	"	"	Babu Koylash Chandra Banerjee M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil and Zemindar, Arrah.	do.
343	"	"	Behar People's Association.	Moulavi Mahomed Ismail.	Mahomedan.	Pleader and Zemindar, Subzibag, Bankipore.	At a Meeting of the Association held on the 15th December 1890.
344	"	"	"	Babu Sarat Lal	Hindu Kurmi.	Zemindar and Cultivator, Daryapore.	do.
345	"	"	"	Babu Thakur Singh	do.	Zemindar, Chainpura, Haraut P.O., District Patna.	do.
346	"	"	"	Babu Mohesh Narayan	Hindu Kayestha.	Editor, "Kayestha Gazette," Bankipore.	do.
347	"	"	"	Babu Nand Kumar Prasad alias Lalla Prasad.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Bilwargunj, Patna City.	do.
348	"	"	Mozufferpore.	Babu Narayan Das	Hindu Kshatriya.	Zemindar	At a Public Meeting held at Mozufferpore on the 14th December 1890.
349	"	"	"	Babu Rameswar Narain Mahtha.	do.	Zemindar, Banker, Indigo Planter, Municipal Commissioner and Honorary Magistrate.	do.
350	"	"	"	Babu Biswanath Prasad Mahtha.	do.	Zemindar, Banker, and Indigo Planter.	do.
351	"	"	"	Babu Gajadhar Prasad Sahu.	Hindu Sahu.	Zemindar and Banker	do.
352	"	"	"	Mr. Pringle Kennedy, M.A., B.L., Premchand Roychand Scholar.	European Christian.	Pleader, District Court, Mozufferpore.	do.
353	"	"	"	Babu Purneshwar Narain Mahtha.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Zemindar, Banker, Indigo Planter, Municipal Commissioner, and Vice-Chairman, Mozufferpore; Member, District Board; Chairman, Local Board, and Hon. Magistrate.	do.
354	"	"	"	Babu Kunjan Lal	Hindu Agarwala.	Zemindar and Banker, Mozufferpore.	do.
355	"	"	"	Mirza Golam Hyder	Mahomedan.	Manager of a Banking Firm	do.
356	"	"	"	Moulavi Syed Ahmed Hossein, B.L.	Mahomedan Shiah.	Pleader and Zemindar, Mozufferpore.	do.
357	"	"	"	Babu Saruj Deo Narayan Singh.	Hindu Babhun.	Zemindar, Mozufferpore	do.
358	"	"	"	Mr. B. D. Bose	Hindu Kayestha.	Barrister-at-Law, Mozufferpore.	do.
359	"	"	"	Babu Sharashi Charan Mitra, B.L.	do.	Pleaser, Mozufferpore	do.
360	"	"	"	Babu Trailokya Nath Bose, M.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil and Zemindar, Mozufferpore.	do.
361	"	"	"	Babu Ramdhan Salmi	do.	Zemindar and Vice-Chairman, District Board; Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner.	do.
362	"	"	Durbhanga.	Babu Kripa Nath Mazumdar, B.A.	Hindu Vaidya.	Asst. Hd. Master, Raj School, Durbhaoga; Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner.	By the Standing Committee on the 20th December 1890.
363	"	"	"	Munshi Maseerallum		Mukhtear, Durbhanga	do.

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364	Bengal	Bihar	Gya	Hakim Syed Attuf Hosein.	Mahomedan.	Medical Practitioner, Gya ...	At a Public Meeting held at Gya, on the 9th December 1890.
365	"	"	"	Babu Isri Prasad ...	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar and Rais, Mahalla Chowk, Gya.	do.
366	"	"	Tikari (Gya District).	Babu Nand Kishore Lal, M.A., B.L.	do.	Zemindar and Vakil, Gya ...	do.
367	"	"	"	Babu Deoki Nandan, B.A.	do.	Zemindar, Tikari, Dist. Gya...	do.
368	"	"	"	Moulavi Syed Sakhawut Hussain.	Mahomedan.	Zemindar and Rais Tikari, Gya.	do.
369	"	"	Saran	Babu Jadunath Mitter, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, Saran ...	By a Public Meeting held on the 6th December 1890.
370	"	"	"	Babu Sheo Bax Mull ...	Hindu Marwari Agarwala.	Banker and Zemindar; Honorary Magistrate, Chapra.	do.
371	"	"	Dumraon	Babu Mathura Prasad ...	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar, 4, Kyd Street ...	By Dumraon Friends' Debating Club, 23rd December 1890.
372	N. W. Provinces.	Benares.	Benares	Pundit Chunnilal Pandey.	Hindu Brahmin.	Private Service Johori Bazar, Benares City.	At a Public Meeting held at Benares, December 14th, 1890.
373	"	"	do.	Pundit Uma Sankar Dubey.	do.	Tripura Bhairani, Benares City.	do.
374	"	"	do.	Babu Mokshada Das Mitra.	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar and Banker, Benares City.	do.
375	"	"	do.	Babu Govinda Das ...	Hindu Agarwala.	Banker, Benares ...	do.
376	"	"	do.	Babu Upendra Nath Basu, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, District Court, Benares City.	do.
377	"	"	Azamgarh	Babu Hira Lal ...	do.	Makhtear ...	By Public Meeting held on 14th December 1890.
378	"	"	do.	Babu Mookteshar Roy ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader Judge's Court, Azamgarh.	do.
379	"	"	do.	Babu Gourishankar Singh.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Zemindar and Pleader, Azamgarh.	do.
380	"	"	Mirzapore	Babu Sriram ...	Khetree	Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner, Member, District Board.	At a Public Meeting held on 22nd December at Kalandar Gir's House.
381	"	"	"	Babu Banj Pershad ...	Bhargava	Zemindar, Contractor, Hony. Magistrate, Member, Municipality and District Board.	do.
382	"	Allahabad.	Allahabad.	Munshi Sadrudeen Ahmed	Mahomedan.	Zemindar, Syed of Sannat Jama'at.	Elected at a Public Meeting held in the Kayestha Pathsala Hall on the 11th December 1890.
383	"	"	"	Mirza Mohammed Mahdi ...	do.	do.	Elected at a Public Meeting held in Rani Mandi on 22nd December 1890.
384	"	"	"	Moulvie Ameqr Ali ...	do.	Government Pensioner ...	do.
385	"	"	"	Mir Akhtar Hussain ...	Mahomedan Shia.	do.	do.
386	"	"	"	Mir Anwar Hussain ...	do.	do.	do.
387	"	"	"	Sheikh Nabee Ashraf ...	Mahomedan Sannat Jama'at.	Teacher and Zemindar	Elected at a Public Meeting held in Village Ujehnee on 21st December 1890.
388	"	"	"	Sheikh Mohammed Sadik...	do.	Zemindar	Elected at a Public Meeting held in Janka Village on 20th December 1890.
389	"	"	"	Sheikh Hassan Ali ...	do.	Private Service	do.
390	"	"	"	Mir Musarrat Ali ...	Mahomedan Shia.	do.	Elected at a Public Meeting held in Village Karra on 21st December 1890.
391	"	"	"	Sheikh Sa'adat Ali ...	Mahomedan Sannat Jama'at.	do.	Elected at a Public Meeting held in Johnstongunj, Allahabad, on 17th December, 1890.

86

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392	N. W. P.	Allahabad.	Allahabad	Mir Hatim Ali ...	Mahomedan Shia.	Zemindar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Johnstongunj, Allahabad, on 23rd December 1890.
393	"	"	"	Pundit Baldeo Ram Dave...	Gujrati. Nagar Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P.; Joint Secretary, Standing Congress Committee, Allahabad.	Elected at a Public Meeting held at the Kayestha Pathsala, on the 11th December 1890.
394	"	"	"	Pundit Madan Mohun Malaviya, B.A.	Hindu Malaviya Brahmin.	Joint Secretary, Standing Congress Committee, Allahabad.	do.
395	"	"	"	Pandit Beni Madhav Bhattacharjya.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pensioner, Municipal Commissioner, Honorary Magistrate, Allahabad.	do.
396	"	"	"	Babu Charu Chunder Mittra.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, Zemindar and Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board, Allahabad.	do.
397	"	"	"	Mr. T. N. Ghose ...	do.	Pleader, District Court, and Secretary, Jubilee Club, Municipal Commissioner, Allahabad.	do.
398	"	"	"	Munshi Madhava Prasad ...	do.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P.; Zemindar and Honorary Magistrate; Honorary Secretary, Standing Congress Committee, Allahabad.	do.
399	"	"	"	Hon. Pandit Ajoodhia Nath	Hindu Cashimeri Brahmin.	Joint General Secretary; Member, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal; Vakil, High Court; Member, Legislative Council, N.-W. P. and Oudh; Fellow of Calcutta and Allahabad University.	do.
400	"	"	"	Mr. L. Tracey ...	European Christian.	Editor, "Morning Post."	do.
401	"	"	"	Sheikh Sabir Hussain ...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar ...	do.
402	"	"	"	Mirza Tufail Ali-Beg ...	Mahomedan Shia.	do.	do.
403	"	"	"	Syed Mir-Jan ...	do.	do.	do.
404	"	"	"	Mir Nourauz Ali ...	do.	do.	Elected at a Public Meeting held in Village Karra on 21st December 1890.
405	"	"	"	Mir Nazim Hussain ...	do.	do.	do.
406	"	"	"	Shah Sajjad Hussain Hafiz	Mahomedan Sannat Jama'at.	Priest ...	Elected at a Public Meeting held in Village Kunara on 19th December 1890.
407	"	"	"	Hafiz Kamruddin ...	do.	Zemindar	Elected at a Public Meeting held in Midara Village on 15th December, 1890.
408	"	"	"	Sheikh Raza Hussain ...	Mahomedan Shia.	do.	do.
409	"	"	"	Sheikh Zahiruddin ...	Mahomedan Sannat Jama'at.	do.	do.
410	"	"	"	Munshi Ahmed Hussain...	do.	do.	do.
411	"	"	"	Sheikh Ashraf Ali ...	do.	do.	do.
412	"	"	"	Syed Rahmat Ali ...	Mahomedan Sunni	do.	do.
413	"	"	"	Sheikh Ali Mohammed ...	do.	do.	At a Public Meeting held at Kara on 22nd December 1890.
414	"	"	"	Sheikh Abdul Gaffur ...	do.	do.	do.
415	"	"	Cawnpore	Hakim Fakrul Hussein ...	Mahomedan.	Physician ...	By Public Meeting at Lal Gaya Pershad's house, on 17th December 1890.
416	"	"	"	Syed Mohammad Hadi ...	Mahomedan.	Rais and Zemindar	do.

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417	N. W. P.	Allahabad.	Cawnpore.	Hafiz Aboo Said Khan ...	Mohammedan Pathan.	Proprietor of a Printing Press	By Public Meeting at Lala Gaya Pershad's house on 17th December 1890.
418	"	"	"	Moulvi Mahomed Siddiq ...	Mohammedan Syed.	Principal of Faiz-am Arabic School.	do.
419	"	"	"	Babu Ram Sing Bhargava	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader	do.
420	"	"	"	Lala Madho Ram	Hindu Khetri.	Banker	do.
421	"	"	"	Maharaj Sheo Sahay	Hindu Gope Brahmin.	Lecturer of Arya Samaj, Cawnpore.	do.
422	"	"	"	Pundit Prithinath	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Zemindar	do.
423	"	"	"	Babu Harnam Singh	Sikh.	Proprietor, "Cawnpore Gazette," Urdu.	do.
424	"	"	"	Lala Madan Chand Khunna.	Hindu Khetri.	Cloth Merchant	do.
425	"	"	"	Lala Gobind Pershad	do.	Merchant and Contractor	do.
426	"	"	"	Babu Gunga Dayal	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader	do.
427	"	"	"	Pundit Hirdey Narain Koul	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader; Assistant Secretary, Divisional Congress Committee, Cawnpore, and Assistant Secretary, Anjuman Refah-i-um, Cawnpore; and Zemindar.	do.
428	"	"	"	Babu Shewnarain	Hindu Mahasani Kshatriya.	Banker and Contractor	do.
429	"	"	"	Babu Nundunpershad	Hindu Khetri.	Merchant	do.
430	"	"	"	Lala Hakim Chand	Hindu Vyasa.	Banker	do.
431	"	"	"	Babu Bansidhar	Agarwala, Hindu Mohesri Vaisya.	Banker	do.
432	"	"	"	Babu Troilokya Bauerjee.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Secretary, Reform Association, Cawnpore.	do.
433	"	"	Prayag Hindu Samaj.	Swami Ala Ram	Hindu	Missionary, Sanyast	By a Meeting of the Prayag Hindu Samaj, dated 23rd December 1890.
434	"	"	"	Lala Gonesh Pershad	Hindu Agarwala.	Banker, Zemindar, &c.	do.
435	"	"	Dehra Dun	Rev. Bhoobun Mohun Bose	Christian.	Pleader	Public Meeting on 7th December 1890.
436	"	"	Moradabad.	Babu Narendra Chundra Bose.	Hindu Kayestha.	Vakil	At a Public Meeting held at Moradabad, 11th December 1890.
437	"	"	Agra.	Thakur Zahir Singh	Kshatriya.	Zemindar, Agra	At a Public Meeting held at Sheo-ka-Bazar, Agra, on 7th December 1890.
438	"	"	"	Bai Sohanlall	Kayestha Arya.	Rais, Banker, Ferozabad	do.
439	"	"	"	Mirza Mahomed Ibrahim Beg Chaghtai.	Mohammedan.	Zemindar	do.
440	"	"	"	Sheikh Khwaja Bux	do.	Proprietor, Miftahatullam Press, Mundla.	do.
441	"	"	"	Munshi Mahomed Munir Khan.	do.	Merchant, Agra	do.

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442	N. W. P.	Allahabad.	Alighurh.	Syed Sarfaraz Ali	Mohammedan.	Pleader and Zemindar	At a Public Meeting held at Alighurh, 14th December 1890.
443	"	"	"	Mohamed Sarfaraz Khan	do. Pathan.	Pleader	do.
444	"	"	"	Mohamed Zafariyab Khan	do.	Pleader	do.
445	"	"	"	Mohamed Mustajabullah Khan.	do.	Zemindar and Indigo Merchant.	do.
446	"	"	"	Hafiz Abdurrahim	do. Sheikh.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Alighurh.	do.
447	"	"	Jhansi.	Pundit Fryag Dass	Arya Brahmin.	Mukhtear and Zemindar	Public Meeting held at Jhansi on 17th December 1890.
448	"	"	"	Babu Basanta Kumar Sanyal.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader	do.
449	"	"	Almora.	Sheikh Manullah	Mohammedan.	Merchant	do.
450	"	"	"	Pundit Hari Ram Pande, B.A.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P.	do.
451	"	"	Farruckabad.	Lala Durgaprasad	Boishanali Bastagi.	Banker, Rais, Municipal Commissioner.	By a Public Meeting held at Farruckabad City on the 10th December 1890.
452	"	"	"	Lala Jowala Prashad	Boishanali Vasiya.	Shopkeeper	do.
453	"	"	Banda.	Lola Rughuber Dyal	Hindu Kayestha.	Mukhtear, Secretary, Kayestha Sabha.	By a Public Meeting held on the 12th December 1890.
454	"	"	"	Babu Kali Prosonno Banerji.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P., Member, District Board.	At a Public Meeting held at Bareilly on the 21st December 1890.
455	"	"	"	Babu Prio Nath Bannorji...	do.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P., Municipal Commissioner.	do.
456	Oudh	Lucknow.	Lucknow	Babu, Sree Ram, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Vakil Municipal Commissioner, Zemindar.	By a Public Meeting held on the 12th December 1890.
457	"	"	"	Pandit Maharaj Kishen	Arya Brahmin.	Rais	do.
458	"	"	"	Pundit Janki Nath	Kashmiri Brahman.	Pleader	do.
459	"	"	"	Nawab Nadir Sahab	Mohammedan.	Wasikdar	At a General Meeting of the Anjuman Mahomedai, 22nd December 1890.
460	"	"	"	Nawab Ali Sahab	do.	Merchant	do.
461	"	"	"	Syed Aga	do.	Wasikdar	do.
462	"	"	"	Syed Munay Sahab	do.	Moulavi	do.
463	"	"	"	Nawab Masum Ali Khan	do.	Wasikdar	do.
464	"	"	"	Manshi Asgar Ali Khan	do.	Private Service	do.
465	"	"	"	Munshi Mohamed Furhat Ali.	do.	do.	do.
466	"	"	"	Syed Amcer Hussain Khan	do.	do.	do.
467	"	"	"	Syed Yakub Hussain	do.	do.	do.

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468	Oudh	Lucknow.	Lucknow	Mohamed Baker Ali Khan	Mohamedan.	Private Service	At a General Meeting of the Anjuman Mohamedai, 22nd December 1890.
469	"	"	"	Syed Amrad Hossain	do.	do.	do.
470	"	"	"	Moulvi Jamshed Mirza	do.	do.	do.
471	"	"	"	Sufdar Hussain Khan	do.	do.	do.
472	"	"	"	Nawab Shumeshuddowla Bahadur.	do.	Wasikdar	do.
473	"	"	"	Nawab Hussain Mirza	do.	do.	do.
474	"	"	"	Moulvi Mohamed Safi	do.	Private Service.	do.
475	"	"	"	Nawab Asafali Khan	do.	Wasikdar.	do.
476	"	"	"	Nawab Umroo Mirza Khan	do.	do.	do.
477	"	"	"	Munshi Amjad Ali	do.	Private Service	do.
478	"	"	"	Syed Sajjad Hussain	do.	do.	do.
479	"	"	"	Nawab Husnut Hussain Khan.	do.	Pensioner	do.
480	"	"	"	Munshi Sajjad Hussain	do.	Editor	do.
481	"	"	"	Mr. Hamid Ali Khan	do.	Barrister-at-law, Municipal Commissioner.	do.
482	"	"	"	Munshi Gangaprasad Varma	Hindu.	Journalist, Proprietor, Advocate, and Hindustani Municipal Commissioner, Secretary Congress Committee.	At a Public Meeting held on the 14th December 1890.
483	"	"	"	Bishan Narayan Dar	Hindu Brahmin.	Barrister-at-law, Municipal Commissioner.	do.
484	"	"	"	Pandit Shain Narain Masul-dan.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder, Journalist, Municipal Commissioner.	do.
485	"	"	Anjuman Mahomedi.	Syed Baker Hussain Taba Tabai.	Mohamedan.	Rais	General Meeting at the Anjuman Mahomadi held on the 18th December 1890.
486	"	"	"	Nawab Aga Mohamed Jaffer Hussain Khan.	do.	do.	do.
487	"	"	"	Mirza Raza Hossain	do.	do.	do.
488	"	"	"	Nawab Syed Ali Khan	do.	do.	do.
489	"	"	"	Syed Kazim Hussain	do.	do.	do.
490	"	"	"	Syed Murtaza Hussain	do.	do.	do.
491	"	"	"	Munshi Mirza Hussain	do.	do.	do.
492	"	"	"	Munshi Mohamed Mohassen	do.	do.	do.
493	"	"	"	Syed Mohamed Abid	do.	do.	do.
494	"	"	"	Munshi Sardar Mirza	do.	do.	do.
495	"	"	"	Munshi Yusuf Hossain	do.	do.	do.
496	"	"	"	Syed Mohamed Hadi	do.	do.	do.
497	"	"	"	Munshi Mohamed Fakhur-uddin.	do.	do.	do.
498	"	"	"	Mirza Ali Hussain	do.	do.	do.
499	"	"	"	Nawab Mohamed Hussain Khan.	do.	do.	do.
500	"	"	"	Syed Kazim Hussain	do.	do.	do.
501	"	"	"	Tasaddaq Hussain Khan	do.	do.	do.
502	"	"	"	Syed Mohamed Ibrahim Khan.	do.	do.	do.
503	"	"	Anjuman Rafai-am.	Babu Bhuvan Mohan Roy	Hindu.	Merchant Nazirabad, Lucknow.	At a Meeting of the Rifai-am Association, Lucknow, held on the 11th December 1890.
504	"	"	"	" Nobin Chunder Mitter	do.	Pensioner, Doctor, Hyderabad, Lucknow.	do.
505	"	"	"	Revd. Ram Chandra Bose.	Christian	Missionary Makbara Amjad Ali Shah, Lucknow.	do.
506	"	"	"	Babu Depin Beharee Bose, M.A.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Pleader and Honorary Secretary, Rifai-am Association, Lucknow, Jhoo Lall Bridge, Lucknow.	do.
507	"	"	"	Babu Kali Das Sirkar	Hindu.	Pensioner, Ghasyari, Mandi, Lucknow.	do.
508	"	"	"	Sheikh Asgar Ali	Mohamedan.	Merchant, Chowk, Lucknow.	do.
509	"	"	Khiree.	Babu Sheo Baksh Rai	Hindu Vaisya.	Pleader and Ranker; Honorary Magistrate, Secretary of District Board and Member of Municipal Board, Lukhipore, Khiree.	By Public Meeting.
510	"	"	"	Seth Dwarka Dass	Khettree.	Banker and Zemindar; Honorary Magistrate, Member, District Board, Municipal Commissioner.	do.
511	"	"	Jalsai Tahzil.	Babu Bansi Lal Singha	Hindu.	Pleader, Golagunge	At a General Meeting of the Members of the Jalsai Tahzil held on 7th December 1890.

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512	Oudh	Lucknow	Fyzabad	Sheikh Kadir Baksh	Mohomedan.	Merchant and Vice-Chairman, District Board.	At a Public Meeting of the residents of Fyzabad and Ayodhya held on 8th December 1890.
513	"	"	"	Rai Kaccomal Bahadur	Hindu Aror Banst.	Hon. Magistrate, Chairman, Municipal Board, Zemindar and Pleader.	do.
514	"	"	"	Babu Charu Charan Ghose	Hindu	Private Medical Practitioner, Proprietor of Printing Press and Druggist Shop, also Member of District and Municipal Board.	do.
515	"	"	"	Babu Gokul Chand	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar, Pleader, Vice-Chairman of District and Municipal Board, Honorary Magistrate.	do.
516	"	"	Sitapore	Munshi Lalta Pershad	Hindu Kayestha.	Government Pensioner and Zemindar.	do.
517	"	"	"	Babu Pitam Rai	do.	Sitapur (Oudh), Vakil, Honorary Bench Magistrate, Zemindar, &c., &c.	By a Public Meeting on 23rd December 1890.
518	"	"	"	Thakur Ganj Singh	Chuttree Hindu.	Zemindar, Mouza Kishapur, District (Sitapur.)	do.
519	Punjab	Lahore	Lahore	Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B.	English Christian.	Retired Civilian, Resident at Simla.	By a Public Meeting held at Lahore, December 14th, 1890.
520	"	"	"	Babu J. C. Bose, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore	do.
521	"	"	"	Lala Dharm Dass Suri	Hindu.	Pleader, High Court, N.W.P.	do.
522	"	"	"	Dr. Parmaranda	do.	Surgeon Dentist, Lahore	do.
523	"	"	"	Mr. Ishan Chandra Sarkar	Khatriya Bengalee Christian.	Retired Engineer	do.
524	"	"	"	Babu Megh Nath Banerjee	Hindu Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Lahore	do.
525	"	"	"	Mr. Hukm Chand	Hindu Khetry.	Pleader	do.
526	"	"	"	Guru Sodhi Pratap Singh.	Sikh.	Labore	do.
527	"	"	Amritsar	Bawa Narnin Singh	do.	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held at Amritsar, December 7th, 1890.
528	"	"	"	Dr. Gangadina	Behari Arya.	Medical Practitioner, Amritsar	At a Public Meeting held at Amritsar, November 30th, 1890.
529	"	"	"	Babu Balmokund	Hindu Kayestha.	Agent, Law Publication and Private Secretary.	do.
530	"	"	Kangra	Captain A. T. Banon	European Christian.	Zemindar, Kula, late Bengal Staff Corps.	At a Public Meeting held at Dharmsala, December 7th, 1890.
531	"	"	Umballa	Lala Murlidhar	Hindu.	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held at Umballa, December 21st, 1890.
532	"	"	Jullundur	Bakshi Jaishi-Ram	Hindu Mahajan.	Pleader, Chief Court, and Landholder.	By a Public Meeting.
533	"	"	Delhi	Munshi Mahomed Rukun-uddin Jadoo.	Mohamedan.	Sheristadar	Elected at a General Meeting held on the 14th December 1890.
534	"	"	"	Moulvi Nisar Ali Shohrat	do.	Director of Public Instruction, Cashmere.	do.
535	"	"	"	Munshi Mahomed Shaha-buddin Sakil.	Mogul Mohamedan.	Translator	do.
536	"	"	"	Dr. Hem Chander Sen	Hindu Vaidya.	Medical Practitioner, Delhi.	do.
537	Bombay	Guzerat	Surat	Mr. Hargovind Harnarayan Vyas.	Hindu Brahmin.	District Pleader, Vadifalia, Surat.	By the Braja Hitbardhak-Sabha, Surat, 12th December 1890.
538	"	"	"	Mr. Hardeoram Nanabhai Haridas	Hindu Kayastha.	Landed Proprietor, Gopipura, Surat, and 161, Malabar Hill Bombay.	do.
539	"	"	"	Mr. Ratiram Dargaram Dave, B. A.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Articled Clerk	do.
540	"	"	"	Mr. Jugmohandas Vrindavandas.	Hindu.	Mill-owner and Banker, Bombay.	do.

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541	Bombay.	Guzerat.	Broach.	Mr. Ramdas Keshavji ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Merchant, Bombay ...	At a meeting of the Lok-Hitechhu Sabha, Broach, 6th December 1890.
542	"	Bombay	Bombay Presidency Association.	Mr. Pheroze Shah M. Mehta, M.A.	Parsi	Barrister-at-Law, Bombay ...	At a Special General Meeting held on the 15th December, 1890.
543	"	"	"	Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha.	do.	Merchant; Honorary Secretary, Bombay Presidency Association; Secretary, Standing Congress Committee; Member of the Municipal Corporation.	do.
544	"	"	"	Mr. Jehangir K. R. Cama.	Parsi.	Barrister-at-Law, 12, Malabar Hill, Bombay.	do.
545	"	"	"	Mr. Jamiatram Nanabhai Haridas, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu.	Advocate, High Court, Bombay.	do.
546	"	"	"	Mr. V. N. Gokhle, B.A., L.L.B.	Konkani Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court ...	do.
547	"	"	"	Mr. S. W. Kane, L.M.S.	do.	Medical Practitioner ...	do.
548	"	"	"	Mr. D. S. Garud, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Brahmin.	Solicitor, High Court, 3, Eldon Road, Fort, Bombay.	do.
549	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayek N. Bhagwat.	Konkani Brahmin.	Pensioner, Native State, Bombay.	do.
550	"	"	"	Mr. Mulraj Khatao Maknji.	Hindu Bhattia.	Merchant, Bombay.	do.
551	"	"	Bombay-Arya Dhanavardhak Sabha.	Mr. Eupsing Mathuradas Lowjee.	do.	do.	By Arya Dhanavardhak Sabha, December, 1890.
552	"	"	Thana.	Mr. Shankar Damodar Gupte.	Hindu Prabhu Kayestha.	Pleader, District Court, Thana, residing at Bassein.	At a Meeting of the Thana Association, held on the 7th December 1890.
553	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Laxman Patel ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Thana.	do.
554	"	"	Ratnagiri.	Mr. Dhondo Mahadeo Barve.	do.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court Municipal Commissioner, and Member, Local Board.	At a Public Meeting held at Ratnagiri, 16th November 1890.
555	"	"	"	Dhaji Abaji Khare, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court, Bombay.	do.
556	"	"	Colaba.	Mr. Martand Sivanar Dhar, kar.	Hindu Prabhu Kayestha.	Zemindar and Merchant, Pen, Kolaba district.	At a Meeting held at Ali-bag, 12th December, 1890.
557	"	Deccan	Poona.	Mr. R. S. Kashinath Govind Natu.	Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, and Municipal Commissioner.	At a Public Meeting held in Town Hall, Poona, 10th December 1890.
558	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayek Narayan Apte	do.	Trader, Member, Mercantile Association, and Member, Sarvajanik Sabha, Poona.	do.
559	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudeo Laxman Athavale.	do.	Trader, Joint Secretary, Congress Committee, and Member, Sarvajanik Sabha, Poona.	do.
560	"	"	"	Professor Gopal Krishna Gokhale, B.A.	do.	Professor, Ferguson College; Secretary Poona Union Club; Honorary Secretary, Poona Sarvajanik Sabha; and Editor, "Sudhakar" and "Quarterly Journal," Sarvajanik Sabha.	do.
561	"	"	"	Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Professor, Ferguson College; Secretary, Standing Congress Committee; and Member, Sarvajanik Sabha, Poona; Editor of "Kesari" and the "Maharatta."	do.
562	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudeo Balkrishna Kelkar, B.A.	do.	Professor, Ferguson College, and Joint Editor, "Maharatta and Kesari."	do.
563	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Narayan Apte ...	do.	Editor, "Karamanook" ...	do.
564	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudeo Ganesh Joshi	do.	Manager, "Citra Shala," and Member, Sarvajanik Sabha, Poona.	do.
565	"	"	"	R. S. Mahadev Ballal Nam-joshi.	do.	Municipal Commissioner and Secretary, Industrial Conference and Museum.	do.
566	"	"	"	Hon. Krishnaji Laxman Nulkar, C.I.E.	do.	Member, Viceregal Council, late Dewan of Cutch, Poona.	do.

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567	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. R. S. Raghunath Rao Ramchandra Agasti.	Brahmin	Pensioned Sub-Engineer ...	Elected by the Arbitration Court, Poona, 20th December 1890.
568	"	"	Ahmednagar.	Rao Saheb Raghunath Daji Nagarkar.	do.	Jagirdar, Landholder, Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Moneylender and Member, District and Local Board; Member, Sarvajanik Sabha.	At a Public Meeting, held at Ahmednagar, 14th December 1890.
569	"	"	"	Mr. Shahurao Ramkrishna Modak.	Christian.	Evangelist	do.
570	"	"	Nasik.	Rao Saheb Gangadhar Narsinh Ketkar.	Hindu Brahmin.	District Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Nasik.	At a Meeting of Sarvajanik Sabha, held at Nasik, 30th November 1890.
571	"	"	"	Mr. Wamanrao Balkrishna Ranade.	Arya Brahmin.	Editor, "Dyan Chakshu," Poona.	do.
572	"	"	Khandesh.	Rao Saheb Chintaman Bapuji Morgankar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Vice-President, Municipality, Bhusawal.	At a Public Meeting held on 27th November 1890.
573	"	"	"	Mr. Sakharan Ganesh Patankar.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Bhusawal.	do.
574	"	"	Jalgaon. (Khandesh.)	Mr. Abaji Ragho Mhalas.	do.	Pleader, Jalgaon, Khandesh.	At a Public Meeting held at Jalgaon, 3rd December 1890.
575	"	"	Satara.	Mr. Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Satara.	At Public Meetings at Shirala-wai and Satara, 30th November and 7th December 1890.
576	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Balwant Shridhar Sahasrabudhe.	do.	Pleader, District Court, and Municipal Commissioner, Satara.	do.
577	"	"	Belgaum.	Mr. Anandarao Bhagwant Mudgiri.	do.	Pleader	At a Public Meeting held at the Belgaum District Association, 14th December 1890.
578	"	"	"	Mr. Bhimrao Shrinivasrao Bhide.	do.	Landholder	do.
579	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Sadashiv Balkrishna Bhat.	do.	Pleader	do.
580	"	"	Dharwar.	Mr. Vishvanath Mahadev Herlekar, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Vedic Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Dharwar.	At a Public Meeting held on the 7th December 1890.
581	"	"	Ichalkaranji.	Mr. Ram Chandra Baladev Apte.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, Member, Local A. V. School Committee, and in charge of the "Indian National Congress Hall," Ichalkaranji.	At a Public Meeting held at the "Indian National Congress Hall," Ichalkaranji, 20th December 1890.
582	"	Sholapur.	Sholapur.	Mr. William Sproston Caine.	English Christian.	Honorary Secretary, Anglo-Indian Temperance Association.	Public Meeting, Sholapur, 21st November, 1890.
583	"	"	Bijapur.	Rao Bahadur S. R. Kirsolkar, B.A.	Deccan Brahmin.	Vakil, Bombay High Court, Pleader, Sholapur, Bijapur District Court, and President, Sholapur Municipality.	do. and Public Meeting at Bijapur of 23rd December 1890.
584	Government of India.	Berar.	Berar Sarvajanik Sabha.	Mr. Ganesh Shrikrishna Khaparde, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court; Chairman, District Board and Malgujar in the Central Provinces.	At a Meeting of the General Committee of the Berar Sarvajanik Sabha, held on the 6th of December 1890.
585	"	"	"	Mr. Rangnath Narsinh Mudholkar, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court; Municipal Commissioner and Honorary Secretary, Berar, Sarvajanik Sabha.	do.
586	"	"	Akola.	Mr. Vyankatesh Krishna Desai.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Deshmukh of Jalwad in the Bijapur Collectorate.	At a Meeting of delegates at Akola on the 20th December, 1890.
587	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Vishvanath.	do.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Deshpande, and Agriculturist.	At a Public Meeting held at Akola on the 13th December 1890.
588	"	"	"	Mr. Panachand Nathoo-sawat.	Gujarati Jain.	Banker and Agriculturist ...	do.
589	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Das Naraindas.	Hindu Gujarati Vaishnava.	Merchant and Agriculturist...	do.
590	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Deorao Vinayek.	Hindu Mahratta Brahmin.	Pleader, Banker, Municipal Commissioner, and Agriculturist.	do.
591	"	"	"	Mr. Popatlal Parasram.	Gujarati Jain.	Banker and Agriculturist ...	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
592	Government of India.	Berar.	Akola.	Mr. Vyankatesh Ramchandra Mudholkar.	Deccan Brahmin.	Editor, "Vaidarbha," and Municipal Member and Secretary.	At a Public Meeting held at Akola on the 13th December 1890.
593	"	"	Basim.	Mr. Lakshman Atmaram Mahajan.	Hindu Marhatta Brahmin.	Merchant, Mangrul Pir, Vice-Chairman, District and Taluq Board, Basim.	At a Public Meeting held at Basim on the 24th November 1890.
594	"	"	"	Mr. Shankar Govind ...	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Akola.	do.
595	"	"	Wun.	Mr. Lakshman Chintaman Bapat.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Yeotmal.	At a Public Meeting held at Yeotmal on the 3rd December 1890.
596	"	"	"	Mr. Sadasiv Moreshwar Deva.	do.	do.	do.
597	"	"	Amraoti.	Mr. Vishwanath Kashinath Kale.	do.	Pleader, Amraoti.	At a Public Meeting held at Amraoti on the 7th December, 1890.
598	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Narayan Kane.	Christian.	do.	do.
599	"	"	Berar Agricultural Association.	Mr. Wasudeo Narayan Jog.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader.	At a Meeting held at Amraoti of the Members of the Association on the 15th December 1890.
600	"	"	Ellichpur.	Mr. Ganesh Nagesh Sahasrabudhe.	Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court and Secretary, Native General Library.	At a Public Meeting held at Ellichpur on the 7th December 1890.
601	"	"	Buldana.	Gulam Ahmed, Khan Soudagar.	Mahomedan.	Merchant and Landholder, Buldana.	At a Public Meeting held at Buldana on 24th November 1890.
602	Central Provinces.	Nagpur	Nagpur	Pundit Raghunath Rao, B.A.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Fellow and Junior Professor, Morris College, Nagpur.	At a Public Meeting held on the 30th November 1890.
603	"	"	do.	Professor Bhagiratha Prasad, B.A.	Hindu.	Professor of Mathematics, Hislop College; President, Young Men's Association; Municipal Commissioner; Secretary and Treasurer, Abstinence Association, and Member, Loka Sabha, Nagpur.	do.
604	"	"	do.	Mr. Cottari Vyankat Ramanna Nayadu.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Barrister-at-Law, Nagpur.	do.
605	"	"	do.	Mr. Govardhan Bapoo	Brahmin.	Zemindar, Bhandara.	do.
606	"	"	Jubbulpur.	Mr. Ram Gopal Misra	do.	Merchant, Jubbulpur.	At a Public Meeting, December 6th, 1890.
607	"	"	do.	Mr. Alfred Nundy	Christian.	Barrister-at-Law, Municipal Commissioner, Jubbulpore.	do.
608	"	"	Wardha.	Mr. Vasudev Vinayek Patanjpe.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Secretary, District Council, and Vice-President, Municipality, Wardha.	At a Public Meeting held at Wardha on the 10th December 1890.
609	"	"	do.	Mr. Laxman Govind Deoskar.	do.	Pleader and Member, District Council, Wardha.	do.
610	"	"	Saugor.	Babur Tara Prashanna Sen, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta, and Advocate, Central Provinces.	At a Public Meeting of the Saugor Hitsabha Association, 30th November 1890.
611	Madras.	Madras.	Madras.	Rai P. Ananda Charlu, Bahadur, B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Madras.	Public Meeting at Madras, dated 8th December 1890.
612	"	"	"	Mr. M. Venkata Row	do.	Landowner.	do.
613	"	"	"	Mr. K. P. Viswanadha Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Madras.	do.
614	"	"	"	Mr. M. Ramaswamy Naidu	Hindu Sudra.	Timber Merchant, Madras.	do.
615	"	"	"	Mr. C. Krishnaswamy Pillay	Hindu.	Contractor, Madras.	do.
616	"	"	"	Mr. C. V. Sundara Shastri, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Madras.	do.
617	"	"	"	Mr. S. Viraraghava Chariar.	do.	Merchant, Triplicane.	do.
618	"	"	"	Mr. S. Raghava Chariar	do.	Merchant, Madras.	do.
619	"	"	"	Mr. R. Ananda Row	do.	Pleader, Madras.	do.
620	"	"	"	Mr. M. Viraraghava Chariar	do.	Joint Editor, "Hindu," Madras.	do.
621	"	"	"	Mr. V. Sarangapani, Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	do.	Mylapur, Madras.	do.
622	"	"	"	Mr. C. B. Thiruvengkata-chariar, B.L.	do.	Mirasdar, Madras.	do.
623	"	"	"	Mr. V. C. Seshachariar, B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Madras.	do.
624	"	"	"	Mr. V. C. Desikachariar, B.L.	do.	do.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
625	Madras.	Madras.	Madras.	Mr. M. Venugopaul Pillai	Hindu.	Lawndowner, Royapettah, Madras.	Public Meeting at Madras, dated 8th December 1890.
626	"	"	"	Mr. K. Ethiraja Pillai avel	do.	Contractor, Madras.	do.
627	"	"	"	Mr. C. V. Viswanadha Sastri, B.A.	Brahmin.	Vakil's Assistant, Sodayarpet, Madras.	do.
628	"	"	Madura.	Mr. M. S. Sankara Iyer	do.	Head-master, Zemiudary High School, Sivaganga.	Public Meeting at Paramagudi, dated 30th November 1890.
629	"	"	"	Mr. J. M. Nala Sawmy Pillay, B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, practising at Madura.	do.
630	"	"	"	Mr. T. Ponnambala Mudaliar.	Hindu.	Landowner, Madura.	do.
631	"	"	"	Mr. M. Thirumalai Mudaliar.	do.	do.	do.
632	"	"	"	Mr. V. Kamakshiappa Mudaliar.	do.	do.	do.
633	"	"	"	Mr. P. N. Muthuswami Iyer.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Madras.	do.
634	"	"	"	Mr. P. Sankara Subba	do.	First Grade Pleader.	do.
635	"	"	Tinnevely.	Mr. S. Desikachariar	do.	First Grade Pleader.	Elected at a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December 1890.
636	"	"	"	Mr. B. M. Chedataram Iyer.	do.	2nd Grade Pleader.	do.
637	"	"	Cocanada, Godavery District.	Mr. R. L. Maitra, M.A.	Bengali Christian.	Principal, Petapur Rajah's College.	At a Public Meeting of the townsmen of Cocanada, held on the 14th December 1890.
638	"	"	Kistna District.	Mr. M. Parankusam Pillai Garu.	Sudra.	Merchant, Contractor, and Landed Proprietor, Bezwada.	At a Public Meeting in the Rajah Kaud Varu's Hall on the 3rd December 1890.
639	"	"	"	Mr. M. Lakshmi Narashimha Chariar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, District Moonsiff's Court, Bezwada.	do.
640	"	"	"	Mr. M. Ethiraja Pillay	do.	Merchant, Municipal Councillor, Bezwada.	do.
641	"	"	Kunnakudy, Madras District.	Mr. P. K. A. Komarappa Chettyar, F.T.S.	Hindu.	Proprietor, Pana Kuna, Anamoney Trading Company, Rayapuram, P. N. S. and Secretary General Natukotai Chetty's Association.	Elected on the 25th November 1890, by a Public Meeting of General Natukotai Chetty's Association.
642	"	"	Calicut.	Mr. V. Krishnaswami Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court.	By a public meeting at Calicut.
643	"	"	"	Mr. P. R. Sundaram Aiyer, B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court.	do.
644	"	"	"	Mr. Baskaven Pitchu Pattas Bai Bahadur C. Jamburanga Mudaliar, B.A., M.L.	do.	Merchant, Calicut.	do.
645	"	"	Cuddapah			Vakil, High Court.	Public Meeting held at Cuddapah, dated 5th December 1890.
646	"	"	Tanjore.	Mr. P. Ratnasabapathi Pillay.	Hindu.	Landholder, Pleader, Chairman Municipal Council, Nega-patam.	By a Public Meeting at Nega-patam and Meeting of Tanjore People's Association held 14th December 1890.
647	"	"	Vizagapatnam, Worur.	Mr. O. V. Jaganadha Sastri	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Parvatipur.	By a Public Meeting on the 29th November 1890.
648	"	"	"	Mr. S. Madura Nayagam Pillay.	Hindu.	Cigar Merchant.	By a Public Meeting.
649	"	"	"	Mr. N. Sawminatho Pillay.	do.	do.	do.
650	"	"	Trichinopoly.	Mr. V. Srinivasa Iyer	Hindu Brahmin.	Professor, "P.G. College, Trichinopoly.	do.
651	"	"	Coimbatore.	Mr. Kasturi Ranga Iyengar, B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court.	By a Public Meeting on the 30th November 1890.
652	"	"	Gooty.	Mr. K. Subba Row	do.	Sub-Editor, "Hindu"	By a Public Meeting held at Gooty on the 11th November 1890.
653	"	"	Kurnool.	Rao Saheb T. Chidambara Row, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	First Grade Pleader and Landholder, Municipal Councillor, Kurnaul.	At a Public Meeting held at Kurnool for the election of Delegates on the 7th of December 1890.
654	"	"	"	B. Konari Row	do.	Second Grade Pleader, Nandyal, Member, Taluq Board Nandyal.	do.

APPENDIX II.

SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

FIRST, SECOND, THIRD, FOURTH AND FIFTH CONGRESSES.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FIRST CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

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

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

RESOLUTION IV.

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

RESOLUTION V.

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

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
655	Madras	Madras	Kurnool.	Mr. Paramanchala Pocha Nagi-Reddy.	Hindu	Landholder, Parmanchala Nandikothur Taluq.	At a Public Meeting, held at Markapur on Sunday, 14th December 1890.
656	"	"	Palghat.	Mr. V. Parameswara Iyer	Hindu Brahmin.	Editor, "Palghat Times" ...	By a Public Meeting, 10th December 1890.
657	"	"	Rajamundry	Mr. T. S. Muthuswamy Sastri.	Hindu Brahmin.	Professor, Rajamundry ...	Public Meeting on the 14th December 1890.
658	"	"	Nellore.	Mr. S. Kuppusawamy Sarma, B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Nellore ...	By a Public Meeting at Nellore.
659	"	"	Vizianagram.	Mr. V. Madhava Row Naidu, M.A.	Hindu	Professor, Maharajah's College, Vizianagram.	Public Meeting, 9th December.
660	"	"	"	Mr. Rao Saheb Venkauna Pantulu.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Member, Municipal Council & District Board.	do.
661	"	"	"	Mr. N. V. Chellapati Sastri	do.	Assistant Master, Maharajah's College, Vizianagram, Secretary, Local Mohyen Sabha, &c.	do.
662	"	"	Salem.	Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Chariar, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Salem ...	Public Meeting at Salem.
663	"	"	"	Mr. C. Venkatachariar ...	do.	Landholder, Member, District Board.	do.
664	"	"	"	Mr. B. Krishna Row, B.A., B.L.	do.	District Court Pleader ...	do.
665	"	"	North Arcot.	Mr. K. R. Mudaliar ...	Behauni Kayestha.	Landholder and Contractor ...	By a Public Meeting at Chittoor.
666	"	"	S. Arcot.	Mr. J. P. Cotilingam, M.A.	Christian.	Principal, Cuddalore College.	9th December at a Public Meeting.
667	"	"	Mahajana Sabha.	Mr. Ahmed Abdul Rahiman Saib.	Mahomedan.	Merchant and Landowner ...	Elected by the Mahajana Sabha.
668	Govt. of India.	"	Secundrabad.	Manchersha Nasharwanjee Gheista.	Parsee.	Dental Surgeon ...	By a Public Meeting presided over by Charkanda Rungiah Sowcar in December 1890.
669	"	"	"	Bezouji Adirji ...	do.	Pleader, James Street, Secunderabad.	do.
Failed to deposit Certificates.							
670	Bengal	Calcutta.	...	Mr. R. D. Mehta ...	Parsee.	Merchant.	
671	"	"	...	Babu Norendro Nath Sen	Hindu.	Journalist and Attorney.	
672	"	"	...	Nawab Goulam Rubbani	Mahomedan.	Private Gentleman.	
673	"	"	National Chamber of Commerce.	Babu Sitanath Roy, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Merchant, Banker; Secretary, B. N. Chamber of Commerce; Port Commissioner.	By the Chamber Executive Committee Meeting, 1st December 1890.
674	Madras	Madras	Salem	Noon Jappa Iyer ...	Brahmin.	Landholder ...	Public Meeting at Salem.
675	N. W. P.	Ahahabad.	Ahahabad	Syed Mahommed Saki ...	Mahomedan Sunni.	Zemindar ...	At a Public Meeting held at Kara on 22nd December 1890.
676	Bengal	Calcutta	The N. M. Electoral Division.	Mr. T. Palit ...	Hindu Kayestha	Barrister-at-Law, Ballygunge Circular Road.	At the Public Meeting, Calcutta Town Hall, 23rd December 1890.
677	"	"	"	Honorable Dr. Mahendralal Sarcar, M.D.	Hindu.	Member, Bengal Legislative Council; Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Secretary, Science Association and Medical Practitioner, 54, Sankaritolah, Calcutta.	do.

[Unfortunately the names of several Gentlemen, who attended the Congress as Delegates, have been omitted from the above list, partly in consequence of their failure to file their election certificates and partly in consequence of some certificates having been, it is feared, mislaid. This report cannot now be delayed to supply these omissions, and those whose names have been thus omitted, will kindly accept this explanation.]

RESOLUTION VI.

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

RESOLUTION VII.

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

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

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

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SECOND CONGRESS.**RESOLUTION I.**

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

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

RESOLUTION IV.

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

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

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

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

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved—That a Committee composed of the gentlemen named in the margin* be appointed to consider the Public Service Question and report thereon to this Congress.

* Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji (Bombay).	Mr. Gurn Prasad Sen (Patna).
" S. Subramania Iyer (Madras).	Pundit Prannath (Lucknow).
" Peary Mohun Mookerjee (Calcutta).	Munshi Kashipershad (Allahabad).
Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (Madras).	Nawab Izza Ali Khan (Lucknow).
Rabu Motilal Ghose (Calcutta).	Mr. Hamid Ali (Lucknow).
Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee (Calcutta).	Lala Kanhylal (Amritsar).
" Gungapershad Yarma (Lucknow).	Rao Sahib Gungadhar Rao Madhav gress.
" Ramkali Chaudhuri (Benares).	Chitnavis (Nagpur).
	Mr. Rahimatulla M. Sayani (Bombay).

RESOLUTION VII.

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

*** REPORT.**

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

- 1.—That the open Competitive Examination be held simultaneously both in India and in England.
 - 2.—That the simultaneous Examinations thus held be equally open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects.
 - 3.—That the classified lists be prepared according to merit.
 - 4.—That the Congress express the hope that the Civil Service Commissioners will give fair consideration to Sanskrit and Arabic among the subjects of examination.
 - 5.—That the age of candidates eligible for admission to the open Competitive Examination be not less than 19, nor, as recommended by Sir C. Aitchison, more than 23 years.
 - 6.—That simultaneous examinations being granted, the Statutory Civil Service be closed for first appointments.
 - 7.—That the appointments in the Statutory Civil Service, under the existing rules, be still left open to the Members of the Uncovenanted Service and to professional qualifications, other than covenanted first appointments, be filled by Competitive Examinations held in the different Provinces, and open in each Province to such natural-born subjects of H. M. only as are residents thereof.
 - 8.—That all appointments requiring educational qualifications, other than covenanted first appointments, be filled by Competitive Examinations held in the different Provinces, and open in each Province to such natural-born subjects of H. M. only as are residents thereof.
- These Resolutions, it is hoped, cover the main principles which underlie the questions set by the Public Service Commission. For a more detailed consideration there was no time.

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

30th December, 1886.

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

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

RESOLUTION X.

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

RESOLUTION XI.

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

RESOLUTION XII.

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

RESOLUTION XIII.

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

RESOLUTION XIV.

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

RESOLUTION XV.

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

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE THIRD CONGRESS.**RESOLUTION I.**

Resolved—That a Committee is appointed, consisting of the gentlemen (marginally enumerated*), to consider what rules, if any, may now be usefully framed in regard to the constitution and working of the Congress, with instructions to report thereon to

* Messrs. Namjoshi Chandavaker, Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, Hajeer Mahomed Abdul Shakoor Badshaw Sahib, S. Subramania Iyer, W. S. Gantz, Rangiah Naidu, Surendranath Bannerjee, Trailokhyanath Mitra, Kali Charan Bannerjee, Guru Prasad Sen, Saligram Singh, Ram Kali Chaudhuri, Hafiz Abdul Rahim, Rampal Singh, Pandit Madan Mohan, Ganga Prasad Varma, Bishan Narayan Dar, Hamid Ali, Murlidhar, Satyanand Agnihotri, H. H. Dhruva, W. C. Bonnerjee, Norendranath Sen, Eardley Norton, Joy Govind Shome, Iswari Lal Sircar, G. Subramania Iyer, D. A. Khare, S. A. Samiada Iyer, Sabapathy Mudaliar, A. O. Hume, C. Vigaya Raghuvar Chariar, Govind Buksh, Karandikar.

the Congress, on the 30th instant.

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

RESOLUTION IV.

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

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

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

RESOLUTION VII.

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

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

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

RESOLUTION X.

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

RESOLUTION XI.

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

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FOURTH CONGRESS.**RESOLUTION I.**

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

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

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

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

RESOLUTION IV.

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

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

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

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

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

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

does now, hereby, affirm the same respectively.

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

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

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

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

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

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

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

does now, hereby, affirm the same respectively.

RESOLUTION VII.

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

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

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

RESOLUTION X.

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

RESOLUTION XI.

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

RESOLUTION XII.

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

RESOLUTION XIII.

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

RESOLUTION XIV.

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

RESOLUTION XV.

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

RESOLUTION XVI.

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

RESOLUTION XVII.

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

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FIFTH CONGRESS.**RESOLUTION I.**

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

RESOLUTION II.

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

SCHEME.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

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

RESOLUTION IV.

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

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

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

RESOLUTION VII.

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

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

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

RESOLUTION X.

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

RESOLUTION XI.

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

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

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

RESOLUTION XII.

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

RESOLUTION XIII.

Resolved—

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

RESOLUTION XIV.

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

RESOLUTION XV.

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

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

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