

SOME
OF
ENGLAND'S PLEDGES TO INDIA.
ACT OF PARLIAMENT OF 1833.

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

Her Majesty's Proclamation in 1858.

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

* * * * *

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

Lord Northbrook on Indian Affairs.

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

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

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

Lord Ripon in the Viceregal Legislative Council.

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

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

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

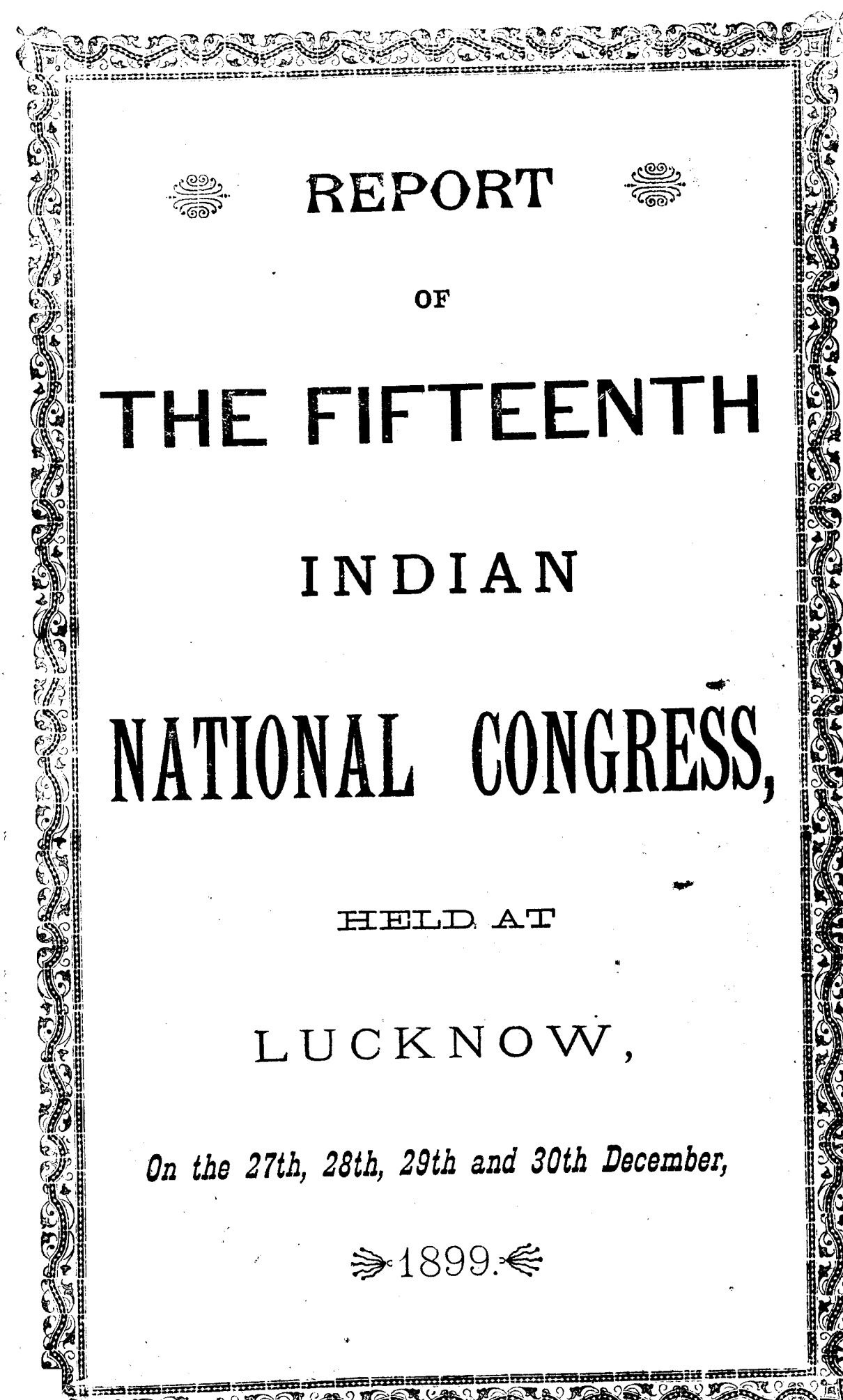
Lord Lansdowne in the Viceregal Legislative Council, 9th January, 1891.

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

Government of Madras.
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INTRODUCTION.

The fifteenth session of the Indian National Congress, which was held at Lucknow during the last Christmas week, was a remarkable event from many points of view, and marks a new epoch in the history of Indian political reform. It is impossible fully to realise its significance without taking note of the circumstances in which it was held, the peculiar features of its proceedings which distinguish it from the previous sessions, and the remarkably sympathetic, and even cordial recognition that was accorded to it both by the Indian and the Anglo-Indian section of our press. A brief statement of some of the preliminaries of the last session will not be out of place here.

Oudh is the latest acquisition to the British Crown, excepting the annexation of Burmah, and its capital Lucknow has, for some of the solemn and immortal scenes it witnessed during the great crisis of 1857, found an enduring place in one of the most stirring chapters of Anglo-Indian history. Some forty years ago, when in Bengal people were travelling in railway trains and sending their messages by telegraph, in Oudh runners and *harkaras* were seen running about with letter-bags on their backs, and bullock carts dragging their slow length along from place to place through all the perils of trackless jungles. While the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, which had been founded at the time of Warren Hastings, was carrying on its learned researches; while hundreds of educated youths were issuing forth from the Calcutta, Madras and other educational institutions, while the Brahmo Samaj was propagating and disseminating its teachings in the English tongue, not a single public school existed in the whole province of Oudh; and the darkness of a most appalling ignorance rested upon the land. In Bombay, as well as in Bengal, the spirit of change and enterprise had been stirred by the touch of Western civilization, and shrewd observers perceived that the little leaven which had been introduced was destined one day to leaven the whole Indian community. But in Oudh, luxury and profligacy, while they lent charm and brilliancy to the outer surface, were eating like a canker into the heart of the society; and people clung with blind obstinacy to the rags and remnants of old and dying ideas and institutions, whose incongruity with the new order springing all around them was every day bringing them nearer to their doom. The transformation of Oudh, under the influence of forces at work in other parts of India, was inevitable; but it was very much hastened by the change of Government in 1856, which was followed by a yet greater change in the spirit of the new Government on the morrow of the great explosion of a year later. Even without the change of Government Oudh could not have escaped modern influences; but it would have been, like some of our Native States, in all probability more prosperous than now, but in every other respect behind the age. The establishment of British rule has ordered it otherwise. In a little more than forty years Oudh has undergone a complete change—social, political, moral, intellectual. The old order has disappeared; the old nobility has fallen into decay; a complete redistribution of wealth and position has taken place; those who held sway forty years ago have fallen, and upon their ruins have risen those who owe their power and influence to the new *regime*. Much that was impressive, attractive, beautiful, and noble; much that made the masses happy, in the midst of general insecurity, and the classes just and chivalrous, in an atmosphere of abject slavery, has perished, or is fast perishing; but in education, free press, political liberty, in equality of opportunity, in the abolition of class-privileges, in the introduction of equal and impartial laws, in the free play of the mind, in the slow fusion of the divergent sections into an organic political society, we may discern the first stirrings of the new life which is destined to raise us on the stepping-stones of our dead selves to higher things. Oudh has been fairly launched upon its career of progress, and as

in an ardent eagerness for political reform, and when we consider the historic antecedents of Oudh, the touching memories which still cling to its interesting capital, and the strong conservatism which still characterises its people, we cannot help thinking that the meeting in Lucknow of an assembly of men of light and leading, drawn from different parts of India, with the object of deliberating upon Imperial and National questions, was the greatest and most significant manifestation of the political spirit to which British rule has given birth.

The convocation of the leading politicians of the country, in a pre-eminently Mahomedan city still bearing the faint reflections of an oriental court which only till the other day shone in its gorgeous splendour, was an event which a generation ago would have seemed beyond the dreams of the wildest democrat, but which we now know to be the natural and inevitable outcome of the sweep of deep-lying forces which have, ever since the dawn of the present century, been moulding and transforming silently and unobtrusively, but surely and irresistibly, the springs of our national life. Still, when the Congress-party of Oudh and the N.-W. P. invited the Congress to hold its session at Lucknow, they fully knew that their task would not be quite free from certain risks and difficulties. Those risks and difficulties—some expected, some unexpected—came; but the members of the Reception Committee, under the wise, firm, and courageous guidance of their Chairman, Babu Bansi Lal Singh, met them like men, and the successful ending of the session is the best reward of their endeavour that they could desire.

It is a matter of repeated experience that, whenever the Congress has been invited to hold its session in these Provinces, its organisers have unfortunately met with a certain amount of official opposition. When the first Allahabad Congress was held, the official opposition had passed the bounds of decency. Sir Auckland Colvin openly placed himself at the head of the Anti-Congress agitation, and published a long and elaborate indictment against the aims of the Congress and the conduct of its leaders. When the second Allahabad Congress took place, in Sir Charles Crosthwaite's time, official opposition re-appeared, though in a less lively form. When the third session of the Congress in the United Provinces was proposed to be held at Lucknow, whispers of displeasure and disapproval began to make themselves audible in official circles. In certain districts the official pressure was so strong that none came forward to be elected as delegates from those places. This seems rather an ungracious prelude to what it is a pleasure to record here as regards the just, considerate, and sympathetic attitude of Sir Antony MacDonnell's Government towards the Congress movement in these Provinces. But in an impartial review of the past, it would be falsifying the picture to suppress its shades in order to enhance the effect of its lights. The first collision between the officials and the Congress Committee occurred in the question of selecting some suitable site for the Congress camp. It was proposed that the authorities should be asked to grant some site in the vicinity of the populated portion of the city to ensure the convenience both of the outsiders and of the residents of the place. The Commissioner was approached in the matter, and he, at the time, did not seem to have any objections to the putting up of the Congress camp and the *Pandal* on the Shah-Mina grounds, which the Committee had applied for, and which, thanks to Sir Antony MacDonnell's interposition, they were ultimately able to secure. The matter was referred to the Municipal Board for opinion; but the Civil Surgeon, as Health Officer, and the Deputy Commissioner, as Chairman of the Board, strongly opposed the Committee's application, on the ground that the health of the city might be endangered by the coming in of delegates from plague-infected areas, and they carried their point unopposed, owing to misapprehension on the part of those members, who were in favour of granting the application of the Congress Committee, caused in no small measure by certain vague and shadowy assurances given. It was thus unanimously resolved by the Board that the site applied for should not be granted to the Congress Committee. The Commissioner accepted the decision of the Board, rejected the application for the grant of Shah-Mina ground, and asked the Congress Committee to suggest some site beyond the inhabited limits of the city, which in Lucknow means some three or four miles distant from the haunts of men, and equally

it was impossible to find a suitable site some three or four miles distant from the main city, the site, if even found, could not afford comfort or convenience to the delegates without entailing an amount of expenditure which the Committee certainly could not afford to bear. The Committee, finding themselves utterly helpless in the matter, and believing that upon the selection of a good site depended in a large measure the success of the Congress Session, appealed to the local Government against the decision of the local authorities, expressing their perfect willingness to submit to any arrangements the Government might think fit to make as regards the locating and segregating of delegates coming from plague-infected areas. His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor was pleased to accept the prayer of the Committee for the grant of Shah-Mina ground for the purpose of erecting the *Pandal*, and to direct the Commissioner to grant the Committee any suitable site which they might suggest for locating delegates coming from plague-infected places, and to afford them every possible facility in the matter of disinfection and segregation. Under any rules it is impossible to secure perfect convenience; but the rules, framed for the purpose and in consultation with the members of the Committee, were generally considered to be the best and most reasonable that could be desired. The securing of the Shah-Mina ground was a piece of real good luck for the Committee, for without such a site as that, the last session of the Congress, neither on its useful nor on its ornamental side, would have been the success it was. At one time it seemed rather difficult to hope for this happy result, so discouraging was the attitude of the local authorities towards the Congress Committee, and so disheartening the conduct of some who ought to have known better. When the local authorities had decided against the Committee, there was an end of the matter. They were saved by Sir Antony MacDonnell, but in these Provinces his action was unprecedented. In 1888 the Honourable Pundit Ajodhya Nath, President of the Reception Committee, complained to the Congress thus:—

“We were first of all led to believe—I may say distinctly informed—that we should be permitted to occupy the Khusró Bag for our encampment. But a little later, to our great disappointment, we were told that the requisite permission could not be accorded; and no satisfactory reason was assigned for the change of front.”

Some twelve years later another Chairman of our Reception Committee, referring to similar experience, spoke in the following grateful terms:

“But contend as we have had to with so many obstacles, some of them quite unlooked for, I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without inviting your attention to the good-will and courtesy invariably shown by the ruler of this Province in reference to any and every representation made by our Committee to His Honor. It is to his kindly interposition, gentlemen, that we owe this site—the very best in this city—upon which our *Pandal* stands. I hope, therefore, that I may be permitted, on behalf of this whole assembly, to offer to Sir Antony MacDonnell our humble and respectful thanks.”

The contrast between the state of things now and as it was some twelve years ago, in these Provinces, is one upon which we have every reason to congratulate ourselves.

The Committee had to face another difficulty with which time has made us quite familiar, but of which our Anglo-Indian critics never forget to make use in order to discredit the Congress movement. Anti-Congress demonstrations, whenever the Congress is expected to visit these Provinces, seem to have become somewhat fashionable; so when some Mahomedan patriots of Lucknow came out of their harems and memorialised the Government to prohibit the meeting of the Congress in this city, on the ground that it might import plague from the Dekkan, nobody was surprised, for it was expected that those, whose occupation it is to regulate their earthly lives by watching the signs in the official heaven, would not be slow to take advantage of an occasion when so many official stars in their courses seemed to be fighting for them. There must have been some mistake in their calculations (for political astrology is as yet a very uncertain thing), as the wished-for event did not come to pass, because His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor desired “to place no unnecessary impediment in the way of the discussion of public questions in a temperate and loyal spirit.” The signatories to the memorial were not many and were all Mahomedans.

for delegates coming from the warmer parts of the country; and as far as the limited resources, both in men and money, of the Committee permitted, no pains were spared in studying their comforts and convenience.

By the 26th December most of the delegates had arrived, and in the evening of the same date, when Mr. R. C. Dutt, the President-elect, was expected to arrive from Calcutta, arrangements were made to give him a public reception at the Railway Station. Hundreds of men, including delegates, members of the Reception Committee, Raises, and other notabilities of Lucknow, waited on the platform for the arrival of their distinguished guest, while outside the station thousands had assembled to accompany the procession to the *Kothi* which had been fitted up for him. As the train arrived at 6-30, and people caught sight of Mr. Dutt, one deafening volley of cheers burst from all sides, which lasted for several minutes, and as, under a shower of flowers, and through a crowd of enthusiastic men, he was escorted to his carriage by a large number of 'volunteers' holding candle-lights in their hands, we all felt that we were witnessing a scene the like of which had never occurred in Lucknow before. Truly it was a beautiful and an inspiring sight—the streets from the station to the President's *Kothi*, crowded with faces beaming with joy and pride; the procession of delegates, the volunteers, the young men of the province, carrying candles and torches in their hands, even the shop-keepers vying with each other in their desire to show their mark of respect for their illustrious countryman by taking part in the general jubilation.

The Congress met at 2 o'clock noon on the 27th December 1899. But long before the appointed hour, crowds of delegates and visitors began to stream into the compound, and words of good cheer and friendly greetings were heard on every side. By 12 o'clock more than 4,000 men had taken their seats in the *Pandal*. Members of the Reception Committee sat on the platform. The volunteers with their badges stood at their posts. More than 3,000 visitors crowded the galleries. Some 700 delegates were there, representing all that is good, accomplished, and patriotic in the land. Of these, about 300 were Mahomedans to demonstrate the hollowness of the Anti-Congress league. The representatives of martial races were there to refute the calumnies of the Anglo-Indian press. Under the shadow of the great mausoleum, which will always remain associated with the memory of the most generous king whom Oudh has known, met the members of a communion which is the grandest achievement of the rule of the noblest sovereign that has ever held the Indian Empire. Over the dust of a dead past, on a spot where generations had lived and died in happy innocence and ignorance, unacquainted with the patriotic sentiment and strangers to national aims, had arisen an edifice in which sat together, bound by ties of common hopes and common aspirations, the representatives of numerous races, and the followers of many creeds. The Mahrattas and the Bengalis, the Sikhs and the Madrasis, Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, Parsis—all races, religions, interests were represented there. Under the ample canopy of the splendid pavilion, standing upon the ruins of 'cloud-capped towers and gorgeous palaces,' now faded like the fabric of a vision, was realised the poet's dream of "a golden race on earth of many-languaged men."

At about 2 P. M., Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, accompanied by Members of the Reception Committee, entered the *Pandal* amid loud and enthusiastic cheers of the whole audience, and after he had taken his seat on the platform, Babu Bansi Lal Singh, in a few well-chosen words, welcomed the delegates to the 15th session of the National Congress. The state of his health did not permit him to deliver himself his written address, which was therefore read out on his behalf by Pandit Bishan Narayan Var. Reference has already been made to some matters dealt with in the address, and a few important passages quoted; but it contains other equally interesting matters. Babu Bansi Lal Singh's words of gentle and friendly remonstrance to Anti-Congress men have already been quoted; his touching but convincing appeal to the Anglo-Indian opponents of the Congress may fitly be quoted here:

"You are foreigners in this country. You do not and, from your exclusive way, cannot know the mind of the people, and the people do not know your mind. But you have by your education"

Thus foiled in their first attempt, our anti-Congress friends were not going to be so easily beaten. They formed a Committee under the leadership of Mirza Mohammad Abbas, a local magnate, who was also once a member of the Statutory Civil Service. This Committee tried hard to dissuade Mahomedans from joining the Congress, and in order to effect its purpose the more easily, it introduced the element of religion—a cry which is, as we all know, so apt to excite the Mahomedan mind. Lucknow has been singularly free from religious disputes between Hindus and Mahomedans, and it must be attributed to the good sense of both the communities that they refused to depart from the path of unity and amity which they have been treading for more than half a century. An anti-Congress demonstration was, however, held on the Rifah-Aam ground, and some nine hundred Mahomedans attended. After some speeches, certain resolutions condemning the Congress and praying the Government for more patronage in the public service and otherwise, for members of the Mahomedan nobility and gentry, were passed in the name of the Lucknow public, by a meeting from which the Hindus as a body were absent, and at which members of the royal family and the leaders of the Sunni denomination were nowhere visible. The two marked features of the last year's anti-Congress agitation were: first, beyond Lucknow nobody was aware of its existence; and second, not one single Hindu joined it. In this respect it was hardly worthy of its parent of green and pious memory, that made so much noise in 1888. Then its voice was heard in every important town in the Province, and Sir Syed Ahmed, who led the forlorn hope, was able for a time at least to have among his lieutenants some leading Hindus. After twelve years the agitation again raises its head, but this time its captain is a Mirza Mohammad Abbas with a nondescript following, while no Hindu—not even a Hindu Rai Bahadur—shows any willingness to rally round his flag. What a falling off was here! No enthusiasm, no energy, no earnestness, no resolution,—divided against itself, united only in its hatred of the rights of knowledge and intelligence, poor anti-Congress league, tricked out in the costumes of sham loyalty, performs its antics and disappears like “the poor player that frets and struts his hour upon the stage, and then is heard no more”!

The Anti-Congress agitation was not only not successful in any way in injuring the Congress cause, but it helped to draw a far larger number of Mahomedans to our side than we would otherwise have been able to secure, and this in spite of the defection from our camp of two Mahomedan gentlemen who had been among the prominent supporters of the Congress till the beginning of last year, but who—each for separate reasons of his own, as they have been vouchsafed to us by the apologists of both—declined to continue their connection with the Congress Committee. It is not suggested that these gentlemen have turned hostile to the Congress itself; but then their public conduct does not seem consistent with their professed creed. However regrettable the defection of the two Mahomedan gentlemen who, it is to be hoped, have kept their minds open for such considerations as may enable them to recover the position they have once filled in the public mind, still it is a matter of no small consolation to find that the Congress movement has acquired such a force and momentum now that even the conduct of important individuals does not seem materially to affect its course. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his address of welcome to the delegates, alluded to this aspect of our difficulties, in words of sadness, earnestness, sympathy, and gentle remonstrance, to which his calm Urdu statement lent an additional force, and which we make no apology for quoting below:

“You may probably have read in the papers that a knot of about 50 Mahomedan gentlemen, given out as influential Mahomedan residents of the city, some time ago memorialized the Lieutenant-Governor, through the Commissioner of Lucknow, to prohibit the Congress from meeting here (*voices—shame, shame*). The chief ground for this patriotic request was that delegates from the Deccan would come laden with plague-germs, and would thus seriously endanger the health of the city. These gentlemen very conveniently forgot their own attitude towards the plague restrictions when they were first imposed upon this province (*hear, hear*). The objection of these gentlemen, however, did not seem convincing enough to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, who quietly rejected the memorial, because he desired to place no unnecessary impediment in the way of the discussion of public questions in a temperate and loyal spirit (*cheers*).

(v)

“As if this rebuff was not enough for our Anti-Congress lights, they answered it by holding on the 3rd of this month what, we were informed with a flourish of trumpets, was going to be a portentous demonstration as they had succeeded in catching a K. C. I. E. from the ranks of the Oudh Taluqdars to preside at their meeting (*laughter*). The great demonstration has come and gone without doing any sensible damage to the Congress cause, while the presence of about 300 Mahomedan delegates from Lucknow alone (*hear, hear*) clearly indicates that for the Anti-Congress, in these provinces at least, the hour is not yet ripe and the men are not yet come!

“I have no inclination to take you into the depths and mazes of motives which now and again give rise to this sort of opposition. A more lucid explanation of the phenomenon cannot be found than in the pregnant words of Sir Charles Dilke: ‘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*). That being the case, I do not think we need take much notice of the showy doings of our friends of the opposition.

“In our province—and specially in this city—the relations existing between Hindus and Mahomedans are so cordial (*hear, hear*)—for generations past both have lived together so peacefully and amicably that I am confident that no amount of the preaching of the gospel of division and discord can ever ruffle these happy relations (*cheers*). Our alliance is perhaps even stronger to-day than ever; for both of us—Hindus and Mahomedans—have met to-day under the stress of common interests and determined to arrive at a common goal.

“Gentlemen, Congress principles, based as they are upon the solid foundations of loyalty and patriotism—upon a firm attachment to the British Crown and an unshakable resolve to raise the social and political status of our country—are safe from any opposition which may be offered to them. The spirit of the age is with them; the genius of the British Empire is on their side (*hear, hear*); they represent the forces which have built up modern civilisation. No hostile forces can arrest the march of the Congress movement. It has lighted its beacon on a high rock, against which the waves of opposition will beat in vain.

“But opposition, whatever may be its character or force, proves one thing if it proves anything at all, namely, that the cause or the principle, against which it is directed, is quietly making headway in some quarter, in spite of, or perhaps because of, the opposition. I need not therefore be at the pains to expose the sham and hollow character of the meeting I have been speaking of; the pretension of its promoters to be the sole and only representatives of the people of Lucknow, like the proverbial three Tailors of the Tooley Street (*laughter*), is falsified, as I have already remarked, by the very presence in this *Pandal* of so many respectable Mahomedan friends, some of whom are the descendants of the old royal and noble families of Oudh (*cheers*), not only from this city alone, but from different parts of India.

“The opposition to the Congress in India, gentlemen, has always been of a singularly shy and bashful character. If our opponents object to any of our proposals, why don't they come in our midst and state their differences? We welcome diversity of views; we accept the sage's words, that among many counsellors there is wisdom. Free discussion is the *raison d'être* of the Congress movement. Gentlemen, this is the only reasonable and sound platform on which we can all meet on equal terms to discuss public measures, and help each other in arriving at correct conclusions in regard to them, and thus be in a position to place them before our rulers. Difference of opinion will exist so long as human society exists, but mutual tolerance and mutual confidence can do much to clear up many misunderstandings, and teach each of the contending parties the utility of looking at things from the standpoint of the other. To hold conflicting views on public questions, gentlemen, is one thing, to take up an attitude of uncompromising hostility is quite another.”

Another thing which has to be admitted here is that the Congress Committee in their work found hardly any real and material support from the richer classes and the landed aristocracy of the Province. This was not because, as our critics are constantly reminding us, these classes are hostile to our political movement, and are perfectly pleased with the existing administration; but because they are immersed in hopeless ignorance, and because they live in constant dread of an inquisitorial officialdom which is in itself the result of their ignorance.* In Bombay and Bengal rank and wealth lead every forward movement, political or other; because there they are allied with culture and enlightenment; while in this Province the backwardness of education is the greatest hindrance to political reform. But in spite of popular ignorance, and the absence of agencies that call forth public spirit, the native wit both of the masses and the richer and upper classes is keen enough to perceive certain glaring defects in the existing system, and whenever you appeal to them—princes and peasants alike—upon matters which touch them in their most vital parts, such, for instance, as land-assessment, or taxation, or police administration, or famine relief, you are sure to meet with a ready response, for upon all these matters the Congress is the true exponent of their thoughts and sentiments, which the officials neither understand, nor care to understand.

* The evidence of a Deputy Inspector-General of Police, in a recent sensational case of police extortion at Lucknow, throws an interesting light upon the system of espionage to which public men in India are subjected, although the presence of a wise and strong Governor has, for the time, paralysed its activity in these provinces.

policy, which has immortalized the names of Bentinck and Macaulay, created a considerable class of men, filled with your ideas and aspirations, conversant with your manners and customs, attached to your rule by every tie of duty and interest, who are desirous of acting as interpreters between you and the people placed under your care, and in order to carry out this object, adopt those methods of constitutional agitation which you yourself have taught them. What would be the good of their education if they did not desire that which it has taught them to love and cherish? But now that they have organised themselves into a body and formulated their wants in the most loyal and temperate spirit, is it wise, is it expedient, is it worthy of the great tradition of which you are the heir, that their early efforts for self-improvement, which must be clumsy, should be treated with suspicion, mistrust, and jealousy, that their free speech, encouraged by your own readiness to listen to all honest expressions of opinion, should be construed into disaffection, and a reactionary policy should be adopted to send terror into the people's hearts, to silence and suppress public opinion, and thus to close the only safe and sure avenue you have, through which you can get access to the real mind of the country? Your most loyal subjects lament the change which has come over your policy. In matters of education, for example, you have adopted a reactionary course which must end in undesirable consequences. You are not on the right road. The time will come—and the sooner the better—when you will realise that the best friends of your rule are those who understand its manifold blessings, and that the foundations of the British Government will be strengthened, not by alienating but by conciliating the feelings of the educated classes (*hear, hear*), who here, as elsewhere, are the natural leaders of the masses."

All this is reasonable enough when you look at the matter from the standpoint of justice and right reason; but when vested interests come in, and class-privileges stand in danger of being disturbed, the considerations of justice are at once put out of Court; and even in the case of Anglo-Indian officials, Hobbs's saying, it is to be feared, will long remain true—that when reason is against a man, a man will be against reason.

In the concluding portion of his address Babu Bansi Lal Singh touched upon the question of giving the Congress a settled constitution and of devising means for curtailing the expenditure of its annual session. It must be a matter of no small gratification to him that the question to which he gave the most prominent place in his address was subsequently taken up by the Congress in right earnest, and was decided on lines not very much different from those suggested by himself.

The presidential address which Mr. Dutt delivered was a most remarkable performance. From the presidential chair of the Congress Sessions speeches have been delivered that, for the splendour of their diction and the charm of their eloquence, have won universal admiration, others that were combative, stirring, calculated to excite the most apathetic spirits like the trumpet's call on the field of battle, others that were logical, critical, provocative of controversy. But Mr. Dutt's speech had peculiar merits of its own. There was a note of urbanity in that speech which must have softened the heart of the most hostile critic. In matter it was the speech of a practical man addressing an assembly of practical men. It was inspired throughout with that moral persuasiveness which waits upon deep conviction, and is borne of vast experience illuminated with the light of uncommon common-sense. No more reasonable, effective, and persuasive appeal has ever been made to rulers and ruled than that which Mr. Dutt made at Lucknow, and never was one of the deepest and most difficult problems of Indian Government more tersely, simply, and convincingly stated for the enlightenment of those who are responsible for the good government of India than we find it stated in his memorable speech. It is a satisfaction to know that it was highly eulogised even in organs of public opinion usually hostile to the Congress.

The principal theme of Mr. Dutt's speech was undoubtedly 'the poverty of India, its causes and remedies'—a theme which, for its awful importance and far-reaching consequences, has, ever since the dawn of free political discussions in this country, been the chief battle-ground of Indian and Anglo-Indian politicians. But before referring to that portion of his speech—and that is the major portion of it—where he deals with Indian poverty as it manifests itself in our ever-recurring famines in his own masterly way, it may be well to notice his just and suggestive observations upon one or two matters which, if of less over-shadowing importance, do yet possess a significance of their own, and a clearer understanding of which, too, will not have a small

part in the bringing about of that harmonious co-operation between Indians and Englishmen upon which the prosperity and the stability of the British Indian Empire ultimately depend. Although Mr. Dutt very modestly asked his audience to listen 'to the plain words of a plain man,' yet when he defined 'the creed of the Congress,' lifting it up above the dust and smoke of party strife, clearing it from the aspersions of ignorance and prejudice, they all felt that they listened to words which had sunk deep into their minds, and which could not but win for them the sympathies of all right-minded Englishmen.

The National Congress is still an object of suspicion to a certain class of English officials. Its aims are still considered by them either mischievous or chimerical. Omar's logic is still applied to it, and we are often told that if the Congress means anything more than the declared principles of the British Government, it is mischievous, while if it wants to get what the Government has already promised to give in its own good time, it is useless; and that in either case, therefore, it has no reason for its existence. The whole world has decided long since that Omar's logic was faulty; and Mr. Dutt had no difficulty in showing that the logic of our Anglo-Indian critics is equally faulty. To declare sound principles of administration is one thing; to give practical effect to them another. To do is not so easy as to say: our passions, prejudices, habits of thought, traditional sentiments, present interests, personal freaks, follies, vanities, jealousies, and a hundred other causes create round us an atmosphere in which we get very distorted views of the realities of life. Our way may be paved with the best intentions, but that ought not to delude us into the belief that it is the right way and leads to a desirable goal. Who has ever doubted the good intentions of the British Government? In fact, our abiding faith in its justice and uprightness is the rock upon which, we are persuaded to think, it firmly and securely rests. But in this age men walk by sight not by faith alone; and if the sight contradicts the faith, we may be sure—and this is a just warning to all parties concerned—that the faith will in course of time grow weak, and must, as a necessary consequence, effect the foundations of the great political fabric that has hitherto rested upon that faith. Well, we know the declared principles of British policy; the words of the Queen's Proclamation are engraved for ever upon the tablets of our hearts; but we see daily, almost hourly, that the principles of British justice are not always observed by those placed to rule over us; the Queen's promises have not yet been fulfilled in their spirit, whatever may have happened to them in the letter—*which killeth*—we know that after 150 years of British rule—a rule in so many respects nobler far than any which we have ever known—the Englishman and the Indian stand as far apart and as ignorant of each other as they did at the battle of Plassey. The latest revelation of this unpleasant fact comes in the shape of serious plague riots which have recently occurred in different parts of India, and which have shown—if they have shown anything—that the ruling class, after a long period of comparatively established rule, like another famous line of rulers, has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing, that it is yet unable to see things as we see them, to enter into our thoughts and feelings, and to acquire even a moderate insight into the undercurrents of our social life. Why does the slightest disturbance in India make our Government oscillate between panic and passion? Why, when two Englishmen are murdered by some ruffians, is the cry of sedition and treason raised throughout the whole country, and the ramifications of some mysterious conspiracy are traced to Nepal? Why, when the slightest ignition of mob fury occurs, are alarm-bells rung from the watch-tower of every Anglo-Indian press, and fire-engines are shunted, as if some great conflagration were at hand? The reason is plain enough. As with the savage, so with the civilised man, ignorance is the great source of fear. The Englishman does not know the Indian; the Indian does not know the Englishman. The one wonders why his good intentions are misunderstood by the Indian; the other why his simplest wants are unintelligible to the really clever Englishman. An imperative need has therefore clearly arisen that in the interest of the Empire, the dangers of this misunderstanding should be obviated. On the side of the people this can be done only by men of light and leading, who know how to give utterance to the unarticulate wants of their less instructed countrymen, and to formulate them in

words that may be intelligible to their rulers. The rulers know what their culture and good intentions can enable them to know. But there is another side to every Indian question, and that is the people's side. It is essential to know this side too, so that measures, theoretically good, may be fruitful of good in practice also. To discharge this function—that of representing to Government what the people think and feel, in order that it may be enabled to adopt measures that may be in harmony and not in conflict with the moving forces of Indian society—is 'the creed of the National Congress.' Mr. Dutt has explained this creed with his usual directness and fullness, in a passage of his speech, at once simple and dignified, and which we quote here:

"For remember, gentlemen, that there are generally two sides to every question which comes up for discussion, and it is desirable and necessary that both sides should be properly represented and heard before the question is decided. It is no disrespect to the Civil Service of India to say that it represents, ably and fairly, the official side only of Indian questions. I have had the honour of passing the best years of my life in the Indian Civil Service, and I shall be the last person on earth to question either the ability or the honesty of purpose of those able and hard-working men who form that magnificent service. I have pleasant recollections of the years which I have passed in complete accord and friendliness with my colleagues in that service, of the fair and handsome treatment which I received from my seniors, and of the loyal and zealous co-operation which I received from my juniors; and I will say this, that take the Indian Civil Service with all its faults and all its shortcomings—for hard work and honesty of purpose there is not a finer body of administrators in the world. Nevertheless, it must be admitted, and it is no disrespect to the Indian Civil Service to say that that service represents only the official view of Indian questions, and does not and cannot represent the people's views. There are two sides to every question, and it is absolutely necessary for the purposes of good government and of just administration that not only the official view, but the people's view on every question should be represented and heard. There are local bodies in different parts of India which give expression to the people's views on local questions; but this National Congress is the only body in India which seeks to represent the views and aspirations of the people of India as a whole in the large and important, and if I may use the word, Imperial questions of administration. Therefore, this National Congress is doing a service to the Government, the value of which cannot be overestimated, and which I feel certain is appreciated by the Government itself. It is a gain to the administration to know what we feel, and what we think, and what we desire—though our demands cannot always be conceded. It is a help to responsible administrators to know in what direction our wishes and our aspirations tend, though they may not always agree with us. I honestly believe, therefore, that you are helping the cause of good administration and of good government in India by your deliberations year after year, and I trust and hope that you will continue to carry on these deliberations in the future as you have done in the past, with good sense and moderation, with loyalty to our rulers, and with fidelity to the real interests of the people. We cannot fail in this endeavour: the future is with us; and looking at the progress of nations all over the British Empire in every part of the world, I, for one, feel confident that we, too, are destined to move onwards as a portion of that great Empire, and that we, too, shall secure some measure of progress and self-government under the Imperial rule of England."

It is this one-sidedness of the official information, pointed out by Mr. Dutt, which is the cause of more than half of our political ills. The reactionary policy of 1897—the year of the Diamond Jubilee of the Queen's reign—was its most lamentable fruit; and there must be some preternatural element of vitality in it that even Lord Curzon's Government, at a time when the loyalty of India to British Crown has won universal recognition, has not thought fit to reverse it. Mr. Dutt, while referring to "the sad occurrences of 1897, the saddest year in its accumulation of calamities since the time that India passed from the hands of the East India Company to the Crown," observed more in sorrow than in anger, regarding the new sedition law, thus:

"Gentlemen, the measure was based on a blunder—the blunder of connecting sedition with the spread of education. The truth is precisely the reverse of this. English education had not only produced sedition in the land, but it has been the strongest weapon by which the Government has stamped out real sedition in this country within the last fifty years. In the dark days of 1857 and earlier, there was real sedition in the land—a real wish in some dark and obscure corners to overturn this great Empire. That desire was born of ignorance and lurked amidst ignorant classes, and the Government has successfully stamped out that feeling by the spread of education. There never was a greater Imperialist among the Governors-General of India than Lord Dalhousie, and Lord Dalhousie strengthened and fortified the Empire by giving effect to the famous educational dispatch of 1854, and spreading education through vernacular schools. There never was a stronger upholder of British Dominion in its darkest days than Lord Canning, and Lord Canning established the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The same policy has been pursued by

successive Viceroys during the last forty years with the same object and the same effect, and wherever education has spread, sedition in India is dead. And if real sedition still lingers in any corner of India, it is in the darkness of ignorance, not in the sunlight of education and free discussion. If I were disposed to foment sedition in India, I would desire in the first place to suppress all free discussion, suppress all newspapers, and suppress all public meetings, as a burglar puts out the lights of a room before he commits burglary. And I make bold to add, gentlemen, that if you had been inspired by hostile feelings against British rule in India, you would have worked in the dark, and not come forward from all parts of India, year after year, to openly and loyally place your views before the ruling power. Educated India has practically identified itself with British rule, seeks to perpetuate British rule, is loyal to the British rule, as Lord Dufferin said, not through sentiment, but through the stronger motive of self-interest; because it is by a continuance of the British rule that educated India seeks to secure that large measure of self-government, that position among the modern nations of the earth, which it is our aim and endeavour to secure."

It is not to be expected that this wise and moderate counsel will have any immediate effect upon the minds of our rulers; for upon most important questions they seem to be under the thralldom of the Anglo-Indian Press, which as a body has arrayed itself against Indian newspapers, and one of the favourite topics of which is the vilifying of Indian Journalists. When the fire of racial animosity was, in consequence of an unfortunate event, kindled in 1897, it was the Anglo-Indian Journals, who did their worst to fan the flame. It was the *Pioneer* which published a series of articles by a number of Anglo-Indian writers, entitled the 'Signs of the Times,' in which Hindus and Mohammedans were equally blackguarded, branded with charges of sedition and bespattered with all sorts of calumnies, in which the educated class was held up to the scorn and detestation of the Government, and the Government was asked to stamp out the venomous breed of Indian Journalists. The Machiavellian cry prevailed, the generous policy of Bentinck and Metcalfe was reversed, and a course of dealing with the freedom of the Indian Press was adopted, which showed that the methods of Russian administration are not quite so distasteful to our rulers in practice, as they are vowed to be in principle. Yet a really disloyal and seditious-minded man could at the time have done nothing more to carry out his evil designs than to publish and circulate broadcast a translation of the memorable articles on the 'Signs of the Times.' The public feeling, however, is that the Anglo-Indian Press reflects the opinion of the governing class, and that if it denounces our aspirations and maligns our leaders, it implicitly carries out the decrees of 'the greater gods of Olympus.' This is not the way to govern an alien race, and to remove the feelings of discontent and dissatisfaction which are gnawing at the heart of the Indian people. On the contrary "it is by some degree of sympathy," as Mr. Dutt remarked, "some degree of good feeling and neighbourly courtesy, and not by sedition laws, that the relations between the different sections of the Indian community can be improved."

After referring very briefly to the untoward fate which has overtaken the Calcutta Municipality, as another lamentable instance of the dark tide of reaction, which has set in in our Government, and which threatens to bear us on to unknown shores, Mr. Dutt made a very pregnant observation as regards the principal cause to which all this is due:

"But our difficulty and our danger lie in this, that great administrative questions are discussed and settled in Executive Councils where we are not represented and not heard. I do not say that the official view is necessarily wrong, and that our view is necessarily right; but I do say that both views should be fairly represented before the tribunal which shapes our destinies. I do not say that we have more knowledge or more experience or more ability than the high officials who represent the official view of the question, but I do say that we view questions from a different point of view, and that there should be a constitutional channel for the representation of our views in the Executive Councils of the Empire. For when the Executive Councils have decided a question, the thing is done—the Legislative Councils simply carry out the official mandate with important alterations, as the Bengal Council has done in the case of their Municipal Bill."

In regard to political abuses, the simpler the remedy, the greater the difficulty in persuading the ruling class to adopt it. Its very simplicity excites suspicion as to its soundness; and even where its soundness is palpable and undeniable, personal and class interests refuse to be superseded without a struggle. Who can deny that the British Government cannot have too many sources of information upon Indian ques-

tions? From the very position which the Government have thought fit to assume in this country, they have isolated themselves from the main currents of Indian thought and feeling. For let us mark the constitution under which we are placed. In theory British Parliament is the final arbiter of our destinies. But in practice it is the Secretary of State who is the master of the situation. He is as a rule a member of the party in power. In everything he does, he is sure of the support of his party, for his defeat upon an important question may jeopardise the fate of his ministry. But his power, too, is limited, and his influence hardly altogether his own, when we take into account the fact that as in the case of this high functionary, one of the chief qualifications for the office is his utter ignorance of the conditions of the country, the affairs of which he is called upon to administer, he is assisted by a body of councillors, most of whom are retired Anglo-Indian officials who meet in secret, to whom no legal or constitutional responsibility attaches for their opinions, whose advice the Secretary of State is not bound to follow, and the Parliament has no right to know, who are expected to be the impartial Judges of their own past conduct, and to suggest reforms and rectify defects in an administrative system in which, for the best part of their lives, they themselves have lived, moved and had their being. Although constitutionally their responsibility as advisers of the Secretary of State is *nil*, yet it is only natural that the men, who are experts in their respective departments, should exercise a strong, even an overwhelming moral influence upon him, and thus while his decrees may apparently seem to come from an independent source, yet in reality they bear the impress of the stereotyped Anglo-Indian opinion. This is the whole of our security for good government in British Parliament. In India, the Viceroy is assisted by an Executive Council, the members of which are paid servants of the Government whom they are bound to support in every emergency, and by a Legislative Council which can initiate nothing, and in which the official members are always in the majority. All important legislation—every thing connected with the Indian budget—is considered and decided upon in the Executive Council, which for its information depends almost entirely upon the reports of the divisional and district officers. These divisional and district officers are most accessible to those whose opinions are most to their taste, while our independent public bodies have to make occasional and isolated representations to Government for such consideration as they may think fit to give them. The form of consulting the people is certainly gone through; but the people who are consulted are seldom the people who ought to be consulted, and the consequence is that measures are adopted in the name of the people which they neither appreciate nor understand. A well-disciplined bureaucracy sits tight on the neck of the Indian nation, and drives it in any direction it likes. Things are not so bad now as they were some time ago, and the march of events has proved irresistible even for those who look upon the existing despotic system as the perfection of human wisdom. But the real reform of the system is a long way off yet, still before it comes some such measure, as that of introducing the Indian element into the Executive Councils of the Supreme and Local Governments, as advocated by Mr. Dutt, will have to be adopted, in order to soften the harsh, unpopular and unsympathetic features of a Government, which for its benevolent intentions towards its subjects is, as Mill has observed, the best that the world has ever seen, but which, for its utter ignorance of the wants and wishes of its people, and for its utter inability to learn and unlearn under the stress of experience, has made itself an object of wonder and fear to the masses, and a source of pain and humiliation to the educated classes.

In another portion of his speech Mr. Dutt explains at some length as to how this evil, which affects the very foundations of the Government, is to be remedied. The main point is to bring the Government in contact with as wide a surface of Indian public opinion as possible. How is this to be done? Mr. Dutt starts from the village communities and suggests easy and simple means by which village unions may be formed, who may be entrusted with the charge of village roads, village drainage, village education, village hospitals, etc., besides being empowered to dispose of petty civil and criminal cases. Nothing tends to educate the popular mind

so well as the habit of rising, if even occasionally, above purely selfish concerns and taking interest in other people's affairs. The Indian villager, if gently and prudently handled, can be taught to interest himself in his village affairs; and if in this way, he comes to repose some confidence in the district authorities, these authorities will find that in all emergencies he is one of the indispensable sources of help and correct information. The same principle of inducing the people to take part in their own affairs should be encouraged in Municipal and District Boards which have already received a modicum of the elective principle. Nothing is easier than to cavil at the shortcomings of these local bodies—and there has been a good deal of this cavilling and carping lately—but the other alternative still remains untried, that of dealing with these bodies with patience, sympathy and kindly advice, and then seeing whether, of all the peoples in the world, the Indians are the one who, even under kind, gentle and sympathetic masters, are incapable of learning the elements of political education. In like manner, the popular element should be increased and strengthened in the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils, not only by extending the suffrage and increasing the number of elected members, but by introducing one Indian member into each of the Executive Councils of the country. Theoretically, the scheme is a counsel of perfection; and no arguments have yet been seriously put forward by any responsible authority why it should not be equally efficient in practice. But reforms are often delayed, not because the spirit of the ruling power is unwilling, but because its flesh is weak. Vested interests and a long enjoyment of arbitrary power are apt to oppose barriers to every thing which seems to threaten their predominance; and in India, as elsewhere, nothing but the hopelessness of resisting public opinion will drive the Government to yield to demands to which no considerations of justice and right reason can induce them to make timely and graceful concessions. Be that as it may, the path of our political progress lies along the line pointed out by Mr. Dutt, no less than the permanence and security of English rule itself, and although delay in giving effect to reforms, which are at once reasonable and seasonable, may at times seem dangerous, and hope deferred may make our hearts sick, but we are on the crest of the flowing tide, and the wished-for haven is looming in the distant horizon. We shall one day gain the object of our dark and perilous voyages, and (as Mr. Dutt observed) "wise English statesmen will perceive in the future, as they have perceived in the past, that England's duty and England's interest are the same in India—to consolidate British rule by extending, not restricting, self-government, by conciliating, not alienating, a loyal and grateful nation."

The most important theme discussed by Mr. Dutt in his speech was without doubt the poverty question of India, and he put it to the most crucial test by examining it in the light of the disastrous famines with which the conditions of recent years have made us so familiar. The awful magnitude of the question is apparent from the fact that it affects the bulk of the Indian population. According to the last Parliamentary Blue-book, four-fifths of the population look to the land for their livelihood. "In the British provinces, allowing 5 persons to each family, almost 24 millions of households have an interest in the land they live on, about 8 millions more live on the wages of labour." So, in India, to use Mr. Dutt's words, the cultivator is the nation. And what is the condition of the nation in point of material prosperity? Two contradictory answers are given. To the eye of official optimism all appears rose-colored. "My point is," says Sir Henry Fowler, "that under British rule, poverty has not increased, but diminished, and so far from this poverty of India being attributable to British administration, the fates show exactly the opposite." "Whatever test you apply to India as a whole," says our present Secretary of State, "you will find that the community have prospered, and that the mass of the people are better off than was the case twenty years ago." The views of Indian politicians, it is needless to say, are quite the reverse of this. They cannot quite understand the material progress of a country in which 40 millions people live constantly on the verge of starvation. They look in vain for the hour of plenty in the midst of ever-recurring famines, in which, in spite of the most generous external aid, men perish by hundreds of thousands. They

find it hard to reconcile the roseate accounts of the official optimist with the observation of an intelligent Anglo-Indian with regard to India, "that famine is the horizon and insufficient food the foreground of the cultivator and the day-labourer." A happy and contented India—its material resources increasing by leaps and bounds, its cultivators paying less to the British Government than they ever did to any other Government, its people waxing and multiplying, each month bringing two hands, and each pair of hands assured of more than 'three acres and a cow'—surely it could not have been of this India—this Arcadia pictured by the Anglo-Indian imagination—that Mr. Holderness, once a high official in these provinces, and now employed under the Government of India, wrote in the following strain: "The united earnings of a man, his wife, and two children could not be put at more than Rs. 3 per month. When prices of food-grains are moderate, work regular, and the health of the household good, this income will enable the family to have one good meal a day, to keep a thatched roof over their head, to buy cheap cotton clothing, and occasionally a thin blanket. The small cultivator is slightly better off, but he has not always enough to eat, or sufficiently warm clothes."

If, then, in a pre-eminently agricultural country, the agricultural community, which means the bulk of the population, is in such a miserable condition, the question of Indian poverty ceases to be a matter of opinion; it becomes a matter of fact. The question, then, naturally suggests itself, why is it so? Why is the mass of the Indian population so hopelessly poor? Why has the best-intentioned Government failed in its primary duty of securing the first conditions of existence to its subject-people? What is the cause of this poverty? Here, too, the answers are contradictory and conflicting. For our impoverishment, the official apologist holds responsible our national character, our extravagances, our reproductive instincts, and for the unexplained residue of our miseries, he throws the blame upon Providence. Mr. Dutt's answer to the question, as to what is the real cause of the abject poverty of the agricultural classes, embodies the sentiment of all India.

"Gentlemen, the real cause of the poverty of our agricultural population is simple and even obvious, if we have the courage and the honesty to seek for it and to grasp it. It is not over-population, for the population does not increase faster than in European countries, does not increase faster than the area of cultivation. It is not the natural improvidence of the cultivator, for those who know the Indian cultivator will tell you that with all his ignorance and superstition, he is as provident, as frugal, as shrewd in matters of his own interest as the cultivator in any part of the globe. The real cause of his wretchedness and indebtedness is that, except in Bengal and a few other tracts, the land assessment is so heavy that the cultivator is not able to save in good years enough to meet the failure of harvests in bad years. All our village industries, like spinning and weaving, have been killed by a free competition with the steam and machinery of England. Our cultivators and even our village industrial classes therefore virtually depend on the soil as the one remaining source of their subsistence. The land assessments should therefore be made in a liberal and even a generous spirit. There is every desire in the high officials to make the assessments in a liberal spirit, but as the people have no voice in controlling these assessments, they are found in the actual working to be often illiberal and harsh. They do not leave the cultivators enough to be able to save, and cultivators therefore fall victims to famine whenever the harvests fail."

These views are supported by eminent Government experts. Writing about the increase of population in India, the Census Commissioner observes: "But large as this growth seems in absolute numbers, if we take it with reference to the population to which it has been superadded, it shrinks into very moderate proportions. It is but an average increase, as is shown by the marginal tables, in which out of 28 countries India comes 20th." "The increase from 1881 to 1891," says Mr. A. Nundy in his able article on 'Indian Politics,' "was in British India at the rate of 9.76 per cent., in the French and Portuguese possessions at 12.75 per cent., whilst in the Feudatory States it rose to 15.52 per cent."

As regards improvident and extravagant habits being one of the causes of the ryot's indebtedness, some remarks from the Deccan Ryots Commission are worth quoting:

"The results of the Commission's enquiries show that undue prominence has been given to the expenditure in marriage and other festivals as a cause of the ryot's indebtedness. The expen-

diture on such occasions may undoubtedly be called extravagant when compared with the ryot's means, but the occasions occur seldom, and probably in a course of years the total sum spent this way by any ryot is not larger than a man in his position is justified in spending on social and domestic pleasures."

It is remarkable that the indebtedness of the agricultural classes is greater in British India than in the Native States.

"It is a very curious feature in the Census returns," as the Census Commissioner remarks, "that the proportion of money-lenders, who combine that occupation with the possession of land, is far greater in British territory than in the Native States."

No temporising legislation about the indebtedness of the agricultural classes can cure the deep-seated evil. The Indian cultivator is sunk in debt, he succumbs to the slightest shock of famine, he is unable to get for himself more than one meal a day, because he has no staying power, and he has no staying power because more is taken away from him than he can safely spare. He is industrious, frugal and sober, enjoying full security of person and property, but unable to withstand the bad seasons, and even in good seasons hardly able to go on without the help of the money-lender. There is only one cause to which his sufferings are mainly due. He is the victim of an intolerably heavy assessment. The Anglo-Indian official indignantly rejects this idea. "There has never, so far as our knowledge goes, been a Government in India," says Sir John Strachey, "that has taken so small a share in the profits of the soil as that taken by ourselves. This is true of every province of British India. Under all preceding Governments, and under Native Governments to this day, there has been, in the words of Mr. Thomason, 'no other limit to the demand upon the land than the power of the Government to enforce payment and the ability of the people to pay.' " If this is so, if the present land revenue is the lightest which India has ever paid to any Government, then how is it that the Indian masses succumb more easily to famines now than they did in former times; the cultivator is more prosperous in the Native State than in British territory, his indebtedness is increasing, and the question of agrarian discontent is overshadowing every other question in the councils of Government? Is it the money-lender who has made an insolvent peasantry? Or, is it an insolvent peasantry which is obliged to go to the money-lender? The Indian peasant wants money no doubt because he spends it on trifles; but he wants it, too, because he must pay the Government demand whether the land yields him anything or not. In the good old times he did not borrow much, because if he did not have anything, he simply refused to pay, and as in those days the payment in kind was the general practice, bad seasons brought about their own remissions of Government demand. Under the present civilised Government, this punitive method of adjusting our resources will not do; the Government does not care to be charitable; the revenue authorities are unrelenting, and any default in payment means practical eviction from the land. The old order changeth, but not always for the better.

It is no use telling us that the English take less than the Moguls. The question, in the first place, is—were the Moguls ever able to realise in full the land-revenue? And in the second place, if the English system is so much more lenient than its predecessor, why has not the condition of the Indian ryot improved—why, indeed, has it, on the contrary, deteriorated? The answer of history to the first question is unmistakable. Before the time of the Ain-i-Akbari, everything was done in a haphazard manner, and the greater part of India was but slightly affected by Mohamedan guests. From the time of Akbar up to the close of Aurungzeb's reign, in bloodshed and confusion, the Mogul Empire may be said to have enjoyed its highest measure of stability, yet even with regard to this period, we have the testimony of contemporary observers which leaves no doubt as to the financial resources of the Empire, and how they were gained and maintained. Whatever else may be doubtful, two things stand out clear and distinct. First, the Government demand was never collected in full, and what was collected was generally collected in kind. Secondly, there was no foreign drain upon the resources of the people; what was taken by the Government found its way back again into the pockets of the people. Under the present regime the revenue laws work with the passionless force of the laws of nature, and every pie of Government demand is realised, happen what it may. And a

considerable portion of what is thus taken goes out to England, never to return to this country again. The other question, then, as to why the condition of the Indian ryot is getting worse day by day, answers itself; for, when you take from him more than he can afford to give, and leave him to his fate when hard times come, it needs no prophet's eyes to forecast his future. One has only to travel through any Native State in order to realise the marked contrast in respect of material prosperity between its peasantry and that in British territory. A perverse land revenue policy has brought the country to this pass. The condition of the Indian ryot has become intolerable and scandalous. He is the gentlest of creatures, and yet he is the victim of the most serious of political blunders. Even by the sweat of his brow he cannot always eat his bread. His cloud has no silver lining. On the portals of his life is written what Dante read on the gate of the Inferno. Of millions of Indian peasants it is true to say, in the words of a French writer, that they are like "certain wild animals, male and female, scattered over the fields, black, livid, all burnt by the sun, bound to the earth that they dig and work with unconquerable pertinacity; they have a sort of articulate voice, and when they rise on their feet, they show a human face and in fact are men." On behalf of these castaways, these neglected, almost disinherited children of our parental Government, and against the system of land assessment, which more than anything is responsible for their miseries and misfortunes, Mr. Dutt has made a noble appeal, with the closing words of which we close here our review of the memorable speech which is destined to have a permanent place in the political literature of our country.

After the conclusion of the Presidential address, which evoked rapturous applause from the assembly, the Subjects Committee was formed, which held its sitting half an hour after, the Congress having adjourned until 12 o'clock next day.

The first thing that was brought before the Congress the next day was the subject of the constitution of the Congress. Mr. Madholkar laid before the meeting certain draft rules of the proposed constitution, but as the delegates wanted time to consider them before discussing them, the consideration of them by the assembly was put off till a later stage of the session.

The first resolution discussed and passed by the Congress was that of the separation of Judicial from Executive functions in the administrative system of the country.

That the Judge should be different from the prosecutor may seem to be an elementary principle of administration, but in this country, where a new idea is taken up when it has become old everywhere else, it is only now that its soundness is beginning to be appreciated by Government. It is beginning to be seen that it is not safe that a man should be judged in his own cause, that the District Magistrate, who is also head of the Police and is responsible for the good and efficient administration of his District, should be allowed to try the offender who may have been arrested under his own orders, and against whom he may in his official capacity have been supplied with information sufficient to bias his mind, but otherwise incapable of being put to judicial test. The Congress Party saw this 15 years ago, and their proposal was so sensible that Lord Dufferin called it "a counsel of perfection." But like many a sensible thing it was long an object of senseless criticism and was left unheeded in this country. Nevertheless, our supporters in England were not disheartened, but set to work so as to persuade the English public of the expediency and the feasibility of the proposal. Sir Richard Garth, a former Chief Justice of Bengal, advocated the reform in an able pamphlet. Sir William Hunter supported it in the columns of the *Times*, and when after sometime the question was formally brought before Parliament, the reasonableness of the administrative change asked for by the Congress was admitted by the Government of the day, and it was declared by responsible statesmen that the reform should be given effect to so soon as the financial position of the Indian Government permitted it. Mr. Manomohan Ghose and Mr. Romesh Chander Dutt drew up schemes in which they showed most clearly and convincingly that the reform was capable of being adopted without costing the Government any appreciable additional expense. The views of these gentlemen

have since gained considerable ground, so much so that several Judges of the Privy Council, including Lord Hobhouse, whose experience of our Judicial administration is exceptional, and several other politicians and competent judges of the matter, have taken up the question and are resolved to press it upon the attention of the British Parliament. The question we may be sure will not be left unsolved much longer. Lord Curzon has issued a communication upon the subject, which promises good results in the near future. The reform for which the Congress party has been crying so long is on the eve of success. The fate of the system under which the judge and the prosecutor mean one and the same person, like John Bunyon's Pope and Pagan rolled into one, is sealed.

However, when Mr. Ambika Charan Muzumdar, on moving the resolution about the separation of executive from judicial functions, spoke of it as "that oft repeated demand, that cry in the wilderness," he gave expression to the same sentiment which led the *Pioneer*, only the other day, to remark that after a discussion which commenced long before the Congress, and in spite of the weight of official opinion in its favour, the demand remains as yet an unrealised ideal. So said Mr. Muzumdar: "We have from year to year listened with eagerness and credulity to the whispers of hope, inspired by these official platitudes, but what are bushels of declarations and assurances worth, when there is not even a grain of performance within fifteen years?"

The speech was throughout full of vigorous criticisms of the existing system which has fostered 'the unholy combination' of the two functions, and closed with a stirring appeal to the just instincts of the present Viceroy. As a sample of Mr. Muzumdar's eloquence, vigour, and debating power, we quote the following passage from his speech:

"Sir, there being absolutely no difference between official and non-official opinion as to the desirability of this pressing reform in the abstract, the proposal advanced by us was, at the first stage of our discussion, discounted as being vague and impracticable. Practical schemes were then submitted from various quarters, and notably there was one submitted by you, Sir (*cheers*), which conclusively proved that not only was our proposal not impracticable, but that it was a problem of the easiest solution. The means and materials were all there, the line on which to work was distinct and clear, and, in fact, the whole question was rather one of re-adjustment and re-distribution than of any radical departure, or violent reorganization. Then, Sir, we were met with the question of expense—always so formidable in case of Indian reforms (*laughter, cheers*). Yes, we know that in this country wars may be carried on, barren rocks may be conquered and retained, and enormous subsidies may be annually granted to treacherous bugbears, all in pursuit of a fatuous policy, even with appalling deficits in the treasury. But no sooner questions of internal reforms are raised our Government at once realizes that it is a bankrupt (*cries of shame*). But, Sir, as to this plea of expense, also, your remarkable scheme presented a complete answer; for it clearly pointed out that all the additional expense, which was so much talked about on the other side, could not possibly amount to more than only a few lakhs of rupees, all the provincial budgets put together. Then, Sir, if this question of financial difficulty was any argument then, to-day to persist in such argument would seem to wear a different aspect. There never was perhaps, since the day of Lord Ripon, a more solvent Indian treasury than at present. The last budget estimate of our Finance Minister shows a cheerful surplus of over 4 millions sterling; and quite recently the Government of India have been able to restore to the Judges of the High Courts pretty nearly the whole of their original pay, which had been arbitrarily and injudiciously cut down as a contribution to the frontier policy in 1891. Gentlemen, Lord Curzon has just considerably modified that policy, and we may be permitted to express the hope, that the spirit of jingoism, which has been always so rampant in Indian politics, will go to rest at least during his Viceroyalty (*cheers*). What, then, are the Government of India going to do with this large surplus? We know, Sir James Westland would indeed have them launched into a wild currency speculation. But would the country like—could you, gentlemen, approve of—such an Argonautic expedition being undertaken in the face of a dozen crying necessities of the country? (*laughter and cheers*). Now, then, is the time to effect this important reform—to wipe out the stain that has for years scandalized the fair name of British justice in this country."

The resolution was seconded by Mr. Agasti, whose reference to "John Patil's" case was very apt and telling; and supported by Mr. S. Sinha, Mr. Nasir-ud-din Ahmed and Mr. A. C. P. Naidu. The following passage from Mr. Sinha's speech expresses with admirable force and directness, the sentiments of the educated classes upon the question:

"Gentlemen, I need hardly tell you before resuming my seat that it is my firm conviction that it is not the question of expense or this or that; it is the question of false and supposed idea that Government prestige would be gone if the reform is carried out. That bugbear, as Manomohan Ghose called it, is at the bottom of the whole thing. I am not going to waste your time by telling you what a false notion that is. On the other hand, by separating the two functions, the Indian Government would not lose prestige at all, but in fact it will be quite the other way if anything. The Government would be enhancing its popularity by carrying out this reform; they would be broad-basing their rule upon the sympathy and good-will of the people. Our President yesterday said that the most important question of administration is the question of land settlement. That is certainly a very important question, and next to that the most important question is the question of giving to India justice, true justice and British justice (*cheers*). You have been told, gentlemen, by retired gentlemen, and sometimes ex-Viceroy of India, that India was conquered by the sword and must be retained by the sword. I am not going to waste your time by saying that India was not conquered by the sword. Whatever that may be, if India is to be retained by Government, it is not by sword or by brute-force but by conferring upon us the glory of the British justice of England."

The first resolution having been unanimously passed, the second resolution, relating to the Punjab Land Alienation Bill, was moved by Rae Saheb Lala Murli Dhar, seconded by Babu Kanahya Lal of Amritsar, and supported by two speakers from Bombay and Oudh. The general indebtedness of the agricultural classes was admitted by the speakers, and the serious evils arising therefrom, but the Bill was disapproved mainly upon two grounds. First, that it did not cure the existing evil and secondly, that it introduced a new one. Indebtedness is due to the resourceless condition of the agricultural class, the heavy assessments to which it is subjected, and the hard procedure by which Government revenue is realised. How could any restrictions upon alienation save the ryot from the effects of the crushing system which barely leaves him any margin in his earnings to meet the exigencies of bad seasons? The Indian ryot contracts debt because he has to meet certain inevitable demands. Indeed, so long as it remains true of the Indian masses that millions of them cannot get more than one meal a day from year's end to year's end, the phenomenon of indebtedness is sufficiently explained, while a heavy obligation rests upon the Government to furnish a valid justification for a measure which, though intended to improve the condition of the agricultural classes, completely ignores this state of things. No sale of land for private debts. Good. But why allow it for arrears of Government revenue? Neither the logic nor the morality of this policy is quite obvious to our unsophisticated minds. Mr. Murli Dhar put it very well thus:

"The land will continue to be cultivated as now. There will be total prohibition of sale by the proprietor in the Punjab to a non-agriculturist. He will be allowed by the Collector, on an application made, to sell his land to a member of his own brotherhood, and he cannot claim it as a right, but it will be within the discretion of the Collector, or some other officer who will be specially invested by the local Government, to exercise these functions, to refuse or grant his application for transfer of the land by sale. It would be perfectly open to the Collector to refuse or sanction the sale of his land. Then you will see, gentlemen, that the Government has all along been acting in the interests of the agriculturist to keep the land with him, and for the benefit of his heirs, by prevention from selling the land to a stranger, but the same land will be sold by public auction when he fails to pay the Government revenue in punctual time (*cheers*). Government takes very good care that the same law which declares "Do unto others as you would be done by others" does not apply to the action of Government (*laughter*). It does not because it harms the interests of Government; it acts very injuriously on the interests of Government and therefore the Government has taken very good care about it, and all the Honorable Members who have made speeches in the Legislative Council have been discreetly silent over this question."

Then, again, why take away the freedom of contract from the people? Why, in your zeal to protect the agriculturist from the consequences of his extravagance or improvidence (it is the Government not we who charge him with these defects in his nature), punish the money-lender for his shrewdness in making the best investment of his money? Surely he, too, in equity is entitled to some protection. As Babu Kanahya Lal said:

"When for a debt a man is taken to Court they won't allow him to release himself by his own means, though the indebted man has the power to perform his duty, sometimes his moral duty, and sometimes his religious duty, to pay the debt. The Koran says that it is the duty of the debtor to pay. The Prophet would never read the blessings on the dead body of the man who died indebted. Our Hindu Shastras would enjoin grandsons to pay the debts of their grandfa-

ther. That moral and religious duty which the indebted proprietor would discharge by giving some portion of the land, the Government interferes with and says—"Take lessons of morality from us. Do not go to Shastras or Koran. Take morality from us and repudiate all your debts, and there we help you by legislative enactments." That has virtually come to that. They will not be permitted to pay their debts even if they wished to do their duty towards money-lenders."

And one certain result of this measure will be to depreciate the value of land-security. Anything, which diminishes the landlord's rights of absolute ownership over his land, will tend to diminish the value of his property. Thus, then, the dilemma is that special protective legislation is proposed in the interest of the agricultural class because of its impoverished condition on the one hand, while on the other its impoverishment increases in proportion to the fall in the value of his property. The evil of the existing poverty of the land-owning classes is not cured, while a new evil in the shape of discontent, increased resourcelessness, which must arise from the curtailment of their proprietary rights in land, is introduced. The wisdom of the wiseacre may approve of the measure; but to the people of this country it is a lamentable instance of tinkering and temporising legislation.

The next resolution, moved by Miss Alison Garland, referred to reduction of the Indian Military expenditure by transferring the cost of a portion of British troops located in India from the Indian to the British exchequer. Miss Garland had no difficulty in showing that if before the Mutiny, the proportion of British Indian troops—and it was raised in the years following the Mutiny—a time of great unrest—was from 1 to 2 for Bengal and from 1 to 3 for Madras and Bombay, there was good warrant for reducing that proportion after so many years of peace, especially when recent experience has made it apparent that a considerable portion of the British troops in India can, without any risk to the security of the country, be spared for service in other parts of the empire. The reduction of the British Army in India was not proposed, but the relieving of the Indian tax-payer by asking England to contribute towards expenditure of that proportion of the Indian Army which was over and above the need of the country. The demand is not only just but urgent, for it has a most vital bearing upon the financial problem, which is the pivot upon which turns the whole administration of the country. We say that India cannot bear the burden of what are called Home charges or of an increased and increasing Military expenditure. The financial burden of India has increased, because there is no body in the Legislative Council to watch our interests, because there is no check whatever upon the expending propensities of the Indian Government, and because the Military element, which is most eager to undertake costly adventures in pursuit of glories, 'fanned by conquest's crimson wings,' has captured the Indian Government and makes it do its bidding. In this there is nothing extraordinary. Here, as elsewhere, those who spend can never mean those who pay. No virtue is so cheap as the generosity which men are apt to show when dealing with other people's money. The exchange rises, and the Government, with characteristic generosity, grant their English servants compensation allowance out of our pockets. An unjust and unnecessary war is waged with the Frontier tribes, and even when a proposal comes up before Parliament of contributing a portion of the cost of that military wild goose chase—the Tirah Campaign—from the British exchequer, our Government, ashamed to confess their poverty, decline the offer. And so we have the satisfaction of having a bankrupt India bleeding to death under the crushing burden of an over-grown Military expenditure (which by the bye Lord Curzon has declined to reduce), and groaning under the weight of a taxation which would seem to have reached its last limits—and India, restored indeed to peace and civilization under the shadow of the Pax Britannica, whose innumerable blessings may be read—

"In the march of mind,

In the steamship, in the railway, in the thoughts that shape mankind,"
—but, in spite of these blessings, unable to find sufficient food for its people in times of famine and scarcity, and even in normal seasons presenting to the world the sorry spectacle of millions of men condemned to eat the bread of sorrow and to drink the water of affliction—an India, in which the development of indigenous indus-

tries is at a standstill, education halts on palsied feet, and a number of necessary reforms, such for instance as the separation of Executive and Judicial functions, or the establishment upon an adequate and effective scale of a system of technical instruction, are not attended to because the money, which is rung from the Indian peasant, is spent in discharging, amid the bleak and barren hills of the North-West, the sacred task which, as a high authority tells us, Providence has placed upon the shoulders of the British race.

The growth of the Indian Military expenditure has become so perilous that even some Anglo-Indian statesmen have sounded the note of alarm. Sir Auckland Colvin has in very strong language condemned the existing system, and as a former Finance Minister of India his opinions deserve considerable weight. Sir David Barbour, another Finance Minister, has shown how utterly impossible it is for the Indian Finance Minister, or even the Viceroy, to be able to hold out long against the spending propensities of the military element. With the exception of the Viceroy and the Finance Minister, every member of the Government of India is interested in spending, and each of them naturally looks upon his own department as the one upon which most should be spent. The Secretary of State cannot check it, because he himself is surrounded by some fifteen or sixteen wise men from the East, who, whatever they might have learnt in India, could not have learnt to be economical with other men's money, and whose official predilections disqualify them to look at our financial position from our point of view. As for the British Parliament, it can exercise no effective control upon the Indian expenditure, so long as the Indian question does not decide the fate of its ministries, which it will not do in the lifetime of the youngest of us. But even the British Parliament is not always a dispassionate judge of Indian questions. There are commercial and financial interests which the British elector does not often hesitate to promote at the cost of India. We saw the other day how, in regard to the cotton duties, at the threat of Lancashire, the 'mandate' theory forced the hand of a weak-kneed Viceroy. And only yesterday, upon the Sugar Duty Act, what a storm was raised in England; and it would certainly have been disallowed, or perhaps would never have passed—as is apparent from the fact that only a short time ago the Government of India had declined to entertain the proposal—if there had not come to the front certain matters, not in any way connected with India, which induced the Home Government to support the measure. In the debate which took place in Parliament upon the subject, Mr. Chamberlain, in a tone of international sympathy not very usual with him, made certain observations which explain the situation in which this country stands with regard to England, and which deserve being quoted here:

"My fear is that there is a tendency on the part of some hon'ble gentlemen to return to that mercantile system which was the curse of our colonial empire. It was that system which lost us the United States of America and estranged from us many of our most promising colonies. And what was that mercantile system? It was that the interests of our colonies should be subordinated and put on one side in favour of the interests of British consumers and producers. It is based on the subordination of Colonial interests and opinions to British interests and opinions, and it seems now that there are persons who hold that the interests of the East Indies, of the West Indies, of Mauritius and Queensland, are comparatively of no importance; that the local opinion of these places is to be sneered at; and when the planters say they are going to be ruined, they are to be told they do not know what they are talking about and are making fortunes as hard as they can go."

Every word of these observations is true in the case of India. Her interests are subordinated to those of the ruling class. Any proposal that tends to the reduction of our Military expenditure is looked upon as an attack upon the vested interests of a powerful body of Englishmen, and it is therefore no wonder if, in spite of the obvious justice and reasonableness of our demand, no heed is paid to it. And yet what Miss Garland said was nothing more nor less than what had been said by more than one English statesman, and by none perhaps more forcibly than by Lord Salisbury when, as Lord Cranbourne, he was in charge of the Indian Department: "I do not like India to be looked upon as an English barrack in the oriental seas, from which we may draw any number of troops without paying for them. It is bad for England because it is always bad for us not to have a check upon the temptation to engage in little wars which can only be controlled by the necessity of paying for

them. If this garrison which we keep in India is, as all authorities assure us, necessary for maintaining that country in security and peace, that garrison ought not to be rashly diminished. If, on the other hand, it is too large and India can for any length of time conveniently spare these troops, then the Indian population ought not to be so unnecessarily taxed." Thus fortified with the rule laid down by Lord Salisbury, Miss Garland observed:—

"We simply say that it has been proved at such a time as this that a number of troops can safely be withdrawn from India, and if it can be done in safety when the British Government is in the state that it is at present, how much safer can that be when the whole Empire is in a state of peace. For the future we can make a strong claim upon the Government to permanently reduce the Military strength in this country, and by so doing they will save enough money to carry out some of those most necessary and pressing reforms that you have been speaking about this morning (*cheers*). I understand that even reducing the strength of the European army in India by 11,000 men, would be a saving of 1½ crores of rupees."

She concluded her speech with a word of hope and good cheer:

"I have come here to see what you are doing in India for yourselves. Perhaps as a woman—for the first time you have allowed a woman to address you from the British Committee—you will allow me to say that I hope you will educate your women in India (*cheers*). If you were to ask me what were the most enlightened and the happiest nations and most progressive nations in all the world, I should say that they are those nations that allow their women the greatest amount of education and the greatest amount of liberty (*cheers*). I have only to mention to you that we take a keen interest in your welfare. We never forget to ask each other 'how are the women in India getting on?' (*cheers*). I have one more word to say to you before I conclude. I assure you all of the sympathy of many of us with all your just aspirations here. Just one week before I left England I had an interview with Lord Ripon (*cheers*). I was telling him about my visit to this country, and how I was to be a delegate from the British Committee to the National Congress, and I asked Lord Ripon 'cannot you give me a message to the Congress?' I knew you would take it well and he did give me such a message. He said 'tell them of my warm sympathy for the people of India (*three cheers for Lord Ripon were carried amidst loud acclamation*) and of the deep and continued interest I take in their welfare. Tell them of the very friendly recollection I have of the kindly feelings they entertained for me when I was there' (*cheers*). I might also add how very kindly Lady Ripon spoke of the way in which you gave them a hearty farewell when they left this country. I have to conclude and I will do so by telling you what impression this Congress has made upon me personally. I have come out here to see this vast concourse of people that are assembled from all parts of India discussing questions of high political importance and all in one language for the most part and that in my own mother tongue (*cheers*). We have a proud boast among ourselves that wherever the English language goes, it carries with it seeds of freedom and justice (*cheers*). We at least hope that wherever people speak our tongue they will be people that will have the full measure of freedom and justice (*cheers*). We have that freedom at the present time and before long, if you continue on the very moderate and steady lines that you are continuing at present, I feel sure that hope will be realized."

The resolution having been seconded in a very able speech by the Hon'ble Babu Baikuntha Nath Sen, and supported by Mr. Phansalkar of Bombay, Pandit Hari Ram Pandey of the N.-W. P. and Pandit Gyneshwar Shastri of Oudh, was put to the vote and passed unanimously.

The next resolution on the Indian Currency question was moved by Mr. D. E. Watcha in a speech which must be read in full by any one who wishes to appreciate and understand the closely reasoned arguments, couched in luminous and vigorous English, upon one of the most abstruse branches of Indian economics:—

"The currency measures of the Government," observed Mr. Watcha, "have from the very outset met with universal opposition from the people. As I have said over and over again the cry for a gold currency is the cry of the official classes, who wanted their exchange compensation allowance, and of a handful of interested foreign traders."

Referring to the impolicy of a gold currency for India, the speaker went on:

"Rightly understood, the problem means that the use of gold should be avoided, and the metal which is most suitable, and which had greatly augmented India's prosperity, should be extensively utilised. The Government from the very first committed two huge fallacies: (1) that the rupee had fallen in value, and (2) that the currency was redundant. It fondly imagined that by making India's currency system with that of England it would stimulate the flow of gold into this country. That is the delusion and I regret to have to observe that the latest sharer in that delusion is our Viceroy. In winding up the debate on the gold currency in September last, Lord Curzon, with a

strange infatuation, partly inspired no doubt by the surrounding bureaucracy, which fattens on exchange compensation allowance, and partly by his own too imperfect acquaintance with this most intricate subject (*hear, hear*), pictured to us in magniloquent words, of which he is such a master, the bright visions which his currency measure would enable the people to realise. India would become rich beyond the dreams of avarice (*laughter*). It has only to establish a stable currency and gold will flow in millions from all gold-producing countries without stint to fertilise this poverty-stricken land and make every *raiya* in the country prosperous, not to say aught of the happiness of those semi-starved, numbering some fifty millions, who now go year in and year out without one full meal a day (*hear, hear*). Let us all entertain the hope that this sanguine expectation of our golden-visioned Viceroy may be realised; and that before he lays down his exalted office four years hence, he may have the satisfaction to see this land of perpetual misery and discontent converted into an *Eldorado*, bringing contentment and happiness at every door."

Coming to the second part of the resolution, the speaker dealt with some of the manifest evils which are certain to arise from the operation of the new measure.

"Apart from the producers, there is a large section of the poorer population whose small savings consist of silver trinkets. When we take their aggregate value into consideration, no doubt it comes to millions of Rupees. But when we divide these millions by the number of the population, the quotient is indeed very small. It comes to an insignificant sum of 5 to 6 annas per head! This is the saving in silver hoarded over a period of fifty years! Now the silver of these was undoubtedly sold at any time in the bazar at the rate of a Rupee per tola. What is the price of silver now? It does not go beyond 10 or 11 annas per tola. So that practically there is a loss of at least five annas. A silver trinket, say, a bangle worth 10 Rupees before the closure of the mints, is now worth only 6½ Rupees. In reality, by one cruel stroke of the pen of our currency quacks, the silver value of the hoardings of the masses has been diminished by 40 to 50 per cent! Is that no injury to the poorest?"

The resolution having been properly seconded, was carried unanimously. Dr. Neel Ratan Sarkar of Bengal moved the fifth resolution, regarding the separation of Military and Civil Medical Services, which, having been seconded in a short speech by Dr. T. R. Nair of Madras, was passed unanimously.

On the third day of the Congress session, Mr. S. B. Bhata of Bombay moved the resolution regarding the Foreign Telegraphic Press Messages Bill, entering a strong protest against its impolicy and exposing the class character of the proposed legislation. Kazi Rayazuddin Ahmed seconded the resolution in an Urdu speech, and it was unanimously adopted by the Congress. Next rose the Hon'ble Babu Surendra Nath Banerji, whose fervid and copious eloquence have given him a unique position among Indian orators of our time, to move the resolution regarding the Calcutta Municipal Act.

The opening passage of his speech is magnificent eloquence, and we make no apology in quoting it here:—

"Sir, when last year we met in Congress in the town of Madras, we ventured to express the hope that it might be our privilege to associate the name and fame of Lord Curzon with the reversal of that policy of repression and reaction which is now in the ascendant in the Councils of the Empire. I cannot say that that hope has been realised. I am bound to say that that hope has not been realised. For within the last twelve months we have had two notable illustrations of this policy of repression in the enactment of the Calcutta Municipal Bill and in the introduction into the Legislative Council of Bombay of a measure which will emasculate the principle of local self-government in the towns of Western India (*hear, hear*). But, Sir, I think I speak the sense of this great Congress, the sense of the representatives of educated India, when I say that we distinctly decline to associate Lord Curzon with that policy which our conscience has disapproved and our judgment condemned (*hear, hear*). In free and constitutional countries the sovereign stands isolated and apart from the conflict of parties and the bitterness of feelings which these conflicts awaken. The sovereign belongs to no party, is identified with no class interest (*hear, hear*), the sovereign stands high above all parties, the jarring note of party-strife does not reach his ears (*cheers*). From his exalted position, animated by that inspiration which such a position cannot fail to impart, he holds the scales evenly and dispenses impartial justice between man and man and party and party (*cheers*). The position of the Viceroy of India is different. As the representative of the sovereign, he is the fountain of mercy, the repository of honour, the dispenser of justice (*hear, hear*), but there is also another side to his character. He is the first, the most trusted, the highest, the most responsible minister of the crown (*cheers*), directing, guiding and controlling the policy of the State, infusing into it a large-hearted benevolence, relaxing the rigour of our cast-iron system, accentuating, deepening and strengthening those forces which make for progress and which, though their career might be temporarily arrested, are bound to assert themselves in this world of God's providence, for all things tend steadily, though slowly, towards the approximation of that perfection which is the divine ideal (*cheers*). We recognise the dual character of the Viceroy as the representative of the sovereign, and also as the first minister of the crown. We are fully alive to the peculiarity of the

situation. All the same we decline, distinctly decline on your behalf, to associate him with that policy which this resolution condemns. For, as the representative of the sovereign, it will be our duty later on to approach him for the redress of that grievance of which we complain in this resolution. We dissociate him from that policy, we separate the man from the ruler (*hear, hear*), the statesman from the politician, for we cannot bring ourselves to believe that a ruler so sympathetic in his utterances, so generous, so large-hearted in his views, so keenly appreciative of the situation, will countenance a policy opposed to the best traditions of British rule, repugnant to all that is highest, noblest and truest in British statesmanship. For the echoes of his great speech are still ringing in our ears, that speech which he delivered to an assembly of the Taluqdars of Oudh. Read that speech, contrast that speech with the policy. The speech, how noble, how generous, how sympathetic; the policy, how narrow, how illiberal, how un-English."

After dwelling upon the reactionary spirit which for the present seems to have overtaken the Indian Government, Mr. Bannerji had no difficulty in showing that in adopting an illiberal policy, regarding Local Self-government, the Indian Government had ignored the deep political instincts of the Indian people.

"Sir, local self-government is the gift of our rulers, but it is in entire accord with those deep-seated instincts which are fostered by the Panchayet system and by our village communities. These village communities, as you, Sir, reminded us the other day in your presidential speech, carry the mind back to the dawn of human civilisation, when the ancestors of the self-governing nations of the earth at the present moment were roaming in the primitive forests in a state of primitive simplicity. The antiquity of this institution cannot be called in question. To them was accorded a measure of self-government which the British Government has not thought fit to confer upon the Municipalities of British India. They not only looked after the sanitation and conservancy of the villages concerned, but they administered justice and controlled the police. Therefore those village communities were complete self-governing units. My point is this—that we enjoyed in ancient India a much larger measure of self-government than what the British Government has given to us, and even what was given to us is to be taken away from us."

"I am afraid," went on the speaker, "there is no renewal of confidence, no interchange of opinion between the rulers and the ruled. I am afraid both the rulers and the ruled stand isolated and apart in grim and solemn silence. The gulf is widening. That which ought to be regarded as the proudest memorial of British rule is considered to be a grievance; that educated natives of India should claim equality in political rights with Englishmen can only be due to the education which the English have been instrumental in introducing into our midst, which constitutes the noblest achievement of British Rule in India (*cheers*). Our rulers seem to think differently. There is reaction in their policy, reaction in opinion, reaction along the entire line, reaction is the order of the day. But those great and illustrious men who founded the Anglo-Indian Empire, who preserved and consolidated it, were animated by different motives."

After a speech in Hindustani from Mr. Naziruddin Kumruddin of Bombay, the resolution was passed.

Mr. Kali Charan Bannerji, in a speech of remarkable cogency, clearness and vigour, moved the resolution protesting against prohibition of Teachers of Aided Institutions from taking part in politics, and among the many evils of the said measure, he pointed out one in particular in these words of real force and conviction:—

"You will have perceived from the rules that I read out to you, that they are to be disqualified, so to speak, for the service of their country through the Congress, unless they obtain a permit or certificate from the Director of Public Instruction. Mark the position. The sons and, I may add, the daughters of India shall not be free to serve their country, unless they had a permit from the Director of Public Instruction (*shame*). What is to be the effect of all this? There are these teachers employed in these private institutions. Just think of the dilemma into which they shall be driven when these rules come to be enforced, as they are expected to be enforced a few months hence. On the one hand they realize the duty, the paramount duty, that is incumbent upon them to serve the country through the Congress, because it is nearest to their heart. They have been laboring for this cause hitherto and now they are to be overtaken, so to speak, by an order which should either wrench them from the Congress or wrench them from the youths whose instruction they have taken in hand. They cannot continue to teach them in the institutions with which they are now connected and at the same time join us in our deliberations, when we meet together as the National Congress."

After several speeches from representative men from Madras, Allahabad and Lucknow, the resolution was carried unanimously.

The next resolution was regarding the Abkari reform and was moved by G. C. Mitter of Cawnpore in a very able and elaborate speech. Referring to the steady increase in the Abkari revenues, the speaker gave certain figures which are most instructive, and we therefore quote the following passage from the speech:—

"Allow me, gentlemen, to place before you certain figures showing the gross Excise Revenue of some parts of India.

1. Take the figures for the Madras Presidency for the last six years.

In 1893-1894 the gross revenue was	127.74 lakhs.
" 1894-1895	136.30 "
" 1895-1896	142.89 "
" 1896-1897	147.87 "
" 1897-1898	145.01 "

2. The Excise Revenue of the Bombay Presidency, even at the time when the country was under the scourge of plague and famine, was 102 lakhs.

3. Again, with regard to the financial results of Excise Administration in the Punjab, as a whole, the average yearly net revenue during each of the triennial periods succeeding 1886 has been as follows:—

1886-1889	Rs. 13,79,807
1889-1892	" 16,35,879
1892-1895	" 18,73,105
1895-1898	" 21,20,882

The remarks of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab on this gigantic increase in the Excise Revenue run thus:—His Honor says, "In no department of Government has the specialisation of administrative effort been attended with more marked financial success than in the Excise Department, and the Lieutenant-Governor trusts that all younger officers will form the first endeavour to take an interest in this branch of their duties, and thus ensure a continuance of the progress so noticeable in recent years." It is therefore not a matter of astonishment to find that the number of licensed shops for the retail sale of intoxicants and narcotics in British India is about 115,000: and that the net Excise and Customs Revenues on liquors and drugs consumed in India has considerably increased during the past 24 years, from 1874 to 1898. In 1874, the net amount was Rs. 26,33,000: and in 1898, it rose to Rs. 60,91,000, and were you to estimate the total amount spent by the people of India during these years, it will come up to Rs. 444,40,000. This enormous expenditure has told considerably upon the well-being of the people at large, and has been a direct cause of their poverty."

Mr. Naidu of Madras, Miss Garland and Pandit Ratan Nath Kaul of Fyzabad made excellent speeches in support of the resolution, and from the last speaker's speech, which was in Urdu, and was very much appreciated by the audience, we quote the following passage which may be found interesting:—

"Gentlemen, good government and political reform can make progress only when its people are temperate in habits and moral in character and nothing like 'success' in these matters can ever be attained unless our own habits and characters are moulded and shaped in the manner aforesaid. Admitting that the Government derives some income from a source which is condemned as immoral almost by every religion and creed, it will not be impertinent on my part to say that it is better to suffer the loss than sacrifice the peace of a country. Any Government having for its aim the good administration of its people and the decrease of poverty among its subjects, is in duty bound to stop and regulate the nefarious traffic of drink, and it is only those who want to uproot it that canists. And I have the greatest pleasure in telling you, gentlemen, that the Government itself has sided with us in this matter. Consider their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, and other great pillars of the Government of India, associating themselves in the work and organization of the Army Temperance Associations scattered throughout the country, yes, even encouraging them and presiding in temperance meetings (*cheers*). They exhort the soldiers to abstain from the habit of drink, deliver speeches and distribute medals to the abstainers. It is the English officials themselves who have proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that in comparison with the abstemious, people addicted to drink commit twice, nay, even three or four times the number of crimes, and it is due only to the exertions of the British Government that at present out of 70,000 English soldiers located in India, 24,000 are total abstainers (*cheers*). But mark the difference: on one side the Gospel of Temperance preached to the English soldiery by their Excellencies the Vice-Regent of Her Gracious Majesty and the Commander-in-Chief of Her Armies in India, from the Olympian heights of Simla; on the other hand, the attempts of the District Officers to raise the Excise Revenue of the Government."

An Urdu speech by Babu Ram Parshad of Allahabad brought the discussion to a close and the resolution was passed unanimously.

On the fourth and last day of the session the resolution regarding the constitution of the Congress was passed. The need of a constitution for the Congress had long been felt, but for several years the committees appointed to consider the matter and to suggest some solution of it did not seem to arrive at any practical result. At the Lucknow session of the Congress the delegates seemed to be determined to come to some definite decision of the question. The rules adopted by the Congress, although characterised by no great originality and only of a tentative nature, are yet

definite enough for all practical purposes, and are elastic enough to be modified at the suggestion of future experience without giving rise to the necessity of being subjected to any radical alteration. The chief feature of the measure that has been adopted is that a committee, styled the Indian Congress Committee, consisting of forty-five members elected by the Congress, forty of whom have been elected upon the recommendations of the different provincial committees, has been formed to manage the affairs of the Congress for the current year, and has been furnished with a paid Assistant Secretary. This committee has to meet a certain number of times to transact business before the next meeting of the Congress.

The question of famines and how to prevent them was very ably discussed by Mr. R. N. Madholkar, whose simple, direct and practical oratory has its own charms, and by Pandit Madhan Mohan Malvaya, whose impassioned speeches, delivered in melodious tone, the public of these Provinces have long ago learnt to admire. Regarding the causes of Indian famines the following extract from Mr. Madholkar's speech is both instructive and interesting:—

"Gentlemen, our grateful acknowledgments are due to the Government for the most earnest and sincere endeavours they are making for the protection of life. But that is not everything. We do make our grateful acknowledgments for what has been done and for what the Government is doing now. But on this occasion it is our imperative duty, duty to ourselves, duty to the Government under which we live, and duty to the country in which we live, that on this occasion we should prominently draw their attention to the causes of such famines, and ask them to set themselves earnestly to remove all those causes. The cause of the famine of course, some people say with more wit than truthfulness, is the failure of rainfall. Even a fool knows that. What we want to know is, why is it that on the slightest deficiency of rainfall, the people of this country succumb at once and go down in thousands and hundreds of thousands? They are living under the most benign Government, and it is a most curious thing that even under that Government they have no staying power which will enable them to hold on for one or two years. The reason for this I shall quote to you, not from the words of any Congress man or any blatant politician, but from the responsible deliverance of such a body as the Famine Commission:

"At the root of much of the poverty of the people of India and of the risk which they are exposed to in seasons of scarcity lies the unfortunate circumstance, that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the population, and that no remedy for present evils can be complete, which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits and led to earn the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such employments." (*The Report of the Famine Commission, Vol. II, page 175.*)

Further on it says:—

"A main cause of the disastrous consequences of Indian Famines, and one of the greatest difficulties in the way of promoting relief in an effectual shape, is to be found in the fact that the great mass of the population directly depends on agriculture, and that there is no other industry from which any considerable part of the community derives its support. The failure of the usual rain thus deprives the labouring class, as a whole, not only of the ordinary supplies of food obtainable at prices within their reach, but also of the sole employment by which they can earn the means of procuring it."

Following Mr. Madholkar, Mr. Malvaya put the matter with equal clearness and force and we quote a few sentences from him too:—

"What is it that prevents the Government of this country from driving out the famine practically from India, as it has been driven practically from other civilized countries, which have not such an excellent service there as we have the good fortune to possess. There must be some reason, gentlemen. It is not the service which is to blame, but it is the system which is to blame (*hear, hear*). The pity, the great pity, the deplorable pity of it is that notwithstanding the matter has been so often brought before the Government, the true remedy has never yet been seriously thought of being applied. Gentlemen, the question that you have before you to-day is that of famine occurring repeatedly; and the remedy that you point out briefly in this resolution is that the condition of the cultivating classes must be improved. Gentlemen, remember it is no use my repeating to you that 4/5 of the population of this country depends upon agriculture. Now, the condition of agriculture cannot be improved unless the Government take good care to consider what is necessary to improve that condition. There are two aspects of the question: the Government revenue demand, and then fixity of tenure to the cultivating classes. With regard to the first, gentlemen, we have repeatedly expressed our conviction that permanent settlement should be extended to all those parts of India where it does not obtain (*cheers*). With regard to the second, we have also expressed our deep conviction that a fixity of tenure should be secured to the cultivating classes, so that they may be better able to bear the rigours of famine when it should approach them."

At the close of his speech he dwelt upon the introduction of arts and industries and effective system of technical instruction for the people as among the principal remedies for the dire calamity from which the country suffers from time to time.

That long budget of many of our cries and grievances, known as the omnibus resolution, was dealt with by Munshi Mohamed Sajjad Husain of Lucknow, Editor of the *Oudh Punch*, in a speech full of power, humour, wit and pathos, and he was followed by several speakers who dealt with the resolution from different standpoints. The resolutions regarding certain measures of the Government of India gagging the Press in the Native States, and the necessity of having a sound system of technical education for the people, were next discussed and passed. In connection with the subject-matter of the latter resolution, the whole Congress Assembly expressed with the greatest enthusiasm its grateful appreciation of the patriotic and munificent gift of Mr. Tata for the promotion of higher scientific education and research. As no assembly of men is without its funny men, in the Congress, too, we had a gentleman who raised his voice of protest against that portion of the resolution regarding technical education, in which Mr. Tata's name was gratefully mentioned, for the very excellent reason that "without giving any reason whatever I move this amendment;" and consequently, when the resolution was put to the vote, only one disdainful hand was seen waving against it.

The usual but important resolution regarding the raising of funds for the expenses of "India" and the English Agency was passed on the motion of Babu Surendra Nath Banerji, whose stirring appeal to the audience resulted in about Rs. 3,000 being subscribed on the spot, and the whole assembly marked with deep appreciation and gratification the fact that one of the subscribers was the English lady who reported proceedings for the *Pioneer*.

Several resolutions dealing with local grievances of different Provinces were put from the chair and passed. The whole assembly expressed its warmest thanks to Mr. Hume, Mr. Nouroji and all the other members of the British Committee for the good work they have done and are doing for India, under very trying circumstances and at a time when Lord George Hamilton represents the Indian Government and Parliament is occupied in making bricks without straw for the purpose of empire-building in other parts of the globe. But so long as we have brave and patriotic workers like Mr. Nouroji, and earnest and dauntless champions like Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Caine, and that awakener and kindler in India of all that is progressive and destined to endure—Mr. Allan Hume—of whom we may say with truth that

"He saw distant gates of Eden gleam,
And did not dream it was a dream;"

so long as the National Congress has the conscience and the intellect of some of the noblest sons of India and England on its side, our cause is secure, and with it the future of a great Empire is also secure; for whenever the day of fruition dawns for our hopes and aspirations, the glory of it will belong to the justice, the benevolence, and the prescience of the ruling race.

A vote of thanks to the distinguished Chairman, carried with acclamation, and a graceful speech from him brought the proceedings of the fifteenth Session of the Congress to a close.

On the generous and patriotic invitation of Rai Saheb Lala Murli Dhar of Umballa, made on behalf of himself and his Punjab friends, the Congress resolved to hold its next session during Christmas at Lahore.



THE FIFTEENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD ON

THE 27TH, 28TH, 29TH AND 30TH DECEMBER, 1893,

LUCKNOW.

RESOLUTION I.

Resolved—That this Congress notices with satisfaction the support of public opinion, both in England and in India, which the question of the separation of the judicial from the executive functions in the administration of justice has received; and this Congress, while thanking Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, Sir Richard Couch, Sir Charles Sergeant, Sir William Markby, Sir John Budd Phear, Sir John Scott, Sir Roland K. Wilson, Mr. Herbert J. Reynolds, and Sir William Wedderburn for presenting a petition to the Secretary of State in Council to effect the much-needed separation, earnestly hopes the Government of India will give their earliest attention to the petition, which has been forwarded to them, and will take practical steps for speedily carrying out this much-needed reform.

Separation
of Judicial
from
Executive
Functions.

RESOLUTION II.

Resolved—(a) That this Congress regrets the introduction into the Supreme Legislative Council of a Bill to amend the Law relating to agricultural land in the Punjab, with a view to restrict alienation of land as proposed in the Bill by sale or mortgage, which is calculated (1) to decrease the credit of the agriculturists and landholders, (2) to make them more resourceless on account of their inability to meet the ever-increasing State demands upon their land; and this Congress is of opinion that the provision to give retrospective effect to the Bill is inequitable and unfair.

Punjab
Land Alienation Bill.

(b) That this Congress recommends that real relief be afforded to the cultivating classes in the following way: that where the Government is the rent-receiver, the rule proposed in 1882, prohibiting any enhancement except on the ground of rise in prices, be enforced, and that where private landlords are the rent-receivers, some provision to prohibit undue enhancement of rent be made.

(c) This Congress further resolves that a Committee consisting of the President, Mr. Jaishi Ram, Mr. N. Gupta, Mr. Wacha, Munshi Madho Lal, Mr. Madhulkar and Mr. Ikbāl Shanker be appointed and empowered to submit a representation to the Government, pointing out the unsuitable nature of many of the provisions of the Bill.

RESOLUTION III.

Resolved—That whereas it is considered safe and prudent to withdraw large bodies of British troops for service outside the statutory limits of India, this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when the Indian tax-payer should be granted some relief out of the British Exchequer towards the cost of maintaining in India so large a force of European soldiers. This Congress sees no objection to the location of British troops in India as a reserve force for the whole of the British Empire, but is of opinion that the time has come for the transfer of the cost of 20,000 British troops from the Indian to the British Exchequer.

Transfer of
the cost of a
portion of
British
Troops.

RESOLUTION IV.

Resolved—(a) That, having regard to the fact that the principal cause of the loss by Exchange is the steady growth of the demand on the Indian Exchequer for expenditure in England, this Congress regrets the introduction of a gold standard in

The Indian
Currency
Question.

India on the recommendation of the Currency Committee for the purpose of preventing loss by exchange, and is of opinion that the new measure is calculated to increase the gold obligations of India.

(b) That this Congress is further of opinion that the decision accepted by the Government will in effect add to the indebtedness of the poorer classes in India, depreciate the value of their savings in the shape of silver ornaments, and virtually add to their rents and taxes.

(c) That this Congress is further of opinion that the decision accepted by the Government is likely to be prejudicial to the indigenous manufactures of the country.

RESOLUTION V.

Resolved—That this Congress is of opinion that the union of the Military and Civil Medical Services is extravagant, inconvenient and prejudicial to the interests of the Government as well as of the people, and strongly urges the necessity of the separation of the two services by the creation of a distinct Civil Medical Department recruited by open simultaneous competition in England and India.

RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved—That it is the opinion of this Congress that the principle embodied in the Foreign Telegraphic Press Messages Bill, now pending before the Supreme Legislative Council, is opposed to the policy followed by the British Government in India as to the unrestricted dissemination of useful knowledge and information, and that no adequate necessity is shown to exist for the passing of the proposed measure in British India.

RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved—That this Congress expresses its disapproval of the reactionary policy, subversive of local self-government, evidenced by the passing of the Calcutta Municipal Act, and by the introduction into the Legislative Council of Bombay of a similar measure which will have the effect of seriously jeopardising the principles of local self-government.

RESOLUTION VIII.

Resolved—That this Congress is of opinion that the rules prohibiting managers and teachers of aided institutions from taking part in political movements or attending political meetings without the consent of the Director of Public Instruction, or other authorities are likely to interfere with the practical and effectual exercise of the rights of British subjects, to withdraw able and influential men from the cause of education, and to restrict private enterprise and organization for the spread of education in this country. And this Congress hopes that the Madras and Bombay Governments will take steps to remove from the educational rules and the grant-in-aid code the provisions to the effect described above.

RESOLUTION IX.

Resolved—That this Congress is of opinion that stringent measures should be taken by the Government in granting licenses to retail liquor shops, and that no such shops should be established anywhere in India without taking the sense of the inhabitants of the place.

RESOLUTION X.

Resolved—That this Congress adopts the following Rules regarding the Constitution of the Congress:—

- 1.—The object of the Indian National Congress shall be to promote by constitutional means the interests and the well-being of the people of the Indian Empire.
- 2.—It shall ordinarily meet once a year at such time and in such place as shall have been resolved on by the last preceding Congress. Provided that the Indian Congress Committee, as hereinafter provided for, may in case of necessity, change the

place or time of the meeting of the Congress; provided also that in case of emergency the Indian Congress Committee may convene an extraordinary session of the Congress at such time and place as may be determined by them.

3.—It shall consist of delegates elected by political associations or other bodies, and by public meetings.

4.—Its affairs shall be managed by a Committee, styled the Indian Congress Committee, consisting of 45 members elected by the Congress, 40 of whom shall be elected upon the recommendations of the different Provincial Congress Committees, and, in the absence of such Committees, by the delegates of the respective Provinces in Congress assembled, in the manner hereinbelow laid down, that is to say:—

For Bengal including Assam	..	..	..	8
For Bombay including Sind	..	..	..	8
For Madras including Secunderabad	...	...	...	8
For North-Western Provinces including Oudh	...	...	...	6
For Punjab	...	...	...	4
For Berar	...	...	...	3
For Central Provinces	...	...	...	3

The term of office of the members of the Committee shall be the period intervening between two ordinary meetings of the Congress.

5.—The Indian Congress Committee shall meet at least three times a year, once immediately after the Congress, once during the year between the months of June and October, as may be determined upon by the Committee, and once immediately before the Congress, at such place as the Committee may find convenient.

6.—The Indian Congress Committee shall have an Honorary Secretary and a paid Assistant Secretary, with suitable office staff, for which a sum of Rs. 5,000 shall be granted annually, one half of which shall be provided by the Reception Committee of the place where the last Congress is held, and the other half by the Reception Committee of the place where the next succeeding Congress is to be held.

The Secretary to the Indian National Congress shall be the Honorary Secretary of the Committee.

7.—Provincial Congress Committees shall be organized at the capitals of the different Presidencies and Provinces of India for the purpose of carrying on the work of political education, on lines of general appreciation of British rule and of constitutional action for the removal of its defects, throughout the year, by organizing Standing Congress Committees, holding Provincial Conferences, and by such other means as they may deem proper, in consultation with the Indian Congress Committee, for furthering the objects of the Congress. They shall be the responsible agents of the Indian Congress Committee for their respective Provinces, and shall submit annual reports of their work to that Committee.

8.—The nomination of the President, the drafting of Resolutions, and all other business in connection with the Congress, shall be done by the Indian Congress Committee. It shall also, subject to the approval of the Congress, frame rules for the election of delegates, the election of speakers, and the conduct of the proceedings of the Congress.

9.—Rules and bye-laws shall be framed by the Provincial Congress Committees for the election of members, the conduct of their own proceedings, and other matters appertaining to their business. All such rules and bye-laws shall be subject to the approval of the Indian Congress Committee.

10.—A Committee, styled the British Congress Committee, shall be maintained in England, which shall represent there the interests of the Indian National Congress. The amount requisite for the expenses of the said Committee shall be determined and voted by the Congress, and the amount so voted shall be raised by the Indian Congress Committee in such manner as may be determined upon by that body from time to time.

11.—The Indian Congress Committee shall take such steps as they may deem fit to raise a permanent fund for carrying on the work of the Indian National

Congress; and such fund shall be invested in the name of 7 trustees, one from each Province in India, to be appointed by the Congress.

Members of the Indian Congress Committee Appointed by the Congress under the above Resolution.

General Members—

Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee.
The Hon'ble Surendra Nath Banerjee.
" " P. Ananda Charlu.
" " P. M. Mehta.
Mr. Madhulkar.

Bengal—

Mr. A. M. Bose.
" Kali Charan Banerjee.
" Bhupendra Nath Bose.
The Hon'ble Baikunt Nath Sen.
Mr. Ambica Charan Mozumdar.
" J. Ghosal.
" Aswini Kumar Dutt.
" Dipnarain Sinha.

N.-W. P. & Oudh—

The Hon'ble Pandit Bishambhar Nath.
Babu Ganga Prasad Varma.
Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya.
Mr. A. Nundy.
" Bishan Naraiyan Dar.
" Hafiz Abdur Raheem.

Bombay—

Mr. D. E. Wacha.
The Hon'ble G. Chandra Varkar.
Mr. W. A. Chambers.
" R. M. Sayani.
" Daji Abaji Khare.
" Chiman H. Sitalwad.
" R. P. Karandikar.
" Tahiram Khem Chand.

Panjab—

Lala Kanihia Lal.
Sirdar Jhenda Singh.
Lala Har Kishaun Lal.
Mr. Jaishiram.

Central Provinces—

Mr. Bapurao Dada.
" Bhagirath Prasad.
" H. V. Kelker.

Central Provinces—

Mr. Deorao Vinayek.
" M. V. Joshi.
" G. S. Khaparde.

Madras—

The Hon'ble C. Vija Ragavachary.
" " C. Jambulinga Mudaliar.
" " G. Venkataratnam.

Mr. C. Sankara Nair.
" P. Rangia Naidu.
" P. Ram Chandra Pillai.
" G. Subramania Iyer.
" V. Ryrum Nambyar.

RESOLUTION XI.

Resolved—That this Congress recognises the valuable services of the British Committee in the cause of the people of India, and expresses its unabated confidence in Sir William Wedderburn and the other members of the Committee.

And that a sum of Rs. 54,000 be assigned for the expenses of the British Committee and the cost of the Congress publication, *India*.

RESOLUTION XII.

Resolved—That, having regard to the policy of appointing to the Governorships of Madras and Bombay statesmen from England to the exclusion of the services of Indians, this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable that those Provinces should be administered with the help of Councils of three and not of two members as at present, and that one of the three Councillors should be a Native of India.

RESOLUTION XIII.

Resolved—That this Congress, while gratefully recognizing the endeavours made by the Indian and Provincial Governments to save human life and relieve distress at the present famine, urges the adoption of the true remedy—to improve the condition of the cultivating classes and prevent the occurrence of famine. This Congress recommends the curtailment of public expenditure, the development of local and indigenous industries, and the moderating of land assessment.

RESOLUTION XIV.

Resolved—(i) That this Congress concurs with previous Congresses in strongly advocating—

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

(b) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, at which Natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as Commissioned or Non-commissioned Officers, according to capacity and qualifications, in the Indian Army.

(c) The authorizing and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.

(d) The discontinuance of the grant of exchange compensation allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employees of Government.

(e) The establishment of a High Court of Judicature in the Punjab.

(ii) That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, records its protest—

(a) Against the scheme of re-organization of the Educational Service which has received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude Natives of India, including those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Educational Service to which they have hitherto been admitted, advocating that the scheme may be so recast as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service.

(b) Against the present rate of the Salt Tax, which produces great hardship to the poorest classes of the country, a hardship which renders it incumbent upon the Government to take the earliest opportunity to restore the duty to its level of 1888.

Against the retrograde policy of the Government of India in nominating a gentleman for the Central Provinces to the Supreme Council without asking local bodies to make recommendations for such nomination, entertaining the earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to take early steps to give to the Central Provinces the same kind of representation that it has already granted to Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North-Western Provinces.

(d) Against the labour laws of Assam, viz., the Inland Emigration Act I of 1882, as amended by Act VII of 1893.

(iii) This Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, expresses its conviction—

(a) That, having regard to the opinion of the Jury Commission as to the success of the system of trial by jury, and also the fact that with the progress of education a sufficient number of educated persons is available in all parts of the country, the system of trial by jury should be extended to the districts and offences to which at present it does not apply, and that the verdicts of juries should be final.

(b) That this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable in the interests of the people of this country that the Criminal Procedure Code should be so amended as to confer upon accused persons, who are Natives of India, the right of claiming, in trials by jury before the High Court, and in trials with the aid of assessors, that not less than half the number of the jurors or of the assessors shall be Natives of India.

(c) That the action of the Forest Department, under the rules framed by the different Provincial Governments, prejudicially affects the inhabitants of the rural parts of the country by subjecting them to the annoyance and oppression of Forest subordinates in various ways; and these rules should be amended in the interest of the people.

(d) That the minimum income assessable under the Income Tax Act be raised from five hundred to one thousand rupees.

(e) That no satisfactory solution of the question of the employment of Natives of India in the Indian Civil Service is possible, unless effect is given to the resolution of the House of Commons of June 1893 in favour of holding the Competitive Examination for the Indian Civil Service simultaneously in India and England.

RESOLUTION XV.

Resolved—That this Congress is of opinion that the Government of India Notification of 25th June 1891, in the Foreign Department, gagging the Press in territories under British administration in Native States, is retrograde, arbitrary and mischievous in its nature, and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people, and ought to be cancelled.

RESOLUTION XVI.

Resolved—That this Congress places on record its conviction that the system of technical education now in vogue is inadequate and unsatisfactory, and prays that having regard to the poverty of the people and the decline of indigenous industries the Government will introduce a more elaborate and efficient scheme of technical instruction, and set apart more funds for a successful working of the same. And the Congress desires to express its grateful appreciation of the patriotic and munificent gift of Mr. Tata for the promotion of higher scientific education and research.

RESOLUTION XVII.

Resolved—That this Congress, while thanking the Government for granting the boon of a Legislative Council to the Punjab, places on record its regret that they have not extended to the Councillors the right of interpellation, and to the people the right of recommending Councillors for nomination, such as are enjoyed by the Councillors and the people in the other Provinces.

RESOLUTION XVIII.

Resolved—That this Congress is of opinion that so long as Berar is administered by the Governor-General in Council, all laws and orders having the force of laws for Berar.

tended for Berar, should be enacted by the Supreme Legislative Council in the same way as those for British India proper.

RESOLUTION XIX.

Resolved—That the adoption of measures against the Plague being a matter of Imperial concern and recognised as such, this Congress is of opinion that the expenditure incurred in connection therewith should be borne by the Government and not charged to the funds of the local bodies.

RESOLUTION XX.

Resolved—That this Congress expresses its full and unabated confidence in Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as the representative of the people of India, and hopes that he will be re-elected by his old constituency of Central Finsbury or any other Liberal constituency.

RESOLUTION XXI.

Resolved—That this Congress reappoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B., to be General Secretary, and Mr. D. E. Watcha to be Joint General Secretary for the ensuing year.

RESOLUTION XXII.

Resolved—That an agency be appointed in England for the purpose of organizing, in concert with the British Congress Committee, public meetings for the dissemination of information on Indian matters, and that funds be raised for the purpose.

LUCKNOW:

The 31st December 1899.

ROMESH C. DUTT,

President, 15th Indian National Congress.

DETAILED
Report of the Proceedings
OF THE
FIFTEENTH
Indian National Congress,
HELD AT
LUCKNOW

On the 27th, 28th, 29th and 30th December 1899.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

HE FIRST SITTING OF THE CONGRESS commenced at 2. P. M. on *Firs*
Wednesday, the 27th December 1899.

Babu Bansilal Singh, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in welcoming the delegates, said :—

FELLOW-DELEGATES, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN :—

On behalf of the Reception Committee and the citizens of the United Provinces, I beg to offer you a most cordial welcome to the Capital of Oudh. It is but right for us that we should welcome so many of the distinguished representatives of the various communities inhabiting this great Empire, and I feel very grateful to my friends on the Reception Committee for the honor they have done me in electing me to represent them on this important occasion. At the same time, gentlemen, I regret very much that the feeble state of my health prevents me from enjoying the honor of discharging the duty of addressing such a large assembly as this, and therefore, with your permission, I will hand over the address which I have prepared to my friend Pundit Bishun Narrain Dar, who will read it in my behalf.

Pundit Bishun Narrain Dar read the following :—

BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :—

With sentiments of the deepest respect and affection, I beg to offer you all, on behalf of the Reception Committee, most cordial greetings.

It is indeed an honor to me that my colleagues of the Reception Committee should have deemed me worthy to be their representative on this important occasion, to receive and welcome on their behalf so many distinguished representatives of the various communities inhabiting this great Empire. It was a cherished dream of my life,

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First Day. gentlemen, to be able at least once this side the grave to offer you all who come here from your distant homes, for purposes of deliberating on questions of national well-being, that earnest and enthusiastic welcome which I can hardly venture to convey to you in words, for no words can adequately express what I feel on the present occasion.

Chairman of Reception Committee's Address. Throughout this year I have been in such a precarious state of health, suffering from a malady which at times seemed serious, that I was not quite sure if I should be spared to have the proud privilege of meeting you here to-day, but I thank God that the happy day which I have been looking forward to with so much eager joy and expectation has come, when in my own behalf and that of my colleagues I am able to offer you a warm and cordial welcome.

But while welcoming you, gentlemen, to Lucknow, the Capital of Oudh—the witness of a glorious past and consecrated by immortal memories—I am painfully reminded of the backwardness of this province in education and material prosperity, which are the distinguishing features of some of the more fortunate provinces of this great country. Here unhappily you will find wealth and public spirit generally divorced from each other: the rich in spirit are as a rule poor in means, while from those who possess wealth and position, the inscrutable wisdom of Providence seems to have withheld the luxury of doing good. The preparations, therefore, which we have been able to make for this Fifteenth Session of the National Congress, though by no means worthy of this great occasion or of you, our honoured guests, are yet the outcome of the sincere support and sympathy of thousands of those men who, if they are not Darbaris and title-holders, possess at least this indefeasible title to our regard, that they are as true and patriotic supporters of the National cause (*cheers*) as any that breathe in this ancient and historic land. I should speak in a very apologetic, nay, a humiliating tone if I were referring only to the visible aspect of our arrangements; but when in its invisible aspect I find it to be the result of the help and co-operation of those of whose weakness and helplessness I am not an inexact image, I cannot help feeling the consolation that if our arrangements are wanting in pomp and show, we are at least in a position to say that the Congress which has met here to-day is emphatically the—People's Congress (*cheers*). And I am sure you too, Brother Delegates, will be gratified to find that quiet, and simple, and humble as is the reception which on behalf of the teeming populations of the United Provinces I offer to you, it is the people's reception.

Gentlemen, if our arrangements are imperfect and quite inadequate to meet your wants and comforts, as we are painfully conscious they are (*voices, no, no*), it is not due to any want of care or exertion on our part. Indeed, gentlemen, it was not without some misgiving that we entered upon the work of preparing ourselves for the most agreeable duty of welcoming you here. There were, we knew, obstacles to be surmounted, local authorities to be conciliated and compromises to be reluctantly accepted before, gentlemen, we could secure sites for the Congress meeting or for the accommodation of delegates. But these are now old stories, and I have no inclination to dwell on them. Many of you, I am sure, have read all about the episode in the newspapers, and how eventually we were able to obtain the tract of land on which our pavilion stands. The unfortunate, though under the circumstances, unavoidable part of the business has been that we have failed to make arrangements for locating you all together. Some in consequence have had to be accommodated in the Segregation Camp, while the rest have had to be scattered in different quarters and localities in the wide city to make the best of residences, good, bad and indifferent, that we have been able to provide for them. But contend as we have had to with so many obstacles, some of them quite unlooked for, I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without inviting your attention to the good-will and courtesy invariably shewn by the Ruler of this Province (*cheers*) in reference to any and every representation made by our Committee to His Honor. It is to his kindly interposition, gentlemen, that we owe this site—the very best in this city—upon which our Pandal stands. I hope therefore that I may be permitted on behalf of this whole assembly to offer Sir Antony MacDonnell our humble and respectful thanks (*loud cheers*).

Gentlemen, I have just had occasion to allude to our drawbacks. You may probably have read in the papers that a knot of about 50 Mahomedan gentlemen, given out as influential Mahomedan residents of the city, some time ago memorialized the Lieutenant-Governor, through the Commissioner of Lucknow, to prohibit the Congress from meeting here (*voices, shame, shame*). The chief ground for this patriotic request was that delegates from the Deccan would come laden with plague-germs, and would thus seriously endanger the health of the city. These gentlemen very conveniently forgot their own attitude towards the plague restrictions when they were first imposed upon this province (*hear, hear*). The objection of these gentlemen, however, did not seem convincing enough to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, who quietly rejected the memorial, because he desired to place no unnecessary impediment in the way of the discussion of public questions in a temperate and loyal spirit (*cheers*).

As if this rebuff was not enough for our Anti-Congress lights, they answered it by holding on the 3rd of this month what, we were informed with a flourish of trumpets, was going to be a portentous demonstration as they had succeeded in catching a K. C. I. E. from the ranks of the Oudh Taluqdars to preside at their meeting (*laughter*). The great demonstration has come and gone without doing any sensible damage to the Congress cause, while the presence of about 300 Mahomedan delegates from Lucknow alone (*hear, hear*) clearly indicates that for the Anti-Congress, in these provinces at least, the hour is not yet ripe and the men are not yet come!

I have no inclination to take you into the depths and mazes of motives which now and again give rise to this sort of opposition. A more lucid explanation of the phenomenon cannot be found than in the pregnant words of Sir Charles Dilke: "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*). That being the case, I do not think we need take much notice of the shabby doings of our friends of the opposition.

In our province—and specially in this city—the relations existing between Hindus and Mahomedans are so cordial (*hear, hear*)—for generations past both have lived together so peacefully and amicably that I am confident that no amount of the preaching of the gospel of division and discord can ever ruffle these happy relations (*cheers*). Our alliance is perhaps even stronger to-day than ever; for both of us—Hindus and Mahomedans—have met to-day under the stress of common interests and determined to arrive at a common goal.

Gentlemen, Congress principles, based as they are upon the solid foundations of loyalty and patriotism—upon a firm attachment to the British Crown and an unshakable resolve to raise the social and political status of our country—are safe from any oppositions which may be offered to them. The spirit of the age is with them; the genius of the British Empire is on their side (*hear, hear*); they represent the forces which have built up modern civilisation. No hostile forces can arrest the march of the Congress movement. It has lighted its beacon on a high rock, against which the waves of opposition will beat in vain.

But opposition, whatever may be its character or force, proves one thing if it proves anything at all, namely, that the cause or the principle against which it is directed, is quietly making headway in some quarter, in spite of, or perhaps because of, the opposition. I need not therefore beat the pains to expose the sham and hollow character of the meeting I have been speaking of, the pretension of its promoters to be the sole and only representatives of the people of Lucknow, like the proverbial three Tailors of the Tooley Street (*laughter*), is falsified as I have already remarked by the very presence in this Pandal of so many respectable Mahomedan friends, some of whom are the descendants of the old royal and noble families of Oudh (*cheers*), not only from this city alone but from different parts of India.

The opposition to the Congress in India, gentlemen, has always been of a singularly shy and bashful character. If our opponents object to any of our proposals, why don't they come in our midst and state their differences? We welcome diversity of views; we accept the sage's words, that among many counsellors there is wisdom. Free discussion is the *raison d'être* of the Congress movement. Gentlemen, this is the

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First Day. only reasonable and sound platform on which we can all meet on equal terms to discuss public measures and help each other in arriving at correct conclusions in regard to them, and thus be in a position to place them before our rulers. Differences of opinion will exist so long as human society exists, but mutual tolerance and mutual confidence can do much to clear up many misunderstandings, and teach each of the contending parties the utility of looking at things from the standpoint of the other. To hold conflicting views on public questions, gentlemen, is one thing, to take up an attitude of uncompromising hostility is quite another.

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As a result of the same spirit of backwardness of our people in these provinces we have another and a yet more numerous class of men, people who while in hearty sympathy with our movement, which they are privately ready to help in every way, are yet afraid to join it openly,—and I think I would be appropriately describing these by calling them our timid and nervous sympathisers who start at their own shadow and quite lose their balance of mind at the very prospect of being interrogated as to their political creed by an over-inquisitive officialdom.

The only quarter from which we have to reckon with any very formidable opposition is therefore in the ranks of the Anglo-Indian community. But I for one cannot find fault with the attitude thus taken up by them. It is the old story of want of precise knowledge on the one hand, and of the influence of vested interests at stake on the other. And I am convinced that their opposition will by and by disappear as ignorance gives way to knowledge, and in the light of better information and more cordial understanding, our Anglo-Indian friends come to realize their sacred duty towards the Empire which their forefathers strove so heroically to build up, and which British Justice alone can maintain (*cheers*).

It would be affectation to deny that in the official class there are some who do not look upon the Congress movement with favour, and who sometimes betray an unnecessary and unjustifiable distrust of educated Indians. The moral influence of these officers upon a good many of us is very great. We feel it most in this province where educational backwardness keeps the people in an undue awe of the powers that be. And it is natural that a good many people should feel too timid to openly join the Congress movement, when they find some officials do not in season and out of season conceal their opinion of those who take part in political movements. And it is curious to observe that so long as our leading men serve the Government as Magistrates, District Judges, High Court Judges, Commissioners and in other high capacities, they are highly spoken of by our Anglo-Indian officials. But as soon as they join the Congress movement and strive for their country's well-being, every attempt is made to belittle their position as leading men, and no opportunity is lost to cover them with invective and abuse. The one certain consequence which this policy is capable of leading to is that, while good and temperate men may be scared away from the Congress, their places will be taken up by more violent and less responsible spirits. I am sure even the strongest official opponents of Congress do not desire this. To this class of officials well-intentioned no doubt, but wedded to what, I must say, is a suicidal policy, I may be permitted to address one observation. You are foreigners in this country. You do not and, from your exclusive way, cannot know the mind of the people, and the people do not know your mind. But you have by your educational policy which has immortalized the names of Bentinck and Macaulay, created a considerable class of men, filled with your ideas and aspirations, conversant with your manners and customs, attached to your rule by every tie of duty and interest, who are desirous of acting as interpreters between you and the people placed under your care, and in order to carry out this object, adopt those methods of constitutional agitation which you yourself have taught them. What would be the good of their education if they did not desire that which it has taught them to love and cherish? But now that they have organised themselves into a body and formulated their wants in the most loyal and temperate spirit, is it wise, is it expedient, is it worthy of the great tradition of which you are the heir, that their early efforts for self-improvement, which must be clumsy, should be treated with suspicion, mistrust, and jealousy, that their free speech, encouraged by your own readiness to listen to all honest expressions of opinion, should be construed into disaffection, and a reactionary policy should be adopted to send terror into

the people's hearts, to silence and suppress public opinion, and thus to close the only safe and sure avenue, you have, through which you can get access to the real mind of the country? Your most loyal subjects lament the change which has come over your policy. In matters of education, for example, you have adopted a reactionary course which must end in undesirable consequences. You are not on the right road. The time will come—and the sooner the better—when you will realise that the best friends of your rule are those who understand its manifold blessings, and that the foundations of the British Government will be strengthened, not by alienating but by conciliating the feelings of the educated classes, (*hear, hear*), who here, as elsewhere, are the natural leaders of the masses. Now, gentlemen, whatever may be the answer of the official class to some such appeal as I am making, it is highly gratifying to find that many of them have already begun to see through the unwisdom of blindly setting their faces against a movement, the working of which they have seldom cared to scrutinise or study, but which is the noblest produce of their own government and civilisation. It can hardly be without reason, gentlemen, that some of the most prominent leaders of the community, now retired and therefore far above all party or social prejudice, have thought fit to raise their voice in condemnation of the system which coolly permits the retention in one hand of two such functions as are associated with judicial and executive work in this country. You all know how some of the greatest names in the judicial annals of the country—men of ripe experience and exceptional knowledge, such as Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, Sir Richard Couch, Sir Charles Sergeant, Sir William Markby, Sir John Budd Phear, Sir John Scott, Sir Roland K. Wilson—have pronounced in favour of the separation of the two functions.

It is our humble conviction, gentlemen, that if we go on pursuing our aims steadily, but moderately, and stick to one thing at a time, no Government in the world, much less the just and enlightened Government under which we live, can long refuse to grant our prayers (*cheers*). But I need not dilate upon the advantages of perseverance and moderation, for had you not made these the cardinal principles of our action all along, the Congress fabric could not possibly have been kept together to this day, (*hear, hear*) nor could it have succeeded in winning the confidence of some of the most distinguished Indians and Englishmen; nor, I may add, would it have commanded, as it does to-day, the respect even of those who do not agree with all its views (*cheers*).

Gentlemen, at your fourteenth session at Madras last year you were pleased to appoint a committee to go into the important question of constitution of the Congress. I beg to suggest that if it could give some of its time to the consideration of what I cannot help calling the present unsatisfactory system of leaving the holding of the future sessions of the Congress to the obliging invitation of local committees distributed all over the country,—a great step in advance will have been taken. The Congress movement, gentlemen, as you all know, has acquired an imperial importance, it no longer befits its dignity to stake its existence as it were on such haphazard support. We are all proud to belong to it: every one of us naturally feels sorry and disappointed if the part of the country he hails from is passed over in favour of some more fortunate Province in the matter of the pleasure and honour of playing the agreeable role of hosts to the *elite* of the Indian community, and in order to discharge this gratifying duty we delightfully incur all manner of expenses to vie with previous receptions. But if you do away with the existing system, although by so doing you may, I am afraid, be rather cruelly depriving one or other of the provinces of the chance of distinction in the field of generous hospitality, you would be knocking on the head a great and serious cause of strain in the long run on the resources of all concerned. Hospitality costs money and has a tendency to curtail, if not altogether cripple, the resources of all Standing Congress Committees. Why not rather devote the large sums of money thus expended, year after year, to the furtherance of the objects of the sacred cause in other ways, and thereby strengthen the foundations and ensure the stability of the movement. The labours of the proposed working or executive committees might be greatly lightened if they have a steady income from subscriptions. If you do not mind, I would suggest a register of members to be opened at each centre and subscriptions in small sums annually collected. Even the poor would not object to pay small fees, while the drain on the

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First Day. purse of the well-to-do would be proportionately lessened. Delegates to the Congress in future might be appointed by the suffrages of the registered members from amongst their own body. A change of system on some such lines will not only mean a fair distribution of the burdens on all supporters of the cause, but will also enlarge the basis of the electorate—which will be no small advantage—by drawing in so many more adherents. The departure will also ensure the Congress Meetings being held at any time or place with the maximum of facility and the minimum of inconvenience and worry. You will have of course to keep up a permanent establishment under your able General Secretary. I for one no longer see any necessity for you to lay out large sums of money for the erection of *Pandals*. A spacious Darbar tent, in my humble opinion, will be quite good enough for all purposes, and would moreover be a permanent thing. You might even profitably invest in a set of suitable furniture, with all necessary appertenances, and thus have a moving camp in future to be fixed where it may beforehand be arranged. For a great movement like ours, it would always be less expensive, gentlemen, in the long run, to have everything of a permanent nature. The General Secretary, then, can always be in better touch with the centres of activity and in consultation with the provincial or local committees settle the question of site, accommodation for delegates, &c. With all the requisite information thus at his finger's ends, that energetic officer can, year after year, without the least botheration, notify to all concerned at what suitable centre the next sitting of the Congress is to take place. This would save poor Reception Committees the trouble and expense that they have now to undergo for the execution of the work thrown on them. Time and labour thus economised can be employed better in the work proper of the Congress, not only at the time it holds its sessions, but through out the year.

Having thus attempted a rough and rapid sketch of what may be done in the direction of what I cannot help looking upon as a desirable change in the future progress of the movement, I leave the question of details to be determined by your distinguished Committee, should you care to approve my humble suggestions.

Election of President And now, gentlemen, before resuming my seat, I wish you one and all once more a most hearty welcome on behalf of myself and the Reception Committee, and ask you to elect your President and proceed to the momentous business before you. (*Loud and continued cheers.*)

The Honorable Pundit Bishumbar Nath. THE HONORABLE PUNDIT BISHUMBHAR NATH (*Allahabad*) said :—LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The rôle of host having been played so heartily by our distinguished Chairman of the Reception Committee, Babu Bansi Lal Singh, who has taken a deep interest in this movement, in this organisation, a wondrous fabric of union, the objects of which have been so well explained by his proxy, Pundit Bishan Narayan Dar, for whom also I equally entertain the greatest respect and who has evinced a great interest in our cause, it only remains for me to propose for your acceptance that our worthy President-elect be installed in his responsible office. Mr. R. C. Dutt (*loud and continued applause*), Companion of the Indian Empire, needs no introduction from myself. His high reputation precedes him wherever he goes. He is respected not only in every part of India, but he is equally respected throughout England. If I may be permitted to say without using any figure of speech, he is a personality in himself, a remarkable personality I should say, he is a genius, he is a scholar, a profound scholar, I should also have said he is a statesman—he is a politician. His knowledge of the economic condition of India, of Revenue Laws, of Revenue questions, and of the Indian administration is very profound. With moderation and tact, he combines a rare soundness of judgment. I propose to ask you to elect him and to throw the mantle of your choice upon his broad shoulders with universal acclamation. I hope you will all be glad to join with me in this request (*cheers*).

Nawab Baqar Ali Khan. NAWAB BAQAR ALI KHAN (*Lucknow*) seconded the proposition.

Mr. D. E. Wacha. MR. D. E. WACHA (*Bombay*) said :—GENTLEMEN, I beg to support this proposition which has been moved by the Hon. Pundit Bishumbar Nath, to elect our President-elect, Mr. R. C. Dutt (*Cheers*). With regard to his sterling qualities, whether as a scholar or as an administrator, or as a statesman, or as an eco-

nomist, and with regard to his vast knowledge of the Indian Revenue statistics, and the economic condition of the country, all that can be said has been, I consider, very pithily said by our venerable proposer. To that I do not think, I could add anything more. Ladies and gentlemen, I do not wish to stand between you and your President and thus delay the proceedings of this evening, but I will only do one thing. With your permission I would read to you some remarks about our President-elect, made by Mr. W. S. Caine, who has not been able to be present here. He writes :—“I warmly congratulate you on your choice of Mr. Romesh C. Dutt as President for the year. His long and honorable record in the Civil Service of his country, his clear candid patriotism and his residence in this country for the last 3 years, where he has won the confidence of leading politicians of all classes, eminently fit him for this distinguished position. I have not the slightest doubt in my own mind, and there could not be the slightest doubt in any man's mind, that the President's address will be worthy of the occasion, which will come up to the big address delivered by Mr. Yule at Allahabad.”

RAI SAHIB LALA MURLIDHAR (*Umballa*) said :—LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The people of the North-West Provinces have always been noted for the possession of practical wisdom. It seems to me that they have to-day given a most convincing, a most thorough and singular proof of the possession of high common sense in choosing Mr. R. C. Dutt, C. I. E., as President of this assembly. As the effulgence of the sun or the lustre of the moon cannot be enhanced or diminished by the praise or dispraise of anybody, so any words of praise coming from my lips or criticisms coming from the opposite side cannot add to or detract from the shining qualities of head and heart of Mr. R. C. Dutt (*Cheers*). Can there be any human being upon this earth who cannot see the shining virtues of our friend? If there is one, he is an unfortunate being (*laughter*). As you have already hailed with acclamation the choice of the Reception Committee, I need not say anything more (*Cheers*).

MR. RYRU NAMBYAR (*Madras*):—GENTLEMEN AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—I can well realise your impatience to hear our illustrious President. I therefore do not propose to make you more impatient by making a speech. I heartily support the proposition for electing Mr. R. C. Dutt as the President of this Congress, the greatest honor that we the people of India can confer on our great men.

The resolution, on being put to the vote by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, was carried by acclamation.

MR. R. C. DUTT C. I. E. then took the President's chair amidst loud and enthusiastic cheers and addressed the assembly thus :—

BABU BANSILAL SINGH, NAWABS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I feel deeply honored by your action in electing me President at this Congress, but before we proceed to the business of this day, I should like, with your permission, to read one or two, out of many messages which I have received of congratulation to this Congress. In the first place, ladies and gentlemen, I should like to read a message of congratulation and good wishes from your beloved President who presided last year, Mr. A. M. Bose (*cheers*).

He telegraphs to me :—“Most keenly and deeply regret cannot attend from illness. God bless the Congress, the city of Lucknow, and our beloved motherland, and bless our rulers and gracious Sovereign. May your labours be fruitful, may all India unite in loving, loyal, ardent service to the ancient and glorious and that gave us birth, and rejoice in working and suffering for her sake” (*cheers*).

I also wish to read one or two passages from a letter from our old friend, Mr. W. S. Caine.

He writes : “I am not able this year to attend the meeting of the Indian National Congress in which my interest is keener than ever, and about which my convictions are stronger every year, that is the most valuable and powerful factor in the development of the political future of India * * * I beg you to be kind enough to convey by the cold medium of this letter those warm and cordial good wishes for the brilliant success of the Lucknow Congress, which I am unable to deliver by word of mouth” (*hear, hear*). “My love to the Indian

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Election
of Pre-
sident.

Rai Sahib
Lalla
Murli-
dhar.

Mr. Ryru
Nambyar.

The
Presi-
dent
accepts
the chair.

First Day. people; my belief in their future as a great self-governing portion of the British Empire, and my conviction of their natural capacity for self-government deepens and strengthens every year. I trust that God may inspire and direct your counsels and bring them to early fruition." I have delivered to you one or two messages from the living, and it is but just that at the commencement of my speech, I shall refer in one or two words to those who have departed from us, especially to that distinguished countryman, who was a personal friend of mine, I mean Dr. Romesh Chander Mitter, who has been taken away from this world. You have not had amongst you a stronger friend of the Congress, a greater patriot and a more sincere and thoughtful son of India than Dr. Romesh Chander Mitter. The other great patriot was the late Maharaja of Darbhanga, and I think a suitable expression of his good services to the Congress was already expressed at the last meeting by my friend, Mr. A. M. Bose. I don't wish to say many words with regard to the services of these gentlemen. We can only deplore their loss, at a time when we all expected great services from their talents, their reputation and their love to the country.

Gentleman, when in October last I received through my friend, Mr. Bonnerjee, your kind invitation to preside at this meeting of the Indian National Congress, I confess, I received it with some degree of surprise and some degree of hesitation and misgiving. I happened to be then engaged in the pleasant task, to which I have cheerfully devoted most of my spare time during the last fifteen years, of trying to interpret to my countrymen, and to modern readers generally, some of the literary heritage which has been left to us by our ancient forefathers; and I confess, the prospects of a sudden change from the desk to the platform somewhat alarmed me. Nor was the alarm altogether groundless; for when I read the magnificent speeches made from this platform in past years by some of the ablest and most eloquent men that our country has produced during this generation, I felt grave doubts whether you were altogether wise in your choice in asking me to preside in the present year. However, I felt the great honour you did me in imposing the task upon me; I feel the high honour which you have done me as I stand to-day among so many who are so well qualified to perform this task; and for better or for worse, I have accepted your kind proposal and am amidst you to-day. And if you will listen with some indulgence to the plain words of a plain man, I will try to convey to you in a few words some remarks, and some practical suggestions, on the administrative questions of the day.

I need hardly tell you that these questions have received my attention and my consideration for years past; I have spoken and written on them during the last two years; and during the preceding twenty-six years I had constantly to deal with many of them in official correspondence. It is perhaps known to all of you that the Government of India and the Local Governments permit and encourage the utmost freedom to all officials in the expression of their opinions in official correspondence on the administrative questions which constantly come up for discussion. It is in the course of such discussions that the men in the Civil Service come to know and to respect each other's opinions, and are often brought in closer contact with each other. And as we are holding this present meeting of our Congress in the North-West of India, I recall to-day with pride that it was in course of a discussion of this nature over the Bengal Tenancy Bill which was passed into law in 1885, that I had the pleasure and the privilege of first knowing that sympathetic ruler and that distinguished statesman whom you now claim as Lieutenant-Governor of these provinces (*Applause, three cheers were called for*) but whom we in Bengal are proud to claim as originally of the Bengal Civil Service.

Gentlemen, I often felt it my duty in the course of these official discussions to suggest reforms on the basis of accepting in a larger degree the co-operation of the people of India in the administration of the country. And, although I have ceased to be an official now, I still consider it my duty to do what lies in my humble power to advise and help the Government of the day in the great task of a good and successful administration based on the co-operation of the people (*cheers*.) And it is because this is precisely the object of the Indian National Congress—it is because it

is your aim and endeavour to sustain and help British administration based on popular co-operation—that I find myself amongst you to-day and in complete unison with you in views and aspirations.

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address.

THE CREED OF THE CONGRESS.

Gentlemen, I have perused a great portion of the Congress literature as published in a handy volume by the enterprising publisher Mr. Natesan; and to those who desire honestly to know the aims and aspirations of the educated men of India, I can honestly recommend a perusal of this valuable publication. An honest critic will find in this volume—from the first page to the last—a sincere desire to support and sustain the Government by the co-operation of the people, to strengthen the hands of the Government by fair criticism, to help the Government by keeping it informed of the views and aspirations of the people. These are services which would be useful and valuable to administrators in any country in the world, and these are services which are doubly valuable in India, where the people are not represented in any of the executive councils and secretariats where executive and legislative measures are first put into shape. For remember, gentlemen, that there are generally two sides to every question which comes up for discussion, and it is desirable and necessary that both sides should be properly represented and heard before the question is decided. It is no disrespect to the Civil Service of India to say that it represents, ably and fairly, the official side only of Indian questions. I have had the honour of passing the best years of my life in the Indian Civil Service, and I shall be the last person on earth to question either the ability or the honesty of purpose of those able and hard-working men who form that magnificent service. I have pleasant recollections of the years which I have passed in complete accord and friendliness with my colleagues in that service, of the fair and handsome treatment which I received from my seniors, and of the loyal and zealous co-operation which I received from my juniors; and I will say this, that take the Indian Civil Service with all its faults and all its shortcomings—for hard work and honesty of purpose there is not a finer body of administrators in the world. Nevertheless, it must be admitted, and it is no disrespect to the Indian Civil Service to say that that service represents only the official view of Indian questions, and does not and cannot represent the people's views. There are two sides to every question, and it is absolutely necessary for the purposes of good government and of just administration that not only the official view, but the people's view on every question should be represented and heard. There are local bodies in different parts of India which give expression to the people's views on local questions; but this National Congress is the only body in India which seeks to represent the views and aspirations of the people of India as a whole in the large and important, and if I may use the word, Imperial questions of administration. Therefore, this National Congress is doing a service to the Government the value of which cannot be overestimated, and which I feel certain is appreciated by the Government itself. It is a gain to the administration to know what we feel, and what we think, and what we desire—though our demands cannot always be conceded. It is a help to responsible administrators to know in what direction our wishes and our aspirations tend, though they may not always agree with us. I honestly believe, therefore, that you are helping the cause of good administration and of good government in India by your deliberations year after year, and I trust and hope that you will continue to carry on these deliberations in the future as you have done in the past, with good sense and moderation, with loyalty to our rulers, and with fidelity to the real interests of the people. We cannot fail in this endeavour; the future is with us; and looking at the progress of nations all over the British Empire in every part of the world, I, for one, feel confident that we, too, are destined to move onwards as a portion of that great Empire, and that we, too, shall secure some measure of progress and self-government under the imperial rule of England. This is the creed of the Congress, as it is mine, and it is therefore, gentlemen, that I feel it an honour to find myself amidst you to-day. And consistently with this principle, my speech to-day will be, not one of criticism but mainly and essentially

First Day. one of practical suggestions to which the Government will, I humbly hope, give such consideration as they may seem to deserve
The President's address.

FAMINE OF 1897.

Gentlemen, it is a little over two years ago you celebrated in India, with every demonstration of loyalty and good feeling, the sixtieth year of the reign of the Queen-Empress (*cheers*). I happened to be in England on that day, and I witnessed with joy and gratification the august procession in London—Her Majesty driving in state through a circuit of six miles, preceded and followed by representatives of every portion of the British Empire, and cheered by half a million of loyal Englishmen who lined the circuit. Every contingent from every land was cheered as it accompanied the Queen, and I can tell you that none was cheered more loudly and more heartily than the Indian contingent (*cheers*)—the Indian Princes and Rajas, distinguished by their graceful dress and noble demeanour, their manly bearing and their soldierlike appearance. It was a great and imposing and gratifying sight, but it was clouded by one dark shadow. The British public felt, British newspapers wrote, and British statesmen spoke, that while every self-governing colony represented in that procession was prosperous and happy, India alone, with its vast population, was even then suffering from a famine which had spread over a larger extent of country than had ever been visited by famine in any single year. Questions were asked why there should be such famines in India when famines were unheard of in any other well-governed country in the world, and doubts were expressed if British Rule in India had been altogether a blessing for the poor cultivators and labourers of India.

But, gentlemen, the famine of 1897 was not the only calamity of that year; it was accompanied by a war outside our frontiers which cost us some millions and many brave lives, and it was accompanied by a plague, the ravages of which are not yet over. In the midst of those calamities the Government thought it necessary to adopt rigorous measures, and the Government thought it wise to restrict that liberty of the Press which we in India had enjoyed for over sixty years. It is not my intention to-day to dwell on the sad occurrences of 1897, the saddest year in its accumulation of calamities since the time that India passed from the hands of the East India Company to the Crown. Nor is it my intention to revive to-day the discussions which were held in this country and in England when the unfortunate Sedition Bills were passed into law.

SEDITION LAW OF 1898.

I recall with sadness the debates which took place in the Viceroy's Council and in the House of Commons when these Bills were passed into law. It was my privilege to hear those debates in the House of Commons, and I think I only echo the general feeling of all educated men in this country when I acknowledge our deep debt of gratitude to those who so ably but so unsuccessfully fought for us both in the Viceroy's Council and in the House of Commons. I do not desire to renew these discussions, but now that the fight is over, and the Bills have been passed into law, I often ask myself if there is a single Englishman in this country with an intimate knowledge of the country and its people who honestly thinks that the reactionary measure was needed, or that it is answering any useful purpose, or that it has strengthened the Government and increased its reputation and credit in the eyes of Europe. Gentlemen, the measure was based on a blunder—the blunder of connecting sedition with the spread of education. The truth is precisely the reverse of this. English education had not only not produced sedition in the land, but it has been the strongest weapon by which the Government has stamped out real sedition in this country within the last fifty years. In the dark days of 1857 and earlier, there was real sedition in the land—a real wish in some dark and obscure corners to overturn this great Empire. That desire was born of ignorance and lurked amidst ignorant classes, and the Government has successfully stamped out that feeling by the spread of education. There never was a greater Imperialist among the Governors-General of India than Lord Dalhousie, and Lord Dalhousie strengthened and fortified the Empire by giving effect to the famous educational dispatch of 1854, and spreading education through vernacular schools. There never was a stronger upholder of British Dominion in its darkest days than Lord Canning, and Lord Canning established the Universities of

Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. The same policy has been pursued by successive Viceroys during the last forty years with the same object and the same effect, and wherever education has spread, sedition in India is dead. And if real sedition still lingers in any corner of India, it is in the darkness of ignorance, not in the sunlight of education and free discussion. If I were disposed to foment sedition in India I would desire in the first place to suppress all free discussion, suppress all newspapers, and suppress all public meetings, as a burglar puts out the lights of a room before he commits burglary. And I make bold to add, gentlemen, that if you had been inspired by hostile feelings against British rule in India, you would have worked in the dark, and not come forward from all parts of India, year after year, to openly and loyally place your views before the ruling power. Educated India has practically identified itself with British rule, seeks to perpetuate British rule, is loyal to the British rule, as Lord Dufferin said, not through sentiment, but through the stronger motive of self-interest; because it is by a continuance of the British rule that educated India seeks to secure that large measure of self-government, that position among the modern nations of the earth, which it is our aim and endeavour to secure. Gentlemen, if you had a single representative in the Viceroy's Executive Council, if you had one Indian member to take a part in those deliberations in the Executive Council which resulted in the Sedition Law, you could have explained these matters then and there. But it is a penalty which all Governments constituted like the Executive Councils of India have to pay, that they have to decide questions after hearing one side only, and not the other. Only one view is properly represented before them, and not the other; and the ablest, the most just, and the most conscientious of judges will make mistakes, if they base their decisions on evidence produced by one party, and not the other.

Only one word more before I leave this subject. I regret as much and as sincerely as any man in India the bitterness of tone which sometimes pervades journalism in this country. Five years ago, as Officiating Commissioner of Burdwan, I had occasion to write on this subject, and if I allude to my report now, it is because the report was printed and published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, and is therefore not an official secret. I said on that occasion, and on many succeeding occasions, that differences in opinion must always exist between the English newspapers and Indian newspapers in this country. English newspapers hold that an absolute government is the best and only possible government in India, and that any system of representation or self-government is a mistake. The Indian papers hold on the other hand that there can be no good government in a large and civilised country like India, and no satisfactory solution of those great evils like famines and the impoverishment of the humbler classes, without some co-operation of the people themselves in the control of the administration (*cheers*). It is possible, I said, to hold and maintain these opposite views without studied contempt and sneer on the one side, and bitterness of tone on the other side. And those journals which introduce this element of contempt and hatred in the discussion of administrative questions are creating difficulties for the British Government, and sowing seeds of evil in India. It is by some degree of sympathy, some degree of good feeling and neighbourly courtesy, and not by Sedition Laws, that the relations between the different sections of the Indian community can be improved. As one who has passed the best years of his life in administrative work, I have noticed that every improvement in the tone of the English press is warmly responded to by the Indian press, and that every want of kindness and good feeling adds to the difficulties of administration and weakens British rule in India (*cheers*.)

CALCUTTA MUNICIPALITY.

But I pass over this subject because it is not my object to-day to make my speech a criticism of the Sedition Law, or of other measures already passed. I wish also to pass over with very few remarks the controversies relating to recent municipal laws, and to the Calcutta Municipality. These controversies are fresh in your minds, and the subject will, no doubt, receive ample justice from other speakers before we have closed our proceedings. To me one most consoling feature in the history of this unfortunate measure is the help rendered to our cause by so high an authority as the Right Honourable Sir Henry Fowler. It was my privilege to be a listener in the House

First Day.
The President's address.

First Day. of Commons on the memorable night when the late Secretary of State spoke from the Liberal front bench, supporting Mr. Herbert Roberts and condemning the virtual withdrawal of that boon of self-government which it is the proud boast of England to have conferred on the Metropolis of India. Gentlemen, even Sir Henry Fowler has spoken in vain—at least, for the present—but we are none the less grateful to him for his strong advocacy of a just and righteous cause, the cause of self-government in India. Nor are we less grateful to those who have fought the same battle in this country, foremost among whom stands Raja Binay Krishna Deb, a worthy scion of a worthy house which has been loyal and friendly to British rule in India since the days of Clive and Hastings. To our friends who fought in the Legislative Council, and to others who were true to the cause of our progress, is due our warmest acknowledgment and our deepest gratitude. Gentlemen, their example, their endeavours and their sustained effort will live in the memory of our countrymen, and will find a place in the history of our country. A constitutional battle so fought is not fought in vain, and our children and our children's children, to whom we shall hand down the heritage of a loyal and constitutional agitation for self-government under the imperial and progressive rule of England, will look upon the closing of the nineteenth century as an epoch in the history of the land, and will draw new inspiration from the example of the men of this century who have lived and worked and fought—not in vain. There are defeats which are more glorious than victories; and the defeat which we have sustained will strengthen our hearts, freshen our hopes, and nerve our hands for new endeavours.

With regard to the actual result of this battle, I do not know if there is any class of men in Calcutta who in their hearts like it much. I have asked myself if there is any Englishman familiar with the history of the Calcutta Municipality who thinks that the new measure will improve administration, promote sanitation, or secure the willing co-operation of all classes of citizens. I do not know if the officials of Calcutta who have done so much in the past to foster municipal self-government, will contemplate with gratification the ruin of the noble edifice which they built up with the labour of a quarter of a century. I do not know if the European merchants of Calcutta, who are busy, practical men, and have lived in amity and good feeling with the Indian population, will like the idea to spread over the country that wherever English trade prospers not only Indian manufactures, but Indian political and municipal rights, too, must be sacrificed. I do not know if the new City Fathers of Calcutta contemplate with joy their prospects of performing, without the co-operation of the people, their difficult and thankless task, with a poor, inadequate, almost beggarly income. What the elected Commissioners have done in the way of Sanitary Reforms with this poor income is a matter of history. Gentlemen, I remember Calcutta some forty years under the administration of Government officials, when we as schoolboys had to walk to school by open drains and reeking filth. I remember Calcutta as it was under the Justices of the Peace, some thirty years ago, with its awkward tale on waste and jobbery. And I have seen year after year the improvements effected, the sanitary reforms done, the wasteful expenditure cut down, and every department of the office brought to order by the elected Commissioners within the last twenty-five years—by some of the best men whom our country has produced, and who have given years of their life to this patriotic work. Their work has been consistently recognized in past years by successive rulers of the land; but it is necessary to give a dog a bad name in order to hang it; and it was reserved for Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who was a friend of self-government under the administration of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Ripon, to end his career in India by giving the self-government system in Calcutta a bad name, and then effectually strangling it (*shame, shame*). Gentlemen, I feel sad whenever I think over these matters, and I feel sad when I recollect that this thing has come to pass in the first year of Lord Curzon's administration. I honestly believe that no Viceroy ever came out to India with a more sincere desire to work for the good of the people, and with the help and co-operation of the people. I honestly think that His Lordship in Council gave a most careful consideration to the question before he issued his own proposals; and if that Council had contained a single Indian member to represent the Indian view of the question

and to explain the true history of the municipality during the last forty years, I am persuaded Lord Curzon would have taken the same view as Sir Henry Fowler has taken, and would have effected the needed reforms in the Calcutta Municipality and strengthened the executive, without virtually sacrificing self-government. But our difficulty and our danger lie in this, that great administrative questions are discussed and settled in Executive Councils where we are not represented and not heard. I do not say that the official view is necessarily wrong, and that our view is necessarily right; but I do say that both views should be fairly represented before the tribunal which shapes our destinies. I do not say that we have more knowledge or more experience or more ability than the high officials who represent the official view of the question, but I do say that we view questions from a different point of view, and that there should be a constitutional channel for the representation of our views in the Executive Councils of the empire. For when the Executive Councils have decided a question, the thing is done—the Legislative Councils simply carry out the official mandate with unimportant alterations, as the Bengal Council has done in the case of their Municipal Bill.

FAMINE OF 1899

But, gentlemen, I must extricate myself from this subject and pass on at once to the great calamity which now stares us in the face, the famine from which millions of our countrymen are suffering even now; and with your permission I will devote all my remaining time to this one great subject—which appears to me to be one of paramount importance—the famines of India, and the condition of our poorer classes. Gentlemen, you are aware of the prompt measures which have been already adopted by the Government of Lord Curzon for the relief of distress in British territory and for helping Indian Princes to relieve distress in Native States during this time of trouble and anxiety. And those of you who have had experience of relief operations in previous famines will feel confident that Englishmen when they have once put their hand to the plough, will not leave the work half done. It is with a pardonable pride that I recall past days when I myself was employed along with my English colleagues in famine relief operations, or in providing against impending famines, in 1874, in 1876, and in 1896, and judging from my past experience, and judging from the measures adopted this year, I feel confident that no effort, no expenditure, no means humanly possible, will be spared by a benevolent government to save life and to relieve distress among the millions of our suffering countrymen. And in the face of this calamity it behoves us all, it behoves this National Congress, to do all we can to strengthen the hands of the Government, to offer our help according to our capacity and power, and to place our suggestions before the Government, not in a spirit of criticism but in a spirit of loyalty and co-operation, for the relief of the present distress and for the prevention of such distress in future.

ALLEGED CAUSES OF FAMINES

It is in this spirit that I suggest that the time has come when it is desirable to take some effective measures to improve the condition of the agricultural population of India. Their poverty, their distress, their indebtedness, all this is not their fault. Some times it is asserted that the poverty of the people and the famines which we witness in India, and in no other well-governed country on earth, are due to the over-increase in population. Gentlemen, this is not so. (*hear, hear*). If you go into figures you will find that the population does not increase in India as fast as it does in many European countries like Germany and England (*hear, hear*). And if you read the paper written by Mr. Baines, the late Census Commissioner of India, in the first volume of the British Empire Series recently issued in London, you will find the Census Commissioner has distinctly stated that the growth of population in India is not so fast as that in Germany or in England. Sometimes, again, it is asserted that the poverty of the Indian agriculturist is due to his own improvidence, wastefulness, and folly. Gentlemen, this is not so. Those who have passed the best portion of their life among the Indian cultivators, as I have done, will tell you

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First Day. that the Indian cultivator is about the most frugal, the most provident the most thoughtful about his future, among all races of cultivators on earth (*Applause*).
The President's Address. If he goes to the money-lender it is not because he is in love with the money-lender, but because he has nothing to eat. If he pays 25 or 37 per cent. as interest on loans, it is because he cannot get loans on lower interest on such security as he can offer.

PUNJAB LAND ALIENATION BILL

We are all aware that the Government of India are at the present time endeavouring to safeguard the interests of the cultivators in the Punjab and elsewhere from the claims of money-lenders on their land. I do not wish to speak on the merits of the Bill, because I never wish to say a word or to express an opinion on inadequate information, and the information I have been able to gather about the condition of the Punjab cultivators is not yet as full and complete as I could wish it to be. All that I can say is that this idea, that the condition of cultivators can be improved not by helping them to save, but by restricting their right of sale and mortgage, is an old idea which has been found utterly unsound in Bengal. The policy was advocated when the Bengal Tenancy Bill was under discussion fifteen years ago; I myself took my humble part in strongly resisting the policy; and if I remember correctly, the able Revenue Secretary of Bengal, who is now the Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces, took the same view. I allude to these views because they are no secret, and will be found published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of that year. The absurdity of relieving the cultivators by virtually taking away from the market value of the one property they have on earth was strongly exposed, and the idea of placing any restrictions on mortgage and sale of lands was ultimately abandoned.

Curiously enough, the question was mooted again in Bengal only three years ago, showing what vast importance is attached to official views and ideas formed in close Council chambers. The fear was entertained that land was slipping away from the hands of the cultivating classes to the hands of the money-lending classes and that to restrict the right of sale and mortgage was the only remedy. I happened to be then acting as Commissioner of Orissa, a part of Bengal which is not permanently settled, and where the condition of the cultivators is worse than in other parts of Bengal. If the free right of sale or mortgage has worked evil in any part of Bengal, it must have done so in Orissa. But I was able to show from the records of half-a-century that, although the right of sale and of mortgage had been freely exercised, land had not slipped out of the hands of the cultivating classes, and that to take away from the market value of the land was not the best way to help the cultivators. Fortunately the greatest revenue authority of Bengal, Mr. Stevens, who afterwards acted as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, took the same view, and the idea of helping the cultivators by decreasing the market value of their land was once more abandoned. I do not wish, gentlemen, to generalise on these facts; I do not wish to infer that what would be needless and mischievous in Bengal and Orissa may not be needful and useful for the time being in some parts of India where matters may have reached a more acute stage. But what I do wish to emphasize is that such remedies cannot permanently improve the condition of the cultivators; that in order to improve their condition, we must make it possible for them—as it is possible in Bengal—to save in good years against failure of harvest in bad years.

REAL CAUSE OF FAMINES, AND THE REMEDY

Gentlemen, the real cause of the poverty of our agricultural population is simple and even obvious, if we have the courage and the honesty to seek for it and to grasp it. It is not over-population, for the population does not increase faster than in European countries, does not increase faster than the area of cultivation. It is not the natural improvidence of the cultivator, for those who know the Indian cultivator will tell you that with all his ignorance and superstition, he is as provident, as frugal, as shrewd in matters of his own interest as the cultivator in any part of the globe. The

real cause of his wretchedness and indebtedness is that, except in Bengal and a few other tracts, the land assessment is so heavy that the cultivator is not able to save in good years enough to meet the failure of harvests in bad years. All our village industries, like spinning and weaving, have been killed by a free competition with the steam and machinery of England. Our cultivators and even our village industrial classes therefore virtually depend on the soil as the one remaining source of their subsistence. The land assessments should therefore be made in a liberal and even a generous spirit. There is every desire in the high officials to make the assessments in a liberal spirit, but as the people have no voice in controlling these assessments, they are found in the actual working to be often illiberal and harsh. They do not leave the cultivators enough to be able to save, and cultivators therefore fall victims to famine whenever the harvests fail.

BENGAL

The old Hindu law, based on the actual experience of thousands of years, sanctioned one-sixth the gross produce of the land as its proper rent. The experience of modern times confirms the wisdom of this ancient rule. In Bengal, where the Permanent Settlement and the land laws of 1859, 1868 and 1885 save the cultivators from undue enhancements, the average rent paid by cultivators to landlords does not exceed one-sixth the gross produce in any district, and falls far short of it in eastern districts. The result is that Permanently Settled Bengal, which suffered from the most terrible famine in the last century, has been generally free from destructive famines in recent times. The famines of Behar in 1874 and 1897 were comparatively mild, and there was no loss of life. Extend the Bengal rule to other parts of India; make one-sixth the gross produce the maximum rent leviable from cultivators in other provinces, and the problem of preventing famines in India is solved.

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES

In the North-Western Provinces and Oudh the cultivators are, generally speaking not safeguarded by a Permanent Settlement. Each new assessment means an increase in Government revenue. Let us find out in what position the actual cultivator is left by such settlements. The system of settlements in the North-Western Provinces has often been described, but I have never seen a more lucid account of it, within a brief compass, than in the evidence of Sir Antony MacDonnell before the Currency Committee which lately sat in London. Read His Honor's answer to questions No. 5737 to 5740, and you have a clear account of the North-West settlements in a nutshell. There are two salient facts which I will place before you from this account. In the first place, the Government allows the landlords to make their own arrangements with the cultivators, and then demands one-half of what the landlord actually gets, after making certain reductions. In the second place, under these arrangements, the landlords are actually getting about 20 per cent. of the gross produce in money, and the Government share is one-half of that. Gentlemen, these arrangements are better than those in many other parts of India, and you may be sure the rules are worked considerably, and even leniently, by a ruler who yields to none in India in his real sympathy for the actual cultivator (*hear, hear*). But nevertheless I should have been relieved to learn that the 20 per cent. of the gross produce represented the maximum limit of rent, and not the average rent. Without such a maximum limit the cultivator has no assurance against over-assessment and undue enhancement. And a landlord who has submitted to an increase of the Government demand at a settlement has the temptation to reimburse himself by raising his rents—as a squeezed sponge fills itself when thrown into the water—to be squeezed again at the next settlement, thirty years later. Adopt the ancient Hindu rule, which is virtually still the rule in Bengal; make one-sixth the actual produce—or even one-fifth the actual produce—the limit of rent under all circumstances, and you make the cultivators of these provinces as prosperous as they are in Bengal, and the problem of disastrous and fatal famines is virtually solved.

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MADRAS.

The state of things is far worse in Madras. Some portions of the Madras Presidency are permanently settled, but in the greater portion of the Province the revenue is not permanently settled, there is no class of landlords, and the Government demands as revenue one-half of the net produce of the land, *i. e.*, of the produce after deducting the cost of cultivation. For a clear, and luminous, and brief account of how this system has worked I would refer you to the speeches made in recent years by the Raja of Bobbili, by the Hon'ble Subba Rao, and by Mr. Vencataratnam, himself a large landholder, and President of the Godavari District Association. They point out that the rights of the Madras cultivators have not been strengthened, as in Bengal, by successive Acts within this half-century, but have been weakened by successive measures of the Government. They point out that in 1857, the proprietary right of the cultivator with fixity of assessment was admitted by the Government; that in 1882, under Lord Ripon's administration, a virtual pledge was given that no enhancements would be allowed except on the equitable ground of a rise in prices; and that at the present day these pledges are ignored, these safeguards are withdrawn, and enhancements are actually made on the ground of reclassification of soils as well as of rise in prices. More than this, I read a passage in the Madras Standing Information of 1879, quoted in the *Hindu* newspaper of Madras, that the land tax estimated at one half the net produce should not exceed 40 per cent. of gross produce where the land is irrigated at Government cost, and should not exceed 33 per cent. of the gross produce in the case of lands not so irrigated. When I read a rule like this, I am filled with bewilderment and pain. Where is the old Hindu rule fixing one-sixth of the produce as the proper rent—a rule which is virtually observed in Bengal at the present day with such happy results? Let me mention, gentlemen, that when the Tenancy Bill of Bengal was under discussion in 1884, I had the honour to recommend that 20 per cent. of the gross produce—which is a little over the old Hindu rate—should be fixed as the maximum of rent payable by a cultivator. My proposal was accepted by the then Revenue Secretary of Bengal who is now the honoured ruler of these N.-W. Provinces. The proposal accordingly found a place in the Tenancy Bill drafted by the Government of Bengal; but it was not ultimately passed into law, because, in many parts of Bengal, the zemindars were getting much less than 20 per cent. of the produce; and to frame a rule about maximum rent might induce landlords in all parts of Bengal to screw up the rental to that maximum. The argument was good, and I was not sorry that my proposal was rejected. But it is somewhat curious that while the Bengal Government declined to fix 20 per cent. of the produce as the maximum of rent, for fear that the zemindars might work up to that rate, the Madras Government had actually a rule in their Standing Information Book fixing 33 and 40 per cent. of the gross produce as the maximum rent. Are you surprised that under the circumstances there should be such repeated and disastrous famines in Madras, and that as pointed out by Mr. A. Rogers—late of the Indian Civil Service and a high authority in revenue matters—a great deal of land is out of cultivation because cultivators cannot pay the rent that is demanded by the State-landlord? The rule in Madras is, as I have said before, to demand one-half the net produce—*i. e.*, the value of the produce after deducting the cost of cultivation. Gentlemen, I state it from my experience that such calculations cannot be accurately made, and that every mistake made is fatal to the cultivators. And I also state it from my experience that one-half of the net produce—not of the assets of the zemindars as in the North-West Provinces, but of the net produce of the land—is a ruinous rate of land-tax which is bound to bring the cultivating classes into wretchedness and poverty and to disastrous famines in every year of the failure of crops. Adopt the old Indian rule—the rule which is practically observed in Bengal with such happy results—and you relieve the cultivating population of Madras, and virtually solve the problem of famines.

BOMBAY AND THE PUNJAB.

Gentlemen, I have not time to-day to go over the land revenue arrangements in other parts of India—of the Bombay Presidency or of the Punjab. In Bombay

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we have generally the same system as in Madras, the Government generally receiving rents direct from the cultivators. But the settlement officers in Bombay take into consideration what have been paid by cultivators in previous years without difficulty, and do not proceed merely on paper calculations; and in so far the Bombay method is better than the Madras method. In the Punjab the land system is somewhat similar to that of the North-Western Provinces; but you will find on examination that neither in Bombay nor in the Punjab is the cultivator assured of getting an adequate proportion of the produce of the land he cultivates and without such assurance his condition cannot be improved, and he cannot be saved from famines merely by tinkering with his relations with his money-lender. I am not discussing to-day the merits of the different systems prevailing in the different Provinces of India—the *Zamindari* system of Bengal, the *Talukdari* system of Oudh the *Mahawari* system of the North-West, the *Malguzari* system of Central India, or the *Ryotwari* system of Southern India. Nor am I discussing the desirability of extending the Permanent Settlement to all parts of India as was recommended by Lord Canning in 1860, though I myself think that would be a wise and a generous measure to which the Government is pledged by its many promises in the past. I am not entering into these subjects in order to avoid all discussion, all controversy; and I am laying down a proposal which must receive universal assent without any controversy—*viz.*, that the cultivator should be assured in an adequate share of the produce of his land if he is to be saved from indebtedness and poverty, distress and famine. I have confined myself to the actual condition of the cultivator and the incidence of the land-tax on the cultivator, for in India the cultivator is the nation. Never mind under what system or under what settlement he lives, assure to him an adequate proportion out of the produce of his land—such a proportion as the old Hindu law assured him, and the custom in modern Bengal assures him—and he is saved, and the nation is saved.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

But before I leave this subject I must say one word about the Central Provinces of India, which have suffered so disastrously in the famine of 1897, and which is suffering once more under the famine of 1899. The Central Provinces have suffered more from recent famines than any other part of India because the land-revenue settlements have been more severe and more harsh, not in their intention, but in their actual operation, than any other part of India. I constantly heard in England, as I have no doubt you constantly heard in this country, of the disastrous results of the recent revenue settlements in that Province, initiated by Sir Alexander Mackenzie and completed by his successors. But I will not mention here what I have heard, I will limit my remarks entirely to the facts contained in official reports and stated in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for India in reply to questions put to him in March last year, by one of the truest friends of the Indian cultivator, Mr. Samuel Smith.

Gentlemen, there is a healthy rule, generally followed in the North-Western Provinces, that settlements are made for thirty years, because it is undesirable to harass the people with frequent enhancements and frequent settlement operations. The rulers of the Central Provinces have departed from this rule and made the present settlement for twenty years, save in a few backward tracts, where I suppose still shorter settlements have been made. There is another healthy rule, followed in the North-Western Provinces, that the land revenue is fixed at one-half the rental received by landlords. Will you believe it that in the eastern and southern districts of the Central Provinces the Government revenue was fixed between 55 and 75 per cent. of the rent in the previous settlement, and between 50 and 60 per cent. in the recent settlement? Add to this another 12 per cent. for certain local rates, and the Government demand on the Malguzars comes to about 72 per cent. of their supposed collections. I ask every impartial man, every fair minded administrator, why settlements have been made in the Central Provinces for twenty years or less when settlements are made in the North-West for thirty years? I ask every responsible ruler why the Government should demand 60 per cent. as rent, *plus* 12 per cent. as rates, from the Mal-

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guzar of the Central Provinces when the Government receives only about 40 per cent in the North-West according to the evidence of Sir Antony MacDonnell? These differences in figures may not mean much to the theoretical statesman, but they mean life and death to the Indian cultivator (*hear, hear*). Every tampering with the settled rules in land settlements, every lowering of the period of settlements, every increase in the proportion of the Government demand means the further impoverishment of the cultivators, means increased wretchedness and indebtedness in ordinary times, increased deaths in famines. Why, gentlemen, this very experiment was tried in these North-Western Provinces; the Government demand at first was not half but two-thirds of the assets of the landlords; and that rule created a degree of suffering to the people greater than all the wars of the first half of this century. That rule was ultimately abandoned in 1855, and the Government demand was fixed at one-half the rental of the landlords; and is it fair that we should go back in the Central Provinces to the old rule which our experience has taught us here to be harsh and cruel to the cultivators? If the people had any control over the executive action in the Central Provinces, the tampering with the old established settlement rules would not have been allowed. If the people had been represented in the Viceroy's Executive Council to press these matters, no Viceroy of India would have permitted such departure from the usual settlement rules, a departure which has been disastrous in its consequences on the condition of the people, and increased the deaths from famines in the Central Provinces.

Gentlemen, I have detained you longer on this subject than I had intended, but the importance of the subject is my excuse. I state my deliberate opinion, based on a careful study of the question for thirty years, that the land revenue arrangements in India are responsible, not for bringing on famines, but for deepening the effects of these famines; and secondly, that if the position of the cultivator was assured—as it is assured by the Hindu laws, and as it is assured in Bengal—loss of lives could be prevented on the occurrence of famines, as it has been prevented in Bengal. British administration has done much for us; it has given us internal peace, it has given us education, it has brought us nearer to western civilisation. But British administration has not performed all its duty so long as the country is desolated by famines, unheard of in any other civilised and well-governed country. My conviction is, and I lay it loyally before the Government, that these frequent and acute famines are mainly owing to the cause that our village industries are gone and our village lands are over-assessed (*hear, hear*). My conviction is, and I lay it loyally before the Government, that this enormous loss of lives is preventible, and could be avoided through more considerate land settlements, assuring to the cultivator in every province an adequate proportion of the food that he produces.

MILITARY EXPENDITURE, CURRENCY, NATIONAL DEBT, INDUSTRIES AND SERVICES.

Gentlemen, there are various other causes of the poverty of India under the British rule which I have not touched upon to-day, and which I do not wish to touch upon, because they have been discussed ably, eloquently, and repeatedly by yourselves at previous meetings of this Congress, and some of them will be discussed again this year by other speakers. There is the question of the enormous Military Expenditure, and the maintenance of a vast army out of the resources of India, not for the requirements of India, but for the requirements of the British Empire in Asia, Africa, and even in Europe. There is the question of the National Debt, which, in Great Britain, has been reduced by about 175 millions since 1860, and which has gone up by over 100 millions in India within this period, causing an increasing drain out of the revenues of India for the payment for interest in England. There is the question of the Currency which has been lately settled by the Currency Committee in a manner not conducive to the interests of the millions of cultivators whose debts have been increased, and savings depreciated. There is the question of encouraging and helping the Industrial Classes ruined by unfair competition, a question which has been ably and exhaustively dealt

with by one of the most learned and thoughtful writers of this generation, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade of Bombay. And there is the question of the possible saving of expenditure by the larger employment of the educated people of India, not only in the Indian Civil Service, but in the higher grades of all services, Educational and Medical, Police and Engineering, Post Office and Telegraph. Three generations of Indians have been educated in English schools and colleges in India; they have proved their fitness and capacity in every place they have held; and yet they are virtually Uitlanders in their own country, so far as a real control over administration is concerned.

I pass over these and other cognate subjects because I have no time to deal with them, and because you have often dealt with them eloquently and exhaustively, and will deal with many of them again. I will only repeat that it is perfectly possible to cut down expenditure, to moderate land assessments, to revive industries, and to prevent deaths from famines, if there is a real and honest determination to rule India for the good of the people, and with the co-operation of the people.

Gentlemen, I desire with your permission to add a word or two on this last subject, *viz.*, the desirability of enlisting the co-operation of the people in the work of administration, —the desirability of bringing the administration in closer touch with the people, and bringing our rulers in closer touch with ourselves. This is desired by every enlightened and far-sighted ruler as well as by ourselves; and this is calculated to improve the administration and to make British rule in India stronger and more popular. A commencement has been made in this direction since the days of Munro and Elphinstone and Lord William Bentinck; and what I will suggest is not a new departure, but a progress in the lines already laid down. I do not myself believe in new departures and novel experiments in administration; having passed the best years of my life in administration I naturally have more faith in gradual and cautious progress in the lines which have been already laid down.

VILLAGE UNIONS.

Gentlemen, I will begin with villages—because, as I have already said, in India the villager represents the nation. In village administration there is no touch between the rulers and the people, the only link between the administrators and the people in civil administration is the hated link of the police. It is a misfortune and an administrative mistake that our District officers should have so little direct touch with the villagers and their natural leaders, and should work so entirely through the police. If there is distress in the land, the police makes enquiries; if there is cholera epidemic in the land, the police distributes cholera pills; if a village tank has given way or the village water-supply dried up, the police reports and organises help; if a tree has been blown down and obstructs a village path, (I have seen instances of this myself), the villagers are powerless to help themselves until the police comes and removes the obstruction. It seems to be a mockery that the very country which was the first to organise village communities, village Panchayets, and village self-government, and cherished these institutions for 3,000 years, should be rendered so absolutely helpless, and should be ruled through the undesirable agency of the police. Gentlemen, the mistake has been discovered and Village Unions have been formed or are in the course of formation in most Provinces in India. Make these Village Unions real centres of village administration in so far as is consistent with good government. Parcel out each Sub-division into twenty or thirty Village Unions, entrust the Union Committees with the charge of village roads, village tanks, village drainage, village education, and village hospitals, and send over to them all petty civil and criminal cases, not for judicial desposal, but for amicable settlement. A great deal of expensive litigation and bad feeling into villages can thus be stopped, a great deal of useful work can thus be done, and what is more, the natural leaders of the village population will thus come in touch with the Sub-divisional and District administrators, and will form the agents

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MUNICIPAL TOWNS.

From the subject of Villages I come to the subject of Municipal Towns which are receiving a great deal of attention now. Gentlemen, I consider it of primary importance that we should insist on efficient municipal administration, and that power should be given to the Government to ensure such efficient administration if the Municipal Commissioners are slack. Such power is retained by the Government in England, and it is more necessary that such power should be retained by the Government in India. But having provided for this, I am of opinion that the work should be done through the elected Commissioners and not through officials or secretaries appointed by the Government. The latter system ruins self-government, and is not needed. I have myself supervised the work of every municipality in a District as a District Officer, and I have supervised the work of all the municipalities in a Division as a Divisional Commissioner. The Municipal Commissioners were sometimes zealous and sometimes slack, sometimes they went the right way and sometimes the wrong way; but I have never found them obstructive; I have never found them averse to sanitary improvement or general progress; I have never found them other than amenable to reason and advice. With some tact and patience and sympathy we can get all that we want to do through the men elected by the people themselves; and it is unwise and undesirable, it is a confession of our own incompetency and want of sympathy, to try to replace the elective system by men appointed by the Government to do municipal work in the small district towns of India. The aptitude of self-government in towns and villages is, in India, a heritage of three hundred years, and to seek to ignore it is an administrative blunder, and a confession of our own incompetency.

DISTRICT BOARDS.

Coming next to the subject of District Boards, the question is often asked why non-official chairmen should not be appointed over these Boards. The reason, gentlemen, in the generality of cases, is that non-official gentlemen who know their own villages and estates will have not the same knowledge of the district as a whole as the District Officer. We must, above all, insist on efficient work being done—and generally the District Officer is the only man who can in the ordinary course of his tours supervise and secure efficient work throughout his district. At the same time I would not make any hard and fast rule; and where we have retired Government servants or private gentlemen who know their districts well, and who have the capacity and the time for administrative work, it would be a gain and not a loss to our administration to see such gentlemen appointed chairmen of District Boards; and I sincerely hope to see a beginning made by the Government in this direction. Another question which is often discussed in connexion with District Boards is the poverty of their income. This, gentlemen, is a real and a grave evil; and it has become not only desirable but necessary that for large provincials schemes of irrigation and drainage the resources of the District Board should be supplemented by provincial grants. You are aware how much good is done in these Provinces by a system of irrigation wells; and there is no reason why the work of the maintenance of a sufficient number of such wells and other works for the prevention of famines should not be made over to the District Board on allotments made by the Provincial Government. In Bengal the crying evil is bad drainage, which causes that malaria which is the curse of one half of the province. There is no reason why a provincial grant should not be made to every District Board for the proper drainage of the district. Gentlemen, I have said it elsewhere that the money spent on one needless trans-frontier war, if spent in improving the drainage of Bengal, would save millions of the people permanently from one of the direst

est curses of the present age. My advice is: make the District Boards real agents of efficient administration with the co-operation of the people; don't strangle them by the shackles of officialism; don't starve them by want of funds.

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PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

And now, gentlemen, I come to the important subject of Provincial Legislative Councils, and on this subject also my suggestion will be to proceed on the lines already laid down, and not to take a new departure. The object of allowing district and municipal bodies to elect members of these Councils was to allow the views of the people to be represented, and I think every responsible administrator in India will admit that this wise step has improved and strengthened the legislative machinery of the Government. Even when the views of the elected members are rejected—and they are often rejected—even then the expression of their views is a gain to the cause of administration. The time has now come when a fuller scope may be given to this expression of our views and the representation of our opinions. Half-a-dozen members, elected under somewhat complicated rules, can scarcely give expression to the views of the people of a province with a population of thirty or forty millions or more. It is too much to hope that in the not remote future the Government will find it possible to permit every district to be represented by its own member? I do not object to the number of official and nominated members being also increased; I do not object to the Councils sitting five days or six days in the week instead of one day; and I do not object to the head of the Government reserving the power of vetoing a measure, even against the views of the majority of the Council, in urgent cases, as the Queen of England has theoretically the power to refuse her consent to a measure passed by both Houses. With these safeguards, I would suggest an expansion of the Provincial Councils on the basis of each district being represented by its member, so that there may be an adequate expression of the people's opinions and views on every question. We do not demand the absolute control of the administration of the country, but we do demand adequate means of placing our views before the Government before it decides on questions affecting our welfare.

PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COUNCILS.

But, gentlemen, the Legislative Councils deal with legislation only, there are many large and important measures of administration which do not come within the scope of these Councils. The weakness of the present system of government is that in the decision on these administrative measures the people have no voice and are not heard at all. To take one instance out of hundreds which will no doubt suggest themselves to you, the people of the Central Provinces of India had no constitutional means of declaring whether the revenue settlement should be for twenty or thirty per cent. or whether the Government demand should be 50 per cent. of the Malguzars' rates, or 60 per cent. plus 12 per cent. as rates; and the decision to which the Government arrived without the constitutional advice of the people has been disastrous. Gentlemen, this defect can be rectified, this weakness may be removed. There are Executive Councils in Bombay and in Madras; similar Executive Councils may be formed in the North-West Provinces and the Punjab, in the Central Provinces and in Bengal, and at least one member of the Executive Council should be an Indian gentleman with experience in administrative work, and representing the views of his countrymen (*Applause*). It is usual for a member of an Executive Council to have a portfolio, i.e., to have one department of work assigned to him; and the work which I would assign to the Indian member is Land Revenue, Industries and Agriculture. There is no department of work in which an Indian member can make himself more useful, or make his services more valuable to the voiceless millions of cultivators and artisans. The inclusion of one Indian member will not weaken Provincial administration; it will strengthen such administration, make it more sympathetic, and bring it into somewhat closer touch with the people.

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THE VICEROY'S EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

And, gentlemen, am I aspiring too high when I hope for similar seats for Indian members in the cloudy heights of Imperial Simla? Am I urging anything unreasonable when I propose that the Viceroy, who has the benefit of consulting experienced English administrators, in his Executive Council, should also have the advantage of hearing the views and opinions of a few Indian members in the same Council before he decides on questions affecting the interests of the people of India? Am I urging anything unwise when I propose that the Viceroy, when he considers measures affecting the condition of the indebted cultivators, the operations of plague and famine relief, the rules of land revenue settlements, the questions affecting Hindu and Mahomedan customs and manners, should have by him, in his own Executive Council, a few Indian gentlemen who represent the views, the opinions and the feelings of the people? An Executive Council cannot be much enlarged without loss of efficiency; but surely the Viceroy's Council could make room for three Indian gentlemen, one to represent Bengal and Assam, another to represent the North-West and the Punjab, and the third to represent Bombay, Madras and the Central Provinces. The selection should rest, of course, with the Viceroy himself, for anything like election into an Executive Council would be absurd; and the three Indian members should be entrusted with the departments of Agriculture, Industries and Land Revenue of their respective provinces. The wise and magnanimous Akbar entrusted his Land Revenue arrangements to a Todar Mall; and the British Government may consider it wise and statesmanlike to avail itself of the experience of Indian gentlemen in controlling Land Revenue settlements, and generally in improving the condition of the voiceless and impoverished cultivators and manufacturers of India. I myself think that the administration of the country would be vastly improved by such representation of Indian opinions in our highest Councils, and that the Government of India and the Government of the Provinces would be brought in closer touch with the people. And, gentlemen, I am very much mistaken in our present Viceroy if his Excellency does not himself sincerely desire to mark his administration by some measures which will bring the rulers in closer touch with the people.

PROGRESS IN THE FUTURE.

And now, gentlemen, it only remains for me to thank you once more for the great honor you have done me by electing me to preside on this occasion, and for the kind and patient hearing you have given me. I have been somewhat of an optimist all my life, I have a belief in progress, I have faith in the British Government, I have lived and worked in that faith and I should like to die in that faith. The experiment of administration for the people, not by the people, was tried in every country in Europe in the last century, by some of the best-intentioned sovereigns that ever lived who are known in history as the Benevolent Despots of the 18th Century. The experiment failed because it is an immutable law of nature that you cannot permanently secure the welfare of a people if you tie up the hands of the people themselves (*Applause*). Every country in Europe recognises this truth now, and England foremost of all. Every English colony has obtained a system of self-government, and from being discontented and disaffected they are now the strongest supporters of the British empire. And a system of complete self-government in local affairs was conceded to Ireland by the present Government less than two years ago, when Lord Curzon was a distinguished member of that Government. The conditions of India are different, and I admit freely and fully that we want a strong centralised Government here; and if the moderate scheme I have proposed tended in any way to weaken the Indian Government, the proposal, gentlemen, would not have come from me. But I have discussed the subject with many eminent Englishmen, now in England and possessing vast experience in Indian administration, and I have asked them to reject my scheme if they thought it would weaken the Indian Government instead of greatly strengthening it. Gentlemen, I have never been told in reply that the scheme would weaken the Government. It is isolation, it is exclusiveness, it is wan

of touch with the people, which weakens British rule in India (*Hear, Hear,*) and my desire is to strengthen that rule by bringing it in touch with the people, by enlisting the zealous co-operation of a great and loyal nation.

Permit me, gentlemen, to refer for a moment to my own experience as a District Officer. You are aware that a District Officer is liable to frequent transfers; and I was sometimes in charge of districts where 75 per cent. of the people were Hindus, and at other times of districts where 75 per cent. were Mahomedans. I may remark in passing that everywhere I received the cordial co-operation of the people in my administrative work, and the sympathy and support, which I received from Mahomedan zemindars and the Mahomedan population generally, enabled me to administer with some degree of success such vast and difficult districts as Backergunj and Mymensingh. But what I wish specially to mention is that in these Mahomedan districts the Government always employed a number of able Mahomedan Deputy Collectors to advise and help the District Officer in his work; and in all questions relating to the social and economic conditions of the Mahomedan people, and to their public feelings and religious sentiments, I received the most valuable help and advice from my Mahomedan colleagues in the work of administration. Gentlemen, the duties and responsibilities of a District Officer are humble compared to the manifold duties and high responsibilities of a Viceroy or the Governor of a Province; and I therefore often ask myself if those statesmen do not sometimes feel, as we humble District Officers always felt, that it would help and improve administration to have a few true representatives of the people by their side and in their executive Councils. And I cannot help replying to myself that the advice and help of some Indian colleagues would greatly strengthen the hands of wise and sympathetic statesmen in solving the great problems which lie before them, none of which is more momentous and more pressing than the condition of the Indian agriculturist and the Indian manufacturer.

Gentlemen, from whatever point of view I examine the question, whether in the light of European history, or of the spirit of British institutions, or of the requirements for good government for India, I feel convinced that to associate the people of India more largely in shaping the administration of the country is not only the wisest but the only possible path before us. It is true we have not been moving onwards in this path in recent years; we have actually stepped backwards in these years of misfortunes and calamities and panic; we have even been deprived of those rights and privileges which we secured in years of wise and sympathetic administration. But such years of retrograde movement come to all nations from time to time, even to those who are most advanced. Remember England at the close of the last century, when to talk of political reforms was punished as sedition and crime, when coercive measures were passed to stop public meetings, when reactionary laws were enacted to restrict the liberties of Englishmen. The panic passed away after the Napoleonic wars were over, and the Reform came in 1832. The reactionary period through which we are passing will end before long, and wise English statesmen will perceive in the future, as they have perceived in the past, that England's duty and England's interests are the same in India, to consolidate British rule by extending, not restricting self-government, by conciliating, not alienating a loyal and a grateful nation.

Gentlemen, it is possible to prevent distress and disasters and deaths from famines, to spread prosperity and contentment, and to evoke the zealous and loyal support of a grateful nation, only by conceding to the people,—in so far as is safely possible,—the blessings of self-government. Gentlemen, it is not possible, without this concession, without admitting the people to a real share in the control of their own concerns, to save India from distress and discontent and deaths from famines. Therefore, as an old and faithful and retired servant of the Indian Government, I have thought it my duty to raise my voice to urge the adoption of the better and the wiser course,—the only course which can save my countrymen from preventable famines and deaths, and can consolidate British rule in India (*loud and continued cheers*).

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The President's Address.

First Day. I crave your indulgence for one little matter. I have been asked to announce that at 5 P. M. the inaugural address of the Social Conference will be delivered by our respected countryman, Mr. Justice Ranade. No doubt you will all make it a point to attend that meeting. That meeting will take place in the Reading Room Library.

I wish also to announce the fact which I have no doubt you have heard, and which will no doubt be received with universal satisfaction, that Natu brothers have been released (*loud and continued Applause*).

The next business I have to do is to call upon you to appoint your Subjects Committee.

The delegates representing each of the Congress circles then handed in slips bearing the names of the delegates chosen by them to represent the respective circles on the Subjects Committee.

THE PRESIDENT :—I will now call upon Mr. J. Ghoshal to read the names of members of the Subjects Committee.

MR. J. GHOSAL (CALCUTTA):—Gentlemen, the following are the names of the delegates proposed to serve on the Subjects Committee :—

Subjects Committee

(1) CALCUTTA.

CALCUTTA.—

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KRISHNAGAR.—

24 PERGUNNAS.—

COMILLA.—

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MIDNAPORE.—

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BURDWAN.—

"

TUMLUK.—

ASSAM.—

KHULNA.—

JESSORE.—

1. The Honourable Babu Surendra Nath Banerji.
2. Mr. J. Ghosal.
3. Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose.
4. " Prithwis Chandra Rai.
5. " Dwijendra Nath Bose.
6. " Akshoy Kumar Bose.
7. " Yatindra Mohan Bose.
8. " Krishna Kumar Mitra.
9. Mr. J. Barooah.
10. Babu Joti Prosonno Mukerji.
11. " Niroda Chandra Chatterji.
12. Pandit Kali Prosonno Kabyabisharad.
13. Mr. Tara Prosonno Mitter.
14. Mr. Rannoo Lal Shaw.
15. Dr. Nilratan Sircar.
16. Dr. M. M. Bose.
1. Mr. Nanda Gopal Bhaduri.
1. Rai Jatindra Nath Choudhury.
1. Mr. Rajani Nath Nundy.
2. " Satyendra Nath Bose.
1. " Troylokho Nath Pal.
2. " Peary Lal Ghose.
1. " Amar Nath Datta.
2. " Sarat Chandra Bose.
- " Baranasy Banerjee.
- " Ramani Mohan Choudh.
- " Nogendra Nath Sen.
- " Debendra Prasad Ghos.

(2) MYMENSINGH.

1. Mr. Surya Kumar Shome.
2. " Mono Mohan Neogi.
3. " Rebati Mohan Guha.

(3) FARIDPORE.

1. Mr. Ambica Charan Mozumdar.
2. " Gyan Chandra Banerjee.
3. " Ali Uzzaman Choudhury.
4. " Nogendra Nath Sen.

(4) BARISAL.

1. Mr. Aswini Kumar Dutt.

(5) RANGPUR.

1. Mr. Satish Chandra Chakerbatty.

(6) DINAJPUR.

1. Mr. Rakhal Dass Sen.
2. " Surendra Nath Roy.

(7) PUBNA.

1. Mr. Tarak Nath Moitra.
2. " Kunja Lal Saha.

(8) RAJSHAHI.

1. Mr. Akshay Kumar Moitra.

(9) BERHAMPORE.

1. The Honourable Baikuntha Nath Sen.
2. Mr. Hemendra Nath Sen.
3. " Sudhansu Shekhar Bagchi.

(10) BHAGALPORE.

1. Mr. Rash Behari Lal Mandal.
2. " Jai Narain Mandal.
3. " Brij Behari Lal Mandal.

(11) PURNEAH.

1. Mr. Jagendra Nath Mukerji.

(12) N.-W. PROVINCES.

1. Babu Kedar Nath.
2. Mr. Narayan Prashad Ashtthara.

1. Hafiz Abdur Raheem.
2. Babu Lachmi Narain.

1. Babu Jagann Nath.
2. Radha Charan Goswami.

1. Mr. Mohan Lal.
2. Babu Nemi Dass.

1. Pundit Tulsi Ram.
2. Babu Jwala Sahai.
3. Haji Riazuddeen.

First Day.	SHAHJAHANPORE.—	1. Babu Badri Prasad.
Subjects	"	2. " Kalika Prasad.
Committee.	FARRUCKABAD.—	1. " Ganga Lal.
	"	2. Pandit Shew Prasad.
	JHANSI.—	1. Pandit Gopal Dass Shurma.
	MUTTRA.—	1. Babu Jugmohan Prasad Bhargava.
	ALMORAH.—	1. Pandit Hari Ram.
	MUZAFFARNAGAR.—	1. " Indra Prasad.
	ALLAHABAD.—	1. The Honourable Pandit Bishambhar Nath.
	"	2. Pandit Sunder Lal.
	"	3. Babu Durga Charan Banerjee.
	"	4. Pandit Jwala Dutt Joshi.
	"	5. " Madan Mohan Malaviya.
	"	6. Babu Rama Nand Chatterjee.
	"	7. Mr. S. Sinha.
	"	8. Pandit Tej Bahadur Sapru.
	MIRZAPORE.—	1. Babu Sri Ram.
	"	2. " Mahadeo Singh.
	"	3. " Beni Pershad.
	BENARES.—	1. Munshi Madho Lal.
	"	2. Rai Buldeo Baksh.
	"	3. Mr. Nasiruddeen Ahmed.
	"	4. Chondhury Ram Prasad.
	"	5. Babu Mata Prasad.
	"	6. " Jugal Kishore.
	GORAKHPORE.—	1. Mr. Alfred Nundy.
	"	2. Babu Bhairon Prasad.
	"	3. Munshi Gorakh Prasad.
	AZAMGARH.—	1. Mr. Basudeo Sahai.
	CAWNPORE.—	1. Pandit Prithi Nath.
	"	2. Babu Triloki Nath.
	"	3. Rai Debi Prasad.

(13) OUDH.

LUCKNOW.—	1. Miss Garland.
"	2. Pandit Bishen Narain Dar.
"	3. Babu Kedar Nath.
"	4. Pandit Shiam Narain Maslidan.
"	5. Syed Ali Ousat.
"	6. Babu Bipin Behari Bose.
"	7. " Bhairon Prasad.
"	8. Munshi Sajjad Hussain.
"	9. Dr. Nobin Chandra Mittra.
"	10. Babu Ram Chandra.
"	11. " Ajit Prasad.
"	12. " Krishna Buldeo Varma.
"	13. Pandit Shiva Behari Lal.
"	14. Pandit Lakshman Prasad.
"	15. Babu Gunga Prasad Varma.
"	16. " Lachman Prasad.
"	17. " Fateh Bahadur.

LUCKNOW.—	18. Babu Krishna Prasad Bysak.
"	19. Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra.
"	20. Nawab Ali Mohamed Khan.
SITAPUR.—	21. Babu Chhail Behari Lal.
"	22. Munshi Murlidhar.
GONDA.—	23. Babu Krishna Prasad.
FYZABAD.—	24. " Gokul Chand Rai Bahadur.
"	25. " Baldeo Prasad.

(14) PUNJAB.

IMBALLA.—	1. Rai Sahib Lala Murlidhar.
"	2. Sirdar Jhanda Singh.
GURGAON.—	3. Lala Het Ram.
"	4. " Dhani Ram.
AMRITSAR.—	5. " Kala Kanhya Lal.
LAHORE.—	6. " Sangam Lal.
"	7. Munshi Roshan Lal.
"	8. Mr. N. N. Gupta.
"	9. " Har Kishen Lal.
"	10. Bukshi Jaishi Ram.

(15) BERRAR.

1. Mr. R. N. Mudholkar.
2. " M. V. Joshi.

(16) AHMEDABAD.

1. Mr. R. Keshava Lal R. Desai.

(17) SINDH

KARACHI.—	1. Mr. Bhoj Singh Gurdevamal.
"	2. " Asumal Jethanand.
"	3. " Lalchand Navalrai.
"	4. " Murlidhar Jeramdas.

(18) SURAT.

1. Mr. Tribhuban Dass Purshottam Dass.
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(19) BOMBAY.

1. Mr. D. E. Wacha.
2. " D. A. Khare.
3. " H. S. Dixit.

(20) SATARA.

1. Mr. G. B. Phansalkar.
2. " G. L. Desai.
3. " N. K. Agashe.

(21) DECCAN (including Poona, Nasik, and Khandesh).

1. The Hon'ble Professor G. K. Gokhale.
2. Mr. B. G. Tilak.
3. " R. D. Nagarkar.
4. " L. R. Gokhale.
5. " V. H. Patwardhan.
6. " M. B. Kolaskur.

7. Mr. A. R. Kavle.
8. „ S. S. Deo.
9. „ Abaji R. Mhulus.

(22) SHOLAPUR.

1. Mr. P. L. Nagpurkar.

(23) BIJAPUR.

1. Mr. R. M. Sane.

(24) ICHALKARANJI (*Southern Marhatta Country*).

1. Mr. G. B. Deval.

(25) BELGAUM.

1. Mr. S. B. Bhate.

(26) DHARWAR.

1. Mr. K. A. Guruji.

(27) MADRAS.

1. Dr. T. M. Nair.
2. Mr. Ram Chandra Pillai.
3. „ Paul Peter Pillai.
4. „ Ryrn Nambiar.
5. „ Raja Gopala Charriar.
6. „ Varadachari.
7. „ V. Ramaswamy.
8. „ O. V. Jagan Nath Shastri.
9. „ C. Y. Chintamani.
10. „ D. Subramanyam.
11. „ D. L. Dewalraju.

The names of members of the Subjects Committee were approved by the Congress unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—I have only to announce that the Subjects Committee will meet here in half an hour, while the Congress adjourns until 12 o'clock to-morrow.



SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Thursday, 28th December 1899.

THE Congress re-assembled at 12 noon.

THE PRESIDENT:—I will first call upon Mr. Ghosal to read the rules for the conduct of business.

Mr. J. Ghosal read the rules for the conduct of business with some observations.

Hafiz Abdul Rahim explained the rules in Urdu.

THE PRESIDENT:—I will now call upon Mr. Mudholkar to submit the report of the Committee appointed at the last Congress in regard to the constitution which it was proposed to frame.

Mr. R. N. MUDHOLKAR (*Amraoti*):—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I beg to present the report of the committee appointed by Resolution XXI at the Fourteenth Indian National Congress to consider the draft constitution and to submit a definite scheme. The Committee begs to submit the accompanying rules for the approval and acceptance of the Congress.

RULES REGARDING

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CONGRESS.

I. The object of the Indian National Congress shall be to promote by constitutional means the interests and the well-being of the people of the Indian Empire.

II. It shall ordinarily meet once a year at such time and in such place as shall have been resolved on by the last preceding Congress: Provided that the Indian Congress Committee may, in case of necessity, change the place or time of the meeting of the Congress:

Provided also that in case of emergency the Indian Congress Committee may convene an extraordinary Session of the Congress at such time and place as may be determined by them.

III. It shall consist of delegates elected by political associations or other bodies and by public meetings.

IV. Its affairs shall be managed by a committee styled the Indian Congress Committee, consisting of 30 members elected by the Congress, 26 of whom shall be elected upon the recommendation of the delegates of the respective provinces in Congress assembled in the manner herein below laid down, that is to say:—

For Bengal including Assam	...	5
For Bombay including Sind	...	5
For Madras	...	5
For North-Western Provinces including Oudh	...	4
For Panjab	...	3
For Berar	...	2
For Central Provinces	...	2

The term of office of the members of the Committee shall be the period intervening between two ordinary meetings of the Congress.

V. The Indian Congress Committee shall meet at least thrice a year, once immediately after the Congress, once during the year between the months of June and October, as may be determined upon by the Committee, and once immediately before the Congress, at the place where the Congress meets.

Second
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Second
Day.

Constitu-
tion of the
Congress.

VI. The Indian Congress Committee shall have an Honorary Secretary and a paid Assistant Secretary, with suitable office staff, for which a sum of Rs. 5,000 shall be granted annually, one half of which shall be provided by the Reception Committee of the place where the last Congress is held, and the other half by the Reception Committee of the place where the next succeeding Congress is to be held.

The Secretary to the Indian National Congress shall be the Honorary Secretary of the Committee.

The Committee shall make its own rules for the conduct of business.

VII. Provincial Congress Committees shall be organized at the capitals of the different Presidencies and Provinces in India, for the purpose of carrying on the work of political education throughout the year, by organizing District Committees, holding Provincial Conferences, and by such other means as they may deem proper in consultation with the Indian Congress Committee for furthering the objects of the Congress. They shall be the responsible agents of the Indian Congress Committee for their respective provinces, and shall submit annual reports of their work to that Committee.

VIII. The nomination of the President, the drafting of Resolutions, and all other business in connection with the Congress, shall be done by the Indian Congress Committee. It shall also, subject to the approval of the Congress, frame rules for the election of delegates and the conduct of the proceedings of the Congress.

IX. Rules and bye-laws shall be framed by the Provincial Congress Committees for the election of the members, the conduct of their own proceedings and all other matters appertaining to their business. All such rules and bye-laws shall be subject to the approval of the Indian Congress Committee.

X. A Committee, styled the British Congress Committee, shall be maintained in England, which shall represent there the interest of the Indian National Congress. The amount requisite for the expenses of the said Committee, shall be determined by the Congress, and the amount so voted shall be raised by the Indian Congress Committee in such manner as may be determined upon by that body from time to time.

XI. The Indian Congress Committee shall take such steps, as they may deem fit, to raise a permanent fund for carrying on the work of the Indian National Congress; and such fund shall be invested in the name of 7 trustees, one from each province in India.

NOTE:—We do not agree with the proposals contained in Rule VI as to the apportionment of funds for the Committee.

26th December 1899.

(Signed) M. M. MALVIYA.
G. P. VARMA.

Mr. R. N.
Madhol-
kar
Amraoti.

I shall only address you a few words in laying these rules before you for your approval and acceptance. One thing which may be considered as a new feature introduced for the first time by these rules is the creation of a central body to control and carry on the affairs of the Congress throughout the year. At present we have no such body. We have Circle Committees and Standing Congress Committees scattered all over the country. But the only officer who is the officer of the Congress is the General Secretary who is in England, or the Joint-General Secretary who is in India. Every other person is a member of a District Committee and there is no body which can during the year carry on the work of the Congress and call upon District Committees and Provincial Committees to do their work. The necessity of such a general body was felt for a long time, but there were great difficulties experienced in finding out the way for creating such a body. For such a large country as India, it was considered that all the different parts of the country ought to be represented on the committee, that is to say, the interests and opinions not only of the chief parts of the Presidencies but also of the chief Provinces ought to be represented. But it was at the same time seen that to do that, would be to create a committee, the number of members of which would be too large for any executive work, and that such a committee would have required at least one thousand members, and a committee of one thousand members can not act efficiently. After considerable deliberation, it was resolved to create this body of 30 members. These members will be elected by the representatives of the various Provinces and Presidencies. These Provinces and Presidencies

while the remaining 4 will be elected by the Congress generally, without reference to what Province or Presidency they come from. This last provision is intended for the purpose of supplying any exceptional mistake or oversight. It might happen that the delegates from different Provinces, in electing members to represent their Provinces, might omit very important persons whose presence on the committee would appear very desirable, and to provide for such a contingency this provision has been introduced. Another new provision that has been introduced is the creation of a paid Assistant Secretary. In Mr. Wacha we have found a most indefatigable worker, a gentleman who never spares himself in devoting all the time he can to the work of the Congress (*Applause*). But Mr Wacha has to look after his own work, he has also to look after the Presidency Association, he is the practical editor of an influential paper and he has to contribute to half-a-dozen papers. Such a man as that cannot give his whole time to the work of the Congress, nor can he afford to go round the country. As it is found by experience that we should have an officer who can go round the country, this provision about the Assistant Secretary's place has been introduced. The Secretary shall also have a paid staff. The Assistant Secretary's business will be to see that the different Congress Committees are doing their duties all the year round. It will also be his duty to see that all the arrangements which are necessary to be made before and after the session of the Congress are carried out. In fact, he will be our real Manager who will do everything which has to be done in connection with the Congress. The amount that is required for meeting these expenses has been estimated at Rs. 5,000, and this amount is proposed to be raised from the different Reception Committees. It may be said that this year the expense will fall on the United Provinces, but the United Provinces will not have to give any portion of the expenditure for the next 6 or 7 years. Or it may fall on any other Province which may take the next year's Congress. Of course each Province will have to bear its share of the burden. The majority of the Committee think that the plan is quite feasible. Two members of the Committee hold slightly different views. They are happily in agreement with their colleagues as to the necessity of having a paid Assistant Secretary, and of raising funds, but they only make slightly different proposals as to the mode in which that fund is to be raised. When we come to details, it will be shown how they propose to do it. Another thing to which I would like to draw your attention is that till now we had no Provincial Congress Committee as such. Last year in Behar and in different Provinces of Bengal, committees were appointed. There were committees at Orissa, Backergunge, etc. If there is a regular gradation of responsible committees throughout the land, there should be a Central Committee responsible for the general work of the Congress throughout the whole country. There are to be Provincial Committees responsible for the Central Committee, and there will be District Committees responsible for the Provincial Committees. Thus, we shall have a systematic gradation of committees, who, if they only bestow ordinary attention to their duties, will be able to effect considerable work. In the discussion which arose yesterday, and which took place previous to that, there were mentioned a few points to which I shall make a passing reference. It was considered by some gentlemen that there is no need at all for drawing up rules or having a constitution at all for this Congress. In regard to that objection, it is sufficient to mention that the question is beyond the stage of discussion, that it has been definitely resolved upon, that it was, in fact, passed by the Congress so far back as 1894 at Madras, that the time has come when rules shall be framed. The Madras Congress passed that resolution, and the Poona Congress Committee was requested to prepare a draft of rules. That committee prepared a draft which was circulated to the different Congress Committees. The question was taken up for discussion year after year. It was settled that rules shall have to be framed, but the difficulty has been to frame rules which would meet the requirements of the country and which would be least open to objection. We do not pretend to say that these rules are satisfactory, we do not say that these rules are the best that could be devised by anybody. After due consideration, we have come to the conclusion that these are the rules to which least objection could be taken, and which will produce practically as good work as may be necessary. Our laws are not the laws of the Medes and Persians. There is nothing immutable about

Second
Day.

Mr. R. N.
Madhol-
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them. If you find that these rules require amendment, and if there is any deficiency in this or in that respect in them, you may make additions and alterations whenever any deficiencies or defects are noticed. What the Committee beg you to consider is that we have proposed to you a workable set of rules; give effect to them, try them, honestly set yourselves to do whatever can be done under those rules, and if you find that with all that the work is not satisfactory, it would be time enough to consider whether another set of rules should not be framed. Gentlemen, it is not the rules written on paper which produce real and efficient work. For work which would produce best results, tangible results, the appeal has to be made not to paper but to you, gentlemen. It depends entirely on you to say whether the constitution which has been prepared shall produce good results or not. With these words, I commend what has been done by colleagues to your kind acceptance and approval.

MR. GANGA PRASAD VARMA explained these rules in Urdu.

THE PRESIDENT:—These rules are laid before you not for discussion to-day, but only for the information of the delegates. The subject is a most important one and it has been decided to give the delegates time to consider these rules before any discussion takes place. It is therefore intended that the subject should be discussed and resolution passed at to-morrow's meeting of the Congress. I will now ask Mr. Ambika Charan Muzumdar to propose the First Resolution.

MR. AMBIKA CHARN MUZUMDAR, (Bengal):—Gentlemen and brother-delegates,—The question which I have the honor now to submit to the judgment of the delegates assembled, is too familiar to this Congress to require any particular introduction. It is that oft-repeated demand, that cry in the wilderness—for the complete separation of the Judicial from the Executive functions of the State, which we have ever so long eagerly pursued like the *mirage* in our political struggle. It is our deepest regret, that we should have still to move and discuss this question at this the fifteenth session of this great National Assembly (*hear, hear*). Times without number have we through the press, and in Congresses, and Conferences assembled, vividly pointed out the greatest failures of justice which have from time to time resulted from this unholy combination, and our illustrations, drawn year after year from different parts of the country, seem to have long silenced even the most abject apologists of this scandalous system. Judges from the highest tribunals in the land have repeatedly condemned that system in no uncertain voice; while one Viceroy at least was pleased openly to avow that our proposal on this head was indeed “a counsel of perfection” (*hear, hear*). Our complaints were taken to the notice of the British Parliament, and two successive Ministers of State openly declared themselves in favor of the desired reform. We have from year to year listened with eagerness and credulity to the whispers of hope inspired by these official platitudes; but what are bushels of declarations and assurances worth, when there is not even a grain of performance within fifteen years? (*hear, hear*). Not a few of those among us, who began the agitation over this question, have long passed out of the stage; while many more have nearly played out their parts and stand only with the curtain about to drop before them. We do not know wherein we have so deeply offended the gods on Olympus and what more sacrifices are required of us to propitiate them (*cheers*).

Sir, there being absolutely no difference between official and non-official opinion as to the desirability of this pressing reform in the abstract, the proposal advanced by us was, at the first stage of our discussion, discounted as being vague and impracticable. Practical schemes were then submitted from various quarters, and notably there was one submitted by you Sir (*cheers*), which conclusively proved that not only was our proposal not impracticable, but that it was a problem of the easiest solution. The means and materials were all there, the line on which to work was distinct and clear, and, in fact, the whole question was rather one of re-adjustment and re-distribution than of any radical departure, or violent reorganization. Then, Sir, we were met with the question of expense—always so formidable in case of Indian reforms (*laughter, cheers*). Yes, we know that in this country wars may be carried on barren, may be conquered and retained, and enormous subsidies may be annually doled out to treacherous bugbears, all in pursuit of a fatuous policy, even with appalling deficits in the treasury. But no sooner questions of internal reforms are raised than the Govern-

ment at once realizes that it is a bankrupt (*hear, and cries of shame*). But, Sir, as to this plea of expense, also, your remarkable scheme presented a complete answer; for it clearly pointed out that all the additional expense which was so much talked about on the other side, could not possibly amount to more than only a few lakhs of rupees, all the provincial budgets put together. Then, Sir, if this question of financial difficulty was any argument then, to-day to persist in such argument would seem to wear a different aspect. There never was perhaps since the days of Lord Ripon, a more solvent Indian treasury than at present. The last budget estimate of our Finance Minister shews a cheerful surplus of over 4 millions sterling, and quite recently the Government of India have been able to restore to the Judges of the High Courts pretty nearly the whole of their original pay, which had been arbitrarily and injudiciously cut down as a contribution to the frontier policy in 1891. Gentlemen, Lord Curzon has just considerably notified that policy, and we may be permitted to express the hope, that the spirit of jingoism, which has been always so rampant in Indian politics, will go to rest at least during his Viceroyalty (*cheers*). What, then, are the Government of India going to do with this large surplus? We know, Sir James Westland would indeed have them launched into a wild currency speculation. But would the country like—could you, gentlemen, approve of—such an Argonautic expedition being undertaken in the face of a dozen crying necessities of the country? (*Laughter and cheers*). Now, then, is the time to effect this important reform—to wipe out the stain that has for years scandalized the fair name of British Justice in this country (*hear, hear*). Gentlemen, one Dreyfus trial seems to have thrown entire civilized Europe into hysteric convulsions. But are there not scores of cases which have been as scandalously prosecuted and disposed of in this country, within the last five and ten years without a whisper of civilized indignation being heard against them? I will not repeat the sickening tales that have been so often told in this assembly. Many of them have now become matters of history, and how devoutly we wish that their painful remembrance had been blotted out from the tablet of your memory. But no, as fate would have it, that memory must be kept fresh—the sore must be kept open—by fresh cases of injustice occurring every year. The system is rotten and must breed maggots. The latest, and perhaps the ugliest possible development of such cases, has recently come to light in the District of Champaran. There the case of Nursing Singh, Constable, has presented a most thrilling story of official combination, from the Deputy Magistrate to the Divisional Commissioner, to thwart the course of administration of justice (*loud cries of shame, shame, and cheers*). Gentlemen, you are all aware of the facts of this scandalous case. As a typical illustration of the inevitable consequences of the union of the Judicial and the Executive functions in this country, the case of Nursing Singh, Constable, seems to have beaten all previous records, and it bids fair to remain unique in all its details, as well as in its deplorable sequel, in the history of Judicial Administration in this country. The high-handedness of the Executive, the “flagrant servility” of the Subordinate Magistracy, the “natural persuasion” of the lower, and the “natural influence” of the higher ranks of the Police, the debasement of the high office of a District Magistrate and the such unwarranted middlemoseness of even the Revenue Commissioner of a Division,—have all been unmasked and revealed in this disgraceful trial (*cries of shame and cheers*). Thanks to Babu Jagunnath Sahai and his worthy colleagues of the Chupra Bar (*cheers*) for the noble stand they made in the cause of suffering justice; the judgment of the learned Sessions Judge (*cheers*) in this case ought, I think, to be printed in bold letters, and presented to the British Parliament and the British Public for a panoramic view of Parliament and the British huge injustice that is sometimes perpetrated in the name of justice, under the unsound and rotten system which they have established and are maintaining in this country (*hear, hear*). But, gentlemen, the sequel of this thrilling case has yet to be told. That high-souled English Judge, that true-born Briton, who alone has vindicated the honor and dignity of British justice in this case,—alas! what of him? Why, he has apparently been sacrificed for the extravagant prestige of an official bureaucracy and transferred, as an object-lesson, to a most unhealthy district in the remotest corner of the Lower Provinces (*shame, shame*). It is a terrible lesson indeed to other Judges, the ultimate effect of which, upon the general course of admin-

Second
Day.

Mr. Ambika
Charan
Muzumdar.

RESOLUTION.
1.

Separation
of Judicial
from Executive
functions.

Mr. Am-
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Muzum-
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RESOLU-
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I.
Separation
of Judicial
and Execu-
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istration of justice, may easily be conceived. Even if this arrangement has not really anything to do with this case, coming as it has come so close upon its disposal, its effect can only be the complete prostration of the Judicial function (*loud cheers*). Yet honor, all honour, to Alfred Pennell, whose independence and keen sense of justice prevailed over every other consideration in this matter, and who has so nobly vindicated the honor and dignity of the bench. If Judges are to fall in this country, may they so fall fighting for justice, and covered with imperishable glory (*cheers*). Sufficient unto the day has been the evil thereof, and in the interest of the Empire, as well as of the many millions that inhabit this ancient country and obey its sway, we once again beseech Government not to undermine the grand pillar which supports this colossal frame of a mighty Empire. It is the purity and sublime majesty of British justice, it is the one-pervading confidence in the independence and integrity of British Judges, that bind this vast, heterogeneous population in loyalty and devotion to the British throne (*hear*). But, countrymen, we need not despair. The voice of suffering humanity is the voice of God, and methinks that voice has at last found its distant echo in the conscience of England. Thanks to our British Committee, the repeated appeals of this Congress, as voiced forth in England by such men as the late lamented Mr. Manomohan Ghose (*cheers*) and our present distinguished President (*cheers*), have, through their untiring zeal and energy, at last evoked a deep response of active sympathy in high English quarters. The memorial which has lately been submitted to the Secretary of State in England, for the separation of these two functions, is a weighty document,—weighty alike by reason of its cogent arguments, as well as for the very high authority and distinguished position of its signatories. They are neither disappointed place-seekers, nor irresponsible Congress agitators. They are veteran Judges and Statesmen who at one time ruled this country, and still occupy high position in England. They are the Right Hon'ble Lord Hobhouse, K. C. S. I., late member of the Viceroy's Council, and now a Member of the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council; the Right Hon'ble Sir Richard Garth, late Chief Justice of Bengal, the Right Hon'ble Sir Richard Couch, late Chief Justice of Bengal, now a Member of the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council; Sir Charles Sergeant, late Chief Justice of Bombay; Sir William Markby, K. C. I. E., late Judge of the High Court, Bengal, Sir John Budd Phear, late Judge of the Calcutta High Court, and late Chief Justice of Ceylon; Sir John Scott, K. C. M. G., late Judge of the High Court of Bombay and late Legal Adviser to H. H. the Khedive of Egypt; Sir Roland Wilson, Bart., late Reader in Indian Law, University of Cambridge; Mr. Herbert James Reynolds, C. S. I., late Member of the Bengal Legislative Council, and last, but not least, that high-minded English Baronet, that calm unflinching indefatigable worker, the devoted champion of India's cause—Sir William Wedderburn (*loud cheers*). Brethren, we owe an immense debt of endless gratitude to this galaxy of distinguished men for the beacon-light which they have held out to our drooping hopes and aspirations (*hear, hear*). This important document is now pending the consideration of the Government of India, and it ought at last and at once to bring the question to a satisfactory conclusion. Here, Sir, is a golden opportunity for Lord Curzon to perform an act of true beneficence to the millions of people committed to his care, and to render his viceroyalty memorable in the annals of British India (*hear hear*). Lord William Bentinck signalized his administration by his social reforms, Lord Canning by his policy of love and sympathy, and the noble Marquis of Ripon (*cheers*) by the extension of local self-government in this country. May we not hope that Lord Curzon will add yet another great name to the distinguished roll of his illustrious predecessors by effecting the complete separation of the Judicial from the Executive functions in the administration of criminal justice in this country (*Loud Applause*). Brother-delegates, I have done, and I now ask your vote for my proposition, which runs as follows:—

Resolution I.—That this Congress notices with satisfaction the support of public opinion both in England and in India, which the question of the separation of the Judicial from Executive functions in the administration of justice has received; and this Congress, while thanking Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, Sir Richard Couch, Sir Charles Sergeant, Sir William Markby, Sir John Budd Phear, Sir John Scott,

Sir Roland K. Wilson, Mr. Herbert J. Reynolds for taking a deep interest in this question and presenting a petition to the Secretary of State in Council to effect the much-needed separation, earnestly hopes the Government of India will give their earliest attention to the petition that was forwarded to them and take practical steps for speedily carrying out this much-needed reform.

MR. AGASHE (*Satara*):—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in seconding the proposition that has been set forth before you so ably and so lucidly and so eloquently by my predecessor. The task I have before me is very easy because I was preceded by a gentleman who has thoroughly mastered the subject, and who has discussed it in all its minor details. The task has become very easy because the subject has been before you for many years past. You will remember, gentlemen, that our Congress has made it a point to either pass a resolution on this subject or re-affirm previous resolutions. Well, thus I say, gentlemen, that the task of seconding this proposition has become very easy. In seconding this resolution, I recall to my mind with deep gratitude the services that have been rendered and most energetic efforts that were made by our esteemed friend who has departed from us. I refer to Mano Mohan Ghose of Calcutta (*cheers*). I think, gentlemen, I echo the sentiments of you all, when I say that the palm must be given to this gentleman in bringing this subject so prominently before both the Indian and English public. Mr. President, I cannot resist the temptation of offering you our thanks publicly for the energy you have displayed both in papers (*cheers*), in your writings and speeches, in bringing this fact prominently before the public in England, and I think it is to your indefatigable efforts, backed up as they are by your many friends in many parts of this country, that credit is due—the credit of having won over so many gentlemen in England whose names have been read out by my predecessor. Well, gentlemen, you will admit that if there is any demand of the Congress more than another which deserves to be granted by our rulers without hesitation, it is this demand of separating the two functions because, gentlemen, the demand that we make is so just, so reasonable and so practical, as shown by our learned President himself but it is most unfortunate to find that the Government have not yet seen their way to give practical effect to the proposal we have been making for so many years past. The Government and the Government officials do not say—they have not the courage to say—that our demand is extravagant. They do not say that our demand is absurd. They do not say that our demand is most unreasonable. They admit that it is reasonable, that it is useful, but they bring in the usual plea that if these two functions are separated it, will entail more expenditure, and whence is the Government to bring more money. This plea of theirs, I leave it to you to say how far it is sound. But let me mention to you that this plea that is urged by the Government is altogether unsound. If they will, gentlemen, take into consideration the expenses that are incurred in pushing these Frontier Wars, if they take care to reduce those expenses, if they also reduce the big salaries of some of the high officials, if they reduce the expenditure now incurred by Governors-General and Governors in going to hill stations, I have no doubt that considerable saving might be effected and that money may be utilized in bringing about this reform. Now, gentlemen, you will also take into consideration the opposition, I mean opposition from the officials. The officials are the most important persons that always oppose this proposal. It is quite natural that Government officers who are in the enjoyment of powers, should come forward with their voices against this proposal. But you must not pay much attention to the opposition of these persons, interested as they are, and you must all admit, as once resolved upon by this Congress, that this combination of judicial and executive functions is a stigma upon the British administration of justice in India (*hear, hear*). Gentlemen, if it is admitted by all men in India and many persons in England that this is a very healthy reform, I cannot see why the Government has not done anything to practically carry out this reform. Well, gentlemen, there are some instances which will go to illustrate the remarks that have been made by my predecessor in showing that the present system is fraught with many mischievous results calculated to do harm to all the public concerned around us. Sir, there are some instances in the district to which I have the honour to belong, namely, Satara district, and from that district I can quote you instances in support of the pro-

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position, that the present system, as it obtains in India, produces many mischievous results. I hold in my hand here the report of the working of the Standing Congress Committee in Satara and therein you will find a most typical case of this kind. You will see that there is one man named "Janu Patel," whose case attracted much attention in our part of the country, and it has been made a subject of discussion in all the leading papers of the Deccan. He was arrested on 17th February and the case was concluded on the 15th August. There may be some difference in dates. The man was in custody for 6 months. What was the ultimate result? He was acquitted on all other charges except one in which he was sentenced to one day's simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 20. This mischievous result is due to the fact that the Magistrate who tried the case has not had sufficient time to devote to magisterial work. He is in charge of the treasury and has to look to so many other works. He went a little out of the way in holding his court in the mornings. With all this he did not finish the case in six months. Imagine the misery of the man who has not been allowed to come out six months. I will quote another instance, with your permission, which shows that it is most dangerous to make the Collector, the head of the Police, the head of the Magisterial administration. You, gentlemen from Bombay, must have heard of the celebrated Puranic case on our side. The Police of Satara thought it proper to haul up this man before the court, on a charge under section 121, that is, with having formed an intention to subvert British rule in India. No more absurd case can be brought up. Still the Police of Satara had the courage to send up such a case before a Criminal Court. What followed is more startling than this. The Police, in consultation with the District Magistrate issued a search-warrant against the person concerned, and the District Magistrate issued a warrant under section 121, i.e., for having tried to subvert the British rule in India. Afterwards it happened—so the Police said—that the accused was willing to make a confession. Where was the man taken to have the confession recorded? To the Superintendent of Police! Can you imagine the absurdity of a confession recorded in the bungalow of a District Police Officer with the District Magistrate sitting by him. The District Magistrate was there. He was asking some questions. He allowed the Superintendent to put some questions. This is the most illegal step that he took in his life. I presume he knows that confessions that are recorded in the presence of a Police Officer are not admissible in evidence at all. Can I say that the District Magistrate did not know law as it existed? Can I say that he did not read the provisions of the Evidence Act? Of course he must be taken to have read all that. He must be taken to have thoroughly mastered the law. But as he had to act in consultation with the Police, as he was induced by the Police to believe that there was a conspiracy in the Deccan to subvert the British Empire, he was induced to adopt such an absurd course. With these two illustrations I shall have amply convinced you, gentlemen, when I say that the separation of the judicial and executive functions is most urgently needed in India (*cheers*). There are also many instances which are to be observed in the Deccan, especially in these days of famine and plague. You know Bombay has been most unfortunate by being visited by plague for the last three years, and the plague administration of epidemic diseases has created many plague officers, and these plague officers are most probably gentlemen from the Military Department or Medical Department. They have to see that the operation of the plague rules is carried out successfully, and the Government has thought it fit to invest them with Magisterial powers. The wonder of it is that these officers are authorized to try cases summarily. The power of trying cases summarily is to be conferred upon magistrates of experience, and that too after they have spent many years in the administration of criminal work. If we look to the results of the cases tried and decided by these plague officers who exercised their powers summarily, I think I shall be able to show that such powers ought to be very sparingly given to persons who have no experience at all. With these few remarks I beg to second the proposition which has been so ably moved by my predecessor, and I hope that the efforts of the gentlemen mentioned in the resolution will be crowned with success in a short time to come (*cheers*).

MR. SATCHIDANAND SINHA (N. W. P.):—MR. PRESIDENT, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—After the masterly and exhaustive speeches that you have

been listening to from the mover and the seconder of the resolution, I do not think I shall be justified in detaining you at considerable length on this subject. Of all the questions that we have been discussing which are very important, the most important question that you will have to discuss and pass in this Congress, at least from my point of view, is the one which we have been discussing for the last 15 years in previous Congresses; and had it not been for a certain fact, I am quite sure that this year we should have taken the same step as was taken last year, which was that this question was put to the vote of the Congress by the President himself without any speeches having been made at Madras. The only reason which has, so to say, necessitated an alteration in the course, and which has imposed upon us the necessity of placing the same resolution before you once more, has been the fact that men of great position, men of distinguished position in England, men who have held most high and responsible posts in this country, and men who are at the present moment holding most important and judicial appointments in Her Majesty's Privy Council, in the India Office and other departments in England, have been so much roused into sympathy for our grievances in this matter, on account of the efforts of the late Mr. Manomohan Ghose, and also of our honoured President. They have thought it desirable to submit this year a memorial to Lord George Hamilton, advocating an early separation of the executive and judicial functions in this country. As you will see from the resolution that has been read out, a portion consists of the fact that you are asked to convey to them, as we should undoubtedly convey to them, our sincerest thanks for the task they imposed upon themselves in the advocacy of this great cause and reform in England. The mover of the resolution, Mr. Ambica Charan Mazumdar, has told you who these gentlemen are. You have heard their names, and I need hardly say that when the reform has been taken up by gentlemen of the eminence and position of Sir John Budd Phear, Lord Hobhouse, Mr. Couch, Sir William Wedderburn and others, we may say we are within a measurable distance of victory. At the same time it is our duty to strengthen the hands of those gentlemen in England by passing this resolution, once more affirming it strongly and emphatically. And of all the reforms that the Government of India has to carry out for the better administration of justice in this country, the separation of these two functions is the one which stands first and foremost. I shall not be justified in taking up your time by citing to you instances of various cases that are so frequently occurring in this country, in which gross miscarriage of justice takes place on account of the combination of the two functions in one official; and I may here put in a word in behalf of officials, that I am honestly of opinion that it is not so much the fault of those officials as it is of the system under which they have to work. Officials, gentlemen, are after all human beings, and if they are placed in surroundings (*a voice*:—"which they sometimes forget"), no doubt they forget. At the same time I may here mention that although, in particular instances here and in particular instances there, we find District Magistrates and Subordinate Magistrates abusing their powers on account of the combination of the two functions which they are called upon to exercise, still we have not so much fault to find with the officials themselves as with the system upheld by the British Government. I find on looking into certain papers, principally the memorial submitted to the Secretary of State for India by those eminent gentlemen, the Government themselves have been recognising at least, if not trying to carry out, a reform for a century, that the combination of these two functions is undesirable and causes gross miscarriage of justice. So far back as 1893, in regulation II of 1893, there appears one passage—it is a long passage—which says that the Government must divest itself of the power of infringing, in its executive capacity, on the rights and privileges which the legislative authority has conferred on the people. Now, we do not want anything more than that. All that we seek is the privileges and rights which the Government has conferred upon us in its executive capacity. The legislature should divest itself in such a way that they may not be able to infringe themselves upon the executive capacity, and nothing more. Gentlemen, you may see that so far back as 1868 a Police Commission was appointed, composed of eminent officials in the Indian Empire, and the report they submitted went into the whole root of the matter and recommend-

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ed a complete severance of the two functions. Thirty-seven years have passed, gentlemen, and we are still in the same predicament, and the same position, as we were in. I need hardly tell you that the country has undergone manifold changes from the English education which we have received. Improvements have taken place socially, politically and materially in India, but in this particular respect the Government of India have been standing exactly as they were 40 years or a century ago. Therefore, it is incumbent upon us that we should this year emphatically declare that the Government of India must see their way to carry out this reform as early as possible. I am afraid, gentlemen, that my time is limited. With your permission, I should like to say one or two words. So far as I have been able to discover, only three objections have been advanced against carrying out this reform. The first is that, although the system might be good enough for European countries which, with a generally better and more civilised administration, might be in a position to enjoy the benefits of a complete severance of the two functions, still the whole system does not work very happily, and that it lies upon us to show that there is miscarriage of justice on account of the combination of the two functions. Well, gentlemen, some of you might have seen the pamphlet brought out by Mr. Manomohan Ghose, in which he collected altogether 50 cases, all from his own criminal practice, showing how the system works, in what unfair and harsh ways the system works upon the people of this country. I have no doubt that each and all of you here who are legal practitioners on the criminal side, will be able to compile a pamphlet to show how unfairly the system works. The test of the pudding is in the eating of it. When we have instances to show that the system is working most unfairly, rigorously and harshly, it is not merely from a sentimental or theoretical point of view that we want the severance, not because that it is good for England or France, but we want the reform to be carried out in practical spirit because we believe that the system is working most harshly and unfairly in this country. As for the question of expenses, you have been told times out of number that our President, has worked out a system which is "*mutatis mutandis*" only a re-distribution and without any revolutionary changes, that the whole thing could be so carried out without involving extra expenditure. But even if it is necessary to spend some more money for an object like this, and if it necessitates some further expenditure, I say the Government should retrench expenditure in other departments to carry out this much-needed reform (*cheers*.) I do not believe, gentlemen, there is one person here who will think that the Government of India have reached the limit of retrenchment. There are various methods in which the Government of India can retrench. To take but one instance, The Government of India spends crores of rupees in exchange compensation allowance to officials who are already highly paid (*cheers*). If these highly paid officials are not given exchange compensation allowance, that item would quite suffice to carry out this reform. Gentlemen, I need hardly tell you before resuming my seat that it is my firm conviction that it is not the question of expense or this or that; it is the question of false and supposed idea that Government prestige would be gone if the reform is carried out. That bugbear, as Manomohan Ghose called it, is at the bottom of the whole thing. I am not going to waste your time by telling you what a false notion that is. On the other hand, by separating the two functions, the Indian Government would not lose prestige at all, but in fact it will be quite the other way if anything. The Government would be enhancing its popularity by carrying out this reform; they would be broad-basing their rule upon the sympathy and good-will of the people. Our President yesterday said that the most important question of administration is the question of land settlement. That is certainly a very important question, and next to that the most important question is the question of giving to India justice, true justice and British justice (*cheers*.) You have been told, gentlemen, by retired gentlemen, and sometimes ex-Viceroy of India, that India was conquered by the sword and must be retained by the sword. I am not going to waste your time by saying that India was not conquered by the sword. Whatever that may be, if India is to be retained by Government, it is not by sword or by brute-force but by conferring upon us the glory of the British, justice of England (*cheers*).

Munshi Nasiruddin Ahmed (Benares) addressed in Urdu and said:—

Gentlemen, I have the proud privilege of addressing you in my mother-tongue (Urdu) in a broken speech. It is owing to the friendly relations existing between the people of N.-W. Provinces and Oudh that I have been given the honor of speaking before an assembly of persons of extraordinary literary attainments, and who have no equal in Urdu poets and prose-writers. If on this special occasion you and our popular and distinguished President permit me, I shall read out before you some verses on politics with the greatest sympathy and earnestness (*cheers and loud cries of "go on"*).

VERSES.

1. In adversity we have borne ourselves calmly, with sweet tongue.
We have lived like a tongue amidst the 32 teeth.
2. Most humbly I, in accord with the Congress, offer thee, O Nation, my thanks.
3. The condition of your nation is very delicate (helpless) for you are tongueless.
Take care of your nation as One Nation and with one voice.
4. You ought to guard your nation like a watchman.
Being the gardener how is it that you have become rebellious against the
very wind that opens the rose-buds.
5. It is yourself who had come to reside on earth from Paradise. It is you who
being homeless, had lodge in these houses.
6. Sirs, being hosts, do not become "anti." The Congress, as a guest, is under,
your protection.
7. How the dust of the earth has risen to greatness, come here and see. It does
not befit you to offer insults, O people of Earth (this place), pretending to
be as high as sky.
8. The foundation of the Congress was laid by Lord Dufferin himself. The
desire of general reform is in the hearts, which is expressed in words.
9. The Congress is not the enemy of anybody and is no trespasser.
It considers you to be sympathetic, being the pride of friends.
10. Do justice and please look to the tide of times.
Being suspicious do not make foes of our friends.
11. Prove yourself faithful to Her Gracious Majesty.
For God's sake as one nation and with one voice.
12. Then your one single right shall not be extinguished.
Being kind, She will call you as a mother by her side.
13. All these efforts will one day become of use, O dear.
You will flourish in the garden like an eternal spring.
14. This is the prayer of the Congress, O God!
That Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria may remain for ever the Em-
press of India.
15. The British Parliament, the Government and all its officials
May enliven the country like Jesus Christ.
16. May God keep alive Sir Antony MacDonnell for ever,
Who has so kindly allowed us this place to build our pavilion.
17. On our success, you "anti" feel aggrieved, but our prayer is,
That you may be happy, O dear, as the life of the world (?)
18. It is the prayer of the Benares people that the day may come when the
Congress will be a guest in Benares.
19. Thank God, O Nasir, that the dawn of Benares and the eve of Oudh have
conjoined together, diffusing a lovely beauty.

Gentlemen, this is not a Hindu Congress but that of Mohamedans. You may well consider that in the time of our constitutional Government this representative Congress is destined to become a memorable event (*cheers*). It is absurd to say that it is a Hindu Congress or that it is a warm supporter of the Gorakshini Sabha (Cow-protection Society) or that it sides with any particular caste or creed. I believe you probably know that in the Congress held in Allahabad in 1888, the late lamented Hon'ble P. Ajodhia Nath, the patriot of his country, to remove the insinuations, got

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a resolution passed that no member of the Congress or any other person shall be allowed to propose any such resolution to which Mohamodan delegates as a body object (*cheers*). Let me ask you, gentlemen, whether even in this state of affairs any of you can believe the Congress to be partial to any particular caste or creed. No, gentlemen, never (*cheers*).

I beg to invite your attention, gentlemen, to the fact that the Congress has continuously for the last 14 years, with great perseverance and magnanimity (?), by spending large sums of money for the benefit of all, without any distinction of caste or creed, of Hindu or Mohamodan, most clearly and faithfully laid before our Government the necessities of the country and of the nation and more or less succeeded in obtaining (1) the expansion of the Legislative Councils, (2) the extension of trial by Jury System, (3) the Police Reform, (4) the establishment of Indian Industrial and Agricultural Institutions, (5) closing of *Chando* and *Maddak* Shops, (6) the House of Commons resolution on Simultaneous Examinations for the Civil Service, and so on. Do any of these reforms exclude the Mohamodans and benefit the Hindus alone? Have not all the communities inhabiting India benefitted by them equally and been affected alike?

Brother-delegates, I am afraid it would be dilating too long, otherwise I would have shown you in detail every question on which the Congress has been achieving success every day. I have to support a proposition on the important question of the separation of the executive and judicial functions. I am afraid that our popular President may not separate me from you all by striking the gong. Therefore, gentlemen, I would no longer waste your time but proceed to read the resolution which I have to support.

Gentlemen, the resolution is that in India the executive and judicial functions are exercised by the same official, or more clearly that executive and magisterial powers should not be exercised by the same local official, for this generally causes miscarriage of justice. For instance, the duty of a Deputy Commissioner or of the District Magistrate, as a District Officer, is always to keep his district free from *badmashes*, but at the same time he tries their cases himself, he is generally the Chairman of the District and the Municipal Boards, etc., and tries their cases himself or through his Subordinate Magistrates, who cannot go one step further against his wishes. In other words, he himself is the complainant and himself the judge. So it is possible that an officer who has these double powers, although he may act and perform his duties with the best of intentions, greatest care and attention, yet it may happen that the two powers contained together may lead to a failure of justice, as has been observed in innumerable cases. Feeling the great necessity of the reform, a memorial, signed by eminent retired judges of the several High Courts in India and by the Members of Her Majesty's Privy Council, has been presented to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, who has forwarded it to the Government of India for consideration and report. I assure you, gentlemen, that this question is destined to have a successful termination.

Gentlemen, the resolution is concerned with a general complaint against local officials upon which I cannot dwell more freely on account of my personal connection which I have with local officials. But I think I have every right to say so much that at present in towns and villages an ordinary Police Chowkidar has so much powers given to him that it has become an inevitable necessity for us to fear him. In the same manner what to speak of the Village Patwaris. To keep aloof from these gentlemen, and not to go one step further against their wishes, becomes a bounden duty of every human being living within their circle. If you look at a mere Police Chowkidar, God forbid, if he happens to be displeased with an unfortunate *Raiyat*: he, like an untimely death, brings upon him an unforeseen calamity which cannot be averted otherwise than by spending large sums of money, and it sometimes so happens that even money becomes of no avail.

Gentlemen, you know very well that the Village Chowkidar and the Village Patwari are instruments in the hands of the Police and Tehsil offices, respectively, which they can use in whatever manner they like. A Police watchman, when he goes to the

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Police Station at usual times, then he sometimes, instead of being asked whether every thing is alright in his circle, is asked why there are no cases from his village. At every time you attend here you must bring one case, and it is also necessary that in every crop season there should be a challan of an offence relating to crops. Getting this hint from his superior, he, like the executioner of heaven, plunges us into the depth of such a misery of which there is no end. On certain occasions misfortune brings us into the sight of certain challans that all the hairs of one's body stand on end with horror. For example, when the accused is a poor person in starvation. If in order to break his starvation, and not with any intention of committing theft, he takes two sugarcane or some pease from a field, he is at once challaned for crop-theft. Now, if that poor, indigent accused denies the fact, he feels the sting of his conscience within and if he confesses, the external punishment of flogging is inflicted upon him. Now, according to section 95, I. P. C., an accused is excused for such slight harms of which a person of ordinary sense and temper would not complain. But, in this case, he is punished for two reasons: firstly, that the Magistrate is the head of the Police and therefore he does not scrutinize the acts of his subordinates; secondly, sometimes he is called on for an explanation for the large number of acquittals in the yearly statements, therefore, taking his executive function into consideration, he is hindered from impartially doing justice. (*cheers*).

Leaving aside these crop cases, the ordinary cases manufactured by a Chowkidar are dangerous to the *rayat*. If a Police Officer or a Tehsil Official, in any matter concerning administration—for example, in any matter connected with collection of revenue, providing with *rasad* to the troops or their superior officers, or in complying with ordinary requirements—if they happen to be least offended with any of the *raiya*s then, behind the curtain of administrative affairs, they beguile the District Officers, who are endowed with Magisterial powers, and thus make them displeased with such persons. And if such a *raiya* is accused of any offence in any case, then it generally happens that the same officials with great stress and cajolery, with words like these: "Sir, he is the same person who does not pay revenue in due time;" "Sir, he is the same man who refuses to supply *rasad* to the troops;" "Sir, he is the same person who comes forward as a witness for the defence in challan cases," induce their officers to be unjust towards him (*cheers*).

Gentlemen, there is not the least doubt that evils resulting from the combination of these two functions, and which are daily increasing, require no proof.

Of course in the places where village *panchayats* or headmen of the village have been granted civil and criminal powers, there it has been observed that the *raiya* had got rid of the unrestricted powers of the Police and the disgraceful high-handedness of Tehsil Officials, and the Government has received valuable assistance in the administrative affairs from the *panchayats* and headmen. But look at our unfortunate North-Western Provinces and Oudh, where no consideration has yet been paid to the question, what to say of their being brought into practice (*cheers*). I, from my personal knowledge, bring to your notice that the Legislature has, in certain places, admitting the justice of the principle advocated, excluded those cases from the jurisdiction of the Magistrates who had least interest in those cases. For instance, you will find in section 190 (c) of Criminal Procedure Code (Act V of 1898), that in those cases in which a Magistrate takes cognizance on his own information or knowledge, the accused can as of right have the case transferred from such Court. In the same manner, in cases in which a Magistrate gives sanction under section 195, Criminal Procedure Code, to prosecute, or in cases in which he himself is a witness or has any personal knowledge, or when any offence of contempt of court or disobedience of his order is committed, or when an offence is committed in his own presence, he has no jurisdiction in the case (*cheers*). Thus it is evident that this broad principle has been recognized by the Indian Legislature.

The administrative duties of the Collector or Commissioner are of such a nature that he is sometimes offended at certain *raiya* through the instigation of his subordinates. It is thus probable that in exercising his Magisterial powers he may make some errors. I must therefore say that in trying criminal cases the District Officers, being

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executive officers, are prejudiced against a party. Under these circumstances, there appears no reason why there should be no satisfactory reform of this important question.

Now I assure you, gentlemen, that the Government of India shall give its best consideration on our these grievances, and I conclude my these arguments with this prayer :—

May this Congress live for a thousand years, and every ten thousand years be counted as one year.

May it become the crown for the head of the nation, for eternity, or rather for countless years.

Pandit Sham Narain supported the resolution in Urdu.

Mr. A. C. PARTHASARATHI NAIDU, (*Madras*):—

Mr. A. C.
Parthasa-
rathi
Naidu.

RESOLU-
TION
I.

Separation
of Judicial
from Execu-
tive func-
tions.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,—I am asked to support this Resolution, not that it has not been sufficiently moved and seconded, but for the reason that it had not a supporter from a distant Presidency like Madras, to which I have the honor to belong. The previous speakers have said that the mover of the Resolution, Mr. A. C. Muzumdar, has so fully and ably exhausted the subject, leaving nothing for them to dwell upon, and in consequence their task has been very much lessened. Quite agreeing with them, I have but to request your patience for a few minutes.

Brother-delegates, that of all the prayers, which this loyal assembly has ever made, there is no prayer of ours, which the authorities could ungrudgingly grant us. It is a prayer anent a subject which affects the social happiness of the people. It is a simple prayer touching a system, which, at present, creates room for miscarriage of justice in individual cases, although in the earlier stages, the now condemned system has had its good effects. It is the separation of *judicial* from *executive* functions. Our prayer therefore for the separation of this incongruous blending, can be easily granted, since it does not necessitate any additional enormous expenditure, on that account.

We are not, ladies and gentlemen, suggesting to Government any measure with which they have no sympathy, nor are we asking them to confer on us one half of the appointments held by Civilians. We only say, and that with reason, that the combination of dual functions in one and the same individual is undesirable, since experience has amply evidenced the fact that, at present, owing to pressure of non-judicial business, judicial business is being conducted in a perfunctory and unsatisfactory manner, resulting in hardship and misery to people.

Fancy, ladies and gentlemen, a man charged with a minor offence has to be arraigned before a Tahsildar or a Deputy Collector, manned with Magisterial powers. The said official happens to be then in a place far away from the village where the offence was committed. The unfortunate accused person is dragged from village to village, only to learn, on arrival at the destination, that the Tahsildar-Magistrate had just then left the place to another *Firka* on *Jamabundy* business. Arriving, however, at the place, whither the Tahsildar had proceeded, pressure of non-judicial business precludes him from taking up the case at once. The length of time, the long distance, and the inconvenience the accused, the complainant, and the witnesses are subjected to, are simply imaginable. If it happens to be a village, where there are no messing houses, the keen effects of appetite and worry need hardly be mentioned. At last, in the spare hours of a heavy *Jamabundy* work, the overworked Tahsildar-Magistrate takes up the case and finishes it up hastily in as short a time as possible, as his spare time could permit, no matter in what way he decides the case. Instances of this sort can be easily multiplied. Without, however, unnecessarily taking up your time by the narration of a long list, I shall only cite, in support of my statement, that the present system entails unnecessarily extraordinary length of time, the most glaring instance afforded by the Satara case tried by the Huzur Deputy Collector, for over six months, the punishment inflicted after all being twenty-four hours' imprisonment! No better instance therefore, ladies and gentlemen, can be adduced to prove conclu-

sively that the present pernicious system is fraught with mischief and injury to the public. The Indian public, as well as eminent Judicial authorities, fully realizing the evil effects of this objectionable system, have therefore from time to time so forcibly protested against its continuance; and therefore we, in Congress assembled, I think, are not unjustified in urging for the separation of Judicial from Executive functions.

Ladies and gentlemen, H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda is said to have separated the Judicial functions from the Executive officers, only the other day, in order to enable the thus relieved Revenue officers to move about freely for the purpose of finding out where unhappiness, misery and distress exist. Recognizing the fact that Revenue Officials, with Magisterial functions, could hardly do justice or find time for knowing wherein real distress exists. His Highness has thought it fit to relieve them from Judicial functions. Is it therefore, brother-delegates, unjust, too much, or improper for this loyal assembly to request the Government of India to separate the Judicial functions from Executive Officers? What appeared to be a cogent necessity with an Indian Ruler should be otherwise is simply deplorable.

After all, ladies and gentlemen, what is the object with which these Revenue Officers are invested with these powers? I am told that unless these officials have attached to them the sting of a scorpion—I mean the Magisterial power—revenue cannot be easily collected. If it be so, let us take the case of the Zemindars of Bengal and other parts. How do they have their taxes collected? Do they stand in need of the service of a scorpion to collect their revenue? I think not. If the object of the combination of these two powers is to give these officers the service of a scorpion, as it were, for the purpose of collecting Government *kist*, is it unwarranted on our part to view it as a shameful crying evil? It is therefore incumbent on our part brother-delegates, to protest against it. If there is any nation on the face of the earth that is most law-abiding, even to the detriment of its interests, it is the Indian nation. It is in India that you find taxes raised at the master's will without a grumble or murmur from the people. Therefore, gentlemen, to suppose that without the sting of Magisterial power, revenue cannot be collected is simply ridiculous. Sheer want and penury may perhaps make a ryot to procrastinate payment. To replenish the revenue exchequer no one is more ready and willing than the Indian ryot, who would even, if Law allows it, offer himself, his children, or effects, to be sold towards all just, reasonable, and charitable demands. In our Presidency some of the Executive Officers have been divested of Judicial functions (*cries of Telugu, Telugu*). To give full effect to our prayer, additional expenditure would be very little, and could be incurred by Government, is what the late lamented Manamohun Ghose said. Even if it should entail any enormous additional expenditure, there can be no difficulty in the face of the prosperous Budget (*cheers*).

Ladies and gentlemen, when I read in the Madras papers, that, owing to the opposition of our Mahomedan brethren, Lucknow was not to hold the 15th Sessions of the Indian National Congress, like every other well-wisher of the Congress, I was rather very sorry. I thought it must be a town with "*Luck-no*" (no-luck, or unlucky town.) Now, standing as I do on this Congress platform, with a full house under an admirably constructed Pavilion, I am induced to think rightly that this historical town has "*Luck now*." Assembled as this 15th Indian National Congress is in this town which has shown ample proof that it has *now luck*, it is but meet and proper that we, who *Lack-no* interest in loyalty, bent upon ameliorating the condition of our country by constitutional measures, while insisting upon the separation of Judicial from Executive functions, should unanimously tender our sincere thanks to that body of disinterested eminent gentlemen like Lord Hobhouse, Sir Richard Garth, Sir William Wedderburn, &c., who have taken a deep interest in this question, presented a petition to the Secretary of State in Council, and which petition has since been forwarded to the Government of India. The helm of the Government of India, ladies and gentlemen, as you are aware, is now in the hands of that eminent statesman, Lord Curzon. His Lordship has, by his recent utterances, expressed himself quite sympathetic with us. Thanking therefore His Lordship for his sympathy, let us hope that he will show in deeds what he has said in words, (*factum non verba*), by taking practical steps for speedily carrying out this much-needed reform. With these words,

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Second Day. brother delegates, I support the Resolution and commend it to your unanimous acceptance (*loud applause*).

MR. ABDUL RAHIM (*Aligarh*) further supported the resolution in Urdu.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT :—I will now ask Mr. Murli Dhar to move the Second Resolution.

Rai Sahib Lala Murli Dhar. Umballa. RESOLUTION II. Punjab Land Alienation Bill.

RAI SAHIB LALA MURLI DHAR (*Punjab*) :—Gentlemen,—I am afraid that there is something quite comic in my appearance as in my speech (*laughter*). This excites your laughter because you are men (*laughter*). Rest assured that I will not lessen in any way your happiness by refusing to act the part of a fool on the platform of this Congress. The presence of a fool in a drama is always indispensable. So I think my presence as a fool on this platform will not be unpalatable to you, as there might be bigger fools after me (*cheers and laughter*). Gentlemen, when I think of the importance of the subject which has been handed to me for discussion before you. I feel decimated at my own audacity, as well as feel surprised. Not being an agriculturist myself, not owning an acre of land in this wide world, I am the last person to be the mouthpiece of the agricultural community or of the money-lender class, because I am not even a trader by profession. Therefore by being neither a money-lender nor an agriculturist, but a lawyer who is supposed to rob both parties (*laughter*), I will act the part of a monkey (*laughter*), which I shall gladly do, and the same sort of justice as was given by the monkey in the fable of the monkey and the cat will be dealt out to you. Now, gentlemen, the Government no doubt feels very solicitous for the welfare of the agricultural population in the Punjab, as well as in other provinces. No doubt the Government has been thinking seriously for years how to remedy the great evil of indebtedness of the agricultural classes which has sprung up tremendously in the Punjab, and I am speaking from my own personal knowledge, my own lifelong experience when I say that the agricultural classes have no doubt suffered at the hands of money-lenders. What are the money-lenders? The money lender is a curious formation of man and beast (*laughter*). Those who believe in the doctrine of transmigration of souls and reincarnation will readily agree with me in believing that he has the claws of a lion, the brain of a fox, and the heart of a goat. But the Government seems to be terrified by the roar of the money-lender as if he were a lion of the forest. He is none of the sort. He is neither a brute, as he is represented to be, nor a man in the proper sense of the word (*laughter*). He is a money-grabber, a contemptible leech, I will say, a man who sucks the blood of the poor agriculturist. But is that the only evil? Is he the only brute that torments the agricultural classes? Are not the agricultural classes robbed alike by so many ministerial officers, by so many lawyers, by so many patwaries, and by so many other people who gloat upon these poor Zemindars and who rob them of their milk and other delicious things which they produce from the earth? (*cheers*). Then the poor Zemindar in whose supposed interests the Government has introduced this Bill is not to gain anything, for the Government is going to take away the boon which they had given some 50 years ago to these agriculturists. They were the absolute proprietors. They had the right of full-grown men and they could deal with the property as they liked. Then their status was reduced to that of a Hindu widow. They could not alienate the land without some necessity. Just think of the action of Government. The Government can convert a man into a woman (*laughter*), a wonderful feat which has not been performed by any human to? He will be a landless proprietor. The land will not be his. The land will be that of the consumer. The producer will have no right in his own land. He will be a stranger in his own land. Why? The land will continue to be cultivated as now. There will be total prohibition of sale by the proprietor in the Punjab to a non-agriculturist. He will be allowed by the Collector, on an application made, to sell his land to a member of his own brotherhood, and he cannot claim it as a right, but it will be within the discretion of the Collector or some other officer who will be specially invested by the local Government, to exercise these functions, to refuse or grant his application for transfer of the land by sale. It would be perfectly open to the Collector to refuse or sanction the sale of his land. Then

you will see, gentlemen, that the Government has all along been acting in the interests of the agriculturist to keep the land with him, and for the benefit of his heirs, by prevention from selling the land to a stranger, but the same land will be sold by public auction when he fails to pay the Government revenue in punctual time (*cheers*). Government takes very good care that the same law which declares "Do unto others as you would be done by others" does not apply to the action of Government (*laughter*). It does not because it harms the interests of Government; it acts very injuriously on the interests of Government and therefore the Government has taken very good care about it, and all the Honorable Members who have made speeches in the Legislative Council have been discreetly silent over this question. None of them have touched on the question as to what will become of the agricultural land which is to be kept by the family of the Zemindar in case he fails to pay the Government revenue. Where will he go to find the money? There will be no money-lender. No money-lender will ever advance money to a Zemindar who cannot part with an inch of land to him. Who will advance the loan? There are no Agricultural Banks. Even if there were, there is the Takkavi system by which the Government gives money on certain conditions. The conditions are very onerous though the Government considers they are very easy. But the Zemindars are very loath to take advantage of these easy terms which are offered by Government. Except on rare occasions, they hardly take advantage of the Takkavi system, which has been introduced by the Government solely for the benefit of the Zemindars, for buying cattle or seed or for some other purpose. His difficulty begins when he goes for making an application. He cannot get anything without greasing the palms of the Takkavi officials. Where will he get sufficient funds? Stop by all means all unfair dealings. What will the Government replace in its stead? Suppose a Zemindar requires some money for sowing the field or buying cattle which have been dead in famine or for supporting the family members, he can not get a pie from *sahocars* and there are no other resources to fall back upon. How will the land be tilled? How will the produce be augmented? And what advantage will he gain if the land has been declared to be inalienable? At least the Government must find some remedy for these straits to which the Zemindar will be actually driven to, if any such Bill as this proposed were passed into law. The Government must foresee all these things, but the Government thinks that by and by these money-lenders will not be so heartless as not to advance loans, and the same transactions will continue between money-lenders and Zemindars, but only they will be prohibited from taking any land. I do not think money-lenders are such great fools that they will advance money without any security to the land classes. Then the Government will be compelled sooner or later to devise some means to allow these Zemindars to escape from the dilemma in which they will be placed. Supposing, they say, they have a right to sell land to their own people, to the members of their own brotherhood; suppose even if they have that right, will it be any consolation to them if they parted with their land to their own brothers? Will those brothers share with them the produce of the land? If you are sincerely desirous of securing the well-being of the Zemindars, the Government, the public and other men living on the face of the earth should be in sympathy with the producers upon whose toil and labour all of us live. Naturally, I think our sympathies go out to them and we must devise some sure means to make them prosperous and happy and to enable them to reserve something in times of prosperity for themselves and allow the land also to remain with them if possible. Well, then, what is the remedy? Has the Government devised any remedy for that situation? I submit that the Government had not thought of it. The Government will continue to enhance the rent. The Government will shorten the period of settlement, as was done in the case of Jalandur, and although Sir Dennis FitzPatrick, the late Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, strongly recommended settlement for a period of 30 years in the Jalandhur Division, yet his recommendation was not accepted by the Government of India and they returned the recommendation to Sir Dennis FitzPatrick and asked him to reconsider and recommend a shorter period of settlement in place of 30 years,

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RESOLUTION II. Punjab Land Alienation Bill.

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i. e., 20 years in the place of 30 years. But Sir Dennis Fitz Patrick, who had the strength of his own convictions, was not cowed down by this order of the Government of India, and he said: "If you care for the welfare of the Zemindars, then they should be allowed an opportunity to cultivate the land, and to improve it." The time of my dissolution has come, and unless you give me a fresh lease of life, which I think is not in your power, then it is useless to fight with fate. Leave me to my own time, and now I disappear from your view (*laughter and cheers*).

LALA KANNAIHA LAL (*Punjab*).—Gentlemen,—Different state of things may prevail in different provinces of the British Empire, but as we are concerned with our province, I submit what has been the state of things in our province and ask whether in this state of things the Government is justified in restricting the alienation of property by the persons supposed to be the proprietors. That is the question: that is the subject of the resolution. In the speeches made when this Bill was introduced, things are said by respectable and honorable Members of Council in which we do not agree. Not only it is not a question whether we agree, but they are not real facts. Our respected Lieutenant-Governor says in his reasons for it, which are unsound: "The object in which we all agree is to provide a correction for the results of our own action." Gentlemen, you will find what those acts are. He says: "In conferring or affirming an almost unlimited proprietary right in land"—mark the word "conferring," as if the proprietary right to the land rests with the Government and it confers it on us. He says: "In conferring proprietary right in the land, in separating the judicial machinery from the executive," these are the mistakes, he says, they committed in the beginning of the British rule. You see, gentlemen, what he says. They committed a mistake in separating the judicial from executive functions. Just now we have been fighting for that for half-an-hour. That is an unjust thing. But our Lieutenant-Governor says they committed a mistake in separating the two, and so they made a mistake in conferring proprietary right upon us. The first question I ask the Members is: When did they confer the proprietary right upon us? What do our Shastras say? It is simply that the king has a right to take a certain portion of the produce from us; and what we actually knew from the facts was the case with the Lion of the Panjab. What was he receiving? He was also receiving what was called revenue; and if the Government succeeded to anything, the Government has succeeded to that right to which Maharajah Ranjit Singh was entitled. We, too, know that it is called revenue. It has never been called rent. There is the whole mistake. If the Government or the members of the Government can find in their official documents that it is called rent, we would admit that they were the proprietors and that they conferred the proprietary right on us. They always called it revenue. What they call rent we all know. It is that payment which tenants pay to the proprietors. So these are the wrong premises with which they began when they said they conferred proprietary right on us. It is not so. They assume proprietary rights which rest in the people. In saying so there is one precedent. It is not quoting the ruling of any code. It is quoting the ruling of the Government itself. It is in plain language. In the Settlement of 1865, they appointed chief headmen, gave them a quantity of land as remuneration for their office. They cultivated the land and enjoyed the produce of that land. After 20 or 25 years, when the question was raised by the Government Officials, the Lieutenant-Governor said it was an act of spoliation, an act of misappropriation, an act of usurpation to give land to *Lambardars*, who had Government duty to do, to take land to be given to a person who does Government duty. Certainly it is an act of spoliation. Certainly it was, because it was upon that hypothesis that the land belonged to the proprietary body and not to the Government. They found out the mistake and said "what we give is simple revenue of the land." It is a clear admission that the Government was never proprietor but others were proprietors. It is true that they are going to destroy the proprietary right. I will show you how this will work. That the object of this legislation is to crush down the money-lender is very patent from everything mentioned in the speeches. The proposal to give retrospective effect to the Bill shows that. But where was the necessity for such a restriction? We have got so many restrictions

in our provinces. The proprietor dares not alienate property. When he does, he comes under customary law, though a declaration that it is against custom would not hold good and that it be declared void after his death. This is one reason of the restriction. There is another. In the execution of the decrees, lands are never sold or alienated. There is another restriction. The third restriction is the law of pre-emption. The land will never go to a stranger: it goes first to the shareholders, then to Patadars and then to the whole village. There were so many restrictions. The one thing that the Government is aiming at is that they are introducing something, and it is this. When for a debt a man is taken to Court they won't allow him to release himself by his own means, though the indebted man has the power to perform his duty, sometimes his moral duty, and sometimes his religious duty, to pay the debt. The Koran says that it is the duty of the debtor to pay. The Prophet would never read the blessings on the dead body of the man who died indebted. Our Hindu Shastras would enjoin grandsons to pay the debts of their grandfather. That moral and religious duty which the indebted proprietor would discharge by giving some portion of the land, the Government interferes with and says—"Take lessons of morality from us. Do not go to Shastras or Koran. Take morality from us and repudiate all your debts, and there we help you by legislative enactments." That has virtually come to that. They will not be permitted to pay their debts even if they wished to do their duty towards money-lenders. Another reason given in the Act is that it is politically dangerous to allow these alienations. It is left in the same vague way as all political things are done here. No reason is given why alienation of land is politically injurious. It is rather a suicidal policy to pass the Bill. If stalwart people are proper people for the army, let them have no property but go to the Government service rather than have land (*cheers*).

MR. PHANSALKAR (*Bombay*).—Mr. President and gentlemen,—You will find that this is altogether a new proposition in the sense that the previous Congresses have not as yet had an opportunity to pass a resolution on this subject, and it is simply because this is a new evil. We have all along discussed several evils, and if new evils arise we have to pass new resolutions, and this is one of such resolutions. In the first place it refers to the Panjab only. The attention of Lord Curzon, the present Viceroy, has been engaged in relieving distress in various parts of the country, and the first item of business he seems to have taken it upon himself to do, is the redressing of the indebtedness in the Panjab. Of course this is on the lines of the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act. We had on our part at one time indebtedness among agriculturists and the authorities brought out an Act, the Deccan Act, and it was intended at one time that the provisions of this Act should be extended to the various taluks and zillas, but that has not been done up till now. We have found that the provisions have been not only applied as they are, but applied in an advanced form in a distant part of the country, namely, the Panjab. The principle of the Act is that it prohibits every kind of alienation of land from an agriculturist to a non-agriculturist. If land has passed from one agriculturist to another it does not prohibit it, but if it passes from one agriculturist to a non-agriculturist it absolutely prohibits it. In the first place this is bad, because this deprives the owner of the land from taking the whole advantage of his property. The property in his hands, if it could not be sold, cannot be worth as much as it really would if he were able to part with it as he likes. Therefore, in the first place, it will appear to you that this provision reduces the value of the land in the hands of the proprietor. That is one thing: and you will find that if such principles are allowed to exist and also become law in one part, there is no knowing when they may be extended to other parts of the country. It is therefore desirable to take the first opportunity to enter a protest against an Act which embodies a principle that is detrimental to the interests both of landholders and money-lenders too. It is one of the objections or charges against this Congress that this Congress suggests remedies for which they have nothing to pay, and I think the Government is also open to this charge. The Government wants to redress the grievances of agriculturists, not at its own cost but at the cost of the agriculturists. The Government is also open to the charge that is often levelled against this assembly. Apart from this, this is not the way to redress grievances. You must find out proper means to remedy an

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evil. The evil is that the agriculturists become indebted and the question is, "Why does he become indebted? Is it because he is a profligate or an indolent man?" To my mind it appears there is no person in the world who works most and gets least as the agriculturist in India, and under these circumstances it is desirable that he should be allowed to enjoy his property to the fullest advantage that he can. You will see that he is not allowed to part with the land as he likes. He will be put in worse difficulties as we find in the Deccan Act. In the parts to which that Act has been extended mortgages have been allowed, sales have not been prohibited but allowed. Before the Act was introduced all transactions were made in the form of mortgages, but after the passing of the Act money-lenders refused to advance money on mortgages. They want sales out-and-out. Formerly the object of the Act was to redress one evil, but the operation of the Act has introduced another evil altogether. I believe a similar evil will ensue from the operation of this Act too. It is therefore desirable that an Act which embodies a principle which reduces the value of land in the hands of its owner, should not be allowed to become law and I hope you will lend your support to this resolution (cheers).

NAWAB HASMUT HUSSAIN (*Oudh*) in supporting the resolution in Urdu said:—

GENTLEMEN.—The resolution which I have to support is to this effect:—

That this Congress expresses its dissent from the Land Alienation Bill which is before the Viceroy's Legislative Council, the main object of which Bill is to take away the power of alienating their land from the Zamindars.

Gentlemen, no one doubts the good intentions of the Government in bringing forward the Bill, and I congratulate this Congress that by its fourteen years constant labours it has achieved an amount of success on this important question. We have been saying all along that the cultivating class of India is getting impoverished every day. Their poverty is daily increasing. They have reached the stage of helplessness and misery. The Government, through the ignorance of their officials and the servile flatteries of the toadies, used to say that the cultivators are not becoming poorer but rather richer. But what we were saying was due to our true knowledge of the condition of the people and founded on honest motives. You know, gentlemen, that truth prevails in the long run and now the Government admits that the cultivators are getting impoverished and their poverty has increased so far that the time has now come to help them by legislation (*hear, hear*). We say to the Government "you may legislate by all means but first inquire into the causes of the poverty." We express our dissent from the Bill, since we know that such legislation will prove fruitless. The Government, instead of taking any proper steps to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry, will wait in vain for another 20 years to see the working of the proposed legislation when passed (*hear, hear*). The ultimate consequence of this legislation will be that the Zemindar will lose his credit, distrust will be created between the money-lender and the Zamindar; the Government will not be able on the one hand to realize the revenue in due time, and on the other hand the cultivator will not be able to get seed to sow. At the present time money can be borrowed even at the rate of 6 per cent. per mensem; after the new enactment the condition of our agriculturist will become like our poor *Wasika-holders*. The Zamindars will have right to lease their lands for 15 years and immediately after its termination another round of slavery shall begin. It is evident under the circumstances that the cultivator, instead of deriving any benefit, shall suffer under the control of a Zamindar who himself is poor, only, but according to the Government's own statement, it will hereafter be extended to all other parts of India.

Having dealt so far on the resolution itself, I would ask our *Anti-Congress* brethren, who allege themselves to be friends of Mohamedans and who do not know, or do not care to know, whether such a resolution is for the benefit of Hindus alone, or for the benefit of the whole nation to ponder over the situation. The Government, after long discussions, now admits the indebtedness of the peasantry and is desirous of

adopting measures for bettering their condition. Do you think that the Government will help the Hindu cultivators alone and the Mahomedans will be left to themselves? All the resolutions of the Congress are equally beneficial to the Hindus and Mohamedans alike, and this resolution alone is sufficient to silence our critics who, professing themselves to be friends of Mohamedans, are striking the axe at their own feet. The Government officials say that the cultivator is being ruined and impoverished by the money-lender. We Congressmen affirm their statement to this extent, that the money-lender, by charging a high rate of interest, takes advantage of their helplessness. But we ask, why is it that the cultivator goes to the money-lender? He goes to him because the Government revenue is much more than what ought to have been assessed, having regard to the produce of the land. The share of the produce which the Government takes now as revenue, was never taken at any time by any previous Government in this country. Thus, instead of passing any law against the Zamindars who have purchased properties to the value of crores of rupees, and instead of depriving them of their rights of alienation, it is its duty to find means for removing the poverty of the country. It should revise assessments and establish Agricultural Banks which may lend money at 6 or even 12 per cent., and thus relieve the cultivators of the necessity of going to the much-abused but necessary evil in the person of the money-lender (cheers).

THE PRESIDENT:—I do not think that this resolution has been read and so before putting it to the vote, I should like to read it especially as one or two verbal alterations have been made and a final clause added. The resolution as revised runs thus:

Resolution II. (a).—That this Congress regrets the introduction into the Supreme Legislative Council of a Bill to amend the Law relating to agricultural land in the Punjab, with a view to restrict alienation of land, as proposed in the Bill, by sale or mortgage, which is calculated (1) to decrease the credit of the agriculturists and landholders, and (2) to make them more resourceless on account of their inability to meet the ever-increasing State demands upon their lands and the Congress is of opinion that the provision to give retrospective effect to the Bill is inequitable and unfair.

(b).—That this Congress recommends that real relief be afforded to the cultivating classes in the following way: that where the Government is the rent receiver, the rule laid down in 1832, prohibiting any enhancement except on the ground of rise in prices, be enforced, and that where private landlords are the rent receivers some provision to prohibit undue enhancement of rent be made.

(c).—This Congress further resolves that a Committee consisting of the president, Mr. Jaishi Ram, Mr. N. Gupta, Mr. Wacha, Munshi Madho Lal, Mr. Madhullas and Mr. Iqbal Shanker be appointed and empowered to submit a representation to the Government pointing out the unsuitable nature of many of the provisions of the Bill.

The resolution being put to vote was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—I will now ask Miss Garland to propose the next resolution, which is a very important one.

MISS GARLAND:—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The resolution that I have to propose to you is as follows:—

Resolution III.—That whereas it is considered safe and prudent to withdraw large bodies of British troops for service outside the statutory limits of India, this Congress is of opinion that the time has come when the Indian tax-payer should be granted some relief out of the British exchequer towards the cost of maintaining in India so large a force of European soldiers. This Congress sees no objection to the location of British troops in India as a reserve force for the whole of the British Empire, but is of opinion that the time has come for the transfer of a share of the cost from the Indian to the British Exchequer.

This resolution or the principle which it involves is one of the hardy annuals that spring up at every Congress, and indeed it is specially important that we should bring it forward at this particular time, because we meet after that modification of the frontier policy of the Government which will enable them to carry out this reso-

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lution more easily than they have ever been before (*cheers*). We know that, roughly speaking, about two months ago at any rate, there were in India 75,000 British troops and 146,000 Native troops. Roughly speaking, a proportion of 1 to 2. Now, before the Mutiny, the proportion of British to Indian troops was about 1 to 5 or even less; and it was in the years following the Mutiny that it was decided to raise that proportion for Bengal from 1 to 2, and for Madras and Bombay from 1 to 3. But we must not forget that that was a time of great unrest; that was a time following panic, a time after the mutiny when the British rule itself was threatened throughout the country, and it was most reasonable to suppose what the requirements were. They should be considerably lessened after all these many many years of peace (*hear, hear*). Professor Gokhale, I see, about two years ago, gave these figures. He says: We have in India at the present time a proportion in the Bengal Presidency of over the ordinary proportion, of 4,072 European troops, and in Bombay and Madras Presidencies of not less than 7,266. According to that we have over 11,000 men more than are necessary for the requirements laid down after the Mutiny. Very well, then, no wonder India could well spare two months ago these 10,000 troops to be sent to another part of the Empire. She can spare them well. What we say is when they come back, or if any others come back in their stead, let them come back to India by all means, if it is to be regarded as a most efficient base of operations for military purposes in other parts of the Empire. Let them come back at the cost of England and not of India (*hear, hear*).

This is a very important point. I have only to quote the highest authorities in England to show that it is not only the Congress that takes it up. A few years ago, when the matter of sending troops to Suakim came up for discussion, Mr. John Morley made two quotations. I am going to read them to you *verbatim* because they are exceedingly important statements on which we base our case and the whole of this resolution. This was the statement of Lord Hartington in 1882. Lord Hartington, now Duke of Devonshire, said that there were two objects in section 55. It was the Act of 1858 that laid down the rules for the employment of Indian troops outside the statutory limits of India." He said the objects were these: "The first was to prevent such a contingency as that the Government should carry on military operations by means of troops maintained on Indian establishment and without having to come to Parliament for its consent at all." But Lord Hartington laid down the great constitutional doctrine that "it is going beyond the spirit of the 55th section to do as you did in Mombasa, to use Indian troops outside the frontier and outside the cases excepted in the Act without the consent of Parliament, whether you impose a charge on India or whether you do not." But I will go further back still and quote words from Lord Salisbury when he was Lord Cranborne in 1867. I think nothing that has been said or that could be said at the Congress could lay down this rule more than Lord Salisbury's words. He said: "I do not like India to be looked upon as an English barrack in the oriental seas, from which we may draw any number of troops without paying for them. It is bad for England because it is always bad for us not to have a check upon the temptation to engage in little wars, which can only be controlled by the necessity of paying for them. . . . If this garrison which we keep in India is, as all authorities assure us, necessary for maintaining that country in security and peace, that garrison ought not to be rashly diminished. If on the other hand it is too large, and India can for any length of time conveniently spare these troops, then the Indian population ought not to be so unnecessarily taxed." As I have said these are strong points. We simply say that it has been proved at such a time as this that a number of troops can safely be withdrawn from India, and if it can be done in safety when the British Government is in the state that it is at present, how much safer can that be when the whole Empire is in a state of peace. For the future we can make a strong claim upon the Government to permanently reduce the Military strength in this country, and by so doing they will save enough money to carry out some of those most necessary and pressing reforms that you have been speaking about this morning (*cheers*). I understand that even reducing the strength of the European army in India by 11,000 men would be a saving of 1½ crores of rupees. You all know how far that would go in helping you to

carry out your important and much-needed reforms. We know in this particular case European troops here are not to be sent away at the expense of India. It is perfectly just and perfectly right, and therefore there is an improvement upon previous wars. So you see in India we are getting on. If we go on pressing our case we will get other improvements later on. I have been asked by the British Committee to say, and it has been allowed to me by the President when I was speaking of this or any other resolution that is placed in my hands that I might say, a few words to you from that Committee on the general situation. You all know that within the last few hours some of us heard, for the first time, one special request of the Congress has at last been granted. We heard it with great delight of the release of the Natus (*cheers*). So far so good. The next thing that we can congratulate ourselves upon is that that frontier policy of the Government against which we in England, at any rate the British Committee and their friends, have been waging war against is altered to such a degree that we can almost say that it is altered, if not modified. We have been all along showing the English people the futility of that policy that has been carried on for 30 or 40 years. We have taken good care to tell them that India possesses on the north-west three best natural defences—mountains, deserts and rivers, that military authorities themselves claim as the best defences against the invasion of any foreign foe. We have also told them what crores of rupees have been spent in bridging the Indus, in laying rails across the desert and tunnelling mountains, and in making roads in that previously almost tractless district so that any wayfaring armies from Russia or elsewhere may seek their way into India. We have shown them that so far from increasing the scientific frontier of India they have been making a worse one on which a great amount of money has been spent. I am not going to say one word against that policy for the future. We recognise it as altered and I shall not forget that old advice to historians because they violated the principle, "Let bygones be bygones." We can only congratulate the Government on its return to common sense (*hear, hear*) and it is the freedom from panic in the Russian direction; and we are heartily pleased to do so. There is another matter that I cannot yet congratulate ourselves upon. You still have a cloud hanging over you—that Sedition Law. We in England who belong to the Reform party live in free press. We live free in Johannesburg. We believe in it everywhere, and we say that although the atrocious murders at the time of the Queen's Jubilee may naturally have caused timidity among officials, although their unwise policy on the North-Western frontier might have made them think that it was unwise that too much freedom should be allowed to the vernacular press to criticize that policy—perhaps it did not like to see that made a subject of public criticism, and conscience makes cowards of us all. We say these times are passed. We see the Government facing this great famine with very great resources and with very great energy, doing the very best it can. Surely there is nothing, no act on the part of Government, that could not be effectively produced in the vernacular press, and that too for the safety and peace of India. I only hope that before the Congress meets next year, you will have one more to triumph over and that will be the Sedition Law would be a thing of the past. There is a further matter that we must refer to. Which matter is the famine itself. I have been these four days in some of the affected Districts. I can never forget to the end of my life all that I have seen during these four days. We know that everything that can be done will be done by Government to mitigate this distress and well may you have all these discussions in Congress as to how in the future you can prevent or at any rate mitigate famines. Prevention is better than cure. While we do all that we can to relieve the present fearful distress, at the same time we hope that as years progress we shall in India be able to say good-bye to famines as we have done in all the civilized quarters of the world (*cheers*). We must congratulate Lord Curzon on the part he has taken in famine. He descended from the Olympian heights and came down to the people and superintended the relief works himself. That is a step in the right direction. I can only say that the Viceroy at present bids fair to be an energetic, tactful and sympathetic ruler, and I hope when he comes to leave this country he will take with him the blessings of an affectionate and grateful people (*cheers*). In England, I can assure you, we are doing all that we can to advance the Indian reforms and enlighten the public

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opinion on all your political questions. We do not forget that in perhaps 12 months or less we shall have to face the general elections, and we will take care that your questions are not overlooked when we think about our own domestic reforms (*hear hear*). I have come here to see what you are doing in India for yourselves. Perhaps as a woman—for the first time you have allowed a woman to address you from the British Committee—you will allow me to say that I hope you will educate your women in India (*cheers*). If you were to ask me what were the most enlightened and the happiest nations and most progressive nations in all the world, I should say that they are those nations that allow their women the greatest amount of education and the greatest amount of liberty (*cheers*). I have only to mention to you that we take a keen interest in your welfare. We never forget to ask each other "how are the women in India getting on?" (*cheers*). I have one more word to say to you before I conclude. I assure you all the sympathy of many of us with all your just aspirations here. Just one week before I left England I had an interview with Lord Ripon (*cheers*). I was telling him about my visit to this country, and how I was to be a delegate from the British Committee to the National Congress, and I asked Lord Ripon "cannot you give me a message to the Congress." I knew you would take it well and he did give me such a message. He said "tell them of my warm sympathy for the people of India (*three cheers for Lord Ripon were carried amidst loud acclamation*) and of the deep and continued interest I take in their welfare. Tell them of the very friendly recollection I have of the kindly feelings they entertained for me when I was there" (*cheers*). I might also add how very kindly Lady Ripon spoke of the way in which you gave them a hearty farewell when they left this country. I have to conclude and I will do so by telling you what impression this Congress has made upon me personally. I have come out here to see this vast concourse of people that are assembled from all parts of India discussing questions of high political importance and all in one language for the most part and that in my own mother-tongue (*cheers*). We have a proud boast among ourselves that wherever the English language goes, it carries with it seeds of freedom and justice (*cheers*). We at least hope that wherever people speak our tongue they will be people that will have the full measure of freedom and justice (*cheers*). We have that freedom at the present time and before long, if you continue on the very moderate and steady lines that you are continuing at present, I feel sure that hope will be realized. I cannot help thinking of some words of Lord Macaulay which are so familiar to you that I would not think of repeating them to you; when we know that they have a peculiar appropriateness on this special occasion. I would remind you of what he said in that memorable speech which is probably committed to memory by every educated Indian. But let me pick out a few sentences. He says: "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 capacity for a better Government, that having become instructed in European knowledge, they 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 to retard it. Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English History."... "The sceptre may pass away from us, unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound scheme of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverse. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our law" (*loud cheers*).

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THE HONOURABLE BABU BAIKUNTA NATH SEN (*Bengal*):—Mr. President, brother-delegates, ladies and gentlemen,—You have heard from the Chair that this is a resolution of vital importance to us. I have great pleasure in seconding this resolution. I deem it an honour to second this resolution, which has been moved by the lady-delegate representing our British Committee in England (*cheers*). I do not expect, I cannot expect to supplement by additional arguments or by new facts the arguments which have been so ably and skilfully put forward by the mover of this resolution. At the same time I have only to make a few observations in connection with this resolution having special reference to Indian matters. What politicians in England have spoken of in England in regard to the frontier policy you have heard. I will have to make a few remarks about the poverty of India and the heavy burden under which we have

been groaning, and how this frontier policy has been working in India. Now there can be no doubt that there has been a very large army consisting of European soldiers in India and that we have to pay a very large amount for these soldiers. The figure has been given. This has been necessitated by the policy known as the forward policy, since the time of the Government of Sir John Lawrence. This policy is not a policy of expansion of the British Empire. It is not a policy which has been propounded or followed for the annexation of territory. That is how it is put forward by men who follow this policy. It is a policy for the protection of India against foreign attacks. The question is, "Is such a large army now necessary for the protection of India?" No doubt after the Mutiny there was some justification for the increase in the English portion of the army. Is it now necessary to maintain that army? The whole army takes away one-third of the Indian revenue, one-third again—having regard to the gain we have made in exchange—for the home charges; and a bare one-third is left for the civil administration of the Empire. Can it then be denied that a heavy burden has been placed upon us? That this army is not necessary was, I may say, a matter of controversy, but the debateable character of it has been removed by the withdrawal of about 10,000 soldiers beyond the statutory boundaries of India for employment elsewhere. I believe it is not possible for these advocates, I mean politicians, who contend that this army is necessary—that it is no longer possible for them to argue that it is so. This demonstrates that this withdrawal of 11,000 soldiers demonstrates that it is not necessary. When these 11,000 troops could be removed at a time when the fullest strength of the protective army ought to be maintained here in times of peace, *a fortiori* this army at least is not necessary. If India had not been poor, if it had been that the Indian exchequer had continued full, if it had been that the Government of India would spend larger sums of money for the improvement of the civil administration, for the improvement of the material condition of 350 millions of Her Majesty's subjects, perhaps we might have said "keep on this army," we might not have grudged or grumbled. But this unnecessary expensive appertenance of sovereignty is simply a burdensome affair now. Time has come now when there ought to be a remedy. Time has come now when India ought to be relieved of a portion of the expenditure which is being incurred for the maintenance of this army. It is not the object of this resolution to reduce the number or to remove that portion of 20,000 from India. What the resolution aims at is the curtailment of expenditure, relief to the tax-payers and relief to the Government of India from the payment of a certain amount, and otherwise to enable the Government of India to make use of funds for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of Her Majesty's subjects. Let the army be kept here as a reserve force and let them be used elsewhere for the entire British Empire, whenever occasion may require. India is poor and cannot bear this burden. Perhaps, this too may be considered as a matter of controversy. It is not an admitted fact. There are some people who find prosperity in every creek and corner of India. We Indians, however, do not admit it. We have been crying and crying and calling out that India is poor. At present there is no room for doubting the fact; even the Government has conceded to a certain extent the proposition that India is poor. Agricultural indebtedness is admitted and what does that mean? Seventy per cent represents the agricultural population of India (*hear, hear*). In that case 10 per cent of the people are poor and the Government of India is now bent upon improving the condition of these agricultural people. The Government of India is undoubtedly seriously anxious to improve the condition of these agricultural people, and is also bent upon improving works of industrial art. I may mention in passing here that the Government of India, rather His Excellency the Viceroy, is serious and earnest in his expressions, and I may inform you, Sir, that, unasked, the Government of India has contributed Rs. 2,000 to one industrial school in Rajshahi in Bengal (*hear, hear*). That shows that His Excellency is in earnest in this respect. We can therefore very fairly hope that His Excellency would also support us in this resolution of ours. We can fairly calculate upon that. We would not be indulging in dreams. We can fairly reckon on the sympathy of the British Government in respect of the object of this resolution. With these remarks, gentlemen, I ask you to accept this proposition.

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Mr. Patvardhan

RESOLUTION III.

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MR. PATVARDHAN (Poona):—MR. PRESIDENT,—I have much pleasure in supporting the proposition which has been so eloquently moved and placed before you for your acceptance by Miss Garland, and which has been so forcibly seconded by the Honourable Babu Baikuntanath Sen. After what these speakers have said on the subject, very little is left for me to say, but with your permission I will make a few observations. Miss Garland has already told you that, judged by the standard recommended by the Royal Commission in 1859, the strength of the British troops in India is at present in excess of the standard by 11,000 troops, costing yearly 1½ crore of rupees. Later on, when the Army Commission sat in 1878—it was a commission of experts of Indian officials—they declared their opinion that the then existing strength of the Indian Army was sufficient to meet all the requirements, whether in connection with internal agitation or foreign aggression. They stated their opinion that the army then maintained was sufficient not only to meet any aggression from Russia alone, but even with Russia and Afghanistan combined. Notwithstanding this expression of opinion, and notwithstanding the candid and clear opposition of its own Finance Minister, the Government of Lord Dufferin in 1885 decided to add to the strength of the Indian Army by 30,000 men. And this addition, how was it utilized? As observed by Sir Auckland Colvin, it raised a temptation in the minds of military officials to use this addition on the frontier simply for the expansion of the British Empire. Recent events have also shown that large contingents of Indian troops could be spared for service outside India, and if these troops could be withdrawn from India, they should be treated as reserve located in India for Imperial purposes. Until last year we demanded a reduction in the number of the Indian Army. This demand was opposed by our Anglo-Indian friends on the ground that it was impractical and inexpedient on political grounds. Gentlemen, by the change in our position we disarmed this opposition. We now no longer ask for a reduction in the number of troops. We do not oppose the location of troops in India if they are necessary for meeting emergencies in the eastern regions. What we ask is that the proportion of forces which is in excess of the real requirements of the country be maintained as an Imperial reserve. It is but just and fair that the Imperial Parliament should contribute towards its cost, that poor India should not be saddled with this extra burden. We urge this with all earnestness especially in view of the ever-increasing poverty of India, the devastation made by the last famine and pestilence, and in view of the numerous reforms for which we have been crying year after year but crying in vain (*hear, hear*). In view of the facts that have been detailed to you by the previous speakers, it would not be unreasonable to ask that the cost of 20,000 British troops should be included in the English estimate and be borne by the English exchequer. Do you know what this cost comes to? It comes to about 8 crores of rupees; and if this sum were set free and placed at our disposal, what great gain it would be in carrying out reforms in connection with the internal administration for which we have pressed year after year. It will mean the immediate separation of the executive and judicial functions. It will mean a better manned and more efficient Police. It will mean larger grants on education, and other departments which have been more or less starved for want of funds. With these few observations I commend this proposition for your acceptance (*cheers*).

Pandit Hari Ram Panday.

HARI RAM PANDAY (Almora) in supporting the resolution said in Urdu:—

The resolution which I rise to support has been fully explained in English by the proposer and the seconder. I have only to explain it in Urdu, and give one or two more reasons in support of it. The European army in India numbers 70,000. That this number is far too large is proved by the fact that the number was much less in times of greater danger to India. When we have peace reigning in this land we certainly do not need 20,000 more English soldiers to maintain it. The only justification is that India is a part of the vast British empire, and it must have always an excess of European troops ready for service elsewhere. But we beg to say that if that be the need, the additional soldiers should be maintained at the cost of England, not of India. When it comes to the question of contributing towards the maintenance of the prestige of the

British empire, that part of it should pay for that maintenance which is best able to do so, and not a famine-stricken dependency such as India is.

The fact that the additional 20,000 are not needed in India is proved by the fact that 11,000 have lately been sent to the Transvaal. When the Hon'ble Mr. Chitnavis asked of His Excellency the Viceroy, during the course of the debate in the Imperial Legislative Council in March 1899, whether His Excellency would be pleased to reduce the English Army in India, the answer given was rather curt, and it was remarked by His Excellency himself that during his Viceroyalty not a single English soldier would be reduced. By a strange irony of fate 11,000 English troops were withdrawn from India not long after that remark from His Excellency. The peace of India has not a whit been affected by this withdrawal and should even this number be permanently taken off from us, we shall be much better off. The proposer of the resolution has shown that the cost of maintaining this large body of troops is about 1½ crores, and what relief would the reduction of this burden be to us can well be imagined (*cheers*).

PANDIT GYANAESHAWAR SHASTRI (Lucknow), in supporting the resolution, said in Hindi:—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The resolution I am called on to support relates to a question which concerns the well-being of our country as a whole. The fact that it is proposed by Miss Garland (*cheers*) who has come all the way from England to attend the present session of the Indian National Congress as a representative of the British Committee adds to its importance. Gentlemen, the resolution asks for reduction of military expenditure by transferring the cost of maintaining 20,000 English soldiers from the Indian to the British treasury. Gentlemen, India is a very poor country, and for it the burden of maintaining such a large body of European troops is unbearable. We, of course, admit that the defence of a country depends very much on its standing Army, and that a large body of British troops should be ready at hand for the security of this vast empire. But what we humbly urge is that, keeping in view the poverty of the people, there should only be as many troops here as are strictly necessary for its security and peace. When the Government despatched 10,000 British soldiers out of India for active service in the Transvaal, it must have considered the remaining troops to be enough for the security of the empire. This shows that the Army in India is more than is necessary for its requirements. Therefore I say that, if it is thought necessary to maintain a force beyond the requirements, let it be maintained by the British exchequer. No body would object to the location of British troops in India to serve as a reserve force for the whole of the British empire, but we should not be burdened with the cost of the extra army.

Gentlemen, we are fortunate in being the subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty, the *Rajashwari Maharani Victoria* (*cheers*), under whose just and benign Government every man can freely give expression to his views and aspirations and may also hope to attain them, if they are just, honest and reasonable. And, gentlemen, it is this belief which emboldens us to represent our wants to the Government, for it is by ventilating them that we can ever hope to realize them. We are to thank God that we are not under the tyrannical rule of *Russia* (*cheers*), under whose administration no one could dare utter even a single word on the political questions of the day. I am certain that our anti-Congress brethren will have no objection to this resolution, for the money thus saved will not be given to the Congresswallas (*laughter*), but will be applied for the good and benefit of the people of India. With these few remarks I beg to second this resolution, and hope that you will be good enough to carry it unanimously (*cheers*).

The resolution was put to vote and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—We will now adjourn for half an hour.

The Congress re-assembled at 4-30 P. M.

THE PRESIDENT:—I now call upon Mr. D. E. Wacha to move the next resolution.

D. E. WACHA (Bombay).—Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I beg to propose the following resolution:—

Resolution IV.—(a) That having regard to the fact that the principal cause of the loss by Exchange is the steady growth of demand on the Indian Exchequer for expenditure in England, this Congress regrets the introduction of a gold standard in

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erately chose to introduce into the country a gold currency against popular wishes, and here is the result of its impolicy.

Moreover, limping and halting as this currency is, it remains to be seen, how even with its gold reserve the Government is going to keep the yellow metal in the country. The question asked everywhere, specially by bankers and merchants, is firstly, whether gold will be retained in the country. Secondly, if retained, how much of it may go in circulation and how much of it may be hoarded? India, according to all state officials, is said to have vast heaps of hoarded gold? Is it likely that such a country will refuse to hoard a larger quantity of gold, best in coins or in other form, when gold flows in freely as is fondly expected? Is it at all unlikely that no sooner it flows in than it will be hoarded? Will not the people exchange the hoarded rupees for gold coins, and will they not go on continuing that process, while demanding more and more of rupees for ordinary purposes, specially with increasing population? If even such a wealthy country as the United States, with all elements in its favour, and with no ceaseless drain on the annual national wealth, as is the case with India, is often unable to retain gold, is it possible that this country, which is a debtor country, will be able to retain gold?

Rightly understood, the problem means that the use of gold should be avoided, and the metal which is most suitable, and which had greatly augmented India's prosperity, should be extensively utilised. The Government from the very first committed two huge fallacies: (1) that the rupee had fallen in value, and (2) that the currency was redundant. It fondly imagined that by linking India's currency system with that of England it would stimulate the flow of gold into this country. That is the delusion and I regret to have to observe that the latest sharer in that delusion is our Viceroy. In winding up the debate on the gold currency in September last, Lord Curzon, with a strange infatuation, partly inspired no doubt by the surrounding bureaucracy, which fattens on exchange compensation allowance, and partly by his own too imperfect acquaintance with this most intricate subject (*hear, hear*), pictured to us in magniloquent words, of which he is such a master, the bright visions which his currency measure would enable the people to realise. India would become rich beyond the dreams of avarice (*laughter*). It has only to establish a stable currency and gold will flow in millions from all gold-producing countries without stint to fertilise this poverty-stricken land and make every *raiyet* in the country prosperous, not to say aught of the happiness of those semi-starved, numbering some fifty millions, who now go year in and year out without one full meal a day (*hear, hear*). Let us all entertain the hope that this sanguine expectation of our golden visioned Viceroy may be realised; and that before he lays down his exalted office four years hence, he may have the satisfaction to see this land of perpetual misery and discontent converted into an *Eldorado*, bringing contentment and happiness at every door (*laughter*).

Meanwhile it may be asked whether it is true that a country's true property may be tested by the amount of the gold that may flow in it? In that case India is already rich? For have not officials told us, from Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Harrison downwards, that it possesses vast amounts of hoarded gold. That India is an open sesame before which the mines of Witwaterstrand would pale their auriferous lustre? (*laughter*). This is a new economic theory we have learned from our rulers. We have simply to import gold from foreign parts and we shall be rich. The gold will open up the country still requiring development. It will enable new industries to rise in our midst. It will afford bread to millions who are unoccupied now, but it will make two blades of corn grow where there grows one now. Gentlemen, I entertained no such delusion and I daresay you too do not. For a country's wealth is not measured by such a fact. Is it measured by the surplus of the annual produce raised, after consuming what is necessary? What is the phenomenon in India? Tested by the fundamental axiom of the economists, is India raising a surplus? and if so, does it retain it? I do not want for the answer, because we already know the ceaseless drain of the little surplus that remains to parts whence it never returns! As I remarked last year, the root of all India's poverty is this ceaseless drain of the national wealth. It is this which demands the export of over 30 to 40 millions of its produce which should properly remain in the country to fructify in the pockets

of the people? I daresay gold will flow in and that foreign exploiters in large numbers will locust-like spread over the land and eat its fat and marrow. But how will the people be benefited? The profits will be swept away elsewhere; and when the time comes, the capital itself will be withdrawn. Indigenous wealth alone can be fruitful. That capital only will increase further capital. The process may be slow but it will be sure. There will be no fear of such wealth being drained away. It will be the permanent wealth of the country. You have only to bear in mind our cotton and jute factories, our other small and large industries which have been fostered by indigenous capital multiplied and developed to understand this problem of national wealth, and its fructification in the country to which it is indigenous. All that foreign capital will do will be to give employments to an insignificant percentage of the vast population which hardly earns an anna per day. Beyond this I do not see what benefit Indians will derive.

Again, it is a moot question whether India offers, as many imagine, an unlimited and extensive field for investments by foreign capitalists, be it in silver or gold. What these will first ask, before bringing that capital here, is, whether there is a large field for profitable investment? In my opinion it is a fallacious cry, this whole question of exchange and reform of currency. I may inform you that there are countries where the existence of a forced paper currency and heavy indebtedness have not prevented the flow of gold, and there are countries where, with almost all the economic conditions of India, prosperity prevails, in spite of foreign indebtedness. Take Argentina; who is unaware of the depression of exchange there? Who is unaware of the insolvency of that headlong state? But have their circumstances, combined with a priced paper currency, seriously hindered the outflow of millions upon millions of British capital? Now take the case of Mexico. I will refer to an able letter from a correspondent which appeared in the *Statist* of 30th September last. In 1893 it was proposed to President Duz, a far-seeing statesman (and I wish we had one like him at our finance helm), that Mexico should adopt a gold standard or effect some composition in respect of gold liabilities. He had, however, the courage to refuse to entertain the proposal. The correspondent there observes: "The result has more than justified his action, for the increase in the trade and prosperity of Mexico, on a silver basis, has been since 1893 truly remarkable as the following figures will show, which figures are all the more extraordinary as they are stated not in Mexican currency but in true sterling."

	Imports.	Exports.	Balance.
	£	£	£
1894	6,043,790	8,766,383	2,722,593
1895	7,249,009	11,298,398	4,049,389
1896	9,395,547	11,746,999	2,351,452
1897	7,841,143	12,875,590	5,034,447
1898	9,121,610	13,871,513	4,749,703

These figures are an eloquent testimony of what Mexico has been able to achieve during the very years in which, panic-stricken, the Government of India 'closed the mints,' the year of unstable exchange. Had there been the same resolution which President Duz displayed during a very trying time, India might have been saved all the mischief which has been witnessed since "that crime" of 26th June 1893 was enacted.

Coming to the second part of the resolution, it may be observed that the evils which are certain to arise from the operations of the new measure are manifest and need no exposition from me. In my observations from the platform last year I had referred to them. But it may be just as well to restate them in a different form. The evils are to the producers in the first instance. I will explain how the Rupee works. I need hardly inform you that the true Rupee is a Rupee of 180 grains of standard silver at its market value, with 4 grains for mintage. The bullion value of the silver has greatly fallen owing to the closure of the mints. In other words, silver is now a commodity and is sold many percentages cheaper than it used to be before that mea-

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India on the recommendations of the Currency Committee for the purpose of preventing loss by exchange, and is of opinion that the new measure is calculated to increase the gold obligations of India.

(b) That this Congress is further of opinion that the decision accepted by the Government will in effect add to the indebtedness of the poorer classes in India, depreciate the value of their savings in the shape of silver ornaments, and virtually add to their rents and taxes.

(c) That this Congress is further of opinion that the decision accepted by the Government is likely to be prejudicial to the indigenous manufactures of the country.

The subject of currency reform is not a new one to you. This is the fourth time that it is being discussed from the Congress platform. It was in 1892 that I first moved a resolution on the closure of the mints, which was then eminently pending. Seven years have rolled by since that occasion at the Allahabad Congress. But that period has witnessed most far-reaching changes in the commerce and industry of the country and the economic condition of the poorest masses. The currency measures of the Government have from the very outset met with universal opposition from the people. As I have said over and over again, the cry for a gold currency is the cry of the official classes who wanted their exchange compensation allowance, and of a handful of interested foreign traders. There was nothing the matter with the silver currency, which was admitted on all hands to be most suitable and convenient for the masses, and, therefore, from the point of view of the economist, a most sound one. But I need not detain you at this late hour, with a heavy agenda still to be disposed of during the two following days, with a narration of accomplished facts which are history, though a most unsatisfactory history, in Indian finance and economics. It is unsatisfactory because, from the very outset, the Government took an unstatesmanlike and unpopular view of the so-called "low exchange." It erred in its policy of currency reform from the beginning, and it may be justly said to have erred to the end of the chapter. In short, it is a chapter of a series of blunders which would never have been tolerated in any other part of the civilised world (*hear, hear*). What those errors were, I pointed out last year. Since then the Currency Committee has made its report and the Secretary of State has adopted its recommendations. These, in turn, have been light-heartedly accepted by the Government of India, and formed the subject of legislation the other day at Simla. The latest nostrum is now the law of the land. The recommendations, however, were discounted long before the Currency Committee drew up its report. Almost the entire banking and commercial world of India, and the most experienced bankers and merchants in London, had forecast with perfect accuracy what they would be soon after the first session of the sittings of the Committee was concluded. Just as Lord Herschell's Committee registered the foregone conclusion of the Government of India about the closure of the mints, the Committee, the official Committee almost, I may say, of which Sir Henry Fowler was the President, registered the previous determination of the Indian Government and the Secretary of State touching the introduction of Gold Currency into India. It was a lucky incident that the severe famine of 1896-97 came to the help of the Government to improve exchange. But all the abnormal elements which contributed to a rise in exchange in 1897-98 had not disappeared by the time that the Committee reported. Thus, it enabled that body to indulge in the delusion that an exchange of sixteen pence per rupee would be a stable one and be maintained. While the Secretary of State was endorsing the opinion, the greatest fear was entertained of the monsoon of 1899. Subsequent events confirmed the fear. Famine, of greater intensity than that of 1896-97, has again overtaken the land. In fact it was almost synchronous with the latest currency legislation to which the resolution I have read to you refers. Practically, then, the abnormal elements which for a time kept exchange steady at 16 pence have not disappeared. They will continue to be active factors for another year or two. But meanwhile it gives the Government providential opportunity to proclaim that stability which only the meretricious elements have brought into play in the mechanism of money and

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exchange (*hear, hear*). Whether, when the normal state of conditions has been re-established, this stability will be maintained is a moot question. It may or may not. The probabilities are for an exchange nearer 15 than 16 pence. But it is just possible that the measures the Government of India are now taking, under the recent legislation, to bolster up its artificial currency, may have some effect during the process of return of foreign trade to normal conditions. In other words, all will depend on the future of Indian exports. It should, however, be remembered that experienced merchants, connected with the Indian trade, on the board of the Currency Committee, have recorded a minute of dissent observing that an exchange of 15 pence would be nearer the natural line than one of 16 pence.

But to return to the recommendations of the Committee. Though it formulates the foregone conclusion that the effective establishment of a gold standard is "of paramount importance to the material interests of India," it adds an important proviso which declares that the Government of India should take steps "to husband the resources at their command, and exercise a resolute economy and restrict the growth of gold obligations." It will be thus perceived that the Fowler Committee agrees with the Congress in thinking that a limit to the country's growing liabilities in gold, to which I referred at the last Congress, is of paramount importance if stability to exchange is at all to be ensured. Otherwise, the whole expenditure and resources of the state on its new nostrum will be almost akin to the rolling of the stone of Isyphus (*hear, hear*).

Coming to what they call "an effective gold standard," the law for the present says nothing as to what should constitute a legal tender for rupees. The rupee currency, as you all know, is, technically, a huge token currency. It is officially declared that "existing conditions of India do not warrant the imposition of a limit on the amount for which they should contribute a legal tender; indeed, for some time to come no such limitation can be contemplated." It is clear from the extract just quoted that the Government realises at the very outset of its new enterprise in currency reform the practical difficulties it has to overcome to get rid of the rupee token currency. The difficulties are many and may appal the boldest and soundest currency reformer. How can the vast internal trade of the country be carried out without a silver currency which shall be an illimitable legal tender, is the problem—it is the *pons asinorum* which our financial authorities at head-quarters will have to cross before they can with a clear conscience and courage proclaim that they have been able to establish an effective gold standard. This is the most valuable part of the new measure. It is its weakest point. In fact Mr. Dawkins, as a practical financier, was quick to perceive it. Hence that statement the other day in the Supreme Legislative Council at Simla, that the Government was not "hostile" to rupees, which must remain the internal currency for all intents and purposes. But if so, may we not ask where was the good to introduce a gold currency. Practically, the Government has here indirectly acknowledged that it is not possible to do without the silver currency, which has been the natural currency for so many years past (*hear, hear*). It is meet that the Congress should take note of this important fact.

Lastly, the State declares that though Government will receive gold and pay out rupees, it will not exchange gold for rupees. Here again is another valuable point. To declare that gold will be as easily exchangeable as rupees would be to toll the death-knell of its favourite measure. The Government is conscious of its own feebleness in this particular matter. It has not the strength to exchange gold for rupees. It may try to have a gold reserve. It has already accumulated about 7 crores. And it may accumulate even double that sum. But that may not suffice. It would demand perhaps twice and thrice fifteen crores before it can command public confidence in its gold currency and put it on a sound and stable footing. And so long as it cannot inspire that confidence in the public, the present measure must be considered halting. Practically we have what may be called a limping currency. And I need not tarry to inform you of the opinions of bankers and merchants, let alone economists, as to the effects of such a currency. No strong Government which is desirous to be financially sound, can for any length of time have such a currency. But the Government delib-

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sure was introduced into this country. The market value, therefore, of the 180 grains of silver contained in the Rupee is considerably less. Say, for instance, that if the silver in the Rupee was originally worth 14 annas, it is worth about 9 or 10 annas now. Therefore it is really a depreciated Rupee. It is the current coin of the realm—the coin which the vast mass of the population require for daily use. But the closure of mints has had this effect. That owing to its divorce from bullion, for purposes of the State, it is artificially given a value which it will not fetch in the market. It is made to serve as an equivalent of sixteen pence in the Rupee, when it is really not worth ten or eleven pence. This therefore, so far as the public is concerned, is a dishonest Rupee. Or, speaking in a popular way, we may say that one and half of the honest Rupee is equal to one of the dishonest. What is the significance of such a condition of the Rupee in the domestic economy of the people. This only. That it is practically an additional, though indirect, taxation levied by the State on the people. I need not inform you that the majority of the population, say, 70 per cent., are producers. These producers mostly have to meet the fixed demand of the state for land revenue assessments. That demand has now to be satisfied in the appreciated Rupee artificially fixed upon by the State. To the extent that he pays his dues in that currency, he is overtaxed. The number of Rupees is the same, but he has to count them at a higher value arbitrarily fixed. To that extent it is tantamount to an enhancement of his assessment, and therefore an additional taxation imposed upon him. While this is the state of affairs, what is his income? The result of the artificially-managed Rupee is a fall in the price of his produce. The same quantity of produce which gave him, say, a hundred Rupees before, gives him now only sixty to seventy Rupees. Thus his income is diminished. On the one hand, he has to pay indirect taxation by way of land rent; on the other, he has to be content with diminished receipts for his produce. The producer accordingly suffers both ways. You have to conceive the injury done. It is mathematically demonstrated that this artificial or dishonest Rupee has practically crippled his originally meagre resources. It means that in future he must more and more depend on his money-lender. But, as I am now referring to the money-lender, I may just as well say that just as the producer is obliged to meet his State obligations in the enhanced Rupee, so he has to meet his liabilities to the money-lender in the same coin. That involves another hardship. Both rent and debts have to be paid in the enhanced Rupee. To that extent the *riyayat* is poorer than before. So great an authority as Mr. Stephen Rali, whose vast trade with Indian produce entitles him to speak with confidence on such a subject, observed in his evidence before the Currency Committee (Question 6137) that it is practically a tax on industry. It checks cultivation. Other witnesses, such as Mr. Steel, Sir Forbes Adam and others, described at length, from their intimate acquaintance with the trade of India and the producers, the evils of this artificially-managed Rupee. All were in favor of the re-opening of the mints and averred that the present condition threatens to check India's prosperity.

Apart from the producers there is a large section of the poorer population whose small savings consist of silver trinkets. When we take their aggregate value into consideration, no doubt it comes to millions of Rupees. But when we divide these millions by the number of the population, the quotient is indeed very small. It comes to an insignificant sum of 5 to 6 annas per head! This is the saving in silver hoarded over a period of fifty years! Now the silver of these was undoubtedly sold at any time in the bazaar the rate of a Rupee per tola. What is the price of silver now? It does not beyond 10 or 11 annas per tola. So that practically there is a loss of at least five annas. A silver trinket, say, a bangle worth 10 Rupees before the closure of the mints, is now worth only 6½ Rupees. In reality, by one cruel stroke of the pen of our currency quacks, the silver value of the hoardings of the masses has been diminished by 40 to 50 per cent! Is that no injury to the poorest? These and other evils, as well as the mischief rendered to indigenous industries, have been well brought out in the evidence which our President so ably gave before the Currency Committee. And I would exhort delegates to study it, if they care to learn to the fullest the mischief which the artificially-managed State currency has introduced into the country. I will only quote here what the Lords of the British Treasury thought of the proposal in 1879,

when the Government of India had approached them through the Secretary of State. The force of the argument urged by the Treasury has not in any way been expended by the lapse of years. On the contrary, it has been greatly emphasised. Said the Lord of the Treasury: "Generally the object of such Governments (referring to Governments with depreciated currency) has been to diminish the amount they have to pay to their creditors. In the present case, the object of the Indian Government appears to be to increase the amount they have to receive from their tax-payers. My Lords fail to see any real difference in the character of the two transactions;" and again, "This relief will be given at the expense of the Indian tax-payer, and with the effect of increasing every debt or fixed payment in India, including debts due by *riyats* to money-lenders." I think I have now sufficiently described to you the economic evils certain to arise from the new measure of currency. It is to be hoped that, therefore, the Government will soon see its way to retrace its steps. In such a course alone lies the future prosperity of the country, already retarded and grievously injured. Speaking as I do in this place, I am confident that the operations of the Act must force the Government sooner or later to revert to the old currency, which was suited to the country, and which, according to the testimony of almost all experts, had, despite the fall in the value of silver measured by gold, induced the greatest prosperity in the land and stimulated and developed industries. There is a ray of hope that the step may be taken. In his speech in the Viceregal Legislative Council in September last, Mr. Dawkins observed that the Government would not fail to consider at a future time any well-considered proposal which may have the effect of rehabilitating silver and restoring the Rupee. Let us all hope that such may be the case. With these observations I commend the resolution to your approval (*applause*).

MR. RAMESWAMI (*Madras*):—MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I beg to second the resolution which has been ably put before you, and in doing so, I wish to survey in brief the present situation.

Time was in the first part of the century when one could purchase a sovereign for 8 Rupees. But on account of various reasons, such as the adoption of a gold instead of a silver standard by various countries as France and Germany, and the over-production of silver in the world's mines, the value of silver fell in relation to gold and other substances and the consequence was that the Rupee also fell in value. This has been for a long time the exchange difficulty of the Government of India and furnished a pretext for saying that the budgets of deficiency are due to the fall in exchange which was beyond their control. But it was conclusively shown by the Honourable Mr. Playfair and other able writers on the subject that their real difficulty is not exchange but the increase in the gold debts of the Indian Government, or what are called the Home Charges. Mr. Montgomery Martin, writing in 1838 about the then annual drain—about a tenth of what it is now—said, "So constant and accumulative a drain, even in England, would soon impoverish her."

The Government sought for a remedy. The proposal of closing the mints to silver was first made in 1878 by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, but was rejected when Sir John Strachey said a sound system of currency must be automatic and self-regulating. A second attempt by the Government was rejected by the Lords of the Treasury at home. The only attempt to arrive at an international agreement was made, at the instance of America, at the Brussels Conference, which, however, failed on account of the monometallic inclination of England. Lord Herschell's Committee was then appointed and the result was the coming legislation of 1893, the crime of June 26th. The rupee rose in value but the metal silver remained in value as before. This artificial divorce of the metal from the coin depreciated the savings of the Indians in silver, which are now worth less in rupees, and the tax-payer has to part with more of his produce to obtain a certain number of rupees. The legislation of 1893 was only tentative. The Fowler Committee was then appointed and it recommended the adoption of a gold standard without mutual convertibility, and this emphasised and permanently fixed the gold obligations of India. Our distinguished President brought this to the notice of the Committee, but was not answered, except perhaps in a feeble article by the Earl of Northbrook in the *National Review*. Another consequence is that

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Indian trade, especially the mill industry, has suffered on account of the advantage given to silver-using countries when the coin maintained its natural value. What we advocate is to go to the root of the evil by lessening the Home Charges themselves.

In this connection, you Sir, Mr. President, who stand as a pillar of strength to the Indian nation, and whose valuable services in England, in the press and on the platform for our cause cannot be sufficiently praised, deign to accept the warm tribute of love, respect and admiration from one who, though an humble and unknown unit amidst the teeming millions of India, had yet been for many years a silent worshipper of your unseen personality in the shrine of his heart.

BABU SITARAM SETH (*Sitapur*) supported the resolution in Urdu.

The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—I will now ask Dr. Nilratan Sarkar to move the next resolution.

Dr.
Nilratan
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Separation
of Military
and Civil
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DR. NILRATAN SARKAR (*Bengal*):—Mr. PRESIDENT, The resolution runs as follows:—

Resolution V.—That this Congress is of opinion that the union of the military and civil medical services is extravagant, inconvenient and prejudicial to the interests of the Government as well as of the people, and strongly urges the necessity for the separation of the two services by the creation of a distinct Civil Medical Department recruited by open simultaneous competition in England and India.

Our contention, gentlemen, is very humble and simple. We hold that in the Civil Department of medical education, of sanitation, of scientific research and medical relief, much more efficient work than you obtain at present may be expected at a lower cost, if the reforms advocated in this scheme be adopted. Our views have been endorsed by high medical authorities both in England and India. At the last annual meeting of the British Medical Association held at Potsdam, a similar resolution was about to be passed but lost by two votes. We expect better luck next time. Dr. Harvey, our Surgeon-General, who was present at the meeting, denied that there was any monopoly, and that in a way supports our contention. Now, while denying that there was any monopoly, he said that the Government of India, while filling up vacancies in this Department from the ranks of the military services, were always inclined to utilise the services of specialists when an occasion presented itself. He supported his contention by referring to the appointment of Mr. Hankin as Bacteriologist to the Government of India, who was not only not a military man but even not a medical man. Now, gentlemen, his words are very re-assuring indeed. A case in point is about to arise in the next two or three months. In Calcutta the chair of Physiology will become vacant. There are at the present moment two Indian gentlemen who are quite worthy to fill this appointment. One is Dr. Rama Row who is holding a subordinate appointment in Bombay, and another is a gentleman who is now holding a similar appointment in Cardiff as professor of Physiology and officiating for Dr. Haycroft. I hope that Dr. Harvey will give another occasion to thank him when the occasion presents itself. This, Sir, I must say: the interests of economy and the efficiency of service are often disregarded in the matter of this appointment. I know in the Presidency College of Calcutta there are two Chemists, one drawing a pay of Rs 800, another Rs 400 a month. Both of these gentlemen are experts whose reputation has reached outside the limits of India, in fact, Europe and England. In a sister college, I mean the Medical College, a similar appointment is held by a military medical man whose researches in chemistry, I must say, have not yet seen the light of day, but whose researches in the field of Buddhistic archæology (*voices "shame"*), as well as in the most intricate question of the scientific debate of the Bengal frontier, are very much appreciated (*laughter*). These are subjects for a commission to investigate. Gentlemen, I do not want to detain you any further. I am glad the Government also endorses our view to some extent. The Government of India have, during the last two or three years, thrown open six or seven higher appointments of Civil Surgeoncies to members of the Subordinate Service. From the point of view of Assistant Surgeons we have to thank the Government of India heartily. From the point of view of medical reforms, so far as the question of

medical reforms is concerned, I must say it is only a measure, it is only a patch-work. It is only a total adoption of the scheme which is laid down in this resolution that can prevent the interests of higher medical education, of scientific research, and of sanitation and medical relief from being sacrificed at the altar of service-prejudice and vested interests. With these remarks I commend the resolution to you.

DR. T. N. NAIR (*Madras*):—GENTLEMEN,—At this late hour of the day, I do not mean to advance any argument in support of this proposition. We have argued, and argued successfully, for a number of years and even some of our most bitter opponents have been partially converted to our view. The defence of Surgeon-General Harvey at Portsmouth of the present system was not a real defence at all. He made out that there was no monopoly by the Indian Medical Service people, and not only instanced Dr. Hankin, but he has also brought out two other instances which were equally ineffectual. One was the instance of Dr. Haffkine, Plague Specialist, and the other curiously enough was Dr. Bahadurji himself. We all know that Dr. Bahadurji never held an appointment which was reserved for the Indian Medical people. We all know that Professor Haffkine was brought in because there was no Indian Medical Officer who could do the work. He has been brought in out of sheer necessity. His pay is defrayed out of plague charges. We cannot say that Professor Haffkine is filling up a post which is reserved for the Indian Medical people. He is not on the regular medical establishment in India. It is a significant fact that the British Medical Association rejected the proposition at Portsmouth, which is a stronghold of military people, by a majority; and I hope that before I again bring this proposition at the next Congress, I may be able to report to you that the British Medical Association has passed this resolution by a majority. With these remarks I second the proposition (*cheers*).

The resolution was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—There is another resolution on the printed list, but we cheerfully postpone this and very respectfully make room for the learned and patriotic gentleman who is going to address you this evening. The Hon'ble Mr Justice Ranade is going to address you in this Hall in connection with the Indian Social Conference. I have no doubt you will give him a cordial and enthusiastic reception, which his high talents, his high patriotism, have always secured from you (*cheers*). This Congress will meet here to-morrow at 12 o'clock. The Subjects Committee will meet in half an hour in the Reading Room.

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THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, the 29th December 1899.

Third Day.

The Congress re-assembled at 12 o'clock noon.

BABU BANSILAL SINGH:—BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Messrs. Friend & Co. of Muttra have sent this garland as a present to our illustrious President, which I have much pleasure in presenting to him on their behalf.

The President was garlanded amidst loud cheers.

THE PRESIDENT:—Before commencing the proceedings, I wish to intimate to you that I have just received another telegram from one of the most illustrious workers among us, Raj Deena Krishna Bhai, offering to us his warm sympathy with this Congress movement. I received for this Congress a donation, or rather a gift, from an Ahmedabad firm, Sorabji Karaka & Co., and with your permission I would read their letter. They say: "We beg to forward to your address a Railway parcel containing seventy-seven pairs of *dhotiers*, the value of which is Rs. 170, and we request that these *dhotiers* may be sold and the money credited to the permanent funds of the Congress (*cheers*)." I have placed this letter before the leaders of the Congress and they, in conveying their thanks to the Company, decided that instead of the *dhotiers* being sold they should be distributed to the poor and the deserving.

The first business on the list to-day is the constitution. Gentlemen, it has been decided to give the delegates another period of 24 hours, and therefore after we have maturely considered the rules of the constitution and passed them through the Business Committee, we shall have great pleasure in placing them before you to-morrow. I shall therefore ask Mr. S. V. Bhate to move the second resolution.

MR. S. V. BHATE (Bombay):—The resolution which is placed for acceptance runs as follows:—

Resolution VI.—That it is the opinion of this Congress that the principle embodied in the Foreign Telegraphic Press Messages Bill now pending before the Supreme Legislative Council is opposed to the policy followed by the British Government in India as to the unrestricted dissemination of useful knowledge and information, and that no adequate necessity is shown to exist for the passing of the proposed measure in British India.

The principle which this regulation involves is one the importance of which can scarcely be overestimated. The mission of the British Government in India is a very noble and a very exalting one and the specific declarations which have been made from time to time have shown that that mission is to raise the fallen millions of India to their own level and to fit them for self-government. The principle involved in the Bill which has been for some time past on the legislative anvil is distinctly antagonistic to the principle which had been consistently followed and acted upon by the Government of India in the exercise of its legitimate activities for nearly 50 years. Now we find that for the first time a departure from that policy seems to have found favour with our rulers. The question is why, at this juncture especially, that principle should have been departed from in a spirit of levity. You will find that this copyright Bill is a Bill for which no necessity is shown to have existed at all. What is the view which seems to have influenced the authorities in the introduction of this measure into the Legislative Council of India at this particular juncture. The view seems to be no other than that which affects the interests, not of the Government of the country, but of the Anglo-Indian newspaper press of the country. What is the view? The view is that in the event of the Vernacular newspaper press being allowed the benefit of the telegrams received by the Anglo-Indian press from the foreign parts, then the competition that is supposed to exist between the Vernacular newspaper press and

the Anglo-Indian press would cease. Is there any the least ground for believing that such a competition exists between the two sections of the press? If you will go into the matter, you will find that there is not the slightest foundation for the notion that there is any such competition between these two sections of the press. On the contrary, I find that the Vernacular press has its own exclusive sphere of action which is not reached by the Anglo-Indian press of the country. Why then is this view uppermost in the thoughts of these people? If you look into the Statement of Objects and Reasons which is generally appended to every Bill introduced into the Council, you will find a very significant statement: that this question has been before the Legislative Department for more than a decade, and it is for the first time that this question seems to have been embodied in the shape of this Bill which is now put on the legislative anvil. Now you see that this intervening time is a very significant fact—that there was that view which seems to have been urged upon the responsible authorities of Government. In the beginning the Legislature seems to have given a cold shoulder to this view and the question seems to have been pigeon-held for 10 years. Now that question has been rescued from that place and brought forward in the shape of this Bill. What strikes every man familiar with India is that kind feeling which seems to be at the bottom of class legislation, and the principle that governs the action of Government in its relations with all its subjects, of whatever race or creed, inhabiting this empire, is the principle which is distinctly antagonistic to any such thing as the encouragement of racial animosity and sectional hatred. And yet we find that principle is deviated from. For what reason? As I told you, for the supposed competition between the two sections of the press in India. The policy of the Government has been to encourage the native vernacular press because it goes without saying that the vernacular press is the safety valve (*hear, hear*). If it is proved that the native press is a safety valve, why should such a step as this be taken in a deliberate and wanton way to destroy that safety valve? Is there anything in the vernacular press of the country to justify the apprehension that such a thing as this class legislation is necessary. Therefore the word "carefully" introduced into the legislation is that this principle as to the unrestricted dissemination of useful knowledge is a principle which has found recognition at the hands of our Government. Times out of number it has been shown that there is no necessity whatever for any departure from this principle. Thus you see that the Bill is one which is distinctly antagonistic to the principle which has been recognised all along. This Bill seems to be a part and parcel of the policy which is due to a change in the feeling of Government towards us. Whether that is altogether justifiable or not is not a question that I have to deal with. The fact remains that there is a change of feeling and this legislation owes its origin to that change of feeling. I would ask you to consider whether this change is in any way justifiable, and if it is not so, it is our duty to place before Government our deliberate conviction that the principle as to the unrestricted dissemination of knowledge which has been acted upon and followed in all its actions hitherto is a principle which may be usefully followed for years to come, and that any such thing as a departure from that principle will be fruitful of results which will be anything but desirable. I am a layman. I understand by copyright—this is the Bill relating to copyright in telegrams—to be something which protects the production of inventive genius. What is the originality or the inventive genius in these telegrams? Something takes place in a particular part of the globe and that thing on the haphazard chance of being found acceptable or interesting is wired to us. There can be no such thing as copyright in them. Even the very name of it seems to be a little open to criticism. With these few observations I would ask you to pass this resolution in order that our rulers, in the exercise of their legislative powers, may be induced to re-survey their position and after considering the whole situation, as placed before them in a dispassionate, unbiassed and calm spirit, consign this Bill to the pigeon-hole from which it seems to have been unwisely rescued (*cheers*).

HAJEE RIAZUDDIN AHMAD (Barilly) in seconding the resolution in an Urdu speech said:—

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The resolution, which I have been called upon to support, refers to the Press Messages Bill. At the instance of a few Anglo-Indian

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Mr. S. V. Bhate.

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Press Messages Bill.

Mr. S. V. Bhate.

RESOLUTION. VI.

Press Messages Bill.

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Haji Ri-
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At a time when so much attention is paid to the encouragement of education it is a pity that such obstacles should be created. The progress of the Indian Press, rather its very existence, depends on the English Press. Native papers are started with a small capital and if the Managers were not actuated with a desire to serve their country, there would not have been so many papers as we find to-day. Many incidents happen which deserve immediate notice. How will it be possible to do so after this legislation.

If the Bill, as it stands at present, becomes law it will injure, along with Anglo-Native papers, several purely Vernacular dailys. Government should either withdraw the Bill or at least reduce the period of protection.

This Bill has been strenuously opposed by the Bombay Presidency Association and stands condemned by all public bodies. As suggested by our President, had there been Indians in the Executive Council, they would have prevented the introduction of such a measure into the Legislative Council. As soon as this measure becomes Law, it will further increase the bitterness and litigation. I hope you will unanimously pass this resolution, as this is one of those resolutions which equally effect the Hindus and the Mohomadians. In N.-W. P., Oudh and the Punjab, the majority of Urdu papers are owned by Mohomadians whose interest will be rather more injured, because they start papers without sufficient capital.

Those who allege that the objects of the National Congress are opposed to the Mohomadan interest should, in the light of this resolution, see whether the National Congress promotes the general interests of the whole country or those of Hindus alone (*cheers*).

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

THE HONORABLE BABOO SURENDRA NATH BANNERJI (*Calcutta*), who on rising was received with loud cheers said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I have the honour to move this resolution :—

Resolution VII.—That this Congress expresses its disapproval of the reactionary policy, subversive of local self-government, as evidenced by the passing of the Calcutta Municipal Act, in the face of the unanimous opposition of the people of India, and by the introduction into the Legislative Council of Bombay of a similar measure which will have the effect of seriously jeopardising the principle of local self-government.

Sir, when last year we met in Congress in the town of Madras we ventured to express the hope that it might be our privilege to associate the name and fame of Lord Curzon with the reversal of that policy of repression and reaction which is now in the ascendant in the Councils of the Empire. I cannot say that that hope has been realised. I am bound to say that that hope has not been realised. For within the last twelve months we have had two notable illustrations of this policy of repression in the enactment of the Calcutta Municipal Bill and in the introduction into the Legislative Council of Bombay of a measure which will emasculate the principle of local self-government in the towns of Western India (*hear, hear*). But, Sir, I think I speak the sense of this great Congress, the sense of the representatives of educated India, when I say that we distinctly decline to associate Lord Curzon with that policy which our conscience has disapproved and our judgment condemned (*hear, hear*). In free and constitutional countries the sovereign stands isolated and apart from the conflict of parties and the bitterness of feelings which these conflicts awaken. The sovereign belongs to no party, is identified with no class interest (*hear, hear*), the sovereign stands high above all parties, the jarring note of party strife does not reach his ears (*cheers*). From his exalted position animated by that inspiration which such a position cannot fail to impart, he holds the scales evenly and dispenses impartial justice between man and man and party and party (*cheers*). The position of the Viceroy of India is different. As the representative of the sovereign, he is the fountain of mercy, the repository of honour, the dis-

penser of justice (*hear, hear*), but there is also another side to his character. He is the first, the most trusted, the highest, the most responsible minister of the crown (*cheers*), directing, guiding and controlling the policy of the State, infusing into it a large-hearted benevolence, relaxing the rigour of our cast-iron system, accentuating, deepening and strengthening those forces which make for progress and which, though their career might be temporarily arrested, are bound to assert themselves in this world of God's providence, for all things tend steadily, though slowly, towards the approximation of that perfection which is the divine ideal (*cheers*). We recognise the dual character of the Viceroy as the representative of the sovereign, and also as the first minister of the crown. We are fully alive to the peculiarity of the situation. All the same we decline, distinctly decline on your behalf, to associate him with that policy which this resolution condemns. For, as the representative of the sovereign, it will be our duty later on to approach him for the redress of that grievance of which we complain in this resolution. We dissociate him from that policy, we separate the man from the ruler (*hear, hear*), the statesman from the politician, for we cannot bring ourselves to believe that a ruler so sympathetic in his utterances, so generous, so large-hearted in his views, so keenly appreciative of the situation, will countenance a policy opposed to the best traditions of British rule, repugnant to all that is highest, noblest and truest in British statesmanship. For the echoes of his great speech are still ringing in our ears, that speech which he delivered to an assembly of the Taluqdars of Oudh. Read that speech, contrast that speech with the policy. The speech, how noble, how generous, how sympathetic; the policy, how narrow, how illiberal, how un-English (*hear, hear*). English veracity, said the Viceroy, in language which I hope will be written upon the portals of Government House, upon the entrance to the Council Chambers, (*hear, hear*), has done more to establish and preserve this Oriental Empire than English valour and discipline (*cheers*). Never were truer things said in more felicitous language and if English veracity has won this great Empire for India, might we not look confidently forward for a practical illustration of that principle in the policy of the Viceroy (*cheers*)? Might we not hope for a reconciliation between principle and policy, and between word and action? Might we not confidently look forward to that highest form of veracity which is the crowning glory of statesmanship, which has built, which has consolidated and which has extended this vast fabric of Imperial sway? Sir, if you will permit me for one moment as I am on this subject of the Viceroy, I will refer to a local application of that speech which seems to have a significant bearing upon the demonstration which seems to have taken place in this city. The Viceroy dealt with special emphasis, in that speech addressed to the Taluqdars of Oudh, upon the lesson, the great lesson of reconciliation, between those who, on the occasion of the Mutiny, fought on behalf of the British Government and those who took another part. Now, Sir, in this historic city, in this home of reconciliation, our hosts—for I conceive that we are the guests of the whole city, that Lucknow is treating to great act of hospitality, that is, Hindus, Mahomedans and even officials, Congressmen and anti-Congressmen, we are all the guests of them, (*cheers*)—our hosts have raised a discordant note. They have ventured to record a protest against this movement. I am anxious and willing to speak of them in terms of the utmost possible respect. I am prepared to extend to them that courtesy and consideration which they have denied to us. But I will say this—that it is rather late in the day to record a protest against the movement which has now been fifteen years in existence (*cheers*), to which official recognition has been extended and whose undying achievements are written in characters of gold in the enduring pages of modern Indian History (*cheers*). There never was a more striking personality among the Mahomedans of this generation than the late Sir Syed Ahmed. Of Sir Syed Ahmed I desire to speak in terms of the greatest admiration and praise. We worship in opposite temples, we belong to opposing political systems. Whatever our differences might have been, they lie entombed in that grave where remain the illustrious dead (*cheers*). Sir Syed Ahmed founded a Patriotic Association with a view to oppose the Congress movement. He was supported by official and retired Anglo-Indian gentlemen. He had his supporters in England. Despite all his influence, all the official backing and all the weight of his striking personality, what has become of the Patriotic Association? (*laughter*) The ways of all,

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things of evil is all sham, all show, all impositions, all possibilities of achievements; their counterparts in the eternal verity of things are bound to disappear in this world of God's providence (*cheers*). That is written in the book of Time with the pencil of the Almighty. One observation I wish to make with reference to the statement which was published authoritatively by the Raja of Mahmoodabad. He is a personal friend of mine. I have the honour of his acquaintance. I have not used the past tense because I hope he will consider me still a friend. He said that the Congress propaganda was a propaganda calculated to spread disaffection among our people (*laughter*). Well Sir, if that was the case, we should have been taken under the merciful protection of the Government long ago, specially after the revision of the sedition law (*cheers*). I wish to tell the Taluqdars of Oudh and all whom it may concern, I wish to remind them of what Sir Antony MacDonnell said (*cheers*) with reference to this movement in 1890. He was then Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. He was approached by the Chairman of our Reception Committee, and the words of Sir Antony MacDonnell were repeated by the Chairman of the Reception Committee in his speech. Sir Antony MacDonnell said, "I will not think worse or better of anybody for having attended the Congress". Sir, who are the men who are bitterly disloyal,—the men, who say ditto to every measure of Government, who in season and out of season sing the praise of Government, who suffer and suffer in silence of bitterness of unknown and unknowable sorrow, or those who, like myself, give expression, frank expression, to our grievances, raise the danger signal and call the attention of Government and press for remedy? Sir, in these days I am perfectly sure the greatest bulwark of all the Governments, be they indigenous or be they foreign, is the contentment, the gratitude and the affection of the people (*cheers*). How is the affection of the people to be won except by the removal of grievances, and how are the people to remove their grievances except by the adoption of constitutional means or the adoption of revolutionary measures. We are the friends of Reform because we are enemies of Revolution (*cheers*). We have made our choice, let our enemies make theirs (*laughter and cheers*). Do they wish to belong to our camp, or do they wish to belong to the camp of revolutionists (*hear, hear*). There is no intermediary step between Reform and Revolution (*cheers*). For you must enlist yourselves under the banner of Reform or you must take your place behind the standard of Revolt and Revolution (*cheers*). I am certain of this, that if the Congress existed in the early fifties there would have been no mutiny. I am certain of this for the educated India with all their influence and with all their knowledge would have enlightened the Government, and would have instructed and warned their countrymen and thus they would have averted the greatest danger of this century. Sir, I am afraid I must beg your pardon for making a digression (*cries of "go on," "go on"*). It is unavoidable. The Resolution condemns only the system. The Resolution condemns the Municipal Bill of Calcutta and also the Bombay Municipal Bill as being opposed to the principle of local self-government. Sir, local self-government is the gift of our rulers, but it is in entire accord with those deep-seated instincts which are fostered by the Panchayet system and by our village communities. These village communities, as you, Sir, reminded us the other day in your presidential speech, carry the mind back to the dawn of human civilisation when the ancestors of the self-governing nations of the earth at the present moment were roaming in the primitive forests in a state of primitive simplicity. The antiquity of this institution cannot be called in question. To them was accorded a measure of self-government which the British Government has not thought fit to confer upon the Municipalities of British India. They not only looked after the sanitation and conservancy of the villages concerned, but they administered justice and controlled the police. Therefore those village communities were complete self-governing units. My point is this—that we enjoyed in ancient India a much larger measure of self-Government than what the British Government has given to us, and even what was given to us is to be taken away from us (*shame*). In 1881 the boon of local self-government was conferred upon the Municipal towns of India under the great resolution of Lord Ripon (*cheers*). In 1876 the Corporation of Calcutta was re-constituted upon a popular basis. It is a remarkable fact, expressive of the irony of fate and the changes of opinion which are constantly taking place, that the great resolution of

Lord Ripon appeared over the signature of Mr. Alexander Mackenzie who, as Sir Alexander Mackenzie, was the author, originator, framer, and inspirer of the Calcutta Municipal Bill which has destroyed the civic rights of my native town (*shame*). I think it is a matter for unutterable shame. Sir Alexander Mackenzie is a name well-known to my friends of the Central Provinces. He is the author of the enhancement which they so bitterly complain of. He is a man of universal fame (*laughter*), well-known in Bengal, well-known in the Central Provinces. His fame spread even to the other side of the waters. He is well-known in Burma. Now he has retired. I am bound to say that the blessings of the community do not follow him or afford him any consolation in the days of his retirement (*laughter*.) It is equally remarkable that it was a Conservative Viceroy and a Conservative Secretary of State who conferred the boon of local self-government upon the people of Calcutta. It is a Conservative Viceroy and a Conservative Secretary of State who withdraw that right. These are changes to which even the best and the noblest of men are exposed. Therefore, Sir, it comes to this—that we in Calcutta have been in possession of the boon of local self-government for nearly a quarter of a century. Why should it be now withdrawn from us? Sir Douglas Straight, who is now the Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, said that a concession once made should never be withdrawn except under the stress of paramount necessity. Whether such a necessity exist in this case is the question. But on the very threshold of the enquiry, I am confronted with a difficulty, for we have it, on the authority of no less distinguished a personage than Sir John Woodburn, that the Calcutta Municipal Bill is a perfectly innocuous measure and that all that it does is a re-adjustment, and not extinction of the principle of local self-government. Well, Sir, if that is so, I have no grievance. I am prepared for a readjustment provided that in the process of readjustment the whole thing does not disappear (*laughter*). Is that readjustment or extinction? Let us examine the matter a little closely. What is local self-government such as the ordinary folks who do not breathe the pure atmosphere of officialism in the heights of Olympus, conceive? What is local self-government? Local self-government is the administration of local affairs by the representatives of the local public. If all authority, all power, all patronage is withdrawn from the local representatives, and is vested in the representatives of official hierarchy and European merchants, I conceive local self-government is at an end. Is that the real state of things? What is the present constitution of Calcutta? What was the old constitution of Calcutta? Let us for a moment examine the matter. Under the old constitution the Corporation of Calcutta consisted of 75 members, 2/3 of whom were elected—mark 2/3 were elected. Under the new constitution, which is said to be a readjustment and not an extinction, not 2/3 but only 1/2 of the members are to be elected, and then there is to be an official Chairman who will have a vote and a casting vote in case of equality of votes. Therefore, Sir, we are driven to this position. There will be 26 members, official members, against 5 popular members, under the best of circumstances and conditions. In any case, the popular representatives will be in a minority. They may be in a hopeless minority, because at the ward elections some members might be returned who are officials. Therefore, I am right in the contention that the effect of this transformation is transferring the entire authority from the hands of the representatives of rate-payers into the hands of officials of Government and their friends. Is that local self-government? (*Cries of "no" "no."*) Of course not. But the Government stands convicted out of its own mouth. Mr. Baker, the Municipal Secretary who was in charge of the Bill in the Bengal Legislative Council, not once, not twice, not thrice, but repeatedly, as often as he opened his mouth, said that the main object of the Bill was to cut down the preponderance of Hindus in the Corporation. What have the poor Hindus done to merit this treatment at the hands of the Government? Is this the reward for the devotion and faithful allegiance to the principle of local self-government in the capital of the Indian Empire? But the very proposal involves the extinction of local self-government, for the Hindus constitute the bulk of the population. They own the bulk of the assessable property in Calcutta and they pay the bulk of the taxes to the Municipal funds. Therefore, in accordance with the elementary principle of local self-government, they

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Third Day. ought to have a preponderant voice in the deliberations of the Corporation (*cheers*). For John Stuart Mill, as the greatest exponent of representative institutions whom this century witnessed, has laid down this principle; that local representation is to be proportionate to the payment of local taxes; and therefore the Hindus are entitled to a preponderant majority in the Corporation. But, Sir, we are to be made Uitlanders in the city of our birth. The English people at the present moment are waging a war for the purpose of securing to the Uitlanders of South Africa the inestimable boon of political franchise. We, citizens of Calcutta, had enjoyed that franchise for a period of 25 years and now the British Government, with strange inconsistency, is about to deprive us of that franchise (*shame*) for which they are fighting at the point of the sword in South Africa. The *Englishman* newspaper, a great friend of the people of this country (*laughter*), said the other day in speaking of the Congress that it was like a band of Africanders in South Africa, with this difference, that it is less mischievous than the band of Africanders. We distinctly decline to be compared to the Africanders. We are the loyal subjects of the Crown (*hear, hear*), wedded, inexorably wedded, to the British connection, which is a pledge and guarantee of the attainment of justice and political freedom (*cheers*). We are no Africanders, but we are Uitlanders, and there is no Secretary of State of the type of Joseph Chamberlain to enforce our claims. That is the true state of things. Now, Sir, let me ask what is the justification for this change of the law. Were the Commissioners tried and found wanting? Was it ever alleged that the Municipal administration of Calcutta had failed? If that was so, the position would be unassailable: but absolutely there is no evidence of failure. On the contrary, then, whatever evidence there is, it points to a distinctly opposite conclusion. Compare Calcutta when it was under the direct administration of Government with what it now is after quarter of a century of administration by elected Commissioners. My opinion is of no consequence, I am under trial. I am a member—I was a member of the Corporation, but I resigned my seat—I am under trial, and my opinion is of no consequence. Let me place before you the opinion of an individual who attained the highest official position in these provinces, and who might be supposed to be rather partial than otherwise to the Government. Mr., afterwards Sir John, Strachey made a report on the sanitary condition of Calcutta when it was under the administration of Government. And what did he say? It was one of the filthiest cities in Asia, a scandal and disgrace to civilised administration! That was the opinion of Sir John Strachey when Calcutta was not under the direct administration of the Commissioners. Now let me quote another authority on my side. Sir Henry Fowler, speaking from his place in the House of Commons on the occasion of a recent debate, said he had failed to discover any evidence of failure on the part of the elected Commissioners in the discharge of their duties (*hear, hear*). Therefore, Sir, I am entitled to hold that the Corporation of Calcutta, the greatest self-governing institution in the Indian Empire, has been superseded without a shadow or semblance of any justification (*shame*); and if the Government thought that it had a strong case, why did it not put it to the test of scrutiny by the appointment of a commission of enquiry? (*hear, hear*). The greatest criminal, with his hands wreaking with the blood of his murdered victim, is allowed a trial before a constituted tribunal of the land, but the most illustrious self-governing institution in the Indian Empire, with a brilliant record of past achievements is to be condemned without even a show or semblance of inquiry (*shame*). Does that commend itself to your sense of justice? There was ample time for a commission of inquiry, for the application—I am afraid I am taking up too much of your time (*cries of "go on,"* made in June 1897 and the Bill itself was introduced in March 1898. There was ample time. We prayed again and again but prayed in vain. The Government treated our prayer with stolid indifference. The same prayer was repeated from the floor of the House of Commons by Mr. Herbert Roberts (*hear, hear*), to whom we can not be sufficiently grateful for his endeavours in this connection (*cheers*); and then a language was given rather to conceal than express one's thoughts in. What was the

reply that Lord George Hamilton gave? I wish, Sir (Mr. President), you were a member of the House on that occasion. I wish Dadabhai Nowroji were there (*three cheers for Dadabhai Nowroji were given*) to point out the utter hollowness and insincerity of that reply. The reply was this. It is no use instituting an inquiry into the Municipal administration of Calcutta; such a thing is being done by the Select Committee of the Bengal Legislative Council, and that it would be highly improper on the part of the House of Commons to take the matter out of the hands of a self-governing body like the Bengal Legislative Council. The only drawback about that statement is, that it is misleading and inaccurate from beginning to end (*laughter*). In the first place, no inquiry was made by the Select Committee into the Municipal administration of Calcutta. I was a member of that Select Committee (*laughter*) and therefore I know perfectly well what we were about. By the rules of the Council, the principle having been affirmed, all that the Select Committee had to do was to consider details. It was beyond the legal competence of the Select Committee to enter into the broader question of efficiency or otherwise of the Municipal administration of Calcutta; and I may say that Mr. Norendranath Sen and myself were the dissenting members on the Calcutta Municipal Bill and strongly protested against this observation of Lord George Hamilton. We have received no reply to that part of our statement. I wish to draw the attention of the Congress to the other part of the statement that the Bengal Legislative Council is a self-governing body. Against this statement I have the advantage of getting officials to fight with officials, and I am saved the trouble of saying one word or other. I am an impartial, unbiassed spectator of the affray that goes on between officials. In this connection we have again the statement of Mr. Baker, the Municipal Secretary in charge of the Bill. He said from his place in the Bengal Legislative Council that the Council was a subordinate legislature (my friend will bear me out), and that it was a part of the duty of that Council to register the mandates of the Supreme Government (*"shame"*). What becomes of this glorious fabric of a self-governing body, inquiring into the Municipal administration of Calcutta? Well Sir, therefore, there was no enquiry at all, and we have been condemned unheard. We have a grievance. Our civic rights have been taken away from us. The other part of the resolution has reference to Bombay. I will not dwell on that part of the resolution, but I cannot help contrasting our fate with the fate of the people of the North-Western Provinces under the beneficent administration of Sir Antony MacDonnell (*cheers*). Here, instead of curtailment, there is to be an enlargement, so far as I have been able to understand the principle of local self-government, in the greater powers which it is proposed to confer upon the District Boards. Mark the difference which is shown to public opinion by Sir Antony MacDonnell in the matter of the Land Bill and contrast it with the contemptuous treatment which public opinion received in Bengal at the hands of the local authorities; and yet, Sir, if there is any measure more than another which needs the support of public opinion it is the Municipal measures. Municipal measures deal with the question of sanitation, and sanitary measures can never be carried out except with the aid of the public opinion, and public opinion unequivocally condemned the Bill. Lord Ripon said in one of his speeches as Chancellor of the University that public opinion in India is destined soon to become the irresistible, unresisted master of the Government. Lord Curzon, in that admirable speech which he delivered to the Taluqdars of Oudh, expressed himself in similar language. He said: "Indeed, to me, it seems that the times have passed by when the rulers can any-way live with impunity amidst the clouds of Olympus. They must descend from hill-tops and visit the haunts of men. They must speak to the people in their own tongue, must be one in purpose and heart with the people. Only then will they justify their high station. Only then will their authority be free from challenge, because it will be founded upon trust." The rulers and the ruled must be one in purpose and one in heart. I ask is there solidarity of opinion and sentiment between the rulers and the ruled? Have we not again and again prayed for the release of the Natu brothers? And it was not until the other day that the Natu brothers were released. Have we not again and again prayed for the withdrawal of the Calcutta Municipal

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Baboo I am afraid there is no renewal of confidence, no interchange of opinion between
Surendra the rulers and the ruled. I am afraid both the rulers and the ruled stand isolated
Nath and apart in grim and solemn silence. The gulf is widening. That which
Bannerji ought to be regarded as the proudest memorial of British rule is considered to
Calcutta. be a grievance; that educated natives of India should claim equality in political
RESOLU- rights with Englishmen can only be due to the education which the English
TION. have been instrumental in introducing into our midst, which constitutes the
VII. noblest achievement of British Rule in India (*cheers*). Our rulers seem to think
Calcutta differently. There is reaction in their policy, reaction in opinion, reaction along
Municipal the entire line, reaction is the order of the day. But those great and illustrious
Act. men who founded the Anglo-Indian Empire, who preserved and consolidated it, were
 animated by different motives.

Miss Garland, in that admirable speech to which we all listened with so much interest and with no little admiration, quoted an extract from the speech—the memorable speech—of Lord Macaulay delivered 60 years ago in the House of Commons, when, with a gift of prophetic inspiration, he anticipated the advent of that day when the Indian subjects of the Crown, educated in Western learning, would crave for Western institutions; and Macaulay went on to say that that would be the proudest day in the annals of England (*cheers*). Our rulers at the present moment seem to take a different view of the situation. They would fain undo the past. They would fain roll back the tide of progress which has set in with such irresistible force. Shall we let them, shall we permit them to prove false to the noblest traditions of their own race? (*cries of "No," "No."*) No, *servius Romanus sum* was the boast of the ancient world. Our boast is a greater one. We are British subjects. We are part and parcel of the greatest empire that the world has ever seen, an empire over which the sun never sets. May the glories of that empire in the domain of human freedom and justice never fade! We are the subjects of this great empire, over which floats the high flag of freedom. We are the subjects of an empire where a bondsman can never breathe, and where the moment he sets his foot his chains burst around him and he stands forth a regenerated and emancipated being (*cheers*). Citizens of this great empire, an empire whose watchword is freedom, which has emancipated the Negro slaves, which has taught great lessons of constitutional liberty to the rest of the world—citizens of this great empire, ought we to submit to our rights being filched away from us? Ought we to submit to our being reduced to the rank of hewers of wood and drawers of water in our own country (*No, No*)? Ought we to permit the brand of the helot to be placed upon us and leave an ignoble bruise (*No, No*)? Standing in this historic city within a measurable distance of that place which was the scene of the trials and sufferings, the ultimate triumph of the greatest hero of the Hindu legend and of his greater consort, let us resolve in our heart of hearts and do what lies in our power to check this current of reactionary policy, to win back our lost position, to continue our glorious and patriotic work until it culminates in the attainment by us in full measure (*cheers*) of the inestimable blessings of British freedom and British justice. I am certain of this: that in this holy endeavour we shall claim and we shall receive in full measure the active co-operation of our own countrymen, and even of our political opponents. We shall receive the sympathies of civilised humanity, and above all the blessings of Almighty Providence (*hear, hear*). I have an undying faith in the justice of our cause, a burning conviction that, though darkness may cloud our prospects, the day of deliverance and enfranchisement is near at hand (*cheers*). We may meet with a temporary reverse, a temporary check. The flag which we hold aloft, the banner of the Congress, and lead us to triumphant victory (*hear, hear and cheers*). I am sure patience is what is needed—not the patience of despair and despondency—but patience which is born of half a century in the lifetime of nations or communities? Read the histories of the great European living nations, mark the patience, the marvellous patience, fortitude, indomitable resolve to serve their country, to promote her honour, her glory, her truest interest. Remember that we are confronted with one of the gravest crises in

our history. If we succumb to that crisis, the political enfranchisement of our people will be indefinitely postponed, but if we rise above it, we shall have done a service to India, to England and to humanity, and shall have covered ourselves with undying renown. Act bravely and wisely before man and God, so that when you are dead and gone, and when you are beyond reproach or praise, it may be said of you that you were tried in the balance and not found wanting, that you overcame grave crisis, that you surmounted all difficulties and that you planted the empire deep in the affections, love and gratitude of the people by securing to them the inestimable blessings of British rule, sanctified by the principles of constitutional liberty and constitutional justice and freedom, and then you will have done your duty to the country and to the Congress (*loud and continued cheers*).

MR. NAZIRUDDIN KAMURUDDIN (*Bombay*) seconded the resolution in a speech delivered in Hindustani.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

MR. KALI CHARAN BANNERJI (*Bengal*):—MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-DELEGATES,—The resolution entrusted to me is in these words:—

Resolution VIII.—That this Congress is of opinion that the rules prohibiting managers and teachers of Aided Institutions from taking part in political movements or attending political meetings without the consent of the Director of Public Instruction, or other authorities are likely to interfere with the practical and effectual exercise of the rights of British subjects, to withdraw able and influential men from the cause of education, and to restrict private enterprise and organization for the spread of education in this country. And this Congress hopes that the Madras and Bombay Governments will take steps to remove from the educational rules and the grant-in-aid code the provisions to the effect described above.

You will have perceived that this resolution relates to a question of vital importance to the Congress and therefore to the country. We need men and means for working the national movement represented in this assembly. I say advisedly men and means, rather than means and men, for without the men, the means must remain idle and with men, means are bound to come (*hear, hear*). Therefore any measure which is calculated to bring about a forced dissociation from us of an important contingent of our living agency, must be fraught with alarm and is bound to provoke an emphatic protest from an assembly like the present. Before I proceed further I just wish to give you an idea of some of the rules that it is contemplated to enforce in connection with institutions which have the privilege of enjoying grants-in-aid from Government. One of these rules is to this effect, namely, "that any manager or teacher of an institution that is an institution which enjoys a grant-in-aid from Government, will not take part either directly or indirectly in political movements or agitations, and will not attend political meetings without the previous consent of the Director." In a note under the head of "Politics," it is explained that "no member of a staff or the establishment of an institution under public management will be permitted to take part, either directly or indirectly, in political movements or agitations, or to attend a political meeting where the fact of his presence is likely to be misconstrued or to impair his usefulness as a public servant. In case of doubt a reference should be made to the Director." On the Bombay side I find that a principle has been laid down that the instruction of youth should be wholly dissociated from politics. And then in connection with life members of the Deccan Educational Society, we find that it is expected of them to subscribe to the following pledges:—(1) "No life member shall be owner or part-owner or have anything whatever to do with the management, conduct or publication of any political paper. (2) No life member shall bear office in any political association. (3) No life member shall take any part in movements or demonstrations from which the governing body may specifically desire him to hold aloof, as it is undesirable that teachers should mix themselves up and their pupils in demonstrations that are violent and that tend to set one section of the community against another." You are well aware that our fellow-countrymen in the service of Government, altogether in the

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DR. T. M. NAIR (*Madras*).—SIR, after the very eloquent speech of the mover of the resolution, the only justification for my coming on this platform to offer a few remarks on the proposition is that I happen to come from that part of India where the Government have thought fit to introduce this new measure of reaction. Even the cleverest and the most scrutinizing of our Anglo-Indian critics, who can see sedition where none can exist, have failed to see any in Madras, and under these circumstances we are at a loss to understand why this reactionary measure has been thrust upon us before any other part of India. The only explanation that we have been able to find so far is that the Government thinks that Madras being a very quiet man, Madras is a fit and proper place to incubate all their repressive measures before they are utilized elsewhere (*cheers*). Gentlemen, if the Government were really anxious to prevent the people of the province of Madras from attending political meetings, we Madrasese should have preferred that they should pass an order prohibiting us from taking part in such meetings; but look at the way in which it is done. Mr. Kali Charan Bannerjee has already read to you the Madras rules, but there are one or two points which you may not have understood. One of the rules is that, "No member of a staff or establishment of an institution under public management shall be permitted to take part either directly or indirectly in political movements or agitations where the fact of his presence is likely to be misconstrued or to impair his usefulness as a public servant. In case of doubt a reference should be made to the Director." The manager of an institution is defined in the rule. "Every institution on behalf of which aid is sought shall be under the management of one or more persons recognised by Government, who are in the capacity of proprietors or trustees or members of local boards, etc." That is a most important point. Most of the institutions in the presidency of Madras are under the control of local boards, and these local boards consist of elected members, men who co-operate with us in all our political movements, and by this rule if any one of these members takes part in a political movement, the school in which he is or the local board of which he is a member, and which is connected with the school, will be deprived of the grant which the Government gives. It is an extraordinary and intricate way of telling people that they should not take part in political meetings. Gentlemen, this is a question which in Madras has created a great deal of interest and I am glad to say in this matter we do not stand alone. European teachers of great Missionary institutions which receive Government grants are placed under the same disabilities under this rule, and in this particular matter we have received their hearty co-operation. I am glad to tell you that the Teachers' Guild which contains European and Native teachers have already memorialised the Madras Government to reconsider the question, but the Madras Government has been exceedingly mysterious in its replies to us. First of all it reminds me of an old song in which she said "she could not," then she said "she would not," and then lastly "I will consider." To our first inquiry they gave an absolute denial. To our second inquiry they gave partial information, and in the third they said they would consider. We have left the question there, and we sincerely hope that after the protests made by the inhabitants of Madras, the Teachers' Guild, and now by this great Congress, the Government of Madras will see its way to cancel this obnoxious notification (*cheers*).

MR. RYVU NAMBIAR (*Madras*).—GENTLEMEN,—The subject has been so exhaustively treated by your respected countryman, Mr. Kali Charan Bannerjee, and by my friend Dr. Nair, that I need say very little. I only stand before you to tell you that there is a strong feeling in that part of the country from which I come—I mean the presidency of Madras—against the introduction of these rules, which we consider disastrous to the cause of education. Gentlemen, before a rule or a legislation is passed, it is necessary to inquire whether there is necessity for such a measure. Now we, the people of Madras, have failed to see the necessity for a change in the grant-in-code or the educational rules. There is no necessity whatever for the introduction of this obnoxious clause in the grant-in-aid code or the education rules. About a fortnight after these rules were published in the *Fort St. George Gazette* a great sensation was caused throughout the presidency. Fifteen days after the publication of these rules a large public meeting was convened in Pachappa's Hall in Madras, and

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Third Day. it was a very crowded and enthusiastic meeting, and we received telegrams from different parts of the presidency, sympathising with the movement; and not only that, public meetings were held in every important centre in the mofussil and the teaching agency, both European and Native, took up the question, and sent in representations. Further, all the non-official elected members in the local Legislative Council asked questions as to the reason why the Government introduced this obnoxious clause in the grant-in-aid code; and of course the answer, as usual in such matters, was that they declined to give reasons why these rules were framed. You will find from what I have stated that there is a strong feeling against the measure and there is no necessity for the introduction of this rule, but it is consoling that in the answer given by His Excellency Sir Arthur Havelock, His Excellency said that if proper representations be made from proper quarters, they would be listened to and effect given to them. This answer is somewhat encouraging, considering the rules come into force only in April next. Now, Gentlemen, there is one point to be considered in this. What the rule says is: "No manager or teacher of an institution is to take part in political movements or political meetings." What are these political movements or political meetings? These are not defined. Our meetings are simply intended to represent our grievances to the Government. If the educated people are not to be interpreters of the grievances of the people to the Government, I fail to see whether there could be any better class to do that work. Take, for instance the National Congress. What are we doing here year after year? We are only passing a catalogue of resolutions which is a catalogue of grievances for immediate redress by Government, and therefore I fail to see the reason why the Government should prevent our people who are engaged in the cause of education from taking part in those meetings which are calculated only to represent the grievances of the people to the Government for their redress. I think that after a century and a half of settled peace in this country, it is not at all a wise policy. On the other hand, it is a policy of distrust that such an obnoxious clause should be introduced in the educational code. It is inconsistent with the policy of Government to encourage education. I think therefore that if in this Congress assembled we pass this resolution and make a representation to the respective authorities, I am sure we will get a satisfactory solution of this question. With these remarks I support the proposition (*cheers*).

PANDIT BALAKRISHNA BHUT (*A'lahabad*) addressed the meeting in Urdu.

MUNSHI OUDH BAHARI LAL (*Lucknow*) in supporting the resolution said in Urdu:—

GENTLEMEN,—It is not without diffidence that I venture to say anything on the subject of this resolution, which has been so ably moved and seconded by the most worthy members of the meeting, but as I have been permitted by the President to explain the purport of the resolution in Urdu, I beg to say that the learned educational officers of Madras and Bombay have passed a rule that the teachers and the managers of the aided schools should not take part in political meetings without the consent of the Director of Public Instruction. This is altogether contrary to freedom that the educational authorities should allow the teachers to take part only in those political meetings which they (the authorities) themselves favour. I am afraid that such proposals are made to weaken the Congress. Congress is a national assembly for the improvement of which it is necessary that the educated public should, as far as possible, take part in it. And what is even more unfortunate is the possibility that if the same wind continues, then, though to-day only one province propose to isolate its educationalists, to-morrow others may take the same course and in course of time the contagion may spread elsewhere as well (*cheers*). This will cause a considerable reduction in our number and will tend to weaken us. As the Congress is a well-wisher, not only of the public but of the Government, any loss to the Congress must be a loss to the whole of India also. Gentlemen, if you see the map of the Globe you will find that the shape of India is like that of a man's heart, and truly it is the heart of the whole world. The vital strength of the heart sends energy to all the members of the body, and so the strength and improvement of India will be the improvement of the whole world. So it behoves us to support any movement which tends to the improvement of India, and to remove any circumstance which is fraught with injury to it.

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Gentlemen, just think how miserable will be those teachers and managers of the aided institutions in Madras who are energetic members of this national movement but who will in future be kept back by this new rule (*cheers*).

Gentlemen, comparing these rules issued by the Educational Department of Madras with the state of the aided schools, I may be permitted to say that the Government aid to the institutions amounts to a very small sum in comparison to the expenses that are acquired by subscriptions and other means, and even when all these are taken together, the funds are so poor that the pay of the teachers is scanty, and there is no provision pension at all; and, moreover, and above all this, they are required not to associate with their brethren and express their feelings in their national meetings.

On this occasion all the teachers, professors, rather the Educational Department itself, ought to be proud that this session of the Indian National Congress is being held under the presidency of a distinguished professor. This is the most suitable time for us to express these grievances (*cheers*).

Now, gentlemen, I don't want to take up your time and only request all of you to pass this very important resolution unanimously, and do a kindness to those who are made helpless by the rules issued by the Educational Department of Madras (*cheers*).

The resolution was carried unanimously.

MR. G. C. MITRA (*Cawnpore*):—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The resolution which I have the honour to move runs thus:

Resolution IX.—The Congress is of opinion that stringent measures should be taken by the Government in granting licenses to retail liquor shops, and that no such shops should be established in any village without taking the sense of the villagers.

This is a very important resolution and I hope you will bear with me with patience for quarter of an hour while I make my observations.

Of all the evils of the flesh, the lusts of the body, the gratification of all that is impure, all that is sinful, and all that is ruinous to the moral and spiritual advancement and progress of the human race, the greatest is the evil of Intemperance. It has been the ruin of families, tribes, and nations. It has destroyed states, kingdoms, and empires; and its slippery tendency has often and again brought man to the level of the lower animals. It is acknowledged on all hands that intemperance is a prolific source of pauperism, disease, and crime. It is of no service in health, much less therefore in disease. It is injurious both to the body and to the soul, and leads to the formation of numerous evil habits. In short, it is immorality in a liquid state easily taken in and assimilated into the human system, spreading ruin and devastation all round. Of all vices, says Sir Walter Scott, that of drinking, yea intemperance in general, is the one most incompatible with real greatness. The evil is not confined to one central spot, or affects its victims in a particular manner, but it is everywhere and of all kinds,—individual, local, national, secular, political, moral and religious. It has such hold on the lower classes as to render it hopeless to raise them without its extirpation:—brutalising their tastes and habits. It thus falls with much force upon those least able to withstand it, and who inevitably, and at once feel some of its worst results. The existence of such a class, and the hopelessness of their condition, cannot but be considered by all thoughtful men as a canker-worm amidst the marvellous strides which education is making in this country, endangering a mass of corruption, which, unless choked, can only lead ultimately to national destruction. Education and refinement are no certain checks against this evil. The most learned and talented members of our community are subject to it. Thus, the burdens of the nation are increased in every variety of way by this evil—the burdens which press with much hardship upon the honest and industrious. It is therefore that this gigantic evil has attracted the attention of the great and the good. You who want to do good to this country, you who want to lift up your motherland from the abyssal pits of physical filth and moral feculence, you who are marching onwards in the path of intellectual culture and moral enlightenment, it is your duty as citizens of this noble land to join shoulder to shoulder and hunt this evil out

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Third Day. from it. Chase it out of your beloved India, and she will enjoy that peace and that prosperity for which she is longing for centuries, and your name will descend to future ages as benefactors of the human race and the heroes of this iron age.

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But it is a matter of real joy that the temperance cause is slowly and steadily working its way into the life-work of the nation. There are according to the last quarterly report of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association of England 280 Temperance Societies working in India. These are spread over the length and the breadth of the country, and are trying to develop in the national mind a real interest in this noble cause. With untiring energy the principles of these societies have been pressed on the public attention; but withal, the evils of intemperance on the whole have not been lessened, either owing to the fact that the class much addicted to the use of intoxicants are dead to the moral or economical appeals of the Temperance Reformers, or their feeble resolutions are readily broken, in consequence of the intensity of the inward craving, and the various outward temptations which exist. The force with which this gigantic evil holds the national mind is proved statistically by physicians and governors of prisons, yea by every means known to us of gauging human misery and crime: for who is there among the children of men who can adjust the relative proportions of sighs and tears—who can estimate the wretchedness, and mental and moral deterioration, which intemperance causes. None; we can only faintly imagine the truth—a truth, too true to be false. The evil of intemperance must be dealt with great discretion, resolution, and hard labour. To say that you will not lend a hand to overcome it is altogether to ignore the obligations of your moral nature. To maintain that intemperance cannot be checked, and thus to refuse to do anything for this purpose, is opposed to all religion—is an application of the doctrine of fatalism. Those, then, who combine to overthrow intemperance are setting themselves to a right work, and are deserving of sympathy, and should be listened to with candour.

The happiness of society as a whole is the cardinal principle of all good government, and is the basis of modern British legislation. As ignorance is to a large extent the cause of crime in general, the government has the right to provide such an education for the people as may not so uniformly or effectively be afforded by themselves. It is therefore legitimate in the Legislature to lessen or remove the outward temptations which exist to crime. And when such is not the case, when the government of the country is totally indifferent to the maintenance of national peace and prosperity, when it is deaf to the repeated appeals of the people, the country has to pay dearly for the liberty of the publican: and such is the case with India. It is to be regretted that the Abkari Revenue has been steadily growing from year to year in this country. Allow me, gentlemen, to place before you certain figures showing the gross Excise Revenue of some parts of India.

1. Take the figures for the Madras Presidency for the last six years.

In 1893-1894 the gross revenue was	...	...	...	127.74 lakhs.
„ 1894-1895	...	...	...	136.30 „
„ 1895-1896	...	...	...	142.89 „
„ 1896-1897	...	...	...	147.87 „
„ 1897-1898	...	...	...	145.01 „

2. The Excise Revenue of the Bombay Presidency, even at the time when the country was under the scourge of plague and famine, was 102 lakhs.

3. Again, with regard to the financial results of Excise Administration in the Punjab as a whole, the average yearly net revenue during each of the triennial periods succeeding 1886 has been as follows:—

1886-1889 ...	...	...	...	Rs. 13,79,807
1889-1892 ..	...	...	...	„ 16,35,879
1892-1895 ...	...	...	...	„ 18,73,105
1895-1898 ...	...	...	...	„ 21,20,882

The remarks of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab on this gigantic increase in the Excise Revenue run thus:—His Honor says, “In no department of Government has the specialisation of administrative effort been attended with more

financial success than in the Excise Department, and the Lieutenant-Governor at all young officers will form the first endeavour to take an interest in this of their duties, and thus ensure a continuance of the progress so noticeable it years.” It is therefore not a matter of astonishment to find that the number of shops for the retail sale of intoxicants and narcotics in British India is 15,000; and that the net Excise and Customs Revenues on liquors and drugs sold in India has considerably increased during the past 24 years, from 1874 to 1898, the net amount was Rs. 26,33,000; and in 1898, it rose to Rs. 60,91,000. You may estimate the total amount spent by the people of India during these years; it will come up to Rs. 444,40,000. This enormous expenditure has told considerably upon the well-being of the people at large, and has been a direct cause of poverty.

National character has become deteriorated and crime has increased considerably. Society has no control on the immoral tendencies of the people: poverty and making havoc in the country. The situation calls for immediate action and labour. It is the duty of us all to stimulate the growth of public sentiment against this stupendous evil, and try our best to stop its current in the best way possible. The evils of intemperance in general—evils of mind and of body—are not a few. They are as true and living as your own individual existences: they become the constant associates of your daily life and character, and are clogging the wheels of your progress and advancement. Remember, gentlemen, that specially ministers to lust, and sensuality is a much more common vice among the people addicted to alcoholic drinks than among total abstainers. It gives artificiality to the passions; creates impure imaginations; dulls the intellect; weakens, for the time being, annihilates the memory; renders the reason useless; and makes the appetites a mastery over the entire person. Wherever intoxicating drinks become general, morality has always been seen to be on the decline. They act like the *Sinoo* of the desert, and scatter destruction and misery around them. The voice of History rises up and tells us that the ruin of Rome was brought about by luxury, of which indulgence in wine was the principal ingredient. Hannibal's fall was less by the arms of Scipio than by the wines of Capua; and the inebriated Macedon, after slaying his friend Clitus and burning the palace of Persepolis, at last of a fit of intoxication in his 33rd year. Appearances may be against us, but labours in the cause of humanity always result in success. Ours will be successful were we to labour with “a heart within and God overhead,” and a blessing surely come when the Mighty Power who controls the growth and prosperity of nations and empires will shower upon our labours His choicest blessings, and our generations yet unborn will reap a hundredfold harvest.

“There is, in every human heart,
Some not completely barren part,
Where seeds of love and truth might grow,
And flowers of generous virtue blow;
To plant, to watch, to water there,
This be our duty, this our care,”

with the increase of intemperance, there has been a perceptible increase in crime, giving rise to burglary and theft,—though there has been an increase in the average monthly wages of the working-classes and day-labourers. Here is a table of the average monthly wages of the labourers in Bengal:—

Able-bodied agricultural labourers.	Syce or Horse-keeper.	Common mason, Carpenter, or Blacksmith.
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
5.16	5	9.28
6.9	6.58	11.38
use } 1.74	1.58	2.1
s. } 33 p. c.	31 p. c.	22 p. c.

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With this let us compare the statistics of theft and burglary :—

Mr. G. C. Mittra.	Divisions.	Convictions for Burglary.			Convictions for Theft.		
Abkari Reform.	Burdwan	..	..	372	..	..	1,389
RESOLUTION IX.	Presidency	..	..	391	..	..	1,309
	Dacca	..	..	323	..	..	822
	Bihar { Patna	..	..	1,205	..	..	3,283
	{ Bhagulpore	..	..	407	..	..	1,717

This shews a striking difference in the statistics of crime between Bihar and those parts of Bengal where outstills do not exist. If then intemperance is ruinous to individual life and character,—if it is the source of poverty and crime,—yea, if Intemperance fills our gaols, our lunatic asylums, our workhouses for the poor—yea, if it is directly the cause of our national misery—the greatest sin of the 19th century, it is morally incumbent on us all to fight out the war against Beer-houses and Gin-palaces with all our strength,—our moral and physical resources.

Enter any of the grand cities of modern India, whose rising turrets and ornamented domes bedeck the canopy of the heavens, whose busy marts and crowded thoroughfares bewilder the mind of a foreigner, and whose immense wealth is the wonder of the civilized world, you will find what *Helps* calls “*The Great Sin of the Great Cities.*” The sins of the flesh and the lusts thereof are among the principal elements of individual daily life. Society proves the existence of this evil; the daily life of the nation proves it; and the Government statistics prove it. It is a dissolution of the spirit of a man, making it loose, soft, and wandering: nay, it is an abuse to the spirit of a man, acting as a kind of fascination and witchcraft, blinding the understanding and enslaving the will. In short, the criminal commerce of the sexes corrupts and depraves the mind and moral character more than any single species of vice whatsoever; it incapacitates and indisposes the mind for all intellectual, moral, and religious pleasures. It is the moral duty of young minds to avoid every thing which is likely to kindle the flame of passion in them, to avoid all places where sensuality reigns supreme, and where temperance, soberness, and chastity are treated with contempt. There is no slavery greater than those of intemperance and sensuality. *Byron* in his *Pardana patas* thus refers to the slavery of sensuality :—

“Think’st thou there is no tyranny but that—
Of blood and chains? The despotism of Vice—
The weakness and the wickedness of luxury—
The negligence, the apathy, the evils
Of sensual sloth—produce ten thousand tyrants
Whose delegated cruelty surpasses
The worst acts of one energetic master,
However harsh and hard in his own bearing.”

The object of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association of England and its 280 branches working in this country, is to stimulate the growth of public interest in the educated and the morally enlightened with regard to the temperance cause by bringing to its knowledge, by facts and figures, the abnormal and ruinous growth of this gigantic evil which is devastating the country from one corner to the other,—to unite the different creeds and nationalities into which the Indian society is at present divided by the dissemination of the nobler principles of a nobler national brotherhood,—to bring to the knowledge of August England the evils which are socially, intellectually, and morally retarding the advance of true civilization in this country, and thus in every way possible to induce the Noble Mother to have compassion on her sons and daughters, so that she may bestir herself, and by Parliamentary Acts and Provincial Laws, root out all the evils from this country. “The only policy,” as Professor Francis Wayland said at the Philadelphia Convention of 1898, “which will secure the adequate enforcement of any form of temperance legislation, is the policy which invites and obtains the active, cordial co-operation of law-abiding citizens. The ordinary machinery of the courts will not, unaided, accomplish the desired result. The rules and practices which prevail in the case of crime against person and property are not applicable here. Official action must be supplemented, always and

often stimulated by un-official energy. Wholesome public sentiment must be crystalised, vitalised, and utilised.” Having in view therefore the exise policy of the Government enunciated in the despatch published in the *Gazette of India* of March 1st, 1890, to the effect “that efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of the local public sentiments, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to such opinion when ascertained,” it is the duty of all Temperance Workers to join together in a united body and try with heart and soul to create public sentiment in favour of Temperance Reform in India. Ye, Temperance Reformers,—those of you in whose hearts a real desire for a noble and pure manhood is reverberating through all your thoughts, ideas, and sentiments, who are ready to spend all that the Almighty has gifted you with, who have understood, nay practise in your daily life, the real essences of a noble citizenship, I say, those of you who live neither for this life nor the flesh-pots thereof, gird up your loins and take upon your shoulders the solemn task of emancipating your motherland from the bondage of intemperance and sensuality.

The ancient Swedes defined the vice of drunkenness as ‘the disgrace of man and the mother of misery,’ and rightly so when you look at the havoc it has made throughout the length and breadth of poor India, pervading the country as well as the town, the agricultural districts as well as the commercial ones, sparing the young as little as the old, and the woman scarcely less than the man, filling every haunt of vice, every prison for crime, every hospital for sickness and accident, and every asylum for madness. No foul epidemic ever raged in the country more periodically than this permanently; no malignant plant ever seeded and propagated itself with more fatal rapidity and abundance. How very true then is the wise saying :—“Show not thy valiantness in wine; for wine hath destroyed many.” It is therefore your duty as Temperance Reformers to blow the trumpet of temperance and purity throughout this country. Remember that you cannot resist the influx of low desires, and treat beneath your feet

“All thoughts of ill, all evil deeds
That have their root in thoughts of ill;
Whatever hinders or impedes
The action of the nobler will,”

without having confirmed and solidified your character in all those virtuous habits which ennoble and elevate manhood. Trust in Him who can guide you into Truth, and fill your immortal souls with joys which neither this world can give nor this world can take away; and all those evils which are now distracting the national mind will forthwith vanish away in the glorious dawn of a virtuous and noble manhood. The first object of the first 25 years of your existence should be the attainment of a character, that is, of a will, fully formed, strenuous, magisterial, capable of executing hard and difficult things. It is such a character—a character which feels that its destiny is not confined to the narrow limits of the present world but extends far into the depths of eternity—that can get into contact with, and thoroughly appreciate and enjoy, the ennobling and exalted sources of pleasure of which this life is capable. If you desire to be truly virtuous and happy, if you desire to do good to the society to which you belong, you must undergo many a severe inward struggle, and above all learn to easily triumph over yourself. The success of your life-work and the consummation of your happiness in the next will always be in just proportion to the efforts which you make to attain a virtuous character during the early years of your life. Discharge in all faithfulness the duties you owe to your motherland, to the Government in whose hands you have been placed by Providence, and to your God who is the Author and the Finisher of your existence. Then shall peace, national peace, the peace of purity and manly innocence, reign in this land; and its dry barren acres shall produce an army of spotless knights, who will be the glory of future ages. (*cheers*)

MR. A. C. PARTHASARATHY NAIDU (*Madras*):—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES and GENTLEMEN,—I am sure my friend has treated the subject very exhaustively and there is nothing left for me to speak on that subject.

Third Day.
Mr. G. Mittra.
Abkari Reform.
RESOLUTION IX.

Third Day. I have got only one or two words to say. In this resolution we ask the Government not to establish, or rather not to give licenses for the opening of the *arrack* and the *toddy* shops in villages. Villagers, you all know, are orthodox men, God-fearing men. I say that if there is religion, if there is constant faith in God, and if there is a God-fearing spirit, it is among the villagers. When such God-fearing men are placed within the reach of temptation of a peg of *arrack* or a pot of *toddy*, what do you think about the changes that would be brought about in their moral character? A writer in the Madras Presidency wrote to say that a Brahmin needed only a couple of annas a day for his living, and a non-Brahmin 1 anna and 3 pies. That was a remarkable statement. It might probably hold good in days when *liquor* shops and *toddy* bazaars were unknown.

But now we find not only liquor shops, we find also aerated waters in every part of the country. Villagers have not been accustomed to drinks at all, and not had the fortune to see a bottle itself. When they are placed within the reach of temptation by waters of doubtful colours (*laughter*), then that temptation makes them unworthy citizens of India. How can you, under such circumstances, expect these people to live on 1 anna and 3 pies a day? (*cheers*).

There were cries of Telugu, in response to which, Mr. Parthasarathy Naidu delivered a speech in a vigorous flow of Telugu language.

MISS GARLAND (*England*) who, on rising, was received with loud cheers said:—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES and GENTLEMEN,—After the very humorous and sober speech that you have just heard, I am afraid a few words in the simple English language would fall very flat indeed. I think there is no one single resolution on the agenda of the Congress paper that I am more interested in than this one, because I belong in our country to the great Temperance party. You are not afflicted in India with the curse of drink as we are. Last year we spent no less than £ 154, 000, 000 in strong drink, and so far from bringing us any good it brought us the greatest possible amount of evil. If you go to any village in the land, to any big town, if you visit, as I generally do, the work-houses in those different towns, if you go and talk to the people and their guardians to know why they come there, you will find that in 7 cases out of 10 they have come there through strong drink. If you go to the local jails or the large county jails and ask what is the reason why so many persons are there, once more the answer is in a large majority of cases it is through strong drink. One of our Governors at the Canterbury Jail for a great number of years said that he had come across 20,000 persons and that not a single one of them was a tea-totaller. Besides that, our doctors tell us it is the greatest curse to health and we find that it is the cause of more disease in England than people imagine. It is the over-drinking habit of our population that largely fills our hospitals. Some of our medical men in England said that “if you take the ward patients, 7 out of 10 beds are filled with people who would never have been there had it not been for their intemperance.” That is a great and grave statement to make. We are doing what we can to fight with the curse, but we have in England vested interests, we have to fight with people who make large fortunes through the cursed traffic. We therefore look to you in India who have no vested interests, at any rate to such an extent as we have in our country, we hope that you will not get that cruel curse, that evil; but I am sorry to have to say that wherever the English go, whether it be in India, Africa, America or anywhere else, the coloured people tell us that they bring this horrible liquor traffic along with them. That is a very great reproach to the English nation and I as an English woman am ashamed to make that statement. But it is only too true, I can assure you. There are thousands of men and women in England who deplore this and want, if possible, to make our own country more sober and set a far better example than many of us have hitherto done when we go to foreign countries. I most heartily support this resolution (*cheers*).

PT. RATAN NATH (*Koul of Fyzabad*), in seconding the resolution, said in Urdu:—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Whatever the able and learned speakers have just said about the injurious effects of intemperance is neither exaggerated nor fictitious, but in fact a man of even ordinary common sense cannot fail to grasp the truth about it.

What am I or my poor abilities that, following a galaxy of fluent speakers, I may venture to do justice to the question before you, but with due deference I would crave the indulgence of the assembly for a few minutes.

The Resolution before us is no new thing to you—before this there have been Resolutions on this question in the previous Congresses. It is a matter in respect of which, if you show your sympathies, you cannot be accused of going against the policy of the Government, and I may even affirm that morally and religiously every man has a right to save his friends, relations and countrymen from the evil habits of which they may be a prey. Our Rung Government, too, can never be desirous that the seed of evil deeds, mischief, disturbance of peace and irreligiousness may be sown among its subjects. It is all because of this evil habit of drink that the various kinds of fatal diseases, murders, premature deaths, suicides, thefts, injustices, licentiousness, affrays, collision of trains, waste of money, disgrace, poverty and manifold other calamities have become the events of every-day occurrence, and but for drink all these evils may be reduced by 95 per cent. This view is not held by me alone, but I can quote the words of the most eminent statesmen and the greatest physicians of England to prove my assertion. I hold in my hand at this moment a volume which contains the decisions and the opinions of judges of the highest courts of England who have most emphatically said that half the crimes committed in that country, are committed because of the accursed habit of drink, and that England is a country which has suffered the most from it. The late lamented Right Honourable Lord Justice Leish has said: “In the great majority of cases in which I have had to pass the sentence of death, strong drink has played the leading part in causing the offence” (*shame, shame*). It is not the people of India alone who are struggling to fight against its baneful effects, but almost all the civilized countries of the world are trying to do away with the evil. I have seen the translation of a letter addressed to a native missionary by Maliki, the Emir of Nupe, requesting him to transmit his message to Bishop Crowther, the great apostle of Christianity, which runs thus:—

“Tell Crowther, the great Christian minister, that he is our father. We all beg that he should beg the great priests that they should beg the English Queen to prevent bringing *Barasa* (rum or jin) into this land. For God and the Prophet’s sake he must help us in this matter—that of *Barasa*. We have confidence in him. He must not leave our country to become spoiled by *Barasa*.” There is another instance: Khama, an African chief, called the European liquor dealers of his country before him, and told them that he wished that no drink should be sold to his people. Fines, threats, and warnings having failed, he as a last resort ordered those liquor dealers to be brought before him and told them that if they were not going to obey his orders they should better clear off, and get out of his country, and never return any more for they were tempting his people to get into the bad habit of drinking.

Gentlemen, good government and political reform can make progress only when its people are temperate in habits and moral in character and nothing like ‘success’ in these matters can ever be attained unless our own habits and characters are moulded and shaped in the manner aforesaid. Admitting that the Government derives some income from a source which is condemned as immoral almost by every religion and creed, it will not be impertinent on my part to say that it is better to suffer the loss than sacrifice the peace of a country. Any Government having for its aim the good administration of its people and the decrease of poverty among its subjects, is in duty bound to stop and regulate the nefarious traffic of drink, and it is only those who want to uproot it that can with justice be called the true well-wishers of Government and not a horde of the anti-Congressists. And I have the greatest pleasure in telling you, Gentlemen, that the Government itself has sided with us in this matter. Consider their Excellencies, the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief and other great pillars of the Government Associations scattered throughout the country, organization of the Army Temperance Associations presiding in temperance meetings (*cheers*). They yea, even encouraging them and presiding in temperance meetings (*cheers*). They exhort the soldiers to abstain from the habit of drink, deliver speeches and distribute medals to the abstainers. It is the English officials themselves who have proved

Third Day

Pandit
Ratan
Nath.

Fyzabad.

RESOLU-
TION.
IX.

Third Day. beyond the shadow of a doubt that in comparison with the abstemious, people addicted to drink commit twice, nay, even three or four times, the number of crimes and it is due only to the exertions of the British Government that at present out of 70,000 English soldiers located in India, 24,000 are total abstainers (*cheers*). But mark the difference: on one side the Gospel of Temperance preached to the English soldiery by their Excellencies, the Vice-Regent of Her Gracious Majesty, and the Commander-in-Chief of Her armies in India, from the Olympian heights of Simla, on the other hand, the attempts of the District Officers to reduce the Excise Revenue of the Government.

Pandit
Ratan
Nath.
Abkari
Reform.
RESOLU-
TION.
IX.

Gentlemen, there was a time in India, under the Moslim rule, when the income from the sale of intoxicants was not even 20 lacs of Rupees and that whatever was collected from this source was levied as a fine and not as a source of Revenue. In the year 1858, when the rule of the Honourable East India Company was abolished and the reins of government were assumed direct by Her Gracious Majesty the Queen, the Excise Revenue was only 50 lacs—but it is most reluctantly that I have to announce that the present income from that source is above 5 crores of Rupees. What else could be the result of such a policy, if not the disturbance of public peace, the poverty of the masses, the utter demoralization of the people and temptations to commit innumerable crimes. Those of my audience who have seen the Nawabi shall bear testimony to the fact that 40 years ago, in this city of Lucknow and its surroundings, within a radius of 10 miles, there was not one liquor shop, while now I am sorry to say there are 100 shops in the city alone (*shame, shame*). You know already, Gentlemen, what was the attitude of the Moslim kings towards this reform. Did the Emperor Akbar permit the use of wine under his rule? Was drunkenness ever allowed to spread during the regime of Aurangzeb? Was there no prohibition during the time of Jehangir? Are not the strict laws even now enforced in some countries prohibiting its sale? I am told that in the Argentine Republic there are certain laws according to which men found drunk are obliged to sweep the refuse of the city for one whole week (*laughter*)—and no exception to the rule is made even in favor of the rich, or man of rank, but the punishment falls on high and low alike. On the other hand what do we find here; no remedy whatever—and that is the reason why the progeny of the ancient Rishis, the plants sown by their sacred hands, I mean our Rajas and Maharajas, the hopes of their country who ought to have been the saviours of their people, fall themselves a prey to the vampire of drink, and succumb to death immersed in sin (*heer, hear*). As my time is nearly over I shall add only a few words more before I resume my seat.

Gentlemen, you are all the living memorials of those eminent founders of arts and sciences whose fame as the originators thereof is still admired by the greatest of modern civilized nations of the earth—and if those lofty spirits are dead and gone, with all the attainments they were proud of, yet still you have the honor to call that country your home which gave to ancient India her valiant sons, like Arjun and Bhima 5,000 years ago (*cheers*). Even now the self-same Aryan blood runs in the veins of their descendants. There is no ground whatever, why that seed of true heroism and nobility of character should have wasted a way. Have the offsprings of those ancient heroes who were ever ready to sacrifice their lives for the good of others—so much degenerated as to become blind to their own interests and lose their discrimination of right and wrong—will they not even now try to better their condition and reform the evils which have crept among their people. I say they will, and with that hope I beg to support the Resolution before you (*cheers*).

BABU RAM PRASAD (*Allahabad*) supported the Resolution in an Urdu speech. The Resolution was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—I have to announce that the Congress will meet in this hall at 12 o'clock to-morrow. The Subjects Committee will meet in half an hour in the reading-room.

I have the pleasing announcement to make that Babu Gokal Chand Rai Rahadur, of Fyzabad, undertakes to board all delegates who may be interested in paying a visit to Ajodhya.

FOURTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Saturday, the 30th December 1899.

THE Congress re-assembled at 12 noon.

THE PRESIDENT:—I wish to put the first resolution from the Chair. We have taken two days to consider the Rules of the Constitution which were framed by the Committee appointed for that purpose. We have consulted all the leading members of the Congress and carefully revised these Rules, and I wish with your permission to read them for your acceptance.

Resolution X.—That this Congress adopts the following Rules regarding the Constitution of the Congress:—

1.—The object of the Indian National Congress shall be to promote by constitutional means the interest and the well-being of the people of the Indian Empire.

2.—It shall ordinarily meet once a year at such time and in such place, as shall have been resolved on, by the last preceding Congress. Provided that the Indian Congress Committee, as hereinafter provided for, may in case of necessity, change the place or time of the meeting of the Congress; provided also that in case of emergency the Indian Congress Committee may convene an extraordinary Session of the Congress at such time and place as may be determined by them.

3.—It shall consist of delegates elected by political associations or other bodies and by public meetings.

4.—Its affairs shall be managed by a Committee styled the Indian Congress Committee consisting of 45 members elected by the Congress, 40 of whom shall be elected upon the recommendations of the different Provincial Congress Committees and, in the absence of such Committees, by the delegates of the respective provinces in Congress assembled, in the manner here-in-below laid down that is to say:—

For Bengal including Assam	..	..	8
For Bombay including Sind	..	..	8
For Madras including Secundrabad	..	..	8
For North-Western Provinces including Oudh	..	..	6
For Punjab	..	..	4
For Berar	..	..	3
For Central Provinces	..	..	3

The term of office of the members of the Committee shall be the period intervening between two ordinary meetings of the Congress.

5.—The Indian Congress Committee shall meet at least three times a year, once immediately after the Congress, once during the year between the months of June and October as may be determined upon by the Committee, and once immediately before the Congress, at such place as the Committee may find convenient.

6.—The Indian Congress Committee shall have an Honorary Secretary and a paid Assistant Secretary, with suitable office staff, for which a sum of Rs. 5,000 shall be granted annually, one half of which shall be provided by the Reception Committee of the place where the last Congress is held, and the other half by the Reception Committee of the place where the next succeeding Congress is to be held.

The Secretary to the Indian National Congress shall be the Honorary Secretary of the Committee.

7.—Provincial Congress Committees shall be organized at the Capitals of the different Presidencies and Provinces of India for the purpose of carrying on the work of political education, on lines of general appreciation of British rule and of constitutional action for the removal of its defects, throughout the year, by organizing Standing Congress Committees, holding Provincial Conferences, and by such other

Fourth
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RESOLU-
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X.

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means as they may deem proper, in consultation with the Indian Congress Committee, for furthering the objects of the Congress. They shall be responsible agents of the Indian Congress Committee for their respective provinces, and shall submit annual reports of their work to that Committee.

8.—The nomination of the President, the drafting of Resolutions and all other business in connection with the Congress, shall be done by the Indian Congress Committee. It shall also, subject to the approval of the Congress, frame rules for the election of delegates, the election of speakers and the conduct of the proceedings of the Congress.

9.—Rules and bye-laws shall be framed by the Provincial Congress Committee for the election of members, the conduct of their own proceedings, and other matters appertaining to their business. All such rules and bye-laws shall be subject to the approval of the Indian Congress Committee.

10.—A committee styled the British Congress Committee shall be maintained in England, which shall represent there the interests of the Indian National Congress. The amount requisite for the expenses of the said Committee shall be determined and voted by the Congress, and the amount so voted shall be raised by the Indian Congress Committee in such manner as may be determined upon by that body from time to time.

11.—The Indian Congress Committee shall take such steps as they may deem fit to raise a permanent fund for carrying on the work of the Indian National Congress and such fund shall be invested in the name of 7 trustees, one from each province in India, to be appointed by the Congress.

This, gentlemen, is the final result of our deliberations, which, I may say, have gone on for several years past, because, for several years past endeavours have been made to frame this Constitution. The very utmost care has been bestowed on the preparation of this constitution, and in its preparation it has been subjected to repeated revisions and a most careful elaboration. I have the honour to present to you the result of our labours, and I beg you will notify your acceptance of these Rules by raising your hands. (*Voices "all", "all."*)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—It follows from these rules that this Indian Congress Committee shall be formed at once. The names of the members of the Committee have been submitted and will be read out to you.

MR. J. GHOSAL then read the following names:—

Members of the Committee Appointed by the Congress under the above Resolution.

On behalf of the Congress—

Mr. W. C. Bannerjee.
The Hon'ble Surendra Nath Bannerjee.
" " P. Anandra Charlu.
" " P. M. Mehta.
Mr. A. M. Bose.

Bengal—

Mr. Kali Charan Bannerjee.
" Bhupendra Nath Bose.
The Hon'ble Mr. Baikuntha Nath Sen.
Mr. Ambica Charan Mozumdar.
" J. Ghosal.
" Aswini Kumar Dutt.
" Dipnarain Singha.

N.-W. P. & Oudh—

The Hon'ble Pandit Bishambar Nath.
Babu Ganga Prasad Varma.
Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya.

List of
members
of the
Indian
Congress
Commit-
tee.
—

Mr. A. Nundy.
" Bishna Narayan Dar.
" Hafiz Abdur Raheem.

Bombay—

Mr. D. E. Wacha.
The Hon'ble G. Chandravarkar.
Mr. W. A. Chambers.
" R. M. Sayani.
" Daji Abaji Khare.
" Chiman H. Sitalwad.
" R. P. Karandikar.
" Tahilram Khem Chand.

Panjab—

Lala Kanhiya Lal.
Sirdar Jhanda Singh.
Lala Hur Kishn Lal.
Bakshi Jaishiram.

Central Provinces—

Mr. Bapurao Dada.
" Bhagirath Prasad.
" H. V. Kelker.

Berar—

Mr. Mudholker.
Mr. Deoraso Vinayek.
" M. V. Joshi.
" G. S. Khaparde.

Madras

The Hon'ble C. Vija Raghavachariar.
" " C. Jumbulinga Mudelior.
" " G. Venkataratnam.
Mr. C. Sankara Nair.
" P. Rangia Naidu.
" P. Ram Chandra Pillay
" G. Subramania Ayer.
" V. Ryrü Nambyar.

The Congress unanimously approved of these names.

THE PRESIDENT:—It has fallen upon me to propose a second resolution also, which runs in these terms:

Resolution XI.—That this Congress recognises the valuable services of the British Committee in the cause of the people of India, and expresses its unabated confidence in Sir William Wedderburn and the other members of the Committee.

This is a resolution which in similar terms has been passed by you year after year and therefore it is needless for me to go into any details.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—It has also fallen upon me to move the third resolution which runs thus:—

Resolution XII.—That, having regard to the policy of appointing to the Governorships of Madras and Bombay statesmen from England to the exclusion of the services in India, this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable that those Provinces should be administered with the help of Councils of three and not of two members as at present, and that one of the three Councillors should be a Native of India.

This is practically the same Resolution as was passed at the previous Congress and so it is not necessary for me to make any remarks over and above the remarks that I have had the pleasure of making in my first day's Presidential address.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—I will now call upon Mr. Mudholkar to propose the fourth resolution, but before he addresses you I wish to say one word—namely, that our

Confidence
in British
Committee.

RESOLU-
TION.
XI.

An addi-
tional native
member in
the Execu-
tive Coun-
cils of
Madras and
Bombay.

RESOLU-
TION.
XII.

Fourth
Day.

Mr. R. N.
Madhol-
kar.

Reform to
prevent
famines.

RESOLU-
TION.
XIII.

hands are full, and it will be necessary for every speaker to confine himself to the time limit which has been fixed. I hope it will not be necessary for me to do what I reluctantly do to touch the gong. The time limit fixed is 10 minutes for the mover of the resolution and 5 minutes for every seconder and supporter.

MR. R. N. MADHOLKAR (*Berar*) :—Mr. President, Brother-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I hope to finish what I have to say within the time limit allowed to me by the President. The resolution which is entrusted to me runs thus:—

Resolution XIII.—That the Congress, while gratefully recognizing the endeavours made by the Indian and Provincial Governments to save human life and relieve distress at the present famine, urges the adoption of the true remedy to improve the condition of the cultivating classes and prevent the occurrence of famine. This Congress recommends the curtailment of public expenditure, the development of local and indigenous industries, and the moderating of land assessment.

Gentlemen, we meet to-day as three years ago under the shadow of a dire calamity. Through the greater part of the country a dreadful famine is ravaging and is creating havoc both of men and of beast. In the part of the country from which I come we had no experience of famine for over 66 years. This year, however, we see a sight such as no man alive in Berar says he has seen. That tract of the country you know is one of the most fertile tracts in India, and is so favourably situated that generally we succeed in having sufficient rainfall. This year on account of the most scanty supply, instead of seeing that rich variety of green and golden yellow which greets one's eyes at this time of the year what you see everywhere is nothing but unbroken arid, black and brown with not a single patch of green to relieve your eyes. Man, you see almost sinking down in some places, and cattle have already gone down by thousands, and I am afraid by the end of this year you will find hundreds of thousands of cattle have died from starvation. Thanks for the generous, sympathetic attitude of Lord Curzon and his Government, this year's famine policy is the most generous and most suitable that has been adopted by the British Government. In times past there were some mistakes committed, and we must say to the credit of Government that profiting by those mistakes the most suitable measures have been adopted from the very beginning. Gentlemen, our grateful acknowledgments are due to the Government for the most earnest and sincere endeavours they are making for the protection of life. But that is not everything. We do make our grateful acknowledgments for what has been done and for what the Government is doing now. But on this occasion it is our imperative duty, duty to ourselves, duty to the Government under which we live, and duty to the country in which we live, that on this occasion we should prominently draw their attention to the causes of such famines, and to ask them to set themselves earnestly to remove all those causes. The cause of the famine of course some people say with more wit than truthfulness is the failure of rainfall. Even a fool knows that. What we want to know is why is it that on the slightest deficiency of rainfall the people of this country succumb at once and go down in thousands and hundreds of thousands. They are living under the most benign Government and it is a most curious thing that even under that Government they have no staying power which will enable them to hold on for one or two years. The reason for this I shall quote to you not from the words of any Congress man or any blatant politician but from the responsible deliverance of such a body as the Famine Commission.

"At the root of much of the poverty of the people of India and of the risk which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the population, and that no remedy for present evils can be complete, which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits and led to earn the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such employments." (*The Report of the Famine Commission, Vol. II, page 175.*)

Further on it says:—

"A main cause of the disastrous consequences of Indian Famines, and one of

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the greatest difficulty in the way of promoting relief in an effectual shape, is to be found in the fact that the great mass of the population directly depends on agriculture, and that there is, no other industry from which any considerable part of the community derives its support. The failure of the usual rain thus deprives the labouring class, as a whole, not only of the ordinary supplies of food obtainable at prices within their reach, but also of the sole employment by which they can earn the means of procuring it."

The people of India are admittedly by all the authorities official and non-official to be one of the poorest in the whole world. We live, it is true, in a country which is rich in material resources but it is not given to us to enjoy all the fruits of that wealth. We are admittedly, as I told you, the poorest of nations because while in England the yearly income per head of the population—the average income I mean to say—is £41, whereas taking the whole of Great Britain and Ireland it is £36, whereas in that very poor country, *viz.*, Ireland it is £16, but in India it is stated by official authority in a note prepared by Sir David Barbour, to be £2. In 1870 Mr. Grant Duff, when he was Under-Secretary for India said that the income of the people of India per head was at the most £2. Mr. Dadabhai Nowroji's calculation would show to be less, but taking the official calculation the income per head is £2. It is also found by official calculation that the amount necessary for maintaining even such a poor person as a camp follower is about Rs. 27 per head. After making the necessary deduction there remains just barely Rs. 4 per head to supply the man with clothing and other things. This is the condition you must remember, then we take into account rich people also. There are, as everybody who has remained in India knows, hundreds and thousands, I should say millions, who live on the bare verge of starvation. Sir William Hunter said that 40 millions passed through life on insufficient food. The testimony of Sir Charles Elliot is to the same effect.

Our poorer population instead of decreasing is yearly increasing. What is this due to? This is due to, as the Famine Commission of 1879 have pointed out, agriculture being the sole industry on which the masses are dependent. According to the calculation of that commission 90 per cent of the rural population is closely connected with the land and 80 per cent of the total population is closely connected with the land. Our calculation, calculation made by a statistician of importance in the Bombay Presidency is that there are so many as 86 per cent of the general population who are closely connected with the land. But even taking the official calculation to account fully 80 per cent of the population is dependent on land. Formerly the state of things was otherwise. You had your industries. Those industries have decayed and collapsed. Formerly well balanced industrial system has entirely gone down. This is the state to which this country has been brought by the collapse of our industrial system. The remedy for this is as suggested by the Famine Commission the revival of industries, and that brings in the important question of technical instruction and the utilisation of what little capital you have. At the same time it throws upon Government the duty of showing themselves more alive to this part of their duties than has been found practicable hitherto. That is not the only thing that could be done and that ought to be done. Another matter in which the shoe pinches, and pinches very greatly, is increased expenditure. I will not go into very many figures. I shall mention one fact which more than another will completely confirm what we have been asserting for years past. It is this. Taking the last 60 years you will find that for our two years of surplus there are three years of deficit; and the total deficit in 60 years is something like 50 crores of rupees. Making allowance for the whole surplus the net deficit is something like 50 crores. This means that there is so much addition to the public debt. Public debt has increased from 26 to nearly to 270 crores. This shows plainly that the cost of our administration, though we are having a highly civilised form of administration, is more than what we can bear. We must cut our coat according to our cloth. If the cloth runs short we must be content to go on with a very short coat and not a long coat. That is the problem as to be faced and we must again pray the Government to seriously consider tail expenditure in every form, and wherever it is practicable. The thing which

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has contributed in the greatest degree to this increase of debt is, as you know, the Military expenditure, and even the Military authorities have admitted that the Military expenditure can be curtailed without any loss of efficiency. That is therefore a thing which we must again press on the attention of the Government. Another thing which we must press on the attention of Government is the land Revenue System. The land Revenue system is productive of many evils about which the cultivator complains. I shall note only one authority and that is, I should consider, the conclusive authority. Sir Theodore Hope when he introduced the Deccan Agriculturists Relief's Act into the Legislative Council admitted that to our Revenue system must, in no small measure, be attributed the present indebted condition of the *ryot*. Lord Lytton admitted the same thing. Sir Robert Gordon, who followed admitted the same thing. We have therefore the highest official testimony that the Revenue system is to a very great extent responsible for the present condition of the peasant. If 80 per cent of the population is entirely dependent on land and if that population is brought to a very low state of poverty, and if that poverty is due in some measure at least to an unsuitable Revenue system, can we not fairly ask the Government to modify that system. This was admitted in 1879. and after that there has been everywhere revision and enhancement of assessment. We can well ask the Government whether this would not lead to financial bankruptcy and ruin to the whole country. We can well ask the Government whether under this benign British Government it is at all in consonance with the tradition of British rule that there should be an ever increasing mass of indebtedness and poverty. With these few remarks I commend this resolution to your acceptance (*cheers*).

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALIVYA (*Allahabad*) who on rising was received with loud cheers said:—

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I have the pleasure to second this resolution, and I do not think I need say much in support of it. This is a question, gentlemen, which has not been brought before the Congress for the first time. Almost in an identical form this matter has been placed before the Congress in years past, and the Congress has expressed its opinion very emphatically as to the true remedy for famine. Gentlemen, the regret is that notwithstanding this record expression of opinion by the Congress, notwithstanding the expression of similar opinion by English statesmen and politicians who have governed this country and, notwithstanding also the conviction which has been expressed in writing by many officials of State, the remedy with seems to be not denied, not seriously disputed by anybody but admitted by most, should not yet have been most seriously adopted, at any rate that no serious effort should have been made to grapple with the question, as it should have been done. Now, gentlemen, in the first part of the resolution you justly express your appreciation of the endeavours which are being made by Provincial Administrations to relieve distress and to mitigate suffering so far as they can, by administering relief in times of famine. It is undoubtedly a grand humanitarian sight to see the Government employing all its vast machinery to relieve distress, so far as it humanly can, when there is actual distress in the country. I do not think there is a single man who has seen the grand famine operations or heard of them and yet will fail to express his deep obligations to the Government for that measure. But when these sights recur with an unfortunate frequency as they do, when you find famines coming one after another during the course of a short period of 3 or 4 years, you begin to turn away from the consideration of the humanitarian aspect of believing distress when it comes, and you begin almost to feel callous for the time being as to the fate of the few who are suffering when you think of the fate of the many who may be overcome in time to come by the same dire calamity. You ask where is the remedy? Where is the guarantee? Where is the assurance, the hope, that this dire calamity will not overtake many more millions in the year to come? (*Hear, hear.*) I am sorry to say, gentlemen, there does not seem to me to be any response of a hopeful nature to that question at least for the present moment. It has been long understood that famines in India do occur with greater frequency than they occur in more civilized countries.

When I say more civilized countries let me tell you, in one respect there is no country which is more civilized than India, (*cheers*) namely in having the good fortune, the exceptionally good fortune of having what has been pronounced by several competent men as was also expressed the other day by our President, a magnificent civil service for the country (*Cheers*). Now, gentlemen, with such a service to guide the affairs of the country, with men of the highest culture, men of the broadest humanitarian feelings, men who come out with the idea of serving the country in the best way they can and also to a country not at all poor in its natural resources, what is it that brings famine to the doors of India so often and so repeatedly? What is it that prevents the Government of this country from driving out the famine practically from India as it has been driven practically from other civilized countries which have not such an excellent service there as we have the good fortune to possess. There must be some reason, gentlemen. It is not the service which is to blame, but it is the system which is to blame (*hear, hear*). The pity, the great pity, the deplorable pity of it is that notwithstanding the matter has been so often brought before the Government; the true remedy has never yet been seriously thought of being applied. Gentlemen, the question that you have before you to-day is that of famine occurring repeatedly; and the remedy that you point out briefly in this resolution is that the condition of the cultivating classes must be improved. Gentlemen, remember it is no use my repeating to you that 4/5 of the population of this country depends upon agriculture. Now, the condition of agriculture cannot be improved unless the Government take good care to consider what is necessary to improve that condition. There are two aspects of the question the Government revenue demand and then fixity of tenure to the cultivating classes. With regard to the first, gentlemen, we have repeatedly expressed our conviction that permanent settlement should be extended to all those parts of India where it does not obtain (*Cheers*). With regard to the second, we have also expressed our deep conviction that a fixity of tenure should be secured to the cultivating classes, so that they may be better able to bear the rigours of famine when it should approach them. With regard to the first, it seems to me that certain officials of Government think that it is an impracticable scheme, that the days are long passed when Governors or statesmen, British Indian statesmen, would think of extending the permanent settlement, that we must not hope that it would ever be extended, that huge mistake was committed in Bengal where a large portion of the revenue of Government was made over to the zemindars of Bengal, to the detriment of the rest of the country. The Government, so say some of these statesmen, is not going to repeat that huge blunder. Well, gentlemen, if it were that only the zemindars of Bengal or any other part of India that were to be taken into consideration, I should not be taking up your time and spending energy in speaking on this aspect of the question. The zemindars are only a small body in the country, compared to the great mass of the population in whose midst they live, and I am sure that nobody would desire that the measure should not be adopted because while it will benefit a large body of men in the country it would also benefit the zemindars. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, the conviction has long been expressed that permanent settlement is needed, and I would only read to you some quotations from high official authorities in support of that view. It is no doubt in 1793 that permanent settlement was introduced in Bengal. The Government had not then all that information before them which they have now after a century. It is not that English statesmen have given up their idea until a very few years ago, of extending permanent settlement to other parts of the country. In 1862 the Secretary of State in a despatch pointed out that it was desirable to extend permanent settlement wherever a certain portion of the area has come under cultivation. Again in 1865 the same opinion was expressed. Now, gentlemen, the words of the despatch are so important that I ask your permission to read some of them. Writing in the despatch of 1862 Viscount Halifax said:—

"After a most careful review of these considerations, Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the advantages which may be reasonably expected to accrue not only to those immediately concerned with land, but to the community generally are sufficiently great to justify them in incurring the risk of some prospective loss of

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revenue in order to attain them, and that settlement in perpetuity in the districts in which the conditions require it or may hereafter require it, is a measure dictated by sound policy and calculated to accelerate and develop the resources of India and the ensure in the highest degree welfare and contentment of all classes of Her Majesty's subject."

Now, gentlemen, such an opinion as that coming so late as 1862 and being laid before the Government of India and the conviction of vast numbers of educated Indians who live in India in the midst of the people and who are better acquainted with the evils which are incidental to a temporary settlement of land revenue, should set the Government of India at least into a mood for serious enquiry whether that was not the real and true remedy for the state of things which we in common with the Government of India deplore. Then, gentlemen, there is the question of the fixity of tenure to the cultivating classes. I am glad to find, and I am sure we are all grateful to find, that not in one but in several Provinces, the Government is anxious to obtain fixity of tenure to the cultivating classes. In these provinces you are aware that efforts are being made in that direction, and efforts have been made in other Provinces too. Now, gentlemen, we must remember one thing. There is a great deal of opposition shown at times, particularly by the Zamindars to the advantages of *ryot* only being looked into in the proposals of the Government. I do not speak here for the Zamindar, but I speak in the interests of the *ryot*. The Government ought to introduce such rules and make such arrangements as will not have to be given up or gradually modified to prevent discontent among Zamindars or to pacify them; and one essential condition of success in that line is that while Government wants to give fixity of tenure or certainty of long lease to the cultivating classes, the Government ought also to restrain its hands and not repeatedly demand increased revenue for over 12 or 20 or 33 years from the Zamindars (*cheers*). In the unusual excitement which the Land Revenue Act has produced in these Provinces I have had occasions to meet and discuss the question with several Zamindars and I find, gentlemen, that not one but many of them said to me:—

"We would be very glad and we are very willing that the Government should extend to the *ryot* what they want, if the Government would give us also permanent settlement as to the revenue demand" (*cheers*).

Therefore, gentlemen, to that extent, I say the question of permanent settlement is one which concerns the *ryot* also. Place some restriction on your revenue demand and place a corresponding restriction upon the demand of the Zamindar from the cultivator, so that the cultivator may be secured against undue enhancement and against capricious ejectment; and you will have secured the happiness and contentment of the very greatest portion of the population of India (*cheers*). Gentlemen, there are just two other matters that I want to touch upon. I am very sorry I have trespassed too long upon your patience. Of the two other matters to which I will briefly refer, one is, amongst other recommendations we make, we say that Government ought to foster native industries and native arts. Time there was when in this very city of Lucknow any number of persons were employed in producing things of native manufacture, and earning a very handsome living by that means. Unfortunately to-day if you go and inquire of the old citizens of Lucknow, you will find that products of English and other foreign Mills have entirely killed Indian industries. Gentlemen, we do not blame the Government for it. That is a matter about which we make no complaint to the Government. What we pray is that the Government would take measures to give technical and industrial education to the people, so that they may be able to find out the means of producing those things which are required in India in their own midst and not send away crores upon crores to foreign lands in lieu of things that exist (*cheers*). It seems that even if all our prayers regarding greater employment of Indians in the public service were granted, that would bring us only a very small relief, compared to the great relief which would come to the country by the introduction or revival of native arts and industries (*hear, hear*). Gentlemen, it is for this reason that we pray to Government to take steps to gi

a better technical instruction to the people of this country than they have hitherto been doing. In England itself more is done than in India, while in countries like Germany, in Asiatic countries like little Japan, much more attention is paid to imparting technical instruction, preparing the people to produce things that they require for their ordinary every-day use.

Therefore it is we say that in our opinion the Government ought to spend much more money on establishing and maintaining colleges for imparting technical education, than it has hitherto done. Gentlemen, if these prayers are considered in a candid manner, if these prayers are listened to and a serious enquiry is instituted as to the means by which effect can be given to this. I have no doubt the condition of the people will greatly improve at no distant date, and if famine should even then come to the doors of our people they will be better able to protect themselves against that calamity and the Government will find it not necessary to come to the rescue of the people to the extent they do at present (*cheers*).

HAJI SHAIK HUSSAIN (*Bombay*) supported the resolution in an Urdu speech.

MR. CHINTAMANI (*Madras*) said:—Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:—It is with a heavy heart that I rise to support the resolution so ably moved by our distinguished countryman, Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, and so eloquently seconded by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and I say so because the deplorable situation in which we find ourselves makes it impossible for us not to feel the acutest pain for the miserable and calamitous poverty of this fabled land of wealth (*hear, hear*). For, Sir, in spite of the protestations of Sir Charles Lyall, we in Congress assembled deliberating upon questions vitally affecting the interests of our dear and beloved motherland, cannot help expressing our firm conviction that these famines are the direct, and I venture to add, the inevitable result of the costly, extravagant and unnatural system of administration that obtains in our country (*hear, hear and cheers*). Despite what men like Sir John Scott and Lord Hugh Cecil might assert, we have it on the unimpeachable authority of one of the greatest Englishmen of the nineteenth century that, if there is found a country possessing a most fertile soil, natural advantages and a thrifty and industrial population, and if yet the people are found to be poor and suffering from want and destitution, there is some fundamental error in the system of administration prevailing in that country (*hear, hear*). Sir, this remarkable observation of John Bright's exactly applies to our country. We should have thought that it was too late in the day for the responsible rulers of this country to talk about the wealth of India. But we find this declaration coming not from any irresponsible quarter, but from Lord George Hamilton, uttered within the hallowed halls of St. Stephens. We find him declaring that India was suffering not from want and destitution, but actually from a plethora of wealth, and that the millions of India were engaged not in asking for bread but in contemplating on how to dispose of their superfluous wealth (*laughter, and cheers*). It was not long after, however, that "the coolest, shrewdest and most distinguished" member of the Indian Civil Service, one a more typical bureaucrat than whom there has not been, and one who only in 1894 reviled us as being engaged in the unpardonable task of advising her Majesty's Civil Service on how to govern the Empire, I allude to Sir James Westland, our late Finance Minister, declared in what may be styled the confessions of a Finance Minister, that the margin between prosperity and adversity in India was very narrow indeed (*hear, hear*).

We are all aware, Sir, of what Sir Evelyn Baring had to say on the poverty of India; we know that in a letter dated the 26th June, 1886, the late Lord Randolph Churchill, our then Secretary of State, declared that the poverty of India and the burdensome taxation imposed on the people by the Government of India, "constituted a political danger, the real magnitude of which, it is to be feared, is not at all appreciated by persons who have no knowledge of, or concern in the Government of India, but which those responsible for that Government have long regarded as of the most serious order" (*hear, hear*). And it was only last year that the *Times of India*, which is never

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over friendly to our interests had, the following remarkable paragraph on the poverty of India. Discussing the income-tax returns, the leading Asiatic Journal writes as follows:—

"The interests of the bulk of the people are bounded by the limits of the village in which they may happen to live.....The Revenue from the income-tax last year 1897-98 was Rs. 1,855,816. No less than 28½ per cent of the whole collections were obtained in the seven towns of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Rangoon, Allahabad, Lucknow and Lahore. Close upon 50 per cent of the total sum collected in the Bombay Presidency is contributed by the residents in the city and Island of Bombay and so in other Presidency towns also. In spite of the low margin of exemption—every person with an annual income of Rs. 500 and upwards has to pay income-tax."

The *Times of India* continued—"The whole number of persons assessed to the tax last year was under half a million. No more vivid illustration of the poverty of India. Mark the words, they are the words of the *Times of India*, and not mine own "no more vivid illustration of the poverty of India could be given" (*hear, hear and cheers*).

Ladies and gentlemen, what then are the remedies for this poverty? At page 210 of his book on India, Sir James Caird, one of the greatest authorities on Indian questions observed.

"I believe it possible to obtain such a gradual increase of production in India as would meet the present rate of population for a considerable time. One bushel of increase gained gradually in a period of 10 years, in addition to a moderate reclamation of cultivable land, would meet the demand of the present growth of population" (*hear, hear*). This is undoubtedly one of the best remedies that can be effected. But, Sir, the best solution of this problem of problems is undoubtedly a moderation of those ruinously large land Revenue assessments from which the people of Central Provinces and the United Provinces, the people of Bombay and of Madras, in fact the people of all those parts of the country where the permanent settlement does not obtain are grievously suffering (*hear, hear*). The resolution, on this subject, of Lord Canning, the despatch of the Secretary of State on that resolution which has a few minutes ago been read by Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and the resolution of Lord Ripon recommending a modified form of Permanent Settlement have been so often repeated from this platform and are so well known to you, brother delegates, that I shall not waste your precious time by quoting them again. But permit me, Sir, to quote here one sentence from a valuable pronouncement of Col. Baird Smith. The Colonel said:—

"The good which has been done by partial action on sound principles is both encouragement to further advance, and entertaining the most earnest conviction that State interests and popular interests will alike be strengthened in an justification and increasing ratio by the step, the first, and, as I believe, the most important measure I have respectfully to submit is the expediency of fixing for ever the public demand on land and thus converting the existing settlement into a settlement in perpetuity." But, Sir, these wise words of far-sighted statesmanship fell flat on the ears of Government, and they have remained unheeded with this day to the misfortune of the three hundred millions inhabiting this vast Empire. You, Sir, told us in your magnificent address the other day that you were an optimist, and that you anticipated a great and glorious future for this hopeless land of ours. I earnestly hope and trust, I fervently pray from the innermost recess of my heart that your words might turn out to be true and that this glorious land of *Aryavarta* might be raised to the high pedestal which she once occupied in the scale of nations and that where the darkness of pinching poverty and discontent now holds unrighteous sway, that bright sun of prosperity and contentment may reign supreme by the grace of the All Merciful Father on High and by the justice and generosity of that might, and glorious nation whose Scriptures proclaim in sublime, and awe-inspiring language that "Righteousness exalteth a nation," and of whose land "the thrice-blessed home of liberty, love

and happiness," the great Poet Laureate, he who succeeded him "that uttered nothing base," sang in beautiful verse as:—

"A land of settled Government,
A land of just and old renown,
When freedom slowly broadens down
From precedent to precedent." (*cheers*).

MR. S. S. DEV (*Bombay*) said:—There remains very little for me to say on the proposition which I have the honor to support, but coming as I do from a district in the Bombay Presidency which yields to no other District than Kathiawar, in the intensity of famine, I am entitled to speak. As an agent of the Poona Sarva-janik Sabha (*cheers*) I had an opportunity of observing the famine operations as carried on by the Bombay Government in 1897, and I am in a position to say that the Bombay Government has this year made a distinct advance upon its old policy by opening relief works earlier (*hear, hear*). For this act of realizing the situation, and for its having opened relief works, we ought to thank the Bombay Government. But gentlemen, with all the efforts of the Government, I apprehend that a heavy mortality is sure to ensue: for you may have on paper the most perfect relief code, but unless the authorities high and low take into their heads to administer the provisions of the Code to the very letter, a heavy mortality is inevitable. Sir, the Famine Code, is not perfect. It has defects but I will not dwell upon all the defects in the Code. I may be permitted to mention only that the proper procedure to be followed is in the first place the yield of each field ought to be first ascertained and that a certain field has failed to yield 12 annas, remission or suspension ought to be granted; but in practice we find that remission or suspension is never made to depend upon any such ascertained failure of crops. As for instance, in the Bijapur District 620 lakhs of rupees have been collected in the last famine when the crop yield was not more than 2 annas in the rupee. The second drawback I find in the famine relief code is that the ration is meagre and food insufficient. That the famine-stricken people are willing to go rather to the jail where they get better food and more quantity than to the relief works, bears out my proposition. The third drawback is that proper provision is made, as soon as famine sets in, the first person to suffer are weavers and other artisans. Even in ordinary years they live from hand to mouth and a famine like the present does a work which 10 years of foreign competition cannot do in reducing artisans and weavers to a very miserable position. With these few remarks pointing out the defects in the Famine Relief Code, I beg to retire. (*cheers*).

The resolution was carried unanimously.

MUNSHI MOHOMMAD SUJJAD HUSSAIN (*Lucknow*) moved the omnibus Resolution in an Urdu speech.

THE PRESIDENT:—Before I ask the seconder to speak I wish with your permission to read a telegram which I have received, and which I have no doubt you will receive with great satisfaction. It is a telegram addressed to the President of the National Congress by the Nattu brothers (*cheers*). The telegram runs thus: "Kindly convey our hearty thanks to the Congress for showing sympathy in our misfortune and expressing feelings of joy at our release" (*cheers*).

RAI YATINDRANATH CHOUDHRI said:—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, when I was asked to second this Resolution, I consented simply because I knew that the propositions grouped under this Omnibus Resolution are so familiar to you for their having been discussed thread-bare in the previous sittings of the Congress, that it would be scarcely necessary for me to speak much on this Resolution, to commend it to your unanimous acceptance. What I propose to do in seconding this Resolution is simply to make a few observations in order to remind you of your old acquaintance with the propositions now submitted to you for your re-approval and re-acceptance. First of all we ask the Government to relieve some of our burdens which we cannot bear, by way of reducing the present rate of salt tax, which deprives to a great extent, many of our poor men of the great necessity of life, and by way of raising the minimum income assessable under the Income Tax Act from Rs. 50 to Rs. 1,000. We further ask that the Government should

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discontinue the grant of the Exchange Compensation Allowance to the already highly paid European and Eurasian employees for the simple reason that we cannot afford to pay for this luxury, while we cannot meet other important and useful expenditures. We desire that the different provincial Governments should mitigate the rigours of the rules framed for the guidance of the Forest Department, so that the rural population of India may not be subjected to the annoyance and oppression of the Forest subordinates whom, I know at least in the part of the country from which I came, the people dread more than they fear the tigers and other wild animals in the forest. The case of our most oppressed brothers—the Assam coolies is well known. Though I gratefully admit that the present legislation in this connection taken up by Lord Curzon goes some way to remove their grievances, yet I submit that nothing short of the total abrogation of the Inland Emigration Act and leaving the whole case to the simple law of demand and supply would satisfy the demands of the justice of the case. The question of Temperance needs no support from me. It is time that English Government should do whatever lies in its power to remove the stigma which is often thrown at it that the British Institutions, and Brandy go hand in hand. The question of the wider employment of natives of India into the public service of thier own country is a case of simple justice to them. This question has been fully dealt with in a separate Resolution. As a corollary to this proposition I want you all to accept the proposition here laid down that Military Colleges should be established where natives of this country may qualify themselves for higher appointments, in the Indian Army. We also pray that the present scheme for the re-organization of the Educational service should be modified in such a way that the qualified sons of India should not be excluded from higher appointments in the Educational service, and that proper facilities may be afforded to our graduates for their admission to the superior grades of the service. Above all we ask that for the proper expansion and development of Indian intellect the act of incorporation of the older Indian Universities should be so amended as to provide for the introduction of teaching function and for a wider scope of learning in our Universities. Regarding the System of Trial by Jury, we ask that we should have the substance and not the shadow of the thing. The verdict of the Jury should be final, and the System should be extended to those districts where it does not obtain now. There is a curious anomaly in the System of Trial by Jury in the Presidency Towns and in trials with the aid of assessors, because the unfortunate accused Indians have not the right to claim that half the number of the jury (which right they have in the mofussil) or half the number of the assessors shall be natives of India. We all know that the life of the population of a large number of the population of India is annually taken by wild animals, so it is meet that we should have the right to defend ourselves, with necessary weapons from the depredations of those wild animals, and that as loyal subjects we should have further the right of defending the interests of our Sovereign in our own country as well as elsewhere. The Council of the Secretary of State for India is mainly composed of retired Anglo-Indians a state of things which means simply this: that the affairs of this country are controlled by the very men whose actions and bunglings we want to be checked. I think this system is bound to fail so long as human nature continues to be as it is. We therefore legitimately pray that this solemn and costly farce should be done away with and a better form of control should be provided for. So far now, we have been praying for what concerns, more or less, the whole of India. Now I would refer to some questions which though provincial in their character, are nevertheless, less important. We protest against the policy that the Government of India having pursued in nominating a gentleman for representing the interests of the Central Provinces to the Supreme Legislative Council, without asking any of the Local Bodies to make recommendation for such nomination. I want to be distinctly understood that what we are going to protest here against, is the policy and not the man because we all of us know that no better man could have been found in the whole country than the eminent gentlemen who now adorns the Supreme Council as the representative of the Central Provinces. In the Punjab we want to raise the status of the Chief Court to that of a High Court, considering the improvements, Educational and otherwise which these countries have made. I hope you will all agree with me that these are all very legitimate

demands. Now one word regarding the proposition relating to that part of India, which is beyond the strict limits of British India. In recent years we have all been convulsed by the news of deposition of Indian Princes without any trial whatever. The people of this country, through the press, cried hoarse for public enquiry, but the Government did not think fit to accede to the demand of the people. The public at large do not even now know what were the grounds that led our Government to take such drastic steps. The prayer which we make will only strengthen the hands of the Government when they want to depose an oppressive ruler, in case of his mal-administration or misconduct, has been conclusively proved to the satisfaction of a special public tribunal. Otherwise the act of deposition would give rise, amongst the people to many misgivings and consequent alarm or discontent which would be detrimental to the cause of good Government in this country. In recent years, I am aware of at least one case in which a condemned Prince applied over and over again to be heard in his defence against the accusations which Political Officials have brought against him behind his back. But the unhappy prince did apply in vain. Can anything be more preposterous than the fact that Indian Princes and Chiefs should be denied the right which is not denied to the worst criminals in the land (*shame*).

From what I have said before, it will appear that the omnibus Resolution in some sense, sums up in the main, the objects of the Indian National Congress, because it refers to and suggests remedies for the grievances of all classes of people in this country from the prince to the peasant and from the educated to the ignorant. Therefore I hope you will accord your hearty support to this Resolution, as its supreme importance demands. With these words, gentlemen, I have much pleasure in seconding the Resolution.

MR. S. K. NAIR (*Madras*), supporting the resolution, said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—The omnibus resolution that has been moved just now in an Urdu speech by a gentleman from Oudh contains such a lot of important matters that it will be a matter of impossibility for my humble self to traverse over that vast region, but whatever may be the difficulty which one may experience with regard to that I cannot help bringing to your notice three important matters contained in that resolution, namely with regard to the Educational Service, the necessity of establishing Military Colleges and also equally the necessity of admitting us, natives of India, to the Volunteer corps of India. With regard to the first point, namely the Educational Services, I am going to bring to your notice a fact which I am sure will legitimately rouse in your breast a national enthusiasm, because that is one upon which the whole of India has been stirred with a legitimate pride. I mean the success, wonderful success of Mr. Paranjpye as the Senior Wrangler of the Cambridge University (*cheers*). In the face of this important fact of which we are pleased to be proud is there any responsible administrator of this Empire who will deny the educated sons of this Empire places and posts in the higher educational service of our motherland (*hear, hear*)? With regard to the second fact, coming as I do from the most important Southern Native State of Travancore and possessing as I do the legitimate pride for the Indian princes, I have a right, Sir, to draw the attention of this National Congress and through it the attention of the Government of India, and the Government of England with regard to the absolute necessity for establishing colleges intended for the military education of the children of our native princes and the representatives of our noble landed gentry (*cheers*) who are in fact, the pillar of our country (*cheers*). Gentlemen, our loyalty has not been questioned. Loyalty is a matter of instinct with us. Hindus have ever been known for loyalty, and I may assure you, Sir, that of all the parts of the Empire of Her Majesty the Queen if there is one part which will be ready to render all services by sending all her persons with thier breasts forward to die in honor of Her Majesty's prestige and glory it is the people of India and India alone (*cheers*). Well, when such is the fact, I want to know that peculiar process of logic by means of which we are denied the privilege of being admitted to the Volunteer Corps. I want to know that, Mark you, there is a funny thing about the story. If I go by the name of S. K. Nair, which is my real name, on the ground of my being a poor native of India I am kicked

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out; but if I go by the name of John or Fernandez and put on a hat and a pair of Wellington boots, I am at once admitted into the Volunteer Corps (*Laughter*). Wonderful things! There is the lesson of natural history that I have learnt from stage to caterpillar, and from caterpillar to butterfly. In the same way I understand we have to pass through these stages—from Nair to John, John to Fernandez, and from Fernandez to D'Netto, in order that we may become Volunteers in the Indian Corps. This is the disgraceful part of the story. While such is the case I think, this is an important Resolution and taking into consideration the monstrous gong in front of the President, I think you will give this Resolution your unanimous vote and pass it unanimously and consider it as one of the most important resolutions passed this year.

SAYED ALI OUSAT (*Oudh*):—LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—I heartily support the omnibus Resolution put forward by the mover.

BABU KRISHNA BALDEO VARMA (*Oudh*) supported the Resolution in an Hindi speech.

THE PRESIDENT:—Before putting the Resolution to the vote I should like to read the whole Resolution as it has been amended, as I do not think it has been read before the Congress.

Resolution XIV.—(i) That this Congress concurs with previous Congresses in strongly advocating—

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

(b) The establishment of Military Colleges in India, at which natives of India, as defined by Statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as Commissioned or non-Commissioned officers (according to capacity and qualifications) in the Indian Army.

(c) The authorizing and stimulating of a widespread system of volunteering, such as obtains in Great Britain, amongst the people of India.

(d) The discontinuance of the grant of exchange compensation allowance to the non-domiciled European and Eurasian employes of Government.

(e) The establishment of a High Court of Judicature in the Punjab.

(ii) That this Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, records its protest—

(a) Against the scheme of re-organisation of the Educational Service which has received the sanction of the Secretary of State, as being calculated to exclude natives of India, even those who have been educated in England, from the superior grade of the Educational Service to which they have hitherto been admitted, advocating that the scheme may be so recast as to afford facilities for the admission of Indian graduates to the superior grade of the Educational Service.

(b) Against the present rate of the Salt Tax, which produces great hardship to the poorest classes of the country, a hardship which renders it incumbent upon the Government to take the earliest opportunity to restore the duty to its level of 1888.

(c) Against the retrograde policy of the Government of India in nominating a gentleman for the Central Provinces to the Supreme Council without asking local bodies to make recommendations for such nomination, entertaining the earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to take early steps to give to the Central Provinces the same kind of representation that it has already granted to Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North-Western Provinces.

(d) Against the labour laws of Assam, *viz.*, the Inland Emigration Act I of 1882, as amended by Act VII of 1893.

(iii) This Congress, concurring with previous Congresses, expresses its conviction—

(a) That, having regard to the opinion of the Jury Commission as to the success of the system of trial by jury, and also the fact that with the progress of education, a sufficient number of educated persons is available in all parts of the country, the system of trial by jury should be extended to districts and offences to which at present it does not apply, and that the verdicts of the juries should be final.

(b) That this Congress is of opinion that it is desirable in the interests of the people of this country that the Criminal Procedure Code should be so amended as to confer upon accused persons, who are natives of India, the right of claiming, in trials by jury before the High Court, and in trials with the aid of assessors, that not less than half the number of the jury or of the assessors shall be natives of India.

(c) That the action of the Forest Department, under the rules framed by the different Provincial Governments, prejudicially affects the inhabitants of the rural parts of the country by subjecting them to the annoyance and oppression of Forest subordinates in various ways; and these rules should be amended in the interest of the people.

(d) That the minimum income assessable under the Income Tax Act be raised from five hundred to one thousand Rupees.

(e) That no satisfactory solution of the question of the employment of natives of India in the Indian Civil Services is possible, unless effect is given to the resolution of the House of Commons of June 1893 in favour of holding the Competitive examination for the Indian Civil Services simultaneously in India and England.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

MR. RAMACHANDRA PILLAI (*Madras*) said:—

MR. PRESIDENT, FELLOW-DELEGATES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—In deference to the Presidential mandate, I appear before you to move the Resolution No. 15 on the programme. Before so doing I have great pleasure to convey to you as President of this Congress and this Congress here assembled a message from a friend of the Congress, Mr. Seymour Keay, formerly Member of Parliament, in which he regrets at being unable to attend this Congress, but at the same time he wishes success to the Congress. The Resolution that I am asked to move runs thus:—

Resolution XV.—That this Congress is of opinion that the Government of India Notification of 25th June 1891, in the Foreign Department, gagging the press in territories under British administration in Native States, is retrograde, arbitrary and mischievous in its nature, and opposed to sound statesmanship and to the liberty of the people, and ought to be cancelled.

Gentlemen, I am sorry I am not able to read out to you the Government notification herein referred to, because I have not got it. Besides I did not expect that I would be called upon to move this resolution. You will remember that this Resolution was considered so important that it was moved from the Chair last time. But the President has asked me to move it, because he is not quite sure of the contents of the notification. I may tell you, gentlemen, that the notification referred to here was passed, I believe, on the recommendation of Sir Lepel Griffin, the then Political Agent at Indore in consequence of certain articles that appeared in a newspaper conducted by a Bengali gentleman. Of course the public were quite satisfied that what was reported in that paper was quite correct; but Sir Lepel Griffin thought otherwise and on his recommendation the Government of India to pass this notification by which the press in Native States was actually gagged. The Government thought that by reason of this solitary instance the Press in all Native States of India should be gagged. This is certainly a most monstrous procedure. The result is that there is no respectable newspaper in any Native State which the people would care to read. There are 2nd & 3rd rate papers issued weekly or bi-weekly and printed in Madras, Bombay and elsewhere, and circulated in Native States, and also in Hyderabad (Deccan) of which the Nizam is the ruler. It would be very necessary both in the interests of the Nizam's Government and the Imperial Government that there should be a well-conducted paper informing both the Government of India and His Highness the Nizam of what is actually going on in the country. Gentlemen,

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this notification affects not simply the Native States but the British administration in those Native States. Now you know the British administration of Native States is subject to the same regulation and laws as the other parts of India, and it is therefore very anomalous that a Political Agent there has the power to stop a paper at his whim and pleasure, and to issue an order for the removal of the Editor bag and baggage within 24 hours, and the Editor could not put his foot again without the Political Agent's special permission. Gentlemen, this is done without the unfortunate Editor being given an opportunity of being heard; and added to this, he is also liable to be prosecuted for libel; and practically the unfortunate man is condemned twice for the same offence. I therefore think that this resolution is important enough to need no further remarks or preface from me, and I therefore ask that this proposition be carried unanimously (*cheers*.)

Mr. Maheshwar Prasad (Allahabad):—

Mr. President, Fellow-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:—The resolution which I have the honour to second asks the Government to cancel its notification which was passed on the 25th June 1891. That notification runs as follows:—"Whereas some misapprehension has hitherto existed as to the regulations in force in territory under the administration of the Governor-General in Council, but beyond the limits of British India with reference to newspapers published within such territory, the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to make the following order:—'No newspaper or other printed work whether periodical or other containing public news or comments on public news shall without the written permission for the time being in force of the Political Agent be edited, printed or published on or after the 1st August 1891 in any local area administered by the Governor-General in Council but not forming part of the British India. If after the day aforesaid any person shall without such permission aforesaid edit, print or publish any such newspaper or other work as aforesaid, in any such local area as aforesaid, the Political Agent may by an order in writing require him to leave such local area within seven days from the date of such order, and prohibit him from entering such local area without a written permission of the Political Agent. If after any such order as is mentioned in the last foregoing paragraph he disobeys, the offender shall be liable to forcible expulsion from such local area in pursuance of an order to be made in writing by the Political Agent.'"

Gentlemen, it is a matter for regret that although we have been passing this resolution year after year in Congress assembled, the Government has not been pleased to accept our recommendation and cancel this Notification from its Order Book. The only source of our information about the doings of Political Agents in Native States, Political Agents who generally play an important part in the administration of these States, who have not in certain cases, as you all know, very rightly used their power but have sometimes abused their power, are well-conducted newspapers in those States, but the existence of this Notification in the Government Order Book has led to the suppression of all public expression of incidents or public criticism of matters that pass and happen in those Native States. Gentlemen, it is too late in the day now to sing the praises of free speech in matters of good administration and good Government of any country. The effect of this Notification has been that it has given authority to a man to allow any newspaper or any periodical to be published or to stop it at his own whim and pleasure without assigning any cause or reason for it. If a man who has been ordered to do away with or stop his writing any article in a newspaper or edit and publish any newspaper or periodical does not carry out that order, the result is that he is ordered to be deported from the State, and if he does not go away, then physical force is to be applied to shun him away from that State. Gentlemen, this is a shameful thing, and the regret is that the tendency to suppressing and preventing persons from taking part and giving expression to their opinions on matters of policy and matters of administration not only in British India but in Native States is not to be found only in Native States but sometimes is gaining ground in British India. Some of you may remember the Press Committees as they are called, or Press censorship, that has been introduced in the Bombay Presidency.

think that the sooner this Notification is done away with and is cancelled from the Order Book of the Government, the better it is for the country.

First of all you find that this power is given to a man who may abuse this power, and there is no check upon him. Gentlemen, political agents, however wise however shrewd, and however intelligent they may be, are not one of the people inhabiting the native states, and they are therefore not expected to understand the feelings of the people among whom they are placed; and then, gentlemen, also taking into consideration the intrigues and mal-practices that hold sway in many Native States, it is certainly a matter of very great importance that newspapers should be allowed to be published, and that the public should be allowed to freely criticize and express its views and sentiments on the questions of the day. One other reason is that even taking for granted that these political agents will not and do not abuse their powers, even then, taking into consideration or supposing that the administration of a Native State is very good and is perfect, even then I say, the advantage which will be derived from a free press is very great. Gentlemen, with these observations I beg to support the resolution that the Notification of the 25th June 1891 be cancelled from the Order Book of the Government. (*cheers*)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Babu Tralokya Nath Pal (Bengal).—Mr. President, Brother-delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have been asked to move a resolution which is of practical importance in this country. The resolution runs thus:

Resolution XVI.—That this Congress places on record its deep conviction that the system of technical education now in vogue is inadequate and unsatisfactory, and prays that, having regard to the poverty of the people and the decline of indigenous industries, the Government will introduce a more elaborate and efficient scheme of technical instruction, and set apart more funds for a more successful working of the same. And this Congress desires to express its grateful appreciation of the patriotic and munificent gift of Mr. Tata for the promotion of higher scientific education and research.

(A voice from the Bengal Delegates "That is not the resolution. We would not have the addition now made.") That part has been recently added. (A voice of "No, no, it was not inserted in the Subjects Committee.") With the permission of the distinguished President I shall read over this portion. It is only a grateful appreciation of the magnificent gift made by Mr. Tata. It is not the scheme. (A voice from Bengal Delegates:—"we would not have that.") Only it is his name and not his scheme (a voice:—"You may say that in your speech").

(At this stage the President called the meeting to order and said:—) I think, gentlemen, you are quite right in saying that the last portion was not resolved upon in the Business Committee; but a great many alterations are made verbally and otherwise before the resolutions are put before this Congress, and following that procedure and following the spirit of the resolution passed last year, this alteration has been decided upon. (A voice from Bengal delegates:—"That is not a procedure which is in order.") This has been decided by those who have been consulted, and placed before the Congress. The Congress has the power either to accept it as placed before it or reject it (*hear, hear*). I have only to explain, as my friend Mr. Pal has explained, that the latter clause is only an illustration of the principal which we have all enthusiastically received every year and which we all enthusiastically recorded every year. We ask for technical education, we always pray for technical education, and facilities for research. We always pray for facilities for higher education and industrial improvement. This is an instance in which one of our countrymen, a noble hearted country, a gentleman of the highest reputation, the highest rank and respectability and the highest patriotism (*cheers*) has come forward and given 30 lakhs of rupees for founding an institution which we have been praying the Government year after year to found. Therefore, it has been thought proper and desirable as a corollary to this proposition to add that clause, and I am perfectly convinced that I convey the sense not only of the majority of delegates but of every one here assembled (*cheers*) that the resolution which has been moved, as it has been altered, will be carried not only unanimously but with acclamation.

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(Three cheers to Mr. Tata were proposed and carried amidst acclamation.)

Mr. Pal, continuing said:—This resolution deals with a subject which is of practical importance to us all. It deals in fact with the bread question of the Indian masses. Technical education is a thing which we all ought to endeavour to introduce into this country in a regular and systematic manner. The Government as well as the people of this country ought to combine together to promote the interests of the technical education. Now, gentlemen, it has been my happy fortune to speak before you on this important subject, and I come from a district in which the technical education has been introduced in a very imperfect manner. I mean the district of Midnapur where there is but one Technical Institution; and that is supported by local subscriptions, and only but partially by aid from local bodies. Now, as you know, this district has many important industries, first of all the industry of *muslin* or *fine mata*, besides *bell metal* industry of Karar village of Midnapur and *silk* manufacture of Ghatal, a sub-division of that District. Now, gentlemen, in former times these industries were carried on in a very satisfactory manner, but now-a-days they have fallen into disuse, and perhaps in a few years they may die out. Such is the condition, perhaps all over Bengal, as may be illustrated by the fact that the industries of Dacca Muslin has in a manner been killed out. Sir, these are not the only instances in which local industries have been going out but all over India such is the fate of indigenous industries and arts. It is a satisfactory thing that the Congress has emphatically supported the resolution on previous occasions regarding Technical Education for the Indian people. I may here mention that in Bengal in Rajshahi a technical institute called the Diamond Jubilee Technical School has been opened through the cooperation of the local zemindars, and with the aid of able and energetic secretary Babu Apkari Kumara Mohitra. These are but indications on the part of the people of Bengal that they have been endeavouring to promote this most important branch of their education. Now in the Province of the Panjab I have come to know that there is a society for the promotion of the interests of indigenous products of the country. In the same way there is one Institute in Bombay called the Technical Institute of Bombay and there is another in the Madras Presidency and also some sympathetic society in Poona. These are but slight indications of the people's desire that the Technical Education has become a desideratum in this Indian Empire. Now, along with these, we ought to have the co-operation of the Government. Gentlemen, you know that in 1884 that illustrious Viceroy Lord Ripon expressed a strong desire in support of such a scheme, and then in 1888 the Secretary of State for India also advocated the cause of Technical Education in a despatch, and then lastly, at the present moment we have the Government of Lord Curzon who has given a practical shape to the utterances of the previous authorities by making a donation of Rs. 2000 to the Rajshahi Technical Institute. Under a sympathetic Viceroy like Lord Curzon we expect that this Resolution will be carried into effect by the Government of India, and that we will have the co-operation and support of our countrymen. It is indispensably necessary in these days of poverty and famine that such education should be taken up by our countrymen with the aid of Government. With these words I beg to place before you the Resolution and I hope that it will be carried unanimously (*cheers*.)

MUNSHI BALDEO PERSHAD (*Bareilly*) supported the proposition in an Urdu speech.

THE PRESIDENT—A little slip has been put in my hands written in pencil, in which over the signatures of K. Mitra and Rash Behari Lal these words are written, *viz.*, "that the new addition be omitted". I suppose it is meant for an amendment. As the addition was put in without giving previous notice, I will of course allow the amendment to be moved. The amendment as far as I see, is that the addition in reference to Mr. Tata be omitted.

MR. K. MITRA in moving the amendment said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:—I have not the legal objection to vow a vote of thanks to Mr. Tata for his magnificent gift, but my objection is to the scheme. Therefore without giving any reason whatever I move this amendment, *viz.*, "That the words newly added" be omitted. The words are:—"This Congress desires to express its grateful appreciation of the patriotic and munificent gift of Mr. Tata for the promotion of higher scientific

education and research." I propose that this addition be omitted from this resolution (*voices of "no," "no."*)

MR. RASH BEHARI LAL:—I beg to second the amendment. Sir, my reason is that this matter was not considered in the Subjects Committee and that there was no talk of it whatever. (*A voice, "there was"*). At least I did not know there was a talk. Therefore I beg to second Mr. Mitra's amendment.

THE PRESIDENT:—I do not think it necessary to discuss this. Those who are in favour of the original motion will raise their hands (*Cries of "All" "All"*). Those who are against will also raise up their hands (there was only one who raised his hand).

The President declared the Resolution carried.

THE PRESIDENT:—It has befallen me to put the next Resolution from the Chair: The Resolution runs thus:—

Resolution XVII.—That this Congress, while thanking the Government for granting the boon of a Legislative Council to the Punjab, places on record its regret that they have not extended to the Councillors the right of interpellation, and to the people the right of recommending Councillors for nomination, such as are enjoyed by the Councillors and the people in the other provinces.

You are already familiar with this question, familiar with the reasons which were urged at the previous Congress. Therefore without taking more of your time, I will put it to the Vote.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

PRESIDENT:—I move the next Resolution which runs as follows:—

Resolution XVIII.—That this Congress is of opinion that so long as Berar is administered by the Governor General in Council all laws and orders, having the force of law, intended for Berar, should be enacted by the Supreme Legislative Council in the same way as those for British India proper.

This also was before you on the last occasion, and it is therefore needless for me to go into the reasons for it.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—The Resolution No. XIX is in these terms.

Resolution XIX.—That the adoption of measures against the Plague being a matter of imperial concern and recognised as such, this Congress is of opinion that the expenditure incurred in connection therewith should be borne by the Government and not charged to the funds of the local bodies.

The reasons for this Resolution are well known to you and I will therefore merely put it to the Vote.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—Then comes the next Resolution.

Resolution XX.—That this Congress again expresses its full and unabated confidence in Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as the representative of the people of India, and hopes that he will be re-elected by his old constituency of Central Finsbury or any other Liberal constituency.

I have no doubt you will pass this with acclamation. The Resolution was carried by acclamation.

Three hearty cheers were given for Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

THE PRESIDENT:—The last Resolution which I have the honour to move is No. XX.

Resolution XXI.—That this Congress re-appoints Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B., to be General Secretary, and Mr. D. E. Watcha to be Joint General Secretary for the ensuing year.

The mention of the names of Mr. Hume and Mr. Watcha evoked enthusiastic cheering.

THE PRESIDENT:—

There is one more Resolution which was passed by the Subject's Committee last night, but which I do not find on the Subjects paper, showing that in the hurry of

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business a good deal of mistakes is made in the printing of these papers, and a great deal of caution is necessary on our part to make the corrections before the paper is put into your hands. The Resolution passed by the Subject's Committee somehow escaped our notice. That paper on which it was written was lost. For the last two hours I have been searching for this, but I have not found it. Those who were present at the last night's meeting of the Subjects Committee will say that such a Resolution was passed. I now produce it from memory. It is as follows :—

“That an Agency be appointed in England for the purpose of organising, in concert with the British Committee of the Congress, public meetings for the dissemination of information on Indian Subjects and that funds be raised for that purpose.”

I will ask my friend Mr. Surendranath Bannerji to move this Resolution (*cheers*).

HON'BLE BABU SURENDRANATH BANNERJI (*Calcutta*), who was received with loud cheers, said :—

I have the honor to move the Resolution which has just been read out by the President. I will not read it again. It is unnecessary to do so; but, Sir, before I proceed with the Resolution it is necessary to clear my ground to make a few observations with a view to guard against any misconception which the circumstances of the case might suggest. It is not for one moment to be supposed that we desire to suppress or in any way interfere with or encroach upon the functions of the British Committee of the National Congress (*hear, hear*). Sir, our feelings towards that Committee and its respected head Sir William Wedderburn (*cheers*) are feelings of respect, gratitude and admiration for the manifold services which they have rendered to us for the last 12 years or more. We are incapable, in Congress assembled, of passing any Resolution which would in any way interfere with those responsible duties that we have entrusted them with. That is not the scope of this Resolution at all Sir, if it were the scope of the Resolution, I for my part would be no party to it; and that that is not the scope of this Resolution will be further apparent from the fact that our respected President, Mr. Dutt, has undertaken to supervise and control the work of the agency for the coming year (*cheers*). The British Committee of the National Congress will bring questions before Parliament and assist in the organisation work referred to in this Resolution. This agency will be supplemental to it, will help it, will be a sort of administering angel to the British Committee. Sir, it is a matter of the first importance, the work to which reference is made in this resolution. It is a matter of the utmost necessity, that we should from year to year, if possible, send deputations to England with a view to address the electors. When I was in England in 1890 with my friend Mr. Mudholkar, we were asked in the different centres which we visited to come back again, and to repeat those deputations from year to year (*cheers*). We were not able to do it. These deputations were given up. In 1897 I addressed some meetings. Mr. A. M. Bose (*cheers*) addressed some meetings in 1898. What is now proposed is to reduce this work to a system by the appointment of an agency like this and Sir, I cannot exaggerate the importance of this work. You hold these meetings here from year to year. You spend large sums of money, but your voice will be like that of one crying in the wilderness; unless and until the cry that you utter here is repeated from the platforms of the British meetings, through the columns of British newspapers, and from the floor of the House of Commons (*cheers*). Our agitation here must be supplemented to the agitation in England. It is not enough for us to hold this demonstration once a year. It is necessary, if possible, to send deputations to England every year. Sir, speaking of the British public I will say this, *viz.*, that Indian Gentlemen addressing British audiences cannot find more sympathetic listeners to their grievances anywhere in the world (*hear, hear*). I have studied the English character such as that character in all its strength and in all its weakness, and I will say that: if an appeal is made to their instinct of justice and freedom such an appeal is bound to meet with the warmest response (*cheers*). The greatest reforms of this century have all been brought about by direct appeals to the British people. What has brought the home rule within the range of practical politics? I may say the Irish people held meetings in Dublin and elsewhere, but it was not until the agitation was transferred from Ireland to England and Scotland and meetings on the question held all over the towns of the United

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Kingdom and of England Scotland that the conscience of England was roused to do that measures of justice toward the Irish people to which they are entitled. We must follow the same methods, and Sir, if we are to follow the same methods money is needed for the purpose. You must come out with your subscriptions. Sir, there is something peculiarly appropriate in my making this appeal for funds. I am a Brahman. By instinct, by tradition, by association, I am a beggar (*laughter*). The hereditary qualities which are in me have been perfected by practice. (*laughter*). I have been here upon this platform more than once appealing to you for funds, and now I extend my Brahminical hand in order that you may come forward with money, hard cash not the plaudits with which you greet my speeches, hard cash in order that we may be able to start this agency at once. How many are you here—two to three thousand? (*a voice of "more"*). The more, the better. Well, is it difficult to raise ten or fifteen thousand rupees amongst us just now at the present moment? I made an appeal to a great meeting of the Congress and a sum of Rs. 60,000 was subscribed on the spot. Is it to be said now that our enthusiasm is on the wane, that the men of 1899 are not the men of 1889, that instead of our feelings of patriotism being accentuated, being strengthened, and deepened these feelings are on the wane! I hope and trust not. I hope that the early fervour and the early enthusiasm which animated us in the early days of the Congress have not been spent, and that we are animated by that fervour and enthusiasm and that under its impulse—overwhelming impulse we are capable of making those sacrifices which the interests, the supreme interests of the country, demand (*cheers*). Come forward with your subscriptions. Act like men before God and Man. It is no use recording resolutions. You must reduce speech into action. The charge that you bring against the Government of this country is that it makes promises which it never redeems. The charge that is brought against you is that you talk big, but that your actions are incommensurate with your profession. Disprove that charge; prove yourself worthy of this great National movement. There is no royal road to the attainment of political liberty. You must pay the price. Fortunate you are that you are under a Government so benign that a heavy price of blood has not to be paid. Pay therefore the price of money and thank God that this is the only price which you are called upon to pay. If you do not pay that price, then I will say this.—“Dissolve this Congress, go back to your homes (*cries of "no, no"*). Don't talk of National movement, be helots that you are, and that you will always be, unless and until you have learnt the noble lesson of self-sacrifice. Come forward with your subscriptions. Let each man subscribe what he can, and when you have set an example in that direction, then and only then you will have established your claim to that political enfranchisement towards which our hopes and aspirations are directed. I have to announce that Mr. Mudholkar has subscribed Rs. 50 (*cheers*).

More subscriptions and promises of subscription poured in. About Rs. 3,000-0-0 were subscribed on the spot.

THE PRESIDENT:—This Resolution requires no seconding. My friend's Brahminical hand has already achieved the work for which it was stretched, but at the same time Mr. Wacha and Miss Garland want to say a few words on behalf of the British Committee, and I request you to give them a short hearing.

MR. D. E. WACHA (*Bombay*):—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—This Resolution requires no seconding. It has already been carried by acclamation. Here is the evidence of it (alluding to the subscription being received). I simply second it formally, and I have the greatest pleasure in doing so. No good work can be better done than this and it will repay a hundredfold (*cheers*).

MISS GARLAND, who was received with loud cheers, said :—

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I have the very greatest pleasure in supporting this Resolution. We all recognise that the British Committee has done its very best to spread enlightenment and knowledge about Indian affairs among the electors of Great Britain and Ireland, but at the same time we have been very much limited. One thing is we are in want of funds and another thing is we can only get English speakers to address meetings. If we get such speakers as I have heard at this Con-

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gress and if we can get them confronted with large audiences in England, the result is bound to be good, and in the highest degree beneficial (*cheers*). We all know that this is going to be a very important year for India as well as for England viz the one that is to come. In all probability we shall be saving a general election within 12 or 18 months at the most, and if during that election or before that election we can have Indian affairs brought prominently before the British constituencies, there is sure to follow from that good results for India. I have another suggestion to make and that is this:— I have only to point out the great good that Mr. Nowroji (*cheers*) has done when he was member for Finsbury to show you how good it would be if you could get other Indian gentlemen to come forward and stand as liberal candidates for English or Scotch constituencies (*cheers*). We want to have some more members for India. I think it was suggested last year that we ought to have 15 or so members directly for India, but until that good time arrives I hope you will persuade your President Mr. Dutt or Mr. Bannerji who has just been speaking to you or some others to come forward and give a part of their time in our English House of Commons. Then I think you will get such a hearing for Indian affairs that nobody can possibly resist you and you will in return be bound to have reforms sooner than otherwise you would. As these gentlemen have told you, in order to get those results, you must subscribe money as many of you are doing so liberally, and we look to the subscriptions and not the number to carry out these great reforms. As Mr. Bannerji has said, if you want to be free you must show yourselves worthy of freedom. We in England have a great deal to do to urge reforms that we are advocating for ourselves, and if you will show the same amount of activity that an ordinary elector does in England about his own material prosperity you will in time get these reforms. I thank you—this is the last time that I shall address the Congress—for the hearty welcome you have given me, and I can assure you that I shall carry away most delightful memories of this Congress to England. I shall try and induce other Englishmen and women to come out from time to time (*cheers*) and I hope that at some future time I shall be able once more to be a member of your Congress (*loud cheers*).

PANDIT LAKSHMAN PRASAD, supported this Resolution in an Urdu speech.

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

RAI SAHEB LALA MURLIDHAR (*Umballa*):—MR. PRESIDENT, BROTHER-DELEGATE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—I can conceive of no greater happiness than to hop about like a bird from one branch to another of the Congress tree, to be fed and housed at other people's expense as I have been at Lucknow, I wish that the Congress, instead of being a roving Congress will be permanently located in Lucknow. If it cannot be permanently located in Lucknow, and if it is to be a roving Congress, then it should go to Bombay, Madras, Amraoti or Poona, or any other town except the Punjab; but if it is to come to the Punjab which as my friends say it must go to the Punjab, and if I am asked to invite the Congress to the Punjab as I have been doing now (*cheers*) then I submit gentlemen, that you ought to be deterred from going to the Punjab from your former experience of the Lahore Congress in 1893. You will not there find such a splendid Pandal. You will not have such palatial residence to live in. You will not be sumptuously fed and looked after as you have been in Lucknow, and if you are to go there and partake of the simple fare like Rama who lived on wild plums at the hands of wild women or like Krishna who accepted the hospitality of Sudhama and lived on unhusked rice and uncooked food, then you are welcome to go to the Punjab. Instead of palatial residence, what will you find in the Punjab? Huts not made of straw, not made of mud, but made of living flesh. You will be imprisoned really in the hearts of the people of the Punjab and there is no way of escape. You will find it difficult to return from there but if you do safely return from the Punjab, which I hope you will, some of you may try to escape from us, we will follow you to your homes and bring you back if possible if not the year after the next, at least after a few years hence. There is no doubt about it, and you should not doubt it. I beg to inform you of our real position as it stands. We must not hide anything from you. We are an unsophisticated class of people. We are not deeply read in the school of hypocrisy. There-

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fore we must tell you once more how our position stands. Our most respected leader, and in fact, the head of the educated community of the Punjab is unfortunately now not in this land of sorrow, not in this veil of tears. He has been gathered to his forefathers. I mean our late lamented and respected head of the noble family, Sir Dayal Singh (*cheers*) whose loss is not mourned only over the Punjab but mourned throughout India on account of his liberality, on account of his generosity and on account of the many loving acts of which remembrances remain like the fragrance of flowers in the hearts of the people of the Punjab, and whose memory shall ever be green so long as the waters of the five rivers flow in the land of the Punjab. Then, gentlemen, famine unfortunately stares abroad in the land, and it is hard for the people to rescue hundreds and thousands of strangers in the land who are of our own flesh and blood. Our own co-religionists if not actually dying of hunger are living from hand to mouth and hardly manage to keep both body and soul together. We are to find money for saving these miserable creatures from the clutches of death. The minds of the people of the Punjab have also been unsettled of late on account of the "Punjab Land Alienation Bill." People know not what will be the consequence of such a measure which affects every homestead and every human being that holds land in the Punjab or even does not hold land in the Punjab. These are the plain circumstances. Then what can we, a few petty-fogging, lawyers and petty traders, hardly more than 25, here do? Although we expect to beg from door to door and raise some money for the hospitable purpose of serving our fellow citizens, I hope that whatever we shall place before you, simple fare, sumptuous fare good or bad, as it is, you will accept in the same spirit as that in which it will be offered to you. May God's blessings rest upon you for holding this Congress here, and making it possible for the people of the Punjab to come and participate in the hospitality which you have spread unstintingly before them and the other people of India. Some may be rich and others may be poor and as brothers we are alike. If we happen to be poor it is not our fault. Now the Congress tries to raise us also in the scale of nations, and tries to make rich of us who are poor, and some day by the grace of God we shall become your equals even in point of wealth (*cheers*).

The speaker then addressed the meeting in Urdu.

THE PRESIDENT:—Gentlemen, I must announce to you a donation from a Lady whose name is Paravati. It is surely a sign that ladies have taken an interest in this Congress.

PANDIT BISHAN NARAYAN DAR (*Lucknow*):—

Gentlemen, I have been entrusted with the pleasant duty of offering on your behalf, on behalf of this whole assembly, in fact on behalf of the millions of my fellow-countrymen whom this great gathering represents, our heartiest and warmest thanks to our distinguished President (*cheers*) for having presided over our deliberations with an amount of tact and judgment, ability, moderation and earnestness rare even in the annals of the Indian National Congress (*cheers*). Gentlemen, I am deeply conscious of the honour which my friends have done me by selecting me to perform this most pleasing duty, for I believe that no privilege can be greater than that of being allowed to express our sense of gratitude to our benefactors. Gentlemen, our illustrious President is one of the shining band of patriots of whom this country has every reason to be proud. He is an ornament of his race and he is the pride of his country (*hear, hear*).

Gentlemen, it would be superfluous if not impertinent on my part to say anything about his great and rare scholarship, his deep erudition or the great and invaluable services he has rendered to this country or the high position which he occupies in the estimation not only of his countrymen but also of Englishmen. But this, Sir, you will permit me to say, that so long as our motherland can produce men of his intellectual eminence and moral elevation, her honour and position are secure among the nations of the world (*cheers*).

Gentlemen, the great function which Mr. R. C. Dutt has performed with such tact and ability, and at so much sacrifice of time, money and energy to himself, is the greatest in my humble opinion that any Indian may be called upon to perform: and sir,

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APPENDIX

LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

FIFTEENTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

HELD AT LUCKNOW, DECEMBER 1899.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electorial Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, etc.	Race, Religious Denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when Elected.
1	Bengal	Calcutta	Northern and Southern Metropolitan Electoral Divisions.	Romesh Chundra Dutt, Esqr., B.A., L.C.S., C.I.E., Barrister-at-Law.	Hindu Kayastha.	Retired Commissioner of Orissa Division; Professor of Indian History, University College, London; Zamindar.	At a public meeting of the Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division held at the Indian Association rooms, 60, Bow Bazar Street on 18th December 1899, and also at a meeting of the Southern M. Division held on the 20 December 1899.
2	"	"	"	Mr. J. Ghoshal	Hindu Brahmin.	Zamindar, Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta.	Ditto.
3	"	"	Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Hon'ble Surrendro Nath Banerji, B. A., Secretary, Indian Association.	Do.	Principal, Ripon College, Editor, Bengalee; 33, Neogipukur East Lane.	At a public meeting of the N. E. Division held on 18th December, and also at a special meeting of the Progressive Union held on the 17th December 1899.
4	"	"	"	Babu Bhupendro Nath Bose, M. A., B. L., Fellow, Calcutta University; Secretary, Standing Congress Committee Calcutta.	Hindu Kayastha.	Attorney-at-law; 14, Balaram Ghose's Street.	At a meeting of the N. E. Division held on 18 December 1899.
5	"	"	"	Mr. Prithwis Chandra Roy Chowdhry, Honorary Assistant Secretary, Standing Congress Committee Calcutta.	Do.	Zamindar, and Author; Harrison Road.	At a meeting of the N. E. Division held at the Indian Association rooms, the 18th December 1899, and also at a meeting of the Indian Association held on 8th December; and also at a meeting of the People's Association at Furriddpur, held on the 9 December 1899.
6	"	"	"	Dr. Nilrattan Sircar, M.A., M. D., Fellow of the Calcutta University.	Bengalee Brahmin.	Physician and Surgeon; 61 Harrison Road.	At a public meeting of the N. M. E. Division held on 20th December 1899, and also at a meeting of the Indian Association held on the 8th December 1899.
7	"	"	"	Babu Dwijendra Nath Bose, Assistant Secretary, Indian Association.	Bengali; Kayastha Brahmo.	Author and Journalist; 6, Guru Prasada Chowdhri's Lane.	Ditto.

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none can appreciate better than those of us who have sat on the Subjects Committee the immense advantage of his leadership; we have seen with what tact, with what masterly judgement, with what irresistible charm of sweet reasonableness he has reconciled, the differences of some of the most convinced men in our rank and secured upon some of the most difficult and intricate questions unanimity of opinion without in the least curtailing freedom of discussion (*cheers*).

Gentlemen, let us hope and trust that his great talents and his high public spirit will find yet a wider field of usefulness, and our President of to-day will be a member for India to-morrow (*cheers*). Sir, on behalf of the citizens of Lucknow, particularly who are under a special obligation to you, and on behalf of this whole assembly let me assure you with all the sincerity of sentiment of which I am capable that in trying so nobly and so patriotically to build up the fabric of political regeneration of India you are without doubt building up for yourself an everlasting monument of undying gratitude in the hearts of the people. With these words I beg to move a hearty vote of thanks to our distinguished President and I trust you will carry it with acclamation (*loud and prolonged cheers*).

The Resolution was carried amidst loud and enthusiastic cheering and waving of handkerchiefs.

THE PRESIDENT:—

Gentlemen, I find it difficult to find words to express my sense of the great kindness which you have bestowed upon me by passing a vote with acclamation and by showing your good feelings towards me in a way which cannot be mistaken. It is 3 months ago, gentlemen, the announcement was first made to me that you had all over the country desired and expressed your wish that I should on this occasion take that chair which has been filled before me by other eminent countrymen of mine and other eminent Englishmen with so much ability and with so much success. I said to you on the opening day that the first impression I received when I got this announcement was one more of alarm and hesitation than of pleasure, because as you know, gentlemen, it has not been exactly in my line to preside at great and magnificent gatherings like this. I may say that this is the first occasion that I have the proud privilege of addressing such a magnificent gathering of my own countrymen. But although I felt a great deal of hesitation and a great deal of misgiving when the proposal was made to me, still I felt I should not be doing my duty (*hear, hear*) towards my own countrymen if I should refuse to accept the proposal which you have so kindly extended to me. I felt honoured that though I was separated from you by thousands of miles, you had still thought of me from this vast distance and that you had selected me to preside on this occasion. Therefore, gentlemen, without much deliberation, with only a slight consultation with my respected friend Mr. W. C. Bonnerji and a slight consultation with my respected friend Mr. Hume, I at once permitted the British Committee to wire to you that I should, at whatever sacrifice to myself, not fail in my duty in attending on this occasion (*cheers*.) I have tried, gentlemen, to perform my duty to the best of my ability and though that ability is very poor (*cries of "no" "no"*), your indulgence your kindness, your toleration has enabled me to go through this process of this vast work for these four days. I have received from every one present here, every one who gathered round me from morning till nine at night, nothing but kindness, nothing but kindly suggestions, nothing but help, nothing but loyal co-operation, and if I have succeeded to some extent to perform my duty on this great, this momentous occasion, it is not a little owing to your kindness, to your toleration and to your co-operation. Gentlemen, it remains for me to express the sense of my obligations and the obligations of all the delegates to the chairman and members of the Reception Committee (*cheers*), who have given me a more than princely welcome in this princely town (*three cheers were given to the Reception Committee*). Of the Chairman himself, I need say nothing. He is better known to many of you than to myself but I can say this. I am not speaking the words of ordinary conventionalism when I say that on the first evening of my arrival at Lucknow I found that elderly gentleman in a feeble state of health come to the station to receive me and when he accompanied me all the way from the station to the bungalow where I am staying, I must say that he

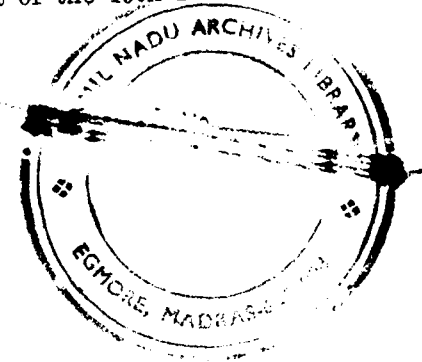
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did so at some risk to himself and I was filled with something more than gratitude—I was filled with affection for that elderly gentleman. He has performed that duty since that time without almost any regard to his own health. He has been inspired by nothing but a sense of duty. When I sometimes mildly reproached him for over working himself in this feeble state of health, he has always given me the same reply, namely "God has helped me in my duty" (*cheers*). Gentlemen, the members of the Reception Committee have always been attending to us and have always done their very best to make us comfortable. Although we held this Congress in a year of exceptional difficulty, in a year when Calcutta is supposed to be plague-stricken and Bombay and Poona are supposed to be plague-stricken and delegates coming from Bombay, Poona and Calcutta are kept at a distance of four miles from the city still the persevering industry of the members of the Reception Committee has overridden every difficulty and has made us as comfortable as it was possible for them to do (*cheers*). The Volunteers have been constantly in attendance on us (*three cheers were proposed and given to the Volunteers*). They have been doing their duty at a degree of sacrifice which is known only to themselves. They are young men mostly in different professions or still pursuing their scholastic career. They have thought this occasion quite fit when they could keep away from their duty, in order to perform their services to those men whom the educated people of India have sent to this country for the good of this country. In connection with this, gentlemen, I must not forget to mention the untiring work of our talented and indefatigable Secretary of the Reception Committee, Mr. Ganga Prasad Varma (*three cheers were given to Mr. Ganga Prasad Varma*). Any attempt on my part to introduce him will be perfectly useless. You have all seen the persevering way in which he has worked from day to day, from morning till evening, and if all the arrangements have been successful, they have not been a little owing to the persevering industry of Mr. Ganga Prasad Varma. Lastly, I must say one word in recognition of the artistic beauty of this Pavilion in which we hold our meeting, the credit for which is due to the Engineer Mr. Chandra-mohan Roy. If you will allow me to say one or two words to express my own personal feelings, I think I must express my personal obligation to the care and attention shown to me by Mr. A. Nundi who was in charge of myself and a few delegates with me. Gentlemen, I shall only conclude by saying that although this is my first attendance at a Congress meeting, and although I have had no such experience before, still with the co-operation which I have received from the delegates and with the kind attention which I have received from the members, President and Secretary of the Reception Committee, everything has gone on more smoothly than I ever expected even in my buoyant moments; and for all these I offer my thanks again to the President, the Secretary, the members of the Reception Committee and the Volunteers. (*Loud cheers*).

It remains for me only to announce that this Congress dissolves and that the next Congress will be held, as we have learnt from our kind friend Mr. Murlidhar, at Lahore. (*Loud cheers*).

The Congress dissolved with three cheers to Her Majesty the Queen Empress, three cheers to the Viceroy, three cheers to Sir Antony MacDonnell, three cheers to Mr. A. O. Hume, and three cheers to the President of the 15th Indian National Congress, Mr. R. C. Dutt.

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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.
8	Bengal.	Calcutta	Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Babu Debendra Prasada Ghosh.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zemindar; 82, Seeta Ram Ghose's Street.	At a public meeting of N. M. E. Division held on 20th December 1899, and also at a public meeting at Jessore held on the 18th December 1899.
9	"	"	"	Dr. M. M. Bose, M. D., L. R. C. P. (Edinburgh), L. F. P. S. (Glasgow), Honorary Magistrate.	Bengali Brahmo.	Landholder, Medical Practitioner; Harrison Road.	At a meeting of N. M. E. Division on 18th, and also a meeting of Indian Association on the 8th December 1899, and also a meeting of Rate Payer's Association held on the 17th December 1899.
10	"	"	"	Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra, B. A.	Do.	Editor, <i>Sanjibani</i> , Professor, City College.	Ditto.
11	"	"	"	Mr. J. Borroah	Assamee Brahmin.	Landholder; 38, Old Boi-thakkhana Bazar Road.	At a meeting of N. M. E. Division held on the 18th December 1899.
12	"	"	"	Mr. Akhaya Kumar Bose.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader	Ditto.
13	"	"	"	Mr. Kali Charan Banerji, M. A., B. L., Fellow, Calcutta University.	Christian.	Vakil, High Court	At a meeting of N. M. E. Division held on the 18th December 1899, and also at a meeting of Bengalee Christian Conference held on 21st December 1899.
14	"	"	Southern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Mr. J. Mookerji	Hindu Brahmin.	Zamindar	At a public meeting of S. M. E. Division held on the 20th December 1899.
15	"	"	"	Mr. Tara Prosonno Mittra.	Kayastha.	Manager, <i>Bengali Newspaper</i> ; Bhawanipur.	Ditto.
16	"	"	"	Mr. Nirode Chandra Chatterji, B. L.	Brahmin.	Lawyer; Mirzapur Street.	Ditto.
17	"	"	Bengalee Christian Conference.	Mr. Satish Chandra Mookerji M. A., B. L.	Christian.	Professor, London Mission College; Bhawanipur.	At a meeting held on the 21st December 1899.
18	"	"	Calcutta Progressive Union.	Mr. Ranoo Lal Shaw, Assistant Secretary, Progressive Union.	Hindu.	Merchant, Landholder.	At a meeting of Calcutta Progressive Union held on 17th December 1899.
19	"	"	Baranagar Cossipore, 24 Parganas.	Rai Jatindro Nath Chowdhry, M. A., B. L., Fellow, Calcutta University, Member of the British Indian Association, and Member of the Indian Association, Zamindari Panchayat, Secretary, Bangiya Sahetya Parishad.	Kayastha.	Zamindar	(1) at a meeting held at Baranagar, on the 10th December 1899, Cossipore, and adjoining villages. (2) A meeting of Indian Association held on the 8th December 1899. (3) A meeting of Rate Payers and People's Association. (4) A meeting of Zamindari Panchayat held on the 18th December 1899.
20	"	"	Rate Payers and People's Association.	Mr. S. K. Nair.	Brahmin. Madras.	Landholder	At a meeting of the Rate Payer's Association, Maniktoles, (2) and also at a public meeting held on 17th December 1899 at Tangacherry.

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.
21	Bengal	Calcutta	Calcutta	Babu Nand Gopal Bhado	Brahmin	Merchant, Krishnanagunj,	At a public meeting held at Krishnanagar on the 20th December 1899.
22	"	"	"	Babu Peari Lal Ghosh, M. A.	Brahmo Kayastha.	Teacher, Midnapore College.	At a public meeting held on the 9th December at Midnapore.
23	"	"	"	Babu Trilokya Nath Pal, Vice-Chairman, Municipality	Hindu Sudgope.	Pleader	Ditto.
24	"	"	"	Babu Sarat Chundra Bose, B. A., B. L., Member, District Board and Local Board.	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil, Burdwan	At a public meeting of Burdwan Association, held on the 5th December 1899.
25	"	"	"	Babu Amar Nath Dutt Bose.	Ditto.	Landholder; Journalist	Ditto.
26	"	"	"	Babu Baranasi Banerji, B. L., Member, District Board, Midnapur.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Tamluck	At a public meeting held at Tamluck, on the 15th December 1899.
27	"	"	Khulna	Babu Nagendro Nath Sen, B. L.	Hindu Baidya.	Pleader	At a public meeting of the Public Association, held on the 19th December 1899.
28	"	Mymensingh.	Mymensingh.	Babu Jatindro Mohan Bose.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zamindar	At a public meeting of the Mymensingh Association, held on the 15th December 1899.
29	"	"	"	Babu Manomohan Neyogi, B. A.	Hindu Vaidya.	Taluqadar	At a public meeting of the Mymensingh Association held on the 15th December 1899, and also at a public meeting held at Sakrail, on the 18th December.
30	"	"	"	Babu Revati Mohan Guha, M. A., B. L., lately Honorary Magistrate.	Hindu Kayastha	Pleader, Taluqdar	Ditto.
31	"	"	"	Babu Surja Kumar Shome, B. A.	ditto.	Ditto	Ditto.
32	"	Furreedpur.	Furreedpur.	Babu Ambika Charan Mozamdar, M. A., B. L., Chairman Municipality, Member, District Board.	Hindu Vaidya.	Landholder; Pleader	At a public meeting of Furreedpur People's Association, held on the 9th December, (2) and also at a meeting of Sushid Sabha, (3) and also by the Manikdaho Hissadhi Sabha.
33	"	"	"	Babu Gyan Chandra Banerji, M. A., B. L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder and Pleader	At a public meeting held on the 9th December 1899.
34	"	"	"	Babu Suresh Chandra Lahiry, B. L.	Ditto.	Ditto	Ditto.
35	"	"	"	Moulvie Aliuzzaman, B. A., Chairman, Local Board.	Mohamodan.	Zamindar	Ditto.
36	"	"	"	Pundit Kali Prasano Kabi Bisharad.	Hindu Brahmin.	Editor, <i>Hitradi</i> .	At a public meeting held on the 9th December 1899, (2) and also at a meeting held at Bhawanipore, Southern Metropolitan Electoral Division, (3) and also at a meeting of Progressive Union, (4) also at a meeting of the Branch Indian Association.

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37	Bengal	Barisal.	Bakar-gunj.	Babu Aswani Kumar, Dutt, M. A., B. L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zamindar ...	At a public meeting held on the 19th December 1899.
38	"	Rangpur	Rangpur	Babu Satish Chandra Chakerbutty, B. L., Honorary Secretary, Bar Library, Honorary Secretary, Union Club.	Hindu Brahmin	Pleader	At a public meeting of the Standing Congress Committee, held on the 15th December 1899.
39	"	Dinajpur.	Dinajpur	Kumar Saradindu Narayan Roy, B. A.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zamindar	At a general meeting Dinajpur Standing Congress Committee, held on the 10th December 1899.
40	"	"	"	Babu Rakhal Das Sen, B. L.	Hindu Baidya.	Pleader	Ditto.
41	"	Pubna	Pubna ...	Babu Tarak Nath Moitra, B. L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Ditto	At a public meeting held on the 19th December 1899.
42	"	"	"	Babu Kunj Lall Shah.	Hindu Teli.	Medical Practitioner	Ditto.
43	"	Rampur Beaulah.	Rajshahi	Babu Akshoy Kumar Moitra, B. L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader	At a meeting of the Rajshahi Association, held on 2nd instant.
44	"	Berhampur.	Murshidabad.	Hon'ble Babu Bai Kanth Nath Sen, B. L.	Hindu Baidya.	Zamindar; Vakil, High Court.	At a public meeting of the Murshidabad Association held on the 26th November 1899.
45	"	"	"	Babu Hamindra Nath Sen, B. L., Municipal Commissioner, Joint Secretary, Murshidabad Association.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
46	"	"	"	Babu Sudhangsen Seakher Bagehi, Municipal Commissioner, Berhampur.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zamindar and Silk Merchant	Ditto.
47	"	Bhagalpore.	Bhagalpore.	Babu Brij Behari Lall ...	Hindu ...	Zamindar, Madhopura P. O. Bhagalpore	At a public meeting held at Bhagalpore on the 19th December 1899.
48	"	"	"	Babu Hari Das Ghosh M. A., B. L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader	Ditto.
49	"	"	"	Babu Jai Narain Mandal	Hindu ...	Zamindar, village Raniputi, P. O. Madhopura.	Ditto.
50	"	"	"	Babu Rash Behari Lall Mandal, Honorary Magistrate, Member, District and Local Boards.	Hindu ...	Zamindar	Ditto.
51	"	Purneah	"	Babu Jogendro Nath Mukerji.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader	At a public meeting held at Purnea on 2nd December 1899.
52	"	Chutia Nagpore.	Tippera, Chutia Nagpore.	Babu Ranjani Nath Nandy, B. L., Member, District Board, Municipal Commissioner, Tippera.	Bengalee Brahmo Kayastha.	Pleader	At a public meeting held at Tippera on the 21st December 1899, and also at a meeting of the Bar Association held on the 15th December 1899.
53	"	"	"	Babu Satyendra Nath Basu, M. A.	Hindu Kayastha	Principal, Victoria College Tippera.	Ditto.
54	"	Behar	Patna ...	Babu Brij Nandan Singh,	Hindu Kshatriya.	Pleader, Bankipore	At a public meeting held on the 6th December 1899.

[v]

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55	Bengal	Behar	Patna ...	Babu Nand Ram Bhutt, B. L.	Hindu ...	Pleader	At a public meeting held on the 6th December 1899.
56	"	"	"	Babu Radha Nath Dey ...	"	Merchant, Tea Agent	Ditto.
57	Assam	Calcutta	Cachhar	Babu Ramoni Mohan Das	Bengalee Hindu.	Zamindar, Merchant, Banker, District Sylhet.	At a public meeting held at Cachhar on the 16th December 1899.
58	North-West Provinces.	Benares	Benares	Mr. B. L. Mert, A. B. A. C.	Brahmin	Barrister-at-Law	At a public meeting held on the 10th December 1899.
59	"	"	"	Babu Ananda Charan Dutt.	Bengali Kayastha	Pleader	Ditto.
60	"	"	"	Babu Nibaran Chandra Gupta, M. A., LL. B.	Bengali Vaidya.	Ditto	Ditto.
61	"	"	"	Babu Satish Chandra Mo-zumdar.	Brahmin	Ditto	Ditto.
62	"	"	"	Munshi Madho Prasada, M. A., LL. B.	Kayastha	Zamindar; Pleader	Ditto.
63	"	"	"	Syed Nasiruddin Ahmad	Mohamedan.	Pleader	Ditto.
64	"	"	"	Dr. Jaggan Nath Prasada Mathur.	Brahmin	Medical Practitioner	Ditto.
65	"	"	"	Babu Mata Pershad, M. A.	Hindu	Merchant	Ditto.
66	"	"	"	Janki Pershad	Hindu	Mahajan	Ditto.
67	"	"	"	Pandit Rup Narayan	Brahmin	Proprietor, Indian Appeal	Ditto.
68	"	"	"	Babu Ram Pershad Chowdhury.	Hindu Agrawalla.	Zamindar and Banker	Ditto.
69	"	"	"	Babu Nand Kishore Lall	Hindu Khatree.	Ditto	Ditto.
70	"	"	"	Babu Jugal Kishore	Ditto.	Ditto	Ditto.
71	"	"	"	Babu Gopal Dass Chowdhry.	Hindu Agrawalla	Ditto	Ditto.
72	"	"	"	Babu Badri Pershad	Hindu Khatree.	Service	Ditto.
73	"	"	"	Babu Batak Pershad	Ditto.	Zamindar and Banker	Ditto.
74	"	"	"	Babu Baldeo Das, B. A.	Nagor Brahmin.	Zamindar	Ditto.
75	"	"	"	Sheikh Khalil-uddin	Mohamedan Hanfi.	Mukhtar	At a public meeting held on 3rd December 1899.
76	"	"	"	Pandit Badri Narayan	Brahmin	Zamindar	Ditto.
77	"	"	"	Munshi Madho Lall	Hindu	Zamindar	Ditto.
78	"	"	"	Pandit Gopal Sada Shiva Apte.	Brahmin Maharashtra.	Landholder; Agent to the Bindu Madho temple.	At a meeting of Kashi Maharashtra Sabha held on 3rd December 1899, and also at a public meeting held on the 10th December 1899.

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123	North-West Provinces.	Allahabad.	Allahabad.	Pandit Sunder Lal, B. A. F. A. U.	Nagor Brahmin.	Advocate, High Court ...	At a public meeting held at Kayastha Pathshala, on the 2nd December 1899.
124	"	"	"	Pandit Tej Bahadur Sapru M. A. LL. B.	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court ...	Ditto.
125	"	"	"	Babu Durga Charan Banerji.	Bengali Brahmin.	Ditto.	Ditto.
126	"	"	"	Babu Ramanand Chatterji M. A.	Brahmin	Principal, Kayastha Pathshala.	Ditto.
127	"	"	"	Babu Surrendra Nath Deb	Kayastha	Professor, Kayastha Pathshala.	Ditto.
128	"	"	"	Babu Maheshwar Prasada, B. A.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
129	"	"	"	Pandit Balkrishana Bhatt	Brahmin	Ditto.	Ditto.
130	"	"	"	Babu Ram Prasada Varma	Ditto.	Teacher, Kayastha Pathshala.	Ditto.
131	"	"	"	Babu Ram Dyal	Kayastha	Ditto.	Ditto.
132	"	"	"	Lala Madho Prasada	Hindu Khatri.	Banker ...	Ditto.
133	"	"	"	Lala Erij Mohan Lal	Hindu Khatri.	Ditto.	Ditto.
134	"	"	"	Pandit Raj Nath	Brahmin	Ditto.	At a public meeting held on the 3rd December 1899.
135	"	"	"	Babu Shameshwar Das	Hindu Khatri.	Ditto.	Ditto.
136	"	"	"	Lala Anandi Pershad	Hindu	Ditto.	Ditto.
137	"	"	Cawnpur	Pandit Prithi Nath, Vice-President, Bar Association, and Temperance Union, Secretary, Divisional Congress Committee, Cawnpore.	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Pleader ...	At a public meeting held on the 10th December 1899.
138	"	"	"	Pandit Hirday Narain Kaul, Joint Secretary Divisional Congress Committee.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
139	"	"	"	Babu Badri Nath	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil ...	Ditto.
140	"	"	"	Rai Debi Pershad, B. A., LL. B., F. T. S., Honorary Manager, Rasik Samaj, President, Kayastha Vegetarian Society of India, and Kayastha Sabha and Kayastha Temperance Society; Vice-President, Temperance Union, Secretary, Bar Association, and Zamindari Association.	Hindu Kayastha. Chetra Gupta Vanshi.	Vakil, Zamindar, Law Professor.	Ditto.
141	"	"	"	Babu Purshotam Das	Hindu Khatri.	Pleader ...	Ditto.

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142	North-West Provinces.	Allahabad.	Cawnpur.	Babu Debi Pershad, President, Arya Samaj, Vice-President, Y. M. Association.	Kayastha Chitra Gupta Vanshi.	Pleader, Zamindar ...	At a public meeting held on the 10th December 1899.
143	"	"	"	Babu Ganga Dyal	Ditto.	Pleader ..	Ditto.
144	"	"	"	Babu Jwala Pershad, B. A., LL. B., Vice-President, C. F. D. Society, President, Kayastha Literary Club.	Ditto.	Vakil, Zamindar ...	Ditto.
145	"	"	"	Babu Munna Lal	Ditto.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
146	"	"	"	Babu Nitya Gopal Bose	Ditto.	Proprietor and Editor, <i>Indian Standard</i> (English Weekly).	Ditto.
147	"	"	"	Babu Nobin Chandra Bose.	Bengali Kayastha.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
148	"	"	"	Babu Ram Sanaihi Seth, B. A., LL. B., Secretary, Gur Narain Khatri School.	Khatri	Vakil ...	Ditto.
149	"	"	"	Babu Raj Bahadur	Kayastha	Pleader ...	Ditto.
150	"	"	"	Babu Anoda Sarup, Secretary, Arya Samaj, and Y. M. Association.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
151	"	"	"	Babu Sarish Chandra Gupta.	Bengali Vaidya	Merchant ...	Ditto.
152	"	"	"	Babu Triloki Nath Banerji, Municipal Commissioner	Brahmin	Pleader ...	Ditto.
153	"	"	"	Mr. Chhote Lal, Chhagan Lal Parekh, Vice-President, Cawnpore Gyrati Gyan Ashram Library.	Hindu Vaishya.	Trader ...	Ditto.
154	"	"	"	Pandit Shiva Prasada Tewari.	Brahmin Kan Kumbaja.	Pensioner, Superintendent, Sanatan Dharam High School.	Ditto.
155	"	"	"	Babu Shiva Narain, Member, Municipal Board.	Arya ...	Banker ...	Ditto.
156	"	"	"	Bhai Harnam Singh Varma.	Punjabi Khatri Sikh.	Proprietor and Editor, <i>Cawnpore Gazette</i> (Urdu Weekly)	Ditto.
157	"	"	"	Dr. A. C. Chatterjee	Brahmin	Medical Practitioner ...	Ditto.
158	"	"	"	Dr. P. M. Tewari, L. M. S.	Brahmin Kan Kumbaja.	Contractor, Medical Practitioner, Trader.	Ditto.
159	"	"	"	Dr. S. N. Sen, L. M. S.	Hindu Vaidya.	Medical Practitioner ...	Ditto.
160	"	"	"	Mr. G. L. Maitra, Vice-President, C. F. D. Society.	Bengali Christian	Educationist ...	Ditto.
161	"	"	"	Maharaj Durga Pershad Bajpai.	Brahmin Kan Kumbaja.	Zamindar, Rais ...	Ditto.
162	"	"	"	Pandit Jai Narain Pershad Bajpai, Insurance and General Agent, Vice-President, C. F. D. Society, Secretary, Cawnpur Temperance Union, etc.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.

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79	North-West Provinces.	Benares.	Benares.	Krishanrao Phikaji, Secretary. Kashi Maharashtra Sabha.	Brahmin Maharashtra.	Proprietor, Shri Balaji Press.	At a meeting of Kashi Maharashtra Sabha held on 3rd December 1899, and also at a public meeting held on the 10th December 1899.
80	"	"	"	Lala Mathra Das, son of Lall Gobardhan Das.	Gujrati	Zamindar and Banker ...	Ditto.
81	"	"	"	Pandit Narain Vâij Nath Kallai.	Brahmin Maharashtra.	Landholder ...	Ditto.
82	"	"	"	Raghu Nath Hari Khadikar.	Ditto.	General Merchant and Commission Agent.	Ditto.
83	"	"	"	Raja Ram Govind Mehandby.	Ditto.	Jeweller ...	Ditto.
84	"	"	"	Sada Shiva Hari Sohni ...	Ditto.	Merchant ...	Ditto.
85	"	"	"	Pandit Vishnu Dixit Bal Dixit Ranadey Raj Gura to H. H. the Maharaja of Mandi.	Ditto.	Landholder ...	Ditto.
86	"	"	"	Shrimant Rao Sahib Vasudeva Rao Vishwas Rao Chandvedkar Kar, F.T.S., President, Kashi Maharashtra Sabha.	Ditto.	Landholder ...	Ditto.
87	"	"	"	Pandit Kesho Raghu Nath Avasthi.	Brahmin Kankabaj.	Landholder ...	Ditto.
88	"	"	"	Shrimant Ganesh Chimanaji Thaley	Brahmin Maharashtra.	Ditto ...	Ditto.
89	"	"	"	Raja Ram Ganesh ...	Ditto.	Ditto ...	Ditto.
90	"	"	"	Rai Buldeo Buksh ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pensioner ...	Ditto.
91	"	"	Mirzapur.	Babu Aghor Nath Mookerji, B. A., LL. B.	Bengalee Brahmin.	Pleader ...	At a public meeting held on the 21st December 1899.
92	"	"	"	Babu Beni Prasada, Municipal Commissioner, Honorary Magistrate.	Hindu Bhargava.	Zamindar, Merchant, Contractor.	Ditto.
93	"	"	"	Babu Siri Ram, Member, District and Municipal Board.	Hindu Kshatri.	Zamindar, Pleader ...	Ditto.
94	"	"	"	Babu Har Nam Singh ...	Hindu Khatri.	Zamindar, Gopigunj ...	Ditto.
95	"	"	"	Babu Mahadeva Singh, B. A., LL. B., Municipal Commissioner.	Ditto.	Zamindar and Pleader ...	Ditto.
96	"	"	"	Babu Jadu Nath Singh, Member, District Board.	Ditto.	Zamindar, Derwa Bhadohi	Ditto.
97	"	"	"	Babu Ram Din	Arya Vaishya.	Merchant ...	Ditto.
98	"	"	"	Babu Mahadeva Pershad Singh.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zamindar, Village Bojha	Ditto.
99	"	"	"	Misra Sheocharan Pershad, Municipal Commissioner	Ditto.	Zamindar, Village Chanoi	Ditto.

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100	North-West Provinces.	Banares.	Mirzapur.	Pandit Mathura Prasada Chowdhari, B. A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zamindar, Pleader ...	At a public meeting held on the 21st December 1899.
101	"	"	"	Dubi Sheo Sampad Ram, Municipal Commissioner.	Ditto.	Zamindar, Taekapur ...	Ditto.
102	"	"	"	Sheikh Taqi Haji ...	Mohamedan.	Merchant ...	Ditto.
103	"	"	"	Tewari Makhan Ram ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder, v. Puchanea	Ditto.
104	"	"	"	Babu Badri Nath Seth ...	Hindu Khatri.	Merchant and Contractor	Ditto.
105	"	"	Gorakhpur.	A. Nandy, Esq. ...	Christian	Barrister-at-Law ...	At a public meeting held on the 16th December 1899, and also at a meeting of Bengali Christian Conference, Calcutta, held on 21st December 1899.
106	"	"	"	Babu Gauri Ram ...	Hindu	Pleader ...	At a public meeting held on the 16th December 1899.
107	"	"	"	Babu Ajodhia Dass, B. A.	Ditto.	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
108	"	"	"	Babu Gorakh Pershad ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
109	"	"	"	Babu Bhairon Pershad ...	Ditto.	Vakil ...	Ditto.
110	"	"	"	Babu Jumna Pershad ...	Ditto.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
111	"	"	"	Babu Kesri Narain Chand, B. A.	Ditto.	Landholder and Rais ...	Ditto.
112	"	"	"	Babu Ram Ratan ...	Ditto.	Pleader, Landholder, Director of the Kayastha Trading and Banking Corporation.	Ditto.
113	"	"	"	Babu Lalji Lall ...	Ditto.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
114	"	"	Azamgarh.	Munshi Basdeo Sahai ...	Hindu Kayastha	Teacher ...	At a public meeting of Friends' Association held on the 19th December 1899.
115	"	Allahabad.	Allahabad	Hon'ble Pandit Bishambhar Nath, F. A. U., Municipal Commissioner.	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Advocate, High Court, Member of Legislative Council.	At a public meeting held at Kayastha Pathshala, on the 2nd December 1899.
116	"	"	"	Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, B. A., LL. B., F. A. U.	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court ...	Ditto.
117	"	"	"	Mr. Shamshuddin ...	Mohamedan.	Barrister-at-Law ...	Ditto.
118	"	"	"	Mr. S. Singha ...	Kayastha	Advocate, High Court ...	Ditto.
119	"	"	"	Pandit Bhagwandin Dube, M. A., LL. B.	Brahmin	Vakil, High Court ...	Ditto.
120	"	"	"	Pandit Lakshmi Chand, M. A., LL. B.	Ditto.	Ditto ...	Ditto.
121	"	"	"	Pandit Baldeo Ram ...	Ditto.	Ditto ...	Ditto.
122	"	"	"	Pandit Lakshmi Narain Malviya.	Ditto.	Ditto ...	Ditto.

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163	North-West Provinces.	Allahabad.	Cawnpur.	Babu Kanhia Lal ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Merchant, Contractor ...	At a public meeting held on the 10th December 1899.
164	"	"	"	Babu Ram Charan ...	Hindu.	Proprietor, Ram Charan and Co.	Ditto.
165	"	"	"	Lala Chandika Pershad...	Hindu Vaishya.	Merchant ...	Ditto.
166	"	"	"	Lala Gulab Chand ...	Hindu.	Ditto.	Ditto.
167	"	"	"	Lala Narain Das Chowdhri.	Hindu Vaishya.	Ditto.	Ditto.
168	"	"	"	Babu Ram Kishen ...	Hindu Khattri.	Rais and Merchant ...	Ditto.
169	"	"	"	Hakim Sheikh Asgar Hussain.	Mohamedan.	Physician, Merchant ...	Ditto.
170	"	"	"	Babu Bishumbhar Nath...	Khattri.	Banker ...	At a public meeting of Ritha Am Association held on the 22nd December 1899.
171	"	"	"	Lala Bankey Lal ...	Hindu.	Ditto.	Ditto.
172	"	"	"	Babu Brij Bhokan Lal ...	Hindu Vaishya.	Trader ...	Ditto.
173	"	"	"	Babu Gopal Dass ...	Hindu.	Banker ...	Ditto.
174	"	"	"	Babu Ram Kishore ...	Khattri.	Ditto.	Ditto.
175	"	"	"	Mr. Tricum Lal Naranbhai Modi.	Hindu Vaishya.	Assistant, "The National Bank of India, Limited," Cawnpore.	Ditto.
176	"	"	"	Mr. Vassomji Persotam...	Do.	Merchant ...	Ditto.
177	"	"	"	Munshi Noor-ul Hasan ...	Mohamedan.	Ditto.	Ditto.
178	"	"	Jhansi.	Pandit Gopal Das Sharma B.A., L.L.B.	Brahman.	Vakil ...	Ditto.
179	"	Oudh.	Fyzabad.	Babu Baldeo Prasada ...	Hindu Khattri.	High Court Vakil, Advocate.	At a public meeting held on the 6th December 1899.
180	"	"	"	Rai Gokul Chund Bahadur, Honorary Magistrate.	Do.	Pleader and Zamindar ...	Ditto.
181	"	"	"	Babu Gopal Lalla Manocha, B.A.	Hindu Arorbansi.	Zamindar ...	Ditto.
182	"	"	"	Babu Brij Mohan Lal ...	Kayestha.	Pleader ...	Ditto.
183	"	"	"	Pandit Rattan Nath Kaul.	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Accountant, Ajodhia Bank	Ditto.
184	"	"	"	Babu Razhu Nath Sahai, B.A.	Kayestha.	Vakil ...	Ditto.
185	"	"	"	Babu Ram Kishore ...	Agrawalla.	Zamindar ...	Ditto.
186	"	"	"	Munshi Lalta Prasada ...	Kayestha Srivastova Khare.	Government Pensioner and Zamindar.	Ditto.
187	"	"	"	Bhaya Kandhai Prasada.	Hindu Khattri.	Mahajan ...	Ditto.
188	"	"	"	Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Hengal.	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Pleader and Zamindar, Akbarpore.	Ditto.

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189	North-West Provinces.	Oudh.	Fyzabad.	Pandit Gajraj Singh ...	Brahmin.	Photographer Akbarpore.	At a public meeting held on the 6th December 1899.
190	"	"	Gonda.	Munshi Ghaus Mohomad Khan.	Mohomedan.	Pleader, Judge's Court ...	At a public meeting held on the 14th December 1899.
191	"	"	"	Munshi Munir Ahmad ..	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
192	"	"	"	Babu Kali Prasana Banerji.	Bengali Brahmin.	Ditto.	Ditto.
193	"	"	"	Babu Krishna Prasada, B.A., L.L.B.	Hindu Kayestha.	Vakil, High Court ...	At a public meeting held on the 21st December 1899.
194	"	"	Bahraich	Pandit Badri Narain Sukla.	Brahmin.	Pleader ...	At a public meeting held on the 15th December 1899.
195	"	"	Barabanki	Pandit Sheo Shanker Lal.	Ditto.	Vakil ...	Ditto.
196	"	"	"	Munshi Mohomad Hussain.	Mohomedan.	Pleader, 1st grade, Judge's Court, Lucknow.	Ditto.
197	"	"	"	Babu Punna Lah	Hindu.	Vakil ...	Ditto.
198	"	"	"	Babu Ram Kishen ...	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
199	"	"	"	Babu Bhagwat Dyal, B.A., L.L.B.	Kayestha.	Ditto.	Ditto.
200	"	"	"	Babu Bhadar Chandra Ghosh, B.A., L.L.B.	Bengali Kayestha.	Vakil, High Court ...	Ditto.
201	"	"	"	Lala Shanker Das ...	Hindu.	Banker and Zamindar ..	At a public meeting held on the 15th December 1899.
202	"	"	Partabgarh.	Babu Shanker Dyal, B.A., L.L.B.	Aryan Hindu Kayestha	Vakil, High Court, MacAndrewganj.	At a public Ward Meeting at Saadatganj, held on 6th December 1899, and also at a meeting held at Chauk on 9th.
203	"	"	Lucknow.	Nawab Sayed Sultan Mirza Saheb.	Mohomedan.	Zamindar ...	Ditto.
204	"	"	"	Nawab Sultan Ali Saha ...	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
205	"	"	"	Nawab Mohomad Bahadur Ali Khan Saheb.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar ...	Ditto.
206	"	"	"	Nawab Wajid Ali Saheb	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Dargah ...	At a public meeting held at Saadatganj on the 6th December 1899.
207	"	"	"	Nawab Syed Sultan Ali Khan Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
208	"	"	"	Nawab Nabban Saheb Saha	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
209	"	"	"	Nawab Pearay Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
210	"	"	"	Mir Ali Hussain ...	Ditto.	Service, Stable Haider Baig Khan.	Ditto.
211	"	"	"	Mirza Mahomad Kazim ...	Ditto.	Trader, Saadatganj ...	Ditto.
212	"	"	"	Nawab Syed Husain Saheb	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Mansurnagar.	Ditto.
213	"	"	"	Nawab Nadir Mirza Ahmad	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Rustamnagar.	Ditto.
214	"	"	"	Nawab Saheb Mirza ...	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Top-Darwaza.	Ditto.

Agency 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.
Ortho-Vest Province and Oudh.	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Mohomad Hadi Ali Khan.	Mohomed-an.	Zamindar, Rustamnagar...	At a public meeting held at Saadatganj on the 6th December 1899.
"	"	"	MirjHadi Hussain ...	Ditto.	Service, Mahbubganj ...	Ditto.
"	"	"	Nawab Syed Ibrahim ...	Ditto.	Service, Katra Khudayar Khan.	Ditto.
"	"	"	M. Wazir Khan ...	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
"	"	"	Mir Syed Ali ...	Ditto.	Service, Karballa Dyant Daula.	Ditto.
"	"	"	Mir Syed Hussain ...	Ditto.	Zamindar & Marsia Reader Katra Khudayar Khan.	Ditto.
"	"	"	Mirza Fida Hussain ...	Ditto.	Service, Karballa Dyant Daula.	Ditto.
"	"	"	Syed Mohomad Raza ...	Mohamed-an.	Service	At a public meeting held at Chauk on 9th December, and also at a mass meeting held at Congress Pandal on 24th December 1899.
"	"	"	M. Kazim Hussain Mehshar	Ditto.	Service, Galli Shah Chharra.	Ditto.
"	"	"	Hakim Mohomad Taqi ...	"	Physician	At a public Ward meeting of Chauk held on the 9th December 1899.
"	"	"	Moulvi Bunday Raza ...	Ditto.	Moulvi, Muftiganj ...	Ditto.
"	"	"	Munshi Mohabbat Hussain.	Ditto.	Dito.	Ditto.
"	"	"	Munshi Mazhar Aga ...	Ditto.	Service, Tahsenganj ...	Ditto.
"	"	"	Munshi Bunday Aga ...	Ditto.	Service, Mahubganj ...	Ditto.
"	"	"	Nawab Syed Sahib ...	Ditto.	Service, Maidan Elach Khan.	Ditto.
"	"	"	Mir Ahsan Ali ...	Ditto.	Service, Saadatganj ...	Ditto.
"	"	"	Nawab Sultan Hussain Khan.	Ditto.	Service, Hussainabad ...	Ditto.
"	"	"	Mirza Hussain Ali ...	Ditto.	Service, Deorhi Aga Mir...	Ditto.
"	"	"	Mirza Sadik Hussain ...	Ditto.	Trader, Dalmandi ...	Ditto.
"	"	"	Mirza Ali Abbas ...	Ditto.	Service, Galli Shah Chharra	Ditto.
"	"	"	Mir Mohomad Baqar Hussain.	Ditto.	Contractor	Ditto.
"	"	"	Hakim Ahmad Hussain...	Ditto.	Trade, Kutra Khuda Yar Khan.	Ditto.
"	"	"	Hakim Moulvi Abdul Hussain.	Ditto.	Zamindar	Ditto.
"	"	"	Nawab Hashmat Hussain Khan.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Talab Gangni Shukal.	At a public Ward meeting of Ganeshganj held on the 17th December 1899.
"	"	"	Nawab Faraedin Mirza ...	Ditto.	(Wazirganj)	Ditto.
"	"	"	Nawab Mohomad Shah Mirza, son of Nawab Mumtaz-uddaula.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.

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11	N.-W.P. and Oudh.	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Nawab Syed Azmat Hussain.	Mohomad-an.	Pensioner, Gangni Shukal	At a public ward meeting held at Ganesh Ganj on the 17th December 1899.
12	"	"	"	Nawab Syed Ahmad Hussain Khan.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
13	"	"	"	Nawab Asif Ali Khan ...	Ditto.	Of ex-Royal Family ...	Ditto.
14	"	"	"	Syed Raza Hussain ...	Ditto.	Service, Gangni Shukal Talab.	Ditto.
15	"	"	"	Syed Mohammed Khan...	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
16	"	"	"	Syed Sagir Hussain ...	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
17	"	"	"	Hakim Mirza Haider Hussain.	Ditto.	Ditto. Baroni Khandak	Ditto.
18	"	"	"	Mir Anwar Ali ...	Ditto.	Merchant, do. ...	Ditto.
19	"	"	"	Daroga Aga Ali ...	Ditto.	Service, Wazirganj ...	Ditto.
20	"	"	"	Syed Mohamed Raza Khan.	Ditto.	Do. Gangni Shukal Talab.	Ditto.
21	"	"	"	Munshi Ahsan-ullah Beg.	Ditto.	Do Bag Kazi	Ditto.
22	"	"	"	Munshi Masud Hussain...	Ditto.	Do. Yahiaganj	Ditto.
23	"	"	"	Munshi Ahmed Hussain ...	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
24	"	"	"	Hakim Muzaffer Hussain	Ditto.	Physician, Serai Aga Mir	Ditto.
25	"	"	"	Syed Ali Naki ...	Ditto.	Service, Wazirganj	Ditto.
26	"	"	"	Sheikh Rasool Beg ...	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
27	"	"	"	Munshi Sajjad Hussain ...	Ditto.	Editor, Oudh Punch ...	Ditto.
28	"	"	"	Munshi Makbool Hussain	Ditto.	Service, Wazirganj ...	Ditto.
29	"	"	"	Nawab Ali Mohomad Khan Saheb. Life-President, Anjman-i-Mohomadi.	Ditto.	Pensioner, Mansurnagar...	And also at a public mass meeting attended by 30,000 men, held at Congress Pandal on the 24th December 1899.
30	"	"	"	Nawab Mirza Mohomad Ali Khan Saheb.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Ditto.	At a public meeting of Anjman-i-Mohomadi held on the 17th December 1899.
31	"	"	"	Nawab Khadam Hussain Khan.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
32	"	"	"	Nawab Aga Mohomad Hussain Khan alias Manan Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
33	"	"	"	Mir Fida Hussain ...	Ditto.	Physician, Ditto.	Ditto.
34	"	"	"	Nawab Ahmad Mirza Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
35	"	"	"	Meer Ali Hasham Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
36	"	"	"	Ameer Mirza alias Bhudan Saheb.	Ditto.	Service, Ditto.	Ditto.
37	"	"	"	Umrao Mirza Sahib ...	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Ditto.	Ditto.
38	"	"	"	Sajjad Mirza Sahib ...	Ditto.	Zamindar, Ditto.	Ditto.

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	N.-W.P. and Oudh.	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Nawab Ahmad Mirza Saheb.	Mohomad-an.	Wasiqadar, Mansurnagar.	At a public meeting of Anjuman-i-Mohomad on the 17th December 1899.
270	"	"	"	Nawab Muzaffar Hussain Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
271	"	"	"	Nawab Mohomad Mirza Saheb <i>alias</i> Manjhu Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
272	"	"	"	Nawab Sadiq Hussain Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
273	"	"	"	Nawab Mirza Mohomad Raza Khan Saheb ...	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
274	"	"	"	Nawab Ab'd Ali Khan ...	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
275	"	"	"	Abbas Mirza Sahib ...	Ditto.	Service, ditto.	Ditto.
276	"	"	"	Hakim Syed Baqai Hussain.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
277	"	"	"	Nawab Imtyaz-ud-doula...	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Nakhas ...	Ditto.
278	"	"	"	Nawab Asgar Ali Saheb <i>alias</i> Manal Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
279	"	"	"	Nawab Mubarak Hussain Khan.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
280	"	"	"	Nawab Lateef-uddin Ahmad Khan	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
281	"	"	"	Nawab Zahir-uddin Ahmad Khan.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
282	"	"	"	Nawab Ameer-uddin Ahmad Khan.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
283	"	"	"	Nawab Khurshaid Mirza	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
	"	"	"	Moulvi Abdul Gafur Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
284	"	"	"	Nawab Syed Ali Khan	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
285	"	"	"	Nawab Aga Wazir Hussain Khan Saheb Vice-President, Anjuman-i-Mohomadi.	Ditto.	Ditto, Kashmiri Mohalla	Ditto.
286	"	"	"	Nawab Taki Ali Khan <i>alias</i> Nabban Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto	Ditto.
287	"	"	"	Mahomad Sadiq Ali Khan	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
288	"	"	"	Nawab Ahmad Ali Khan Saheb <i>alias</i> Chhotey Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
289	"	"	"	Nawab Mohomad Mirza Khan.	Ditto.	Ditto, Rustamnagar...	Ditto.
290	"	"	"	Nawab Baqar Mirza Khan	Ditto.	Ditto	Ditto.
291	"	"	"	Nawab Abid Hussain Khan	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
292	"	"	"	Nawab Ata Ali Khan ...	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
293	"	"	"	Nawab Syed Abid Saheb <i>alias</i> Nanhun Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
294	"	"	"	Nawab Chhotey Miran Saheb <i>alias</i> Ali Wasi.	Ditto.	Merchant, ditto.	Ditto.

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295	N.-W.P. and Oudh.	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Meer Mohomad Akbar Saheb.	Mohomad-an.	Service, Rustamnagar.	At a public meeting of Anjuman-i-Mohomadi held on the 17th December 1899
296	"	"	"	Syed Na-ir Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
297	"	"	"	Nawab Mehndi Ali Khan Saheb <i>alias</i> Chhaju Saheb.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, ditto.	Ditto.
298	"	"	"	Nawab Mohomad Raza Ali Khan.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
299	"	"	"	Hakim Mir Ali Mohsan	Ditto.	ditto.	Ditto.
300	"	"	"	Nawab Nanhey Mirza, son of Nawab Mohomad Raza Khan.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, ditto.	Ditto.
301	"	"	"	Ahmad Hussain Khan Mahzan-ud-dowla Bahadur.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
302	"	"	"	Chhotey Mirza Saheb ...	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
303	"	"	"	Nawab Hadi Ali Khan	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
304	"	"	"	Nawab Furrakh Mirza Ali Hussain Khan.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
305	"	"	"	Nawab Haidar Hussain Khan Sahib.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
306	"	"	"	Syed Zamin Hussain Saheb.	Ditto.	Zamindar, Dargah ...	Ditto.
307	"	"	"	Nawab Mehndi Ali Khan Saheb.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, ditto ...	Ditto.
308	"	"	"	Zakir Hussain Saheb ...	Ditto.	Trader, ditto. ...	Ditto.
309	"	"	"	Nawab Sultan Ali Khan Saheb.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Kazmain ...	Ditto.
310	"	"	"	Nawab Mirza Saheb ...	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
311	"	"	"	Nawab Wilayat Hussain Khan.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
312	"	"	"	Syed Mohomad <i>alias</i> Saidu Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
313	"	"	"	Hafiz Mohomad Hussain Sahib.	Ditto.	Trader, ditto ...	Ditto.
314	"	"	"	Syed Ali Saheb ...	Ditto.	Service, ditto ...	Ditto.
315	"	"	"	Mirza Abbas Hussain Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
316	"	"	"	Mirza Mohomad Hussain Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
317	"	"	"	Mir Alam Ali Saheb ...	Ditto.	Zamindar, Katra Khudayar Khan.	Ditto.
318	"	"	"	Moulvi Mohomad Ismail Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
319	"	"	"	Sultan Ali Saheb ...	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
320	"	"	"	Moulvi Murtaza Hussain Saheb.	Ditto.	Service, Bilochpara ...	Ditto.
321	"	"	"	Mir Ali Hussain Saheb ...	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
	"	"	"	Mir Syed Hussain Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.

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377	N.-W.P. & Oudh.	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Zia-ud-din Hussain Khan Saheb.	Mohomed au.	Ditto.	At a meeting of Anjuman-i-Mohomadi held on 17th December 1899. Ditto.
378	"	"	"	Mir Mohomad Raza Saheb.	Ditto.	Service, Chaupatian ...	
	"	"	"	Nawab Jhamman Saheb.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Ahata Mirza Ali.	
379	"	"	"	Nawab Aga Hussain Saheb.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Musahabganj	Ditto.
380	"	"	"	Mohomad Sajjad Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
381	"	"	"	Nawab Asgar Ali Saheb.	Ditto.	Service, Wazirbagh ...	Ditto.
382	"	"	"	Mir Jaafar Ali Saheb ...	Ditto.	Service, Ahata Sangibaig	Ditto.
383	"	"	"	Mirza Haidar Saheb ...	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
384	"	"	"	Hussain Mirza Saheb ...	Ditto.	Trader, Hasanpore ...	Ditto.
385	"	"	"	Gazanfar Hussain Saheb...	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
386	"	"	"	Nawab Mirza Fida Hussain Saheb.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Mahbubganj.	Ditto.
387	"	"	"	Mirza Enayat Ali Baig Saheb.	Ditto.	Service, Mahmud Nagar...	Ditto.
388	"	"	"	Sheikh Wazir Ali Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
389	"	"	"	Haider Mirza Saheb ...	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Mahmud Nagar	Ditto.
390	"	"	"	Hadi Hussain Khan Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
391	"	"	"	Abid Hussain Khan Saheb	Ditto.	Service, Deorhi Haidarbaig Khan.	Ditto.
392	"	"	"	Syed Mehndi Hussain Khan Saheb.	Ditto.	Zamindar, Punjabi Tola ...	Ditto.
393	"	"	"	Syed Abdul Wahab Saheb	Ditto.	Zamindar, Buddi Kalan ...	Ditto.
394	"	"	"	Ahmad Raza Khan Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
395	"	"	"	Nawab Mohomad Hussain Khan Saheb.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Victoriaganj...	Ditto.
396	"	"	"	Raza Ali Khan Saheb ...	Ditto.	Service, Pul-i-Gulam Hussain.	Ditto.
397	"	"	"	Raza Mohomad Saheb Sakha.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Pul-i-Gulam Hussain.	Ditto.
398	"	"	"	Mohomed Ishfaq Hussain Saheb.	Ditto.	Service, Baza Khala ...	Ditto.
399	"	"	"	Syed Abdul Haq Saheb alias Chhunani Saheb	Ditto.	Zamindar, Raja-ki-Bazar ...	Ditto.
400	"	"	"	Nawab Ali Ahmad Saheb	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Wazirganj ...	Ditto.
401	"	"	"	Jaafar Mirza Saheb ...	Ditto.	Service, Golaganj ...	Ditto.
402	"	"	"	Sadiq Mirza Saheb ...	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
403	"	"	"	Baq Hussain Saheb ...	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
404	"	"	"	Nawab Syed Mohomad Asgar	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Golaganj ...	Ditto.
405	"	"	"	Nawab Nadir Ali Khan Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
406	"	"	"	Nawab Mohomad Hadi Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
407	"	"	"	Nawab Nawazish Ali Khan Saheb	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Neagan. ...	Ditto.

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408	N.-W.P. and Oudh.	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Syed Ali Ausat, Esq. ...	Mohomad-an.	Barrister-at-law ...
409	"	"	"	Mirza Sami-ullah Beg B.A. L. L. B.	Ditto.	Vakil ...
410	"	"	"	Prince Abdul Fateh Jallal-uddin Mirza Mohomad Ismail.	Ditto.	Rais, a descendant of Aspahan royal family.
411	"	"	"	Mirza Abul Hassan ...	Ditto.	Service, Wazir Ganj ...
412	"	"	"	Syed Naqi ...	Ditto.	Ditto.
413	"	"	"	Nawab Babban Saheb ...	Ditto.	Mukhtar, ditto ...
414	"	"	"	Syed Ali Mehndi ...	Ditto.	Zamindar, Nakhas ...
415	"	"	"	Syed Mohomad Hashim...	Ditto.	Ditto.
416	"	"	"	Hakeem Syed Hussain ...	Ditto.	Physician and Merchant
417	"	"	"	Haider Khan ...	Ditto.	Trader, Saadat Ganj ...
418	"	"	"	Syed Altaf Hussain ...	Ditto.	Service, Aminabad ...
419	"	"	"	Haji Mohomad Usaf ...	Ditto.	Merchant, Chauk ...
420	"	"	"	Syed Ali Bahadur ...	Ditto.	Service, Stable Haider Baig Khan.
421	"	"	"	Syed Mehndi Bahadur ...	Ditto.	Ditto.
422	"	"	"	Mir Sardar Ali ...	Ditto.	Zamindar, Bag-i-Fajju...
423	"	"	"	Mir Ghulam Abbas ...	Ditto.	Ditto.
424	"	"	"	Nawab Syed Mohomad Shafi.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Garhi Azam Baig.
425	"	"	"	Sheikh Ahmad Ali ...	Ditto.	Service, ditto ...
426	"	"	"	Nawab Usaf Hussain ...	Ditto.	Pensioner, Tahsin Ganj...
427	"	"	"	" Bachan Saheb ...	Ditto.	Zamindar, Top Darwaza...
428	"	"	"	" Mehndi Hassan	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Moulvi Ganj...
429	"	"	"	Munshi Ali Hussain Khan.	Ditto.	Service, Moulvi Ganj ...
430	"	"	"	Nawab Kaikaos Mirza Saheb.	Ditto.	Service, Maidan Elech Khan.
431	"	"	"	Munshi Sultan Hussain	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Dargah ...
432	"	"	"	M. Ehsan Hussain Khan.	Ditto.	Service Katra Abutarab Khan.
433	"	"	"	Nawab Ali Bahadur Saheb.	Ditto.	Service, Galli Shah Chara
434	"	"	"	Hakeem Amir Hussain ...	Ditto.	Physician, Chauk ...
435	"	"	"	Sheikh Ahmad Ali Saheb Kamil.	Ditto.	Poet ...
436	"	"	"	Chottan Saheb ...	Ditto.	Service

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322	N.-W.P. and Oudh.	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Nawab Mohomad Hussain Khan Saheb alias Has-a Saheb.	Mohomad an.	Wasiqadar, Kachha-pul...	At a meeting of Anjman-i-Mohomadi held on 17th December 1899.
323	"	"	"	Nawab Baqar Mirza Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
324	"	"	"	Nawab Mirza Kazim Hussain Khan Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
325	"	"	"	Hakim Chhotey Saheb	Ditto.	Physician, ditto	Ditto.
326	"	"	"	Nawab Syed Baqar Hussain Saheb.	Ditto.	Zamindar and Wasiqadar Hyder Ganj.	Ditto.
327	"	"	"	Nawab Budhan Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
328	"	"	"	Nawab Mohomad Qasim Ali Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto. Naubasta.	Ditto.
329	"	"	"	Mirza Kazim Hussain Saheb Akhtar-Shikoh.	Ditto.	Do., Muazamnagar.	Ditto.
330	"	"	"	Nawab Ikram-ullah Khan Saheb.	Ditto.	Do., Imambara Ikram Khan.	Ditto.
331	"	"	"	Nawab Syed Mohomad Asgar Ali Khan Saheb.	Ditto.	Service, ditto.	Ditto.
332	"	"	"	Nawab Aga Sajjad Ali Saheb.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Top Darwaza	Ditto.
333	"	"	"	Nawab Melindi Ali Khan Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
334	"	"	"	Nawab Sardar Mirza Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
335	"	"	"	Meer Asgar Hussain Saheb.	Ditto.	Tradee, ditto.	Ditto.
336	"	"	"	Hakim Jaafar Mirza Saheb.	Ditto.	Service, ditto	Ditto.
337	"	"	"	Yaseen Shah Saheb	Ditto.	ditto.	Ditto.
338	"	"	"	Nawab Mansur Ali Saheb	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Katra Abutrab Khan.	Ditto.
339	"	"	"	Hakim Mirza Abid Hussain Saheb, Vice-President.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
340	"	"	"	Azim-uddin Saheb	Ditto.	Service, ditto.	Ditto.
341	"	"	"	Haidar Hassan Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
342	"	"	"	Mohomad Raza Khan Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
343	"	"	"	Mir Hamed Hassan Khan Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
344	"	"	"	Hakim Haziq Hussain Saheb.	Ditto.	Zamindar and Physician, Katra Abutrab Khan.	Ditto.
345	"	"	"	Hakim Haidar Hussain Saheb.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, ditto.	Ditto.
346	"	"	"	Gulam-Kasim Saheb	Ditto.	Service, ditto.	Ditto.
347	"	"	"	Ahmad Mirza Saheb	Ditto.	Trader, Bilochpara.	Ditto.

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348	N.-W.P. and Oudh.	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Hussain Ahmad Saheb...	Mohomad an.	Trader, Bilochpara	At a meeting of Anjman-i-Mohomadi held 17th December 1899.
349	"	"	"	Chhotey Saheb	Ditto.	Service Ditto.	Ditto.
350	"	"	"	Nawab Ali Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto. Ditto.	Ditto.
351	"	"	"	Nawab Mirza Saheb	Ditto.	Trader Ditto.	Ditto.
352	"	"	"	Syed Narul Hassan Saheb.	Ditto.	Service Ditto.	Ditto.
353	"	"	"	Nawab Nannehai Mirza Saheb.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Khirki Rahim Khan.	Ditto.
354	"	"	"	Ahmad Razi Khan Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto. Ditto.	Ditto.
355	"	"	"	Syed Mohammad Abid Saheb, son of Nannehai Mirza	Ditto.	Ditto. Ditto.	Ditto.
356	"	"	"	Syed Mohammad Taqi Hussain Khan Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto. Ranikatra	Ditto.
357	"	"	"	Moulvi Syed Istifa alias Laddan Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto. Patanala	Ditto.
358	"	"	"	Nawab Mohomad Sadiq Saheb.	Mohomad an.	Zamindar, Maidan Alach Khan.	Ditto.
359	"	"	"	Mirza Nadir Hussain Saheb.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Maidan Alach Khan.	Ditto.
360	"	"	"	Nawab Budhan Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
361	"	"	"	Mir Asgar Mirza Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
362	"	"	"	Mir Syed Ali Saheb	Ditto.	Mukhtari, Maidan Alach Khan.	Ditto.
363	"	"	"	Mir Murtza Hussain Khan Saheb, son of Mirza Fida Hussain Khan.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
364	"	"	"	Achhay Mirza Saheb	Ditto.	Service, Maidan Alach Khan.	Ditto.
365	"	"	"	Nawab Mirza Hassan Ali Khan Saheb alias Achhay Mirza.	Ditto.	Wasiqa, Nawabganj	Ditto.
366	"	"	"	Atta Hussain Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
367	"	"	"	Munney Mirza Saheb	Ditto.	Trade, Niwazganj	Ditto.
368	"	"	"	Nawab Umrao Mirza Saheb.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Niwazganj	Ditto.
369	"	"	"	Syed Askari Mirza Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
370	"	"	"	Mir Mohomad Mehndi Saheb.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Muftiganj	Ditto.
371	"	"	"	Taqi Saheb	Ditto.	Service, Muftiganj	Ditto.
372	"	"	"	Nawab Mohomad Hadi Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
373	"	"	"	Nawab Mubarak Hussain Saheb.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Muftiganj	Ditto.
374	"	"	"	Mirza Mohomad Abbas Saheb Hosh	Ditto.	Editor, Chaupatian	Ditto.
375	"	"	"	Nawab Mirza Ahmad Hussain Khan.	Ditto.	Wasiqadar, Chaupatian...	Ditto.
376	"	"	"	Nawab Mir Aga Ali Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.

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437	N.-W.P. and Oudh.	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Mohomad Mustafa Saheb	Mohomad-an.	Service	At a mass meeting held at the Congress Paud on the 24th Decemb 1899.
438	"	"	"	Nawab Sher Afgan Shah <i>alias</i> Ladley Saheb.	Ditto.	Aminabad	Ditto.
439	"	"	"	Razaq Ali Khan <i>alias</i> Chhaban Saheb.	Ditto.	Ditto	Ditto.
440	"	"	"	Jafar Hussain	Ditto.	Service, Mufti Ganj	Ditto.
441	"	"	"	Kazim Hussain <i>Mahshar</i>	Ditto.	Galli Shah Chhara	Ditto.
442	"	"	"	Munshi Akbar Khan	Ditto.	Service Mufti Ganj	Ditto.
443	"	"	"	Nawab Syed Mohomad Bahadur.	Ditto.	Banjori Tola	Ditto.
444	"	"	"	Nawab Wazir Mirza Saheb.	Ditto.	Zamindar, Wazir Ganj..	Ditto.
445	"	"	"	Munshi Wajid Hussain...	Ditto.	Zamindar, Parchawalli Galli.	Ditto.
446	"	"	"	Syed Abul Hussain	Ditto.	Zamindar, Golaganj	Ditto.
447	"	"	"	" Badshah Ali	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
448	"	"	"	Mohomad Askari	Ditto.	Service, Golaganj	Ditto.
449	"	"	"	Qazi Habib-ullah	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
450	"	"	"	" Shahamat Hassan	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
451	"	"	"	Chowdhry Mumtaz Hussain.	Ditto.	Zamindar, Golaganj	Ditto.
452	"	"	"	Chowdhry Imtyaz Hussain.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
453	"	"	"	Moulvi Mohomad Eunus	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
454	"	"	"	Sheikh Wazir Hussain	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
455	"	"	"	Syed Aga Husain	Ditto.	Service, ditto.	Ditto.
456	"	"	"	Moulvi Syed Mohomad Husain.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
457	"	"	"	Baqar Hussain Saheb	Ditto.	Service	Ditto.
458	"	"	"	Syed Tasadduq Ali	Ditto.	Service, Saadat Ganj	Ditto.
459	"	"	"	Qazi Asghar Hussain	Ditto.	Zamindar	Ditto.
460	"	"	"	" Fida Hussain	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
461	"	"	"	" Khurshaid Hussain	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
462	"	"	"	Ali Mirza Humoon Shikoh.	Ditto.	Pensioner, Jauhari Mohalla	Ditto.
463	"	"	"	Nazir Aga Saheb	Ditto.	Hadis Khawan (Preacher) Wazir Ganj.	Ditto.
464	"	"	"	Syed Mohomad Wahid	Ditto.	Service, Mufti Ganj	Ditto.
465	"	"	"	Syed Mohomad Taqi	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
466	"	"	"	Syed Mohomad Hadi	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
467	"	"	"	M. Mujtaba Hussain	Ditto.	Zamindar	Ditto.
468	"	"	"	Syed Mustafa Hussain...	Ditto.	Service	Ditto.

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469	N.-W.P. and Oudh.	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Syed Mohomad Raza Saheb.	Mohomad-an.	Service; Katra Abu Turab Khan.
470	"	"	"	Hakeem Syed Tafazul Hussain.	Ditto.	Jauhari Mohalla
471	"	"	"	Sheikh Bunyad Hussain	Ditto.	Chauk
472	"	"	"	Khwaja Mohomad Mir Nawab Saheb.	Ditto.	Service
473	"	"	"	Mohomad Wazir Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto
474	"	"	"	Nawab Jaafar Hussain	Ditto.	Ditto.
475	"	"	"	Syed Ahmad Shah	Ditto.	Ditto.
476	"	"	"	Nawab Shams-uddin	Ditto.	Ditto.
477	"	"	"	Hafiz Mukhtar Ahmad	Ditto.	Ditto.
478	"	"	"	Munshi Raza Ahmad	Ditto.	Ditto.
479	"	"	"	Syed Mohomad Asgar	Ditto.	Ditto.
480	"	"	"	Syed Pearay Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto.
481	"	"	"	Ali Nawab Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto.
482	"	"	"	Ali Mirza	Ditto.	Ditto.
483	"	"	"	Munshi Yusuf Hussain	Ditto.	Ditto.
484	"	"	"	" Imdad Hussain	Ditto.	Ditto.
485	"	"	"	" Mohomad Hussain	Ditto.	Ditto.
486	"	"	"	Musharaf Hussain Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto.
487	"	"	"	Ahmad Hussain	Ditto.	Ditto.
488	"	"	"	Sadiq Hussain	Ditto.	Ditto.
489	"	"	"	Mustafa Hussain	Ditto.	Ditto.
490	"	"	"	Abu Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto.
491	"	"	"	Mumtaz Hussain Saheb	Ditto.	Ditto.
492	"	"	"	Mir Ahmad Ali	Ditto.	Ditto.
493	"	"	"	Babu Gauri Shanker	Hindu.	Zamindar
494	"	"	"	" Madan Mohan Lal	Ditto.	Pleader
495	"	"	"	" Oudh Behari Lal <i>Samar.</i>	Kayastha.	Service, Poet
496	"	"	"	" Prithi Pat Rai	Hindu.	Rais
497	"	"	"	Lala Ram Raghbir	Ditto.	Banker
498	"	"	"	Maharaj Sati Din	Brahman.	Mukhtar
499	"	"	"	Babu Kishan Prasad	Khatti.	Trader
500	"	"	"	" Fateh Bahadur	Hindu.	Vakil

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N.-W.P. and Oudh.	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Lala Gopal Dass ...	Hindu.	Banker and Municipal Commissioner.	At a public Ward meeting held at Chauk on the 9th December 1899, and also at a mass meeting held at Congress Pandal on the 24th December 1899.
"	"	"	Babu Gauri Prasada ...	Ditto.		Ditto.
"	"	"	Lala Gauri Shanker ...	Ditto.	Rais ..	Ditto.
"	"	"	Raja Ram Saheb ..	Ditto.	Vedanti ...	Ditto.
"	"	"	Pandit Salig Ram ...	Ditto.		Ditto.
"	"	"	Lala Sree Kishun Lal ..	Ditto.	Banker ...	Ditto.
"	"	"	Babu Bhairon Prasad ...	Kayastha.	Vakil and Zamindar ...	At a public Ward meeting held at Yahia Ganj on the 12th December 1899, and also at a mass meeting held at Congress Pandal on the 24th December 1899.
"	"	"	Babu Salig Ram, B. A., LL. B.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
"	"	"	Babu Damodar Dass ...	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner ...	Ditto.
"	"	"	Munshi Bishen Lal ..	Ditto.	Proprietor, Oudh Press ...	At a public Ward meeting held at Yahia Ganj on the 12th December 1899.
"	"	"	Babu Raghubar Dyal ..	Ditto.	Zamindar ..	Ditto.
"	"	"	Babu Ramchandra, M. A.	Ditto.	Vakil, High Court ...	At a public Ward meeting of Ganesh Ganj held on the 17th December 1899, and also at a mass meeting held at Congress Pandal on the 24th December 1899.
"	"	"	Babu Ishwari Prasada, B. A., LL. B.	Khattree.	Ditto.	Ditto.
"	"	"	Pandit Lachhman Prasada	Brahmin.	Proprietor, Fakir's Poor Dispensary.	Ditto.
"	"	"	Babu Ajit Prasad, M. A. L. L. B.	Vaishya.	Vakil, High Court ..	Ditto.
"	"	"	Pandit Ram Dularay Bajpai.	Brahmin.	Pensioner and Trader ...	Ditto.
"	"	"	Babu Jugal Kishore, B. A.	Khattree.	Contractor, Lal Bagh ...	Ditto.
"	"	"	Pandit Makhan Lal ...	Brahmin.	Ditto.	Ditto.
"	"	"	Babu Ishree Dyal ..	Kayastha.	Advocate ...	Ditto.
"	"	"	Babu Sarju Dyal ...	Ditto.	Pensioner ...	Ditto.
"	"	"	Babu Bhuban Mohan Roy	Vaid.	Merchant ..	Ditto.
"	"	"	Pandit Sheo Behari Lal	Brahmin.	Vakil ...	Ditto.
"	"	"	Babu Har Dyal ..	Kayastha.	Ditto.	At a public Ward meeting of Ganesh Ganj held on the 17th December 1899.
"	"	"	Pandit Beni Madhu ...	Brahmin.		Ditto.

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525	N.-W.P. & Oudh.	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Babu Bansi Lal Singh, Chairman, Reception Committee of the 15th I. N. Congress.	Hindu Khattree.	Advocate ...
526	"	"	"	Babu Ganga Prasada Varma ...	Khattree.	Proprietor & Editor, <i>Advocate</i> (bi-weekly journal), and <i>Hindustani</i> (Urdu weekly).
527	"	"	"	Miss Garland ..	..	...
528	"	"	"	Pandit Bishun Narayan Dar.	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Barrister-at-Law ...
529	"	"	"	Babu Bipin Behari Bose, M. A.	Bramho.	Advocate, J. C. Court ...
530	"	"	"	Dr. Nobin Chandra Mittra, L. M. S.	Kayastha	Medical Practitioner, Victoria Ganj.
531	"	"	"	Babu Krishun Prasada Bysak, B. A.	Ditto.	Joint Editor, <i>Advocate</i> ...
532	"	"	"	Babu Krishun Baldeo Varma.	Hindu.	Proprietor of Vidya Vinode and K. B. Varma Press.
533	"	"	"	Pandit Iqbal Narain Masaldan.	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Zamindar ...
534	"	"	"	Pandit Sheyam Narain Masaldan.	Ditto.	Zamindar ...
535	"	"	"	Pandit Gokoran Nath Misra, M. A.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court ...
536	"	"	"	Babu Sita Ram Varma, B. A.	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil, Kheri ...
537	"	"	"	Babu Sham Lal ...	Hindu.	Vakil ...
538	"	"	"	Pandit Sree Kishun ...	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Pensioner ...
539	"	"	"	Babu Har Bilas Bhargava, B. A.	Hindu.	Zamindar ...
540	"	"	"	Pandit Gyanaeshwar Shastri.	Brahmin.	Chauk.
541	"	"	"	Pandit Behari Lal Shastri	Ditto.	Ditto.
542	"	"	"	Pandit Kanahya Lal ..	Ditto.	Ditto.
543	"	"	"	Babu Raghubar Singh ...	Hindu.	Pleader and Zamindar ...
544	"	"	"	Babu Ram Garib ...	Kayastha.	Manager, Kayastha Trading Company, Ltd., Lucknow.
545	"	"	"	Pandit Raghubar Dyal ...	Brahmin.	Zamindar ...
546	"	"	"	Babu Sekhar Chandra ..	Hindu.	Banker ...
547	"	"	"	" Hari Kishan Dhono	Ditto.	Zamindar ...
548	"	"	"	" Bashashwar Nath ...	Ditto.	Cloth Merchant ...
549	"	"	"	" Din Dyal ..	Ditto.	Trader ...
550	"	"	"	Lalla Munno Lal ...	Ditto.	Ditto.
551	"	"	"	Babu Ghasee Ram ...	Ditto.	General Merchant, Sudder Bazar.

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552	N.-W. P. & Oudh.	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Pandit Malhuji	Brahmin.	Vaid	At a public mass meeting attended by some 30,000 men, held at Congress Pandal on the 24th December 1899.
553	"	"	"	Pandit Behari Lalji	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
554	"	"	"	Lalla Mutsadi Lall	Hindu.	"	Ditto.
555	"	"	"	Pandit Mohendra Narain	Ditto.	"	Ditto.
556	"	"	"	Babu Tej Kishun	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
557	"	"	"	" Chhedi Lall	Ditto.	Pensioner and Trader, Nazirabad.	Ditto.
558	"	"	"	" Dharam Chand	Ditto.	Banker and Zamindar	Ditto.
559	"	"	"	" Indra Prasada Jagmohan.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
560	"	"	"	Babu Jaggan Nath	Ditto.	Banker	Ditto.
561	"	"	"	" Jwalla Sahoy	Ditto.	Merchant, Hazratganj	Ditto.
562	"	"	"	" Kedar Nath	Ditto.	Advocate, Chauk	Ditto, and also at a Chauk meeting held on the 9th December 1899.
563	"	"	"	Lala Kanahya Lall Jauhari	Ditto.	Trader Chauk	Ditto.
564	"	"	"	Babu Kishan Prasada	Ditto.	Trader	At a public mass meeting held at Congress Pandal on 24th December 1899.
565	"	"	"	Pandit Kishan Chandra	Ditto.	Banker	Ditto.
566	"	"	"	Babu Kundan Lall	Hindu.	Contractor	Ditto.
567	"	"	"	" Lachhman Prasada	Ditto.	Pleader	Ditto.
568	"	"	"	" Madan Mohan Lall	Ditto.	Accountant, Allahabad Bank.	Ditto.
569	"	"	"	" Madhu Ram	Ditto.	Service	Ditto.
570	"	"	"	" Romesh Chandra Ghosh.	Ditto.	Merchant	Ditto.
571	"	"	"	" Raghubar Dyal	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
572	"	"	"	" Ram Lal	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
573	"	"	"	" Raja Ram	Ditto.	Trader.	Ditto.
574	"	"	"	" Shiam Sunder Lall	Ditto.	General Merchant, Aminabad.	Ditto.
575	"	"	"	" Shiam Lall Mittra	Ditto.	Pleader	Ditto.
576	"	"	"	" B. B. Bose, H. L. M. S.	Brahmo.	Medical Practitioner	Ditto.
577	"	"	"	Kunwar Gobind Krishun Narayan.	Hindu	Zamindar	Ditto.
578	"	"	"	Kunwar Kashi Krishan Narayan, B. A.	Ditto.	Vakil and Zamindar	Ditto.
579	"	"	"	Lala Lachhmi Narayan	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
580	"	"	"	Lala Gopal Dass	Ditto. Khattree.	Trader	Ditto.
581	"	"	"	Lalla Gauri Shanker	Hindu.	Merchant	Ditto.

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711	Bombay	Deccan.	Poona	Hon'ble Gopal Krishna Gokhale, B. A., Member of Council of the Government of Bombay, Life member D. E. Society.	Brahmin	Professor, Ferguson College, Poona.	At a public Deccan Sabha meeting of the 18th December 1899 and also at a public meeting of Bombay Presidency Association held on the December 1899.
712	"	"	"	Mr. Raghu Nath Daji, Nagarkar, Member Poona City Municipality, Secretary Deccan Sabha.	Ditto.	Pleader	At a public meeting of Deccan Sabha held on the 18th December 1899.
713	"	"	"	Mr. Vishnu Anant Patwardhan, B. A.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
714	"	"	"	Mr. Dattatraya Behsant, Parasnis, Enamdar.	Ditto.	Editor Satara	Ditto.
715	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Ballal Deval	Ditto.	Author	Ditto.
716	"	"	"	Rao Sahib Ram Chandra Gangadhar, Kave, Enamdar, Secretary Poona Arbitration Court.	"	Conciliator	At a public meeting of the Poona Zamindari Court Association held on the 20th.
717	"	Satara.	Satara	Ganesh Ballak Phansalkar, Esq.	Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court	At a public meeting held on the 10th December 1899.
718	"	"	"	Narayan Krishna Agashe, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
719	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Lakshman, Desai	Ditto.	Pleader	Ditto.
720	"	"	"	Mohammad Najm-ud-din, Qamar-ud-din, Municipal Commissioner.	Mohamedan.	Merchant	Ditto.
721	"	Sholapur	Sholapur.	Mr. Ramdhanra Moreshe Sane.	Brahmin.	District Court Pleader and Village Munsiff Bansi Town.	At a public meeting held at Bansi Town on the 16th December 1899.
722	"	Dharwar	Dharwar.	Krishnaji Abaji Guruji, Esq.	Ditto.	Editor of Kalidas Patra.	At a public meeting held on the 3rd December 1899.
723	Government of India.	Berar.	Amraoti.	Rao Bahadur Ranga Nath Narsinh Mudholkar, B. A., LL. B., Municipal Commissioner, Secretary Berar Standing Congress Committee.	Hindu Maharashtra Brahmin.	High Court Pleader, Landholder.	At a public meeting held at Amraoti on the 10th December 1899.
724	"	"	"	Mr. Maro Vishwa Nath, Joshi, B. A., LL. B.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
725	"	"	"	Mr. Shivaratan Singh, Varma.	Arya Kshatriya Rajput.	Landholder and Merchant	At a public meeting held of the Berar Sarvajnika Sabha held on the 10th December 1899.
726	Central Provinces	Raipur.	"	Mr. Tuka Ram, Vishnu	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader	At a public meeting held on the 3rd December 1899.
727	Madras.	Ganjam.	Vizianagaram.	Mr. Yajneshvara Chintamani.	Hindu Brahmin	Proprietor and Editor of Indian Herald (English Weekly.)	At a public meeting held on 3rd December 1899.
728	"	"	Vizagapatnam.	Mr. V. Ramesan, B. A., B. L.	Ditto.	Vakil, High Court	At a public meeting held at the place.
729	"	"	Parnati-pur.	Mr. A. V. Jaggan Natha, Shastri Guru.	Ditto.	Pleader 1st Grade	At a public meeting of Mahapia Sabha on 11th December 1899, and also at a meeting held at Vizagapatnam on 17th.

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687	Bombay	Sind ...	Shikarpur.	Mr. B. G. Pahlajane, B.A., B. Sc.	Hindu ...	Pleader	At a public meeting held on the 17th December 1899.
688	"	"	"	Mr. Asamal Jethanand ...	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
689	"	"	"	" Lalchand Nanabhai...	Ditto.	Pleader, Larkhana	Ditto.
690	"	"	"	" Murlidhar Jairam Dass	Ditto.	Pleader	Ditto.
691	"	Ahmadabad.	Gujrat ...	" Keshava Lall, Ranchhad Lall Desai.	Ditto.	Headmaster, Aryan High School, Ahmadabad City	At a public meeting of the Gujrat Sabha held on 16th December 1899.
692	"	Surat...	Broche ...	Mamehlal W. Nanabhai...	Brahmin.		
693	"	Khen desh.	Dhulia ...	Shanker Sri Krishan Dev. Esq., B. A., LL. B., Secretary Khandesh Janapad Sabha.	Ditto	Pleader	At a public meeting held on 20th December 1899.
694	"	Blusawal.	Jalgaon.	Madhorao Lakshman Khanabate, Esq.	Hindu ...	Ditto	At a public meeting held at Jalgaon on the 26th December 1899.
695	"	Poona	Nasik	Mr. Mangesh Balkrishna, Kalaskar.	Brahmin.	Chief Agent to the Life Assurance Company and Journalist.	At a public meeting held on 14th December 1899.
696	"	"	"	" Anant Roaji Kavle...	Ditto.	Mukhtar, Vakil Simar ...	Ditto.
697	"	Bombay	Bombay...	Dinshaw Edulji Wacha, Esq., General Secretary, Congress Committee.	Parsi ...	Mill Agent, member of the Municipal Corporation member of City Improvement Trust.	At a public meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association held at the place
698	"	"	"	Mani Shanker G. Bhot, Esq.	Hindu ...		Ditto.
699	"	"	"	Hari Sit Ram Dixit, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Ditto.	Solicitor, High Court, Bombay Row Fort.	Ditto.
700	"	"	"	Daji Abaji Khare, Esq., B. A., LL. B.	Parsi ...	Vakil High Court, Gagaim, Block Road.	Ditto.
701	"	"	"	P. L. Nagpurkar, Esq.,	Hindu Jain.	Merchant	At a public meeting held on 24th.
702	"	"	"	Hemchand Amarchand.			"
703	"	"	"	Trihavan Das Parshotam Dass.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
704	"	Deccan.	Poona ...	Hon'ble Bal Gangadhar Tilak, B.A., LL.B., Member of the Sarvajanik Sabha (once member of Legislative Council.)	Hindu Brahmin	Proprietor of the Marathi and Kesri Sadashi i Peth	At a public meeting held on the 17th December 1899 and also at a meeting of the Managing Committee of Sarvajanik Sabha held on 2 December 1899.
705	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudeva Ganeshi Joshi, Member of Sarvajanik Sabha.	Ditto.	Proprietor of Chitrashalla	Ditto.
706	"	"	"	Mr. Shiva Ram Mahadeva Paranjpe, M. A., Secretary Sarvajanik Sabha.	Ditto.	Editor, Kal	At a public meeting of Sarvajanik Sabha held the 21st December 1899
707	"	"	"	Munshi Sheikh Hussan son of Sheikh Chaud.	Mohomedan.	Islam Preacher Jumsar Poona District.	Ditto.
708	"	"	"	Mr. P. J. Swami	Hindu Arya Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner	At a public meeting held the 17th December 1899
709	"	"	"	" L. R. Gokhale	Brahmin.	Pleader	Ditto.
710	"	"	"	Mr. Sadashiva Balkrishna Bhatia.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.

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663	Punjab.	Lahore.	Delhi ...	Babu Sree Kishan Das ...	Khatttri.	Commission Agent ...	
664	"	"	"	" Indra Narain	Ditto.		
665	"	"	Umballa.	Rae Sahib Lala Murlidhar, Vice-President, Municipal Committee.	Hindu ...	Pleader, Chief Court	At a public meeting held on the 24th December 1899, in Umballa City.
666	"	"	"	Bhai Jhanda Singh, B.A., LL. B.	Sikh ...	Ditto.	Ditto.
667	"	"	"	Lala Baij Nath	Hindu Vais.	Director and Manager, Hindu Cotton Press Co., Ltd.	Ditto.
668	"	"	"	Lala Janki Pershad, Chairman, Hindu Cotton Press Co., Ltd.	Hindu Agarwala.	Proprietor, Upper India Steam Flour Mills.	Ditto.
669	"	"	"	Babu Shama Charan Mukerjee.	Bengali Brahmin.	Merchant.	Ditto.
670	"	"	Gurgaon.	Babu Dhani Ram, B. A., LL. B.	Hindu Khatttri.	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab, and Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P.	At a public meeting held on the 11th December 1899, and also by Bar Association.
671	"	"	"	Babu Lekh Raj, B. A.	Hindu Vais.	Pleader, Chief Court	Ditto.
672	"	"	"	Babu Hait Ram, B. A., LL. B., Watson Medallist	Hindu	Ditto.	Ditto.
673	"	"	Jallundhar	Lala Munshi Ram, President, Arya Samaj, Jallundhar.	Arya ...	Pleader	At a public meeting of Indian Association held at Lahore on 3rd December 1899.
674	"	"	Amritsar.	Babu Kahaniya Lall, Municipal Commissioner.	Hindu ...	Ditto.	At a public meeting held on the 20th December 1899.
675	"	"	"	Lala Dina Nath	Khatttri.	Mukhtar	Ditto.
676	"	"	"	Bhai Mahtab Singh	Sikh ...	Reis; Landholder	Ditto.
677	"	"	"	" Narain Singh	"	Ditto.	Ditto.
678	"	"	Lahore ...	Bakshi Jaishi Ram, Secretary, Standing Congress Committee.	Hindu ...	Pleader, Chief Court	Ditto.
679	"	"	"	Lala Har Kishan Lall, B. A., Director Punjab National Bank, Director, Bharat Insurance Company, Director Hindu Mutual Fund, Director Punjab Spinning Co.	Hindu Arora.	Barrister-at-Law	Ditto.
680	"	"	"	Lala Roshan Lall	Arya ...	Ditto.	Ditto.
681	"	"	"	" Sangam Lall	Kshattriya	Pleader, Chief Court	Ditto.
682	"	"	"	Mr. Nagendro Nath Gupta	Hindu Vaidya.	Landholder, Journalist	Ditto.
683	"	"	"	Lalla Jewan Dass, President, Vachhawali Arya Samaj.	Arya ...	Pensioner	Ditto.
684	"	"	"	Lala Devi Dyal, B. A., LL. B.	Hindu ...	Pleader	Ditto.
685	"	"	"	Lala Mohan Lall, B. A., LL. B.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
686	"	"	"	Lala Tula Ram	Arya ...	Sub-Editor, Arya Patrika (Weekly)	Ditto.

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637	N.-W.P. & Oudh.	Agra.	Farrukhabad.	Babu Bahmukand	Hindu Vais.	Mukhtar	At a public meeting held on the 24th December, 1899.
638	"	"	Muttra, Brindaban	Gowswami Gobardhan Lall	Brahmin.	Priest; Editor, Brij Bashi Mantavey Paper (Hindi).	At a public meeting held on the 24th December 1899.
639	"	"	"	Gowswami Radha Charan, Municipal Commissioner and Honorary Magistrate	Ditto.	Priest, Radharam Street...	Ditto.
640	"	"	"	Babu Jagonath Prasada	Hindu Vakil Bhargava.		Ditto.
641	"	"	Agra	Babu Narain Prasada, B. A., LL. B.	Kayastha	Ditto.	At a public meeting held on the 21st December 1899.
642	"	"	"	Babu Kidar Nath, B. A., LL. B., Hony. Secretary, Standing Congress Committee, Agra.	Vais	Ditto	Ditto.
643	"	"	"	Moulvi Itrat Hussain	Mohomad-an.	Editor and Proprietor, <i>Sar-e-Razgar</i> (Urdu).	Ditto.
644	"	"	"	Babu Garish Chandra Chowdhry, B. A.	Bengali Brahmin.	Teacher, Victoria High School.	Ditto.
645	"	"	"	Lala Shyam Lall	Vais.	Banker and Grain Merchant.	Ditto.
646	"	Meerut.	Aligarh	Mohomad Zafaryab Khan	Mohomad-an.	Pleader and Zamindar...	At a public meeting held on the 20th December 1899.
647	"	"	"	Mohomal Sarifraz Khan	Ditto.	Pleader	Ditto.
648	"	"	"	Hafiz Mohomad Abdurrahim.	Ditto.	Pleader and Zamindar	Ditto.
649	"	"	"	Babu Lachmi Narain, B. A.	Kayastha	Pleader	Ditto.
650	"	"	"	Pandit Bhawani Shanker	Brahmin.	Ditto.	Ditto.
651	"	"	"	Babu Sohan Lall, B. A.	Kayastha	Zamindar	Ditto.
652	"	"	"	Babu Uday Ram	Brahmin.	Service	Ditto.
653	"	"	Meerut...	Mr. Babu Lall, B. A.	Hindu.	Pleader, High Court	At a public meeting held on 8th November 1899.
654	"	"	"	Babu Ram Saran Das, B. A., LL. B.	Kayastha	Vakil	Ditto.
655	"	"	"	Babu Pahlad Singh	Hindu Vais.	Zamindar and Vakil	Ditto.
656	"	"	"	Lala Umrao Singh	Ditto.	Landholder	Ditto.
657	"	"	Muzafarnagar.	Pandit Indra Prasada	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Pleader	At a public meeting held on 21st December 1899.
658	"	"	Saharanpur.	" Mohan Lall	Brahmin Sarswat.	Barrister-at-Law, Advocate.	At a public meeting held on the 9th December 1899
659	"	"	"	Babu Anand Sarup, B. A., LL. B., F. T. S.	Agarwala.	Vakil, High Court	Ditto.
660	"	"	"	Babu Naimi Dass	Jain.	Ditto.	Ditto.
661	Panjab.	Lahore.	Delhi	Mr. Raghu Nath Gorge...	Hindu Vais.	Barrister-at-Law	Ditto.
662	"	"	"	Lala Girdhari Lall	Ditto.	Pleader	Ditto.

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610	N.-W.P. and Oudh.	Oudh.	Shahjehanpur	Babu Bhairon Prasada, B. A., LL. B.	Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court	At a public meeting held on 7th December 1899.
611	"	"	"	Babu Badri Prasada	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
612	"	"	"	Munshi Bakhtawar Singh	Arya Vais.	Proprietor, Arya Darpan Press.	Ditto.
613	"	"	"	Lala Kunj Behari Lall, Municipal Commissioner and Member of District Board.	Khatttri.	Banker and Zamindar	Ditto.
614	"	"	"	Lala Kallu Mall	Ditto.	Merchant	Ditto.
615	"	"	Bareilly.	Pandit Tulsi Ram Misra, M. A.	Hindu Brahmin Arya.	Honorary Principal, Arya Samaj Institution.	Ditto.
616	"	"	"	Babu Jwala Sahai Varma.	Kayastha.	Zamindar	At a public meeting held on the 22nd November 1899.
617	"	"	"	Haji Riaz-uddin Ahmad	Mohomad-an.	Service	Ditto.
618	"	"	Almora...	Pandit Jwala Dutt Joshi	Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court	At a public meeting held on the 14th December 1899.
619	"	"	"	" Bhola Dutt Pande, B. A., LL. B.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
620	"	"	"	Pandit Hari Ram Pande, B. A.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
621	"	"	"	Pandit Sadanand Sanwal	Ditto.	Editor, <i>Almora Akhbar</i>	Ditto.
622	"	"	"	Sheikh Man-ulla	Mohomad-an.	Merchant	Ditto.
623	"	"	"	Munshi Nazeer Ahmad	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
624	"	"	"	Hafiz Ahmad-ullah	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
625	"	"	"	Lala Chiranjil Lall Shah	Hindu Vais.	Banker and Proprietor, Tea and Fruit Garden.	Ditto.
626	"	"	Naini Tal.	Lala Hira Lall	Hindu	House-owner	At a public meeting held on the 27th December 1899.
627	"	"	"	" Amar Nath	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
628	"	Agra.	Farrukhabad.	Babu Shambhu Nath, Municipal Commissioner	Hindu Kayastha	Pleader and Zamindar	At a public meeting held on 24th December 1899.
629	"	"	"	Pandit Shiva Prasada Misra.	Brahmin.	Pleader; Fatehgarh	Ditto.
630	"	"	"	Pandit Lalman Bhuttacharya, B. A.	Ditto.	Banker	Ditto.
631	"	"	"	Pandit Ram Rattan	Ditto.	Banker and Landholder	Ditto.
632	"	"	"	" Raghubar Dayal	Ditto.	Merchant	Ditto.
633	"	"	"	Choubey Makhun Lall	Ditto.	Pleader	Ditto.
634	"	"	"	Pandit Sundar Narain Mushran	Ditto.	Merchant	Ditto.
635	"	"	"	Babu Gaurdhan Lall, B. A., LL. B., Member, Local Board.	Hindu Kurmi.	Vakil, High Court; Zamindar.	Ditto.
636	"	"	"	Lala Sham Lall	Hindu	Cloth Merchant	Ditto.

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582	N.-W.P. & Oudh.	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Munshi Har Pershad Baidikar	Hindu ...	Poet and Service	At a public mass meeting held at Congress Pandal on 24th December 1899.
583	"	"	"	Munshi Bishamber Nath	Ditto.	Service	Ditto.
584	"	"	"	Pandit Bani Madho Trivedi	Ditto.	Commission Agent	Ditto.
585	"	"	"	" Girdhari Lall	Ditto.	Preacher	Ditto.
586	"	"	"	" Hari Har Nath	Brahman.	Service	Ditto.
587	"	"	"	Babu Brahmanand Singhi, M. A.	Hindu Bengali.	Principal, Rampur High School.	Ditto.
588	"	"	"	Babu Brij Mohan Lall	Hindu ...	Ditto.	Ditto.
589	"	"	"	" Bansidhar	Ditto.	Zamindar and Commission Agent.	Ditto.
590	"	"	"	" Cheerunji Lal	Ditto.	Contractor	Ditto.
591	"	"	"	Pandit Jaggan Nath	Ditto.		Ditto.
592	"	"	Unao	Pundit Iqbal Shanker Kochak.	Brahmin Kashmiri	Pleader	At a public meeting held on the 26th December 1899.
593	"	"	"	Mr. M. L. Mittra	Bengali Christian.	Pensioner	Ditto.
594	"	"	"	Lalla Bacho Shah	Hindu ...	Merchant, Mahajan, Zamindar.	Ditto.
595	"	"	"	" Bal Gobind	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.
596	"	"	"	" Chhedi Lall Sahib	Ditto.	Merchant	Ditto.
597	"	"	Rai Bareilly	Babu Banki Behari Lall	Kayastha	Zamindar	At a mass meeting held at Lucknow Congress Pandal on the 24th December 1899.
598	"	"	Sitapur	Munshi Murli Dhar	Ditto.	Pleader	At a public meeting held on 24th November 1899.
599	"	"	"	Babu Chhal Behari Lall Municipal Commissioner and Member of District Board	Ditto.	Vakil	Ditto.
600	"	"	"	Mr. H. C. Dutt, Barabhan	Bengali.	Barrister-at-Law	Ditto.
601	"	"	"	Babu Jogesh Chandra Ghosh, LL. B.	Bengali Kayastha.	Vakil	Ditto.
602	"	"	"	Khawaja Zahir-ud-din	Mohomadan.		Ditto.
603	"	"	"	Lalla Shiva Dyal Sah, Member, Local and District Boards.	Hindu ...	Banker Misrik	At a public meeting of the several villages on the 27th (Misrik) 17th (Surjanpur).
604	"	"	"	Kunwar Pooran Singh	Ditto.	Zamindar ; Surjanpur	Ditto.
605	"	"	"	" Anrudh Singh	Ditto.	" V. Jairampur	Ditto.
606	"	"	"	Thakur Jaggan Nath Singh.	Ditto.	" V. Biswan	Ditto.
607	"	"	"	Thakur Randhira Singh	Ditto.	" V. Kuchlagee	Ditto.
608	"	"	"	Pandit Ram Lotan	Brahmin.	Mahajan and Zamindar.	Ditto.
609	"	"	Shahjehanpur.	Babu Kalka Prasada, B.A., LL. B.	Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court	At a public meeting held on 7th December 1899.

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720	Madras.	Ganjam.	Godavari.	Mr. D. Subramanyam Guru, Secretary Govari District Association, Cocanada.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader	At a public meeting of the Godavari District Association on the 17th December 1899.
720	"	"	"	D. L. Devalraja Guru	Ditto.	Landholder	Ditto.
731	"	Madras.	Madras	V. Rya Nambiar, Esq., B. A., B. L.	Hindu	High Court Vakil Egmore	At a public meeting of Madras Mahajana Sabha held on the 19th December 1899.
732	"	"	"	Mr. S. Vurararugava Chariar.	Brahmin.	South Madras Street	Ditto.
733	"	"	"	N. C. Raja Gopal Chariar, Esq.	Ditto.	Teacher Commercial School Chief reporter Madras Times.	Ditto.
734	"	"	"	D. Madhoda Nair, M. D.	Hindu	Medical Practitioner	Ditto.
735	"	"	"	Paul Peter Pillai, Esq.	Christian Protestant	Barrister-at-Law, Agent Madras Landholder's Association, Napier Park, Madras	At a public meeting held at Madras on the 19th December 1899.
736	"	"	"	Mr. B. Varoda Chariar	Brahmin.	Sub-Editor Standard Madras.	Ditto.
737	"	"	"	A. C. Partasaradhi Naidu, Esq.	Ditto.	Editor, Authraprakashica,	Ditto.
738	Nizam's Dominions.	Hyderabad.	Secundrabad.	Pandit Ram Chandra Pillay.	Ditto.	High Court Pleader	At a public meeting held at Hyderabad on the 22nd November 1899.
739	"	"	"	Kesava Row Santukrao	Ditto.	Pleader, High Court	Ditto.



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