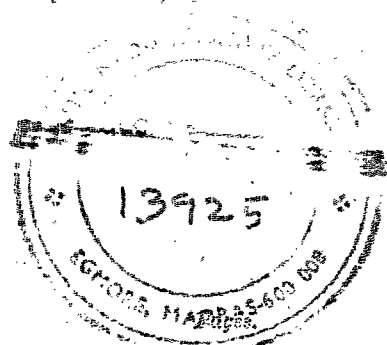


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THE CONGRESS.

"The Soundest Triumph of British Administration, and a Crown of Glory to the British Nation."

Introductory speech of Rajah SIR T. MADAVA ROW, K.C.S.I.

THE THIRD INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, which was held at Madras, during the last week of the year 1887, was not inaptly described, by one of the speakers thereof, as "The Soundest Triumph of British Administration, and a Crown of Glory to the British Nation."

Exaggerated as these expressions may, at first, appear to those little conversant with the rule of the British in the East, a merely superficial examination of the circumstances of the case will show that this wonderful assemblage was, indeed, all that India's veteran statesman claimed for it, in the memorable words that we have adopted as the motto of this article.

Little more than one hundred years ago, when the British first came practically as a growing power on the scene, the entire country was sub-divided into innumerable warring clans and principalities, separated even less by physical obstacles, though these were great, than by mutual misconceptions and distrust. Here and there, from time to time, a more astute or able leader enabled this or that state to overflow and absorb its neighbours; to be in its turn broken up by internal dissensions or external foes; and so, from year to year, despite occasional oases of comparative peace and order, the tide of anarchy surged ceaselessly from North to South, from East to West, obliterating all the ancient landmarks of art and culture. There was little security for life or property. There were scarcely any means of communication between comparatively close neighbours, and men starting on pilgrimages to shrines a few hundreds of miles distant, made up their dispositions, as though on their death-beds, ere they parted, too often for ever, from their wives and families. Lands were falling out of cultivation, the great hydraulic works of past generations were crumbling into disrepair, and a cloud of ignorance, black hopeless ignorance, was settling heavily, like a blight, upon the entire country.

It had not always been thus. India had had brighter days, dim traditions of whose glories still clung round her people's hearts, but the country had disintegrated. It would be of no avail to question now how far the persistent and exclusive devotion of the intellect of the country, through long ages, to quietism and esotericism, and how far other causes had contributed to this result, suffice it that the India of the time we speak of no more resembled the India of the days of her glory, than does the crumbling, though still glittering debris, the adamant granite peak it once combined to constitute.

And now, after a century of British rule in some parts, after less than half that period in others, what do we see? A mighty assemblage of men,

gathered from every part of this vast continent, an assemblage, such as India's proudest days never witnessed—an assemblage rendered possible, primarily, only by British Railways, Post Offices and Telegraphs, and by the profound peace enjoyed under British rule—an assemblage, composed of men of every race, of every creed, of every community that, in the aggregate, compose the population of India—men chosen by their fellows, to represent their views, and gathered in one spot and beneath the roof of one vast Hall; gathered together at great personal sacrifice and much expense to discuss, in one common language, and that language English, matters not relating to their own petty, private, or sectional interests, but to the welfare of the entire country and the whole body of their fellow-countrymen. British education and British literature instinct with the highest principles of civil and religious liberty; British history and the examples of Britain's noblest sons, these, the grandest gifts ever bestowed by conquerors on a subject nation, poured with an unselfish hand into the minds of a noble though fallen people, alone rendered this great Congress a possibility. Where but a few brief decades ago, ignorance alike of the rights and duties of citizens had reigned supreme, there a keen and growing appreciation of both had been substituted. The mutual hatred and scorn of rival creeds and clans, which rendered all contact but as enemies impossible, had been replaced by tolerance, a willingness to co-operate and a growing sense of brotherhood. An exclusive devotion to family interests had been tempered by public-spirit and a wider sense of duty; and through the fading mists of local and sectarian prejudices, the outlines of a new-born nationality had become clearly distinguishable.

All this has been the work of British rule, and all that this has, thus far, accomplished towards the Political regeneration of this vast empire was, as it were, focussed in the assemblage that Madras has just witnessed, and it was, therefore, with equal truth and appreciative insight that the Nestor of Indian statesmen deliberately declared the Congress to be "THE SOUNDEST TRIUMPH OF BRITISH ADMINISTRATION, AND A CROWN OF GLORY TO THE BRITISH NATION."

Compared with the Congress of 1886, this last Congress was more numerously attended, was more thoroughly representative and national in its character, and by the still more widely spread interest that it awakened throughout the empire, the more systematic manner in which all its arrangements and proceedings were conducted, and,—above all—by the cordial support which it received from high class English papers in every Presidency,* gave abundant proof of the great increase in the vitality of the movement, of which it is one outward and visible sign. Indeed, what in 1885 was little more than an experiment, in 1887 bore every appearance of having become a permanent National Institution.

As this paper will necessarily be read by many who know but little of the India of to-day, it may be well to explain that the objects of the National movement, of which the Congress is one, and, at the moment, the most prominent and tangible outcome, are threefold; the fusion into one national whole of all the different and, till recently, discordant elements that constitute the population of India; the gradual regeneration along all lines, mental, moral, social, and political, of the

* The Bombay Gazette, (Bombay); The Mail, (Madras); The Daily News; The Statesman, (Calcutta); &c.

nation thus evolved; and the consolidation of the union between England and India, by securing the modification of such of its conditions as may be unjust or injurious to the latter country.

A persistent and ungenerous effort has been made by a certain section of the Anglo-Indian community, chiefly consisting of officials, and by the few newspapers* that are their mouth-pieces, to misrepresent the aims and objects of the national party and affix to them the stigma of disloyalty, because, in their public or political work (their work on other lines is necessarily more private in its character), they, naturally enough, devote more of their energies to pointing out and endeavouring to secure the reform of what is faulty in the existing administration, than to the more pleasing but profitless occupation of lauding its many undoubted merits; and, since the Calcutta correspondent of the London Times, from whose telegrams the British public appears to learn most of what little it hears of India, is a conspicuous member of this party and evinces as little regard for facts in his messages to England, as others of the clique do in their utterances here, it may be right to make it quite clear that, from the very conditions of the case, loyalty to the British crown and British Government, is necessarily the basis and guiding principle of the national party.

Broadly speaking, the leaders of the national party include the entire culture, their followers the entire intelligence of the country. There are, no doubt, a very few educated men of strongly conservative tendencies, who hold aloof because the thing is new, and a considerable number of half-educated selfish men who take no part in the movement, hoping thereby to ingratiate themselves with the official class; others there are, not a few, the advantage of whose overt co-operation is denied their country by reason of their official positions; but, broadly speaking, the national party embodies the entire culture and intelligence of the empire. Now, this culture is the direct offspring of the union with Great Britain, and Great Britain is, to all who share this culture, the parent of all that, to them, makes life worth living. From the conditions of the case, therefore, they are necessarily loyal to the backbone—they could only be disloyal, if the British Government were a very bad Government.

Mr. Budrudin Tyabji (till recently a member of the Bombay Council and President of this late Congress) put this point clearly in his inaugural address. He said:—

"No, gentlemen, let our opponents say what they please, we, the educated natives, by the mere force of our education, must be the best appreciators of the blessings of a civilized and enlightened Government, and, therefore, in our own interests, the best and staunchest supporters of the British Government in India. (Applause.) But, gentlemen, do those who thus charge us with disloyalty, stop, for a moment, to consider the full meaning and effect of their argument,—do they realize the full import and significance of the assertion they make? Do they understand that in charging us with disloyalty they are in reality condemning and denouncing the very Government, which it is their intention to support? (Hear, hear, loud and continued applause.) For, gentlemen,

* The Englishman, (Calcutta); The Pioneer, (Allahabad); The Civil and Military Gazette, (Lahore); and The Times of India, (Bombay).—One of the speakers at the Congress, Malik Bhugwandas, of Dera Ismail Khan. (Page 123 of Detailed Report) very neatly characterized these objecting journals. He said:—

"There is no doubt now, as to this Congress being truly representative of the entire country and, though certain Anglo-Indian papers may still make a great show of disputing this point, their position is just like that of a certain class of barristers, who, well knowing that they have no case, still, to please their clients, storm and bluster as if they were sure of gaining their cause and abuse and affect to despise the other side, well knowing, that the latter are sure to win. It is not the best kind of barristers who do this, but, neither are our opponents the best kind of journalists."

when they say that the educated natives of India are disloyal, what does it mean? It means this: that in the opinion of the educated natives,—that is to say, of all the men of light and leading, all those who have received a sound, liberal, and enlightened education, all those who are acquainted with the history of their own country, and with the nature of the present and past Governments, that in the opinion of all these—the English Government is so bad, that it has deserved to forfeit the confidence and the loyalty of the thinking-part of the population. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) Now, gentlemen, is it conceivable that a more frightful and unjust condemnation of the British Government can be pronounced than is implied in this charge of disloyalty against the educated natives of India? Gentlemen, if this charge were brought by some bitter enemies of Great Britain, if it were brought by the Russians,—for example—I could understand it. (*Hear, hear.*) But it is almost beyond my comprehension that it should come not from enemies, but from the supposed friends of the British Government, (*loud laughter, and hear, hear,*) not from the Russians, but from Englishmen (*hear, hear*) who, presumably, want, not to destroy, but to support their Government! I say it surpasses my comprehension. (*Loud applause.*) Gentlemen, just consider for a moment the effect of this reckless allegation upon the uneducated millions of the inhabitants of this country, upon the hordes of the Russians in the North, and upon the enlightened nations of Europe! I say, therefore, that the conduct of those who thus recklessly charge us with disloyalty resembles the conduct of the “foolish woodman” who was lopping off the very branch of the tree upon which he was standing, (*hear, hear, loud applause and loud laughter*), unconscious that the destruction of the branch meant the destruction of himself. (*Applause and laughter.*)”

Naturally, the more highly educated class have gathered round them, by the mere force of mental superiority, nearly the whole of the more intelligent though little educated classes, and the party thus formed in pursuance of their fundamental objects are gradually leavening the ignorant masses with (to say nothing of work on other lines) a sound and healthy, if rudimentary, political education, and, week by week, are adding thousands to their own party, and to the supporters of British rule. Every man who, with understanding, joins the movement, is one less possible enemy in any crisis, to Great Britain. It is the National Party who are the true British Party; those who recklessly denounce it and wantonly misrepresent it, the real traitors to our common Queen and country.

Now, the objects with which the Congress, primarily a political body, though calculated indirectly to subserve other purposes, was started by the National Party may be divined from a consideration of that party's threefold objects, already set forth.

The Congress was intended to bring face to face, and make thoroughly known to each other all the men of light and leading of all portions of the empire. Thus far, there had been much correspondence, and, here and there, a single leader from one province, on his way to Europe, or in the course of travel, found his way to the capital of another province, and there made the acquaintance of some of its leaders. But it was now intended to bring all such yearly together and establish the closer bonds of personal friendship between all the most earnest and eminent labourers in the work of India's political regeneration.

Of course, it was not overlooked that in this way would also be brought together men, equally or even more interested, in other branches of the national regeneration, and that these would equally profit indirectly from these gatherings; and that in conjunction with, though distinct from them, conferences, of groups of co-religionists or co-workers in the same branches thus met together, would be held and some advance thus secured in all directions. But the primary and avowed objects are political, in the broadest sense of the word, and with these only, and not with the incidental advantages it brought in its train to other branches of the work, is it now proposed to deal.

Further, the Congress was intended to enable all interested in public questions to supplement their knowledge and correct their views in the light of the information possessed and the opinions held by others, equally interested.

It was intended to eliminate provincial jealousies, prejudices, and misconceptions, by close personal intercourse, not only from the minds of the members of the Congress itself, but from those of the leading inhabitants, and, so far as might be, the people generally, of all the Presidencies and provinces, in each of which it was arranged that the Congress should in turn assemble.

It was intended to exorcise sectarian and class antipathies by associating in one common work, for the common good, leading professors of all creeds, and leading members of all sects and classes.

It was intended—as no such gatherings could be accomplished, except at considerable cost in money, time, and personal convenience, not only to the members of the party in the province in which the assemblage took place, who were to act as hosts, but to all the members of the Congress delegated from other provinces, who had from one to two thousand miles to travel—to habituate all to personal sacrifices for the common good.

It was intended by concentrating the most strenuous efforts on great national questions, and diminishing the absorption in local or purely selfish interests, to foster a wider altruism and a more genuine public spirit.

It was intended to educate all who took part in it, not merely in the arts of public-speaking and debate, developing the faculty of thinking out clearly opinions, and expressing them lucidly to others, not merely in habits of accuracy and research, but in the practice of self-control, moderation, and a willingness to give and take; to educate them, in fact, into what, but for the miserable displays of recent times, might fitly have been termed a genuine Parliamentary frame of mind.

It was intended to familiarise the country with the methods and working of Representative Institutions, on a large scale, and thus, as this familiarity grew, to demonstrate to the Government and People of England, that India was already ripe for some measure of those Institutions to which the entire intelligence of the country so earnestly aspires.

It was intended to unify public opinion by the interfusion of the views held by all classes in all the various provinces, and eliminating matters sectional and provincial, to arrive at definite and unanimous conclusions on all truly national questions, and press these conclusions on the Government, not in the spirit of an opposition, but rather as *amici curiæ*.

It was intended to widen the basis of the National Party, the party of Progress and Order, the British Party in the truest sense of the word, until it became absolutely co-extensive with the entire population of the Empire, not solely by the awakening of the masses, that follows in each province its assemblage there, but by the missionary labours of all the members of the Congress, throughout the year, who, in and near their homes, as Standing Congress Committees and Sub-Committees, by lectures, public meetings, and the distribution of tens of thousands

of simple tracts* in the local vernaculars, were expected to spread from mind to mind an elementary knowledge of the burning political questions of the day, and generally of the rights and duties of all good citizens of a civilized state.

It is to the eternal honour alike of England, the beneficent teacher, and India, the docile pupil, that at the close of this the 3rd Congress, we are in a position to assert that there is not one of these objects that has not been already partially achieved, and not one single one of them, of which the perfect accomplishment, in a not distant future, does not appear to be, humanly-speaking, certain.

But numerous and wide-reaching as the objects of the Congress, the more important of which we have now indicated, unquestionably are, "the carping crew of narrow brains" unable to find fault with what the Congress does, has never ceased to revile it for not aiming at something more. Boldly has the Congress taken the Ossa of Political Reform upon its shoulders, but this fault-finding party, who themselves will not extend a finger to lighten the burthens of the country, find no words, it would seem, too bitter in which to denounce it for not piling the Pelion of Social Reform also on its existing load. The National Party, have undertaken through the Congress the political regeneration of 200 millions of men; and those fatuous foes of progress revile it, because, through *this same* organization it does not also attempt their social, moral, and religious regeneration! The National Party is as deeply interested, we may say more deeply interested in these latter, than even in the former question, but it suits its means to its ends and applies in each case the proper mechanism. Throughout the country social and religious conferences, associations, and guilds are working at these deeper, and more spiritual problems, and in many cases men most prominent in the political work of the Congress will be found equally amongst the most prominent in the more spiritual work which other bodies are carrying on. But the methods and organization requisite for success in the one case, would be fatal to success in the other; and it really seems impossible for any honest man, possessing any real knowledge of the country or its wants, to continue to find fault with the Congress, because it refuses to overstep the bounds of its natural sphere, wherein it can work effectively, in order to plunge into other spheres, in which it could only introduce confusion and discord.

The true state of the case was clearly put in his inaugural speech by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the President of the 1886 Congress. He said :—

"It has been asserted that this Congress ought to take up questions of social reforms: (*cheers, and cries of 'yes, yes,'*) and our failure to do this has been urged as a reproach against us. Certainly, no member of this National Congress is more alive to the necessity of social reforms than I am; but, Gentlemen, for everything there are proper times, proper circumstances, proper parties, and proper places (*cheers*); we are met together as a political body to represent to our rulers our political aspirations, not to discuss social reforms, and if you blame us for ignoring these, you should equally blame the House of Commons for not discussing the abstruser problems of mathematics or metaphysics. But, besides this, there are here Hindus of every caste, amongst whom, even in the same provinces, customs and social arrangements differ widely,—there are Mahomedans and Christians of various denominations, Parsis, Sikhs, Brahmans, and what not—men, indeed, of each and all of those numerous classes which constitute in the aggregate the people of India. (*Loud cheers.*) How can this gathering of all classes discuss the social reforms needed in each individual class? What do any of us know of the internal home-life, of the customs, traditions, feelings, prejudices of any class but our own? How could a gathering, a cosmopolitan gathering like this, discuss to any

* Translations of two of these, "The Tamil Congress Catechism," of which 30,000 copies were circulated in Southern India, and of an Oordoo and Hindoo tract on Representative Institutions, in the form of a conversation, of which 25,000 copies were circulated in Northern India, are given in appendices II and III.

purpose the reforms needed in any one class? Only the members of that class can effectively deal with the reforms therein needed. A National Congress must confine itself to questions in which the entire nation has a direct participation, and it must leave the adjustment of social reforms and other class questions to class Congresses. But it does not follow that, because this national, political body does not presume to discuss social reforms, the delegates here present are not just as deeply, nay, in many cases far more deeply, interested in these questions than in those political questions we do discuss, or that those several communities, whom those delegates represent, are not doing their utmost to solve those complicated problems on which hinges the practical introduction of those reforms. Any man who has eyes and ears open must know what struggles towards higher and better things are going on in every community: and it could not be otherwise with the noble education we are receiving. Once you begin to think about your own actions, your duties and responsibilities to yourself, your neighbours, and your nation, you cannot avoid looking round and observing much that is wrong amongst you; and we know, as a fact, that each community is now doing its best, according to its light, and the progress that it has made in education. I need not, I think, particularise. The Mahomedans know what is being done by persons of their community to push on the education their brethren so much need; the Hindus are everywhere doing what they can to reform those social institutions which, they think, require improvement. There is not one single community here represented, of which the best and ablest men do not feel that much has to be done to improve the social, moral, religious status of their brethren, and, in which, as a fact, they are not striving to effect, gradually, those needful improvements; but these are essentially matters too delicate for a stranger's handling—matters which must be left to the guidance of those who alone fully understand them in all their bearings, and which are wholly unsuited to discussion in an assemblage like this, in which all classes are intermingled. (*Loud cheers.*)"

It might be thought that this authoritative exposition of the situation, not one single line of which can be traversed, would have sufficed to silence the cavillers; but they none the less, and for their sakes we deeply regret being compelled to say it, persisted in their attacks and at this recent Congress, the President, Mr. Budrudin Tyabji, felt compelled to allude once more briefly to the subject. He said :—

"Now, GENTLEMEN, one word as to the scope of our action and deliberations. It has been urged—solemnly urged—as an objection against our proceedings—that this Congress does not discuss the question of Social Reform. But, Gentlemen, this matter has already been fully dealt with by my friend, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who presided over your deliberations last year. And, I must confess, that the objection seems to me strange, seeing that this Congress is composed of the representatives, not of any one class or community, not of one part of India, but of all the different parts, and of all the different classes, and of all the different communities of India. Whereas, any question of Social Reform must, of necessity, affect some particular part, or some particular community of India, only,—and, therefore, Gentlemen, it seems to me, that although we Mussulmans have our own social problems to solve, just as our Hindu and Parsi friends have theirs, yet these questions can be best dealt with by the leaders of the particular communities to which they relate. (*Applause.*) I therefore think, Gentlemen, that the only wise and, indeed, the only possible course we can adopt is to confine our discussions to such questions as affect the whole of India at large, and to abstain from the discussion of questions that affect a particular part or a particular community only. (*Loud applause.*)"

After explanations like these, we can only conclude of any who persist in denouncing our Political Congress, because it is not also a Social Conference, that Divine Providence, in its inscrutable wisdom, has seen fit to withhold from them either integrity or intellect, or both.

But though the Congress concerns itself mainly with political questions, the National Party aims at the regeneration, on all lines, of the people of India. Some years ago, a gentleman who has always been an earnest worker in this party, and a zealous supporter of the Congress, gave expression, in a letter, to what he conceived to be the views, on this question, of the leaders, as opposed to the rank and file, of the National Party.

He said :—

"It is essential, I think, that we should all try to realise that, closely interwoven in humanity as are the physical, intellectual, and psychical factors, progress in any direction, to be real or permanent, postulates a corresponding progress in other directions—that though we may, and must, most specially devote our energies to overcoming the particular adversary that circumstances have most immediately opposed to us, we each form but one unit in a force contending against a common foe, whose defeat will depend as much on the success of each of our fellow-soldiers, as on our own."

"At present the greatest obstacle to all progress here appears to me to consist in a general failure to realize the essential unity of the cause of reform. You find earnest men whose eyes appear to be closed to everything but the material wants of the people, and to whom the poverty of our population appears to be the one sole evil against which it is necessary to concentrate all efforts. You find equally devoted enthusiasts, who see in the ignorance of the masses the source of all their sufferings and in their intellectual clovation a panacea for all woes. You find men of the purest and highest aspirations, careless to a great extent, of both the material and mental wants of the nation, making their sole aim either its moral development or religious culture. There are your social reformers who hold that India is to be saved by the abolition or modification of some evil or obsolete custom or habit, and nailing this flag to their own masts are willing to see the rest of the fleet sink, if only their ships forge somewhat ahead. And last, but not least, you have the strong practical men, who, Gallic-like, care for none of these things, but place all their hopes on the realization of their aspirations for the political enfranchisement of their countrymen."

"What we want, it seems to me, at the present time, most of all, is that all these good labourers should understand that they are comrades in one cause, that their aims, though diverse, are not only not antagonistic, but are inextricably interlinked parts of one whole—that if you could multiply tenfold every peasant's means, you would serve the country's interests but little, did you not simultaneously elevate the mental and moral faculties, so as to secure a wise, prudent, and good use of the money, root out old customs involving its rapid dissipation and confer such a political status as would enable the owners to preserve and protect their newly-found wealth—that no great development of brain-power is possible on empty stomachs and where men's whole energies have to be devoted to simply satisfying the cravings of these, and that even, if possible, it would become a positive evil if unaccompanied by moral or spiritual evolution, and by means for gratifying the necessarily resulting political aspirations—that moral culture is best fostered, mankind being what it is, by removing from men's paths those terrible temptations to evil engendered by poverty, hunger, and natural envy of those more fortunate, and that the hope of attaining to the exercise of political functions is often one of the strongest incitements to a higher morality—that the extinction of a few evil customs will avail little without a thorough recast of the social framework, a thing only possible as the result of a general advance along all the other lines—physical, intellectual, psychical and political—and that lastly, nations in the long run always get precisely as good a Government as they deserve, and that no nominal political enfranchisement will in practice prove more than a change of evils, unless such an advance has simultaneously or antecedently been made along all these other lines as shall render the country qualified to assimilate its improved political status."

This letter was published and widely circulated at the time, and was endorsed by the Press throughout the country as embodying fairly the views of the National Party as a whole; and from innumerable workers, specially devoted to this or that branch of reform, came the assurance that the writer was in error, and that the real "unity" of the work which all the different members of the party were carrying on, was fully recognized.

All then that it is needful to bear in mind is that the National Party, catholic in its aims, is one thing, the Congress only the instrument, by the help of which it seeks to promote those aims in one single direction, and that if more is heard of the Congress than of other efforts made by this party, it is because from its very nature it comes, necessarily, prominently before the general public; while the even more strenuous efforts that are being made in other directions, being sectional in character and, owing to the nature of the matters dealt with, to a great extent, private in their

operation, are scarcely heard of, except in the minor groups they affect, and will only become slowly recognizable, by the public, in the results that they gradually evolve.

The first Congress assembled at Bombay, during the last days of 1885. It comprised less than one hundred gentlemen, (though there were at least one or two from each province in the empire) who "though representatives of the highest culture of the land and fully qualified to speak as to the wants and wishes of the nation, yet appeared as volunteers in the good cause, uncommissioned, as a rule, by any constituencies, local or general, to appear on their behalf." They elected as their President Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, a Bengali Brahmin, at that time Standing Counsel to the Government of India, and as the result of their deliberations (to which no reporters were admitted), passed a series of Resolutions on important public questions which will be found recorded at the close of this volume. Later, a report of their formal proceedings, relating to these Resolutions, embodying the substance of the principal speeches delivered, was duly published.

Besides discussing these public questions, however, much consideration was given to the future development of the Congress and it was decided that at the next gathering the REPRESENTATIVES, as they were at first called, or DELEGATES, as they are now styled, should not come self-appointed, but appear as the authorised representatives of some community or public body, or of the people of some locality. It was also resolved that an attempt should be made to settle by correspondence, beforehand, the leading subjects likely to be discussed, so as to enable the Representatives to ascertain, beforehand, the wishes and views thereon of their several constituencies.

The second Congress assembled in Calcutta during the Christmas week of 1886. But, in the meantime, the proceedings of the first Congress had become widely known, hundreds of public associations and meetings in all parts of the empire had endorsed its Resolutions, a strong general interest had been awakened and the country had virtually taken the movement out of the hands of the original promoters, and, while adhering scrupulously to the lines laid down by them, had made the enterprise their own.

So it resulted that fully 500 gentlemen, of whom some 440 actually put in an appearance, were elected all over India, at public meetings of the inhabitants of large towns or groups of villages, or at general meetings of societies, associations, and sabhas, political, agricultural and literary. But, although all the delegates, as the public now commenced to call them, were undoubtedly elected by some meeting or body of men, the elections had in some cases been hurried and wanting in formal regularity. Many delegates failed to bring regular credentials of their delegation and no materials were available for even an approximate estimate of the numbers of persons whom they directly represented.

Attempts had been made to fore-warn and fore-arm the delegates as to the subjects likely to be discussed, and several printed suggestions in regard to such were issued from several of the provinces and circulated to all the rest. But, "unfortunately, admirable as the idea was, the necessary machinery (since provided by the Standing Congress Committees—Resolution XIII of 1886) did not exist for carrying it out in its integrity, and a considerable proportion of the delegates never saw, or even if they saw, never properly considered, in consultation with their

constituents, these important papers of suggestions, which constituted the foundation stones of the subsequent congressional deliberations."

Still the Congress met, electing as its President the Honorable Dadabhai Naoroji, (a Parsi), at that time a member of the Bombay Council, a veteran reformer, whose name is a household word throughout the Empire. It met; and the moderation and eloquence that characterised its proceedings, the earnestness, order, and good temper that pervaded its discussions, and the widespread enthusiasm that it engendered, especially throughout Bengal, excited the admiration and surprise of all candid minds. Reporters for the Press were present on the first day, but, owing to changes in the place of meeting, no suitable place was found for these at subsequent sittings, and only the reporters employed by the Congress were present, and this accident gave an opportunity to those opposed to the movement, to declare that the reporters for the Press had been designedly excluded. After a prolonged series of debates, many of them contested with an acuteness, energy, and—above all—good sense, that would have done credit to any assembly in the world, the Second Congress passed a series of Resolutions, of the highest importance, which if accepted, along with those passed in 1885, would, in ten years, so improve the condition of the country and the relations between England and India, as to leave only comparatively minor reforms, for the time, needful. These resolutions, also, to facilitate reference, will be found recorded on the last page of this Report.

But, besides their public discussions, the leaders of the several Provincial circles had found time to arrange that the next Congress, which it had been settled should assemble at Madras, should be more systematically organized, and its arrangements still more methodically conducted than those of its Calcutta predecessor.

Accordingly, on the 1st of May 1887, a great public meeting was held at Madras, and a very strong Reception Committee, was formed consisting of some 120 members, with Rajah Sir T. Madava Row, K.C.S.I., as Chairman, and including the Honorable Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, C.I.E., Sir Savalai Ramasawmi Mudeliar, C.I.E., the Honorable S. Subramania Iyer, the Honourable Rajah T. Rama Row, the Hon'ble P. Chentsal Row Pantulu, C.I.E., Messrs. P. Somasundram Chettiar, Rungiah Nayudu, G. Mahadeva Chettiar, N. Subramaniam, Thavasi Moothoo Nadar, B. Loverly, B. H. Chester, Khan Bahadur Hajee Mahomed Abdulla Badshah Sahib, Mahomed Nizamudeen Khan Bahadur, the Honourable Raja G. N. Gajapathi Row, Mr. P. Anunda Charlu, Dr. S. Pulney Andy, &c., &c., in fact, with few exceptions, all the leading men, Eurasians, Mahomedans, Native Christians, Hindus (both Brahmins and other castes) of the Madras Presidency. Out of this Committee, again, an Executive Committee of about 25 members was constituted and the work commenced.

Arrangements were made for sub-committees in every town of 10,000 inhabitants and upwards in the Presidency. The uneducated masses of the province, now that the Congress was to be held at their very doors, had to be taught its nature and object, beforehand, so as to preclude the possibility of their being led away into any false notions of its scope or aims.* This was done partly

* That this was pretty well understood in Madras before the Congress actually assembled, may be inferred from the fact that, out of the very large number of communications from the people of the Presidency addressed to the Congress, its President or the General Secretary, only a very small number were alien to its purposes. Still there were a few such. Three gentlemen, requested the Congress to procure them good Government appointments. One referred to it a serious difference he had had with his father-in-law. Two or three prayed it to induce Government to restore jaghirs and pensions of which, they averred, that they had been unjustly deprived, and so on.

through the sub-committees, at public meetings and by lectures, and partly in the Tamil-speaking districts, which comprised the more advanced portions of the population, by the broadcast circulation of a Tamil "Congress Catechism," by Mr. Viraraghava Chariar, one of the Secretaries to the Congress of which 30,000 copies were distributed. How admirably this little work* fulfilled its object may be judged from the influence it had upon the subscriptions. The funds required for the expenses† of the two previous Congress, (about Rs. 3,000, and 16,000, respectively,) were exclusively raised from the rich, or comparatively rich, members of the party, residing in the province, where the Congress took place, in sums varying from Rs. 50 to Rs. 2,500.‡ But of the large sum of Rs. 30,000 required for the purposes of the 3rd Congress, no less than Rs. 5,500 were contributed by over 8,000 petty subscribers in amounts varying of from 1 anna to Rs. 1-8, and some Rs. 8,000 by subscribers of from Rs. 1-8 to Rs. 30. Nay, to the surprise of the Reception Committee, unexpectedly and unsolicited, from the natives of India, mostly Tamil-speaking Madras people, clerks, hotel-keepers, traders, peons, medical men, artisans, Government servants, and even coolies, residing in Mandalay, Rangoon, Singapore, and the eastern Islands, to which the catechism had found its way, how, it has been impossible to discover, came purses of several hundreds of Rupees made up, spontaneously, out of pure love for their native land and an unselfish desire for its welfare, by these distant, isolated communities. Nor was this all. From other places beyond the limits of the Presidency, where the catechism if even it ever reached them, could not have been understood, came spontaneous gifts, showing how widely the impulse had spread, so that the Reception Committee (varying slightly the words of that good man who here closed his pure and beneficent life,) might well have said with him:—

"From Kashmir's icy mountains,
From Cochin's coral strand,
Where Mysore's sunny fountains
Roll down their golden sand;
From many an ancient river,
From many a palmy plain,
They call us to deliver
Their land from error's chain."

For, there is not one man of the National Party, who does not feel that the political chains, in which we are now bound, are the chains of error; error as to the condition of the country, error as to the wants and wishes of the people; error which

But the most amusing was an enthusiast who desired the Congress (and his letter came a week after the Congress had dissolved!) to pass a vote of censure on the late Governor of Madras "for the false and malicious libels on the people of India, of which he has courageously delivered himself behind their backs"—men like Sir Grant Duff come, and create a general, but transitory feeling of disapprobation—and then they go and are forgotten. Who now here cares even to read what Sir Grant Duff writes? No doubt the evil that men like Sir Grant Duff do, lives after them awhile—but time rights all this and any how it is not the ponderous hammer of the Congress that is to be set in motion to crush "a little shrivelled nut" of this kind.

* For translation of this, as now re-issued, brought up to date and including notice of third Congress also. See Appendix II.

† All delegates from other provinces (and at Madras from any where outside the city itself) from the moment they land from board ship or step out of their railway or other carriage, are the guests of the province in which the Congress meets, until the latter closes and they depart. Food, servants, lights, furniture, medical treatment and accommodation generally, in every case suitable to the creed, caste and class of the several delegates, have to be provided, a task not only involving much expense, but, looking to the extraordinary differences in habits and customs that prevail amongst our people, demanding an amount of foresight and organization incredible to any one who has never taken part in the work. Then meeting halls, of the largest dimensions, have to be hired, or, as at Madras, erected. Carriages have to be hired in large numbers, a great deal of petty printing work has to be carried on during the Congress, shorthand reporters engaged, and finally the Report printed and distributed widely (7,000 copies in the case of the 2nd, 12,500 copies in that of this late Congress) in India and in England. All this involves what in a poor and excessively over-taxed country like India is, a very considerable expenditure for one province, at one time.

‡ Given by H. H. the Maharajah of Darbhanga to the Calcutta Congress.

before its persistent exposure, to which these Congresses cannot fail to contribute largely, must dissolve peacefully away, leaving India no longer bound to England by chains, but love-linked in flower garlands of gratitude and esteem.

Certainly one of the most encouraging and novel features of this last Congress, was the extent to which the masses and dwellers in far distant lands spontaneously contributed to its support.

But all this only came gradually to light and in the meantime the Reception Committee laboured on zealously, but a little despondingly. For it could not escape consideration, that Madras was the worst situated capital in India for such a gathering. Two thousand miles distant by rail from Lahore, and further still from more western portions of the Punjab; an equal distance from Calcutta by the same mode of conveyance, though only half this distance for those who were willing to brave the sea; fifteen hundred miles or thereabouts by rail, or rail and sea, a little more or less, one way or the other, from Lucknow, Allahabad, Benares, Patna, Agra; more than 1,000 and 1,300 miles from Nagpore, and Kurrachi, respectively; and close upon 800 even from Bombay; it seemed hopeless to expect that any province, except Madras itself, could furnish any large quota of representatives. Travelling such huge distances, in India, as elsewhere, means considerable expenditure, especially for gentlemen holding the positions most of those elected do, who must at least travel second-class, and some of whom feel compelled to travel first-class to escape the disagreeables to which, unfortunately, native gentlemen, even travelling second-class, are, particularly on some lines of Railway, so constantly subjected. As it was, at least, Rs. 50,000 were expended by the delegates, many of whom necessarily brought servants of their own, merely in their journeys to and fro; but it was impossible to believe beforehand, that so large a sum would, in so poor a country, be thus cheerfully sacrificed, not for any personal object, but solely for what was believed to be the good of the country. One point in this connection, however, deserves notice. It came to light not only that, in many cases, constituencies had subscribed the travelling expenses of delegates, too poor to pay these themselves, but that, in several instances, gentlemen in high position, sympathizing in the movement but fearing to arouse official animosity*, and thus unable to take any personal part in it; had, unsolicited, sent sums of from 50 to 200 rupees privately, to delegates who had been elected, but who were known to be not too well off, to assist them in their journey.

Nor was it money only, or time which, to the large contingent of professional men, Lawyers, Doctors, &c., was equally important, but the fatigues of these tremendous journeys, where travelling averages only about 17 miles an hour, and—above all—the great changes of climate, that had to be faced. The warm humid air

* It must be clearly understood that this animosity does not extend to the highest and most enlightened officials, nor is much heard of it outside the Bengal Presidency. Englishmen, like Lords Dufferin, Connemara, Reay, Sir Stewart Bayley, Sir Auckland Colvin, and many High Court Judges, have ever evinced a kindly feeling towards the Congress, and both the first named took distinct steps to show this; indeed, at Madras, a large number of Government tents were kindly lent to supplement the Reception Committee's preparations when, at the last moment, the unexpectedly large proportions of the coming assembly, began to develop themselves. Of course, they do not, and cannot, officially accept the delegates as the representatives of the country, they having no legal status as such, but they have all exhibited in one way or another sympathy in the movement. It is the great body of the district officers of Bengal, the North-West Provinces, Oudh, and the Punjab (though in all these provinces there are more than one case, officers have actually sent for respectable and leading men and have warned them against taking any part in the movement, in a way that amounted to threatening them with their displeasure and that of the Government, if they did take part. But it is needless to dwell on this, now, since any recurrence of such illegal action and such misuse of the name of Government, will be promptly dealt with by future Congresses.

of Madras, was anticipated with no satisfaction by the dwellers in the cold dry north and the men who left Dera Ismail Khan and Banu, wrapped in furs and then almost died of cold in their first night's journey, found themselves, after six days' and nights' continuous churning, in a warm, steamy atmosphere in which muslin garments were the only suitable apparel. And lastly, these protracted journeys which had to be made right off, (for most men could hardly afford even the time thus absorbed and very few, indeed, could loiter on the way) presented, and must always present, a most serious obstacle to high caste Hindus, who can only take their meals under conditions not present in a Railway train.

So, the Madras Committee were by no means sanguine of the results, but still, they set to work manfully, as if their work was certainly to culminate in the grand success which, in the end, crowned their unselfish labours.

First, they decided that every portion of their own Presidency, at any rate, and every class and creed and community that it contained, should be thoroughly represented. How successfully they accomplished this object, through the various central and local associations, and through their sub-committees, the sequel will show. All that can be said is, that compared with the rest of India, Madras was too well represented.

Then, they took the collection of funds in hand. To commence with, numbers of the leading men in the Presidency made handsome donations* in accordance with their respective means, as did also the Princes of Mysore, Travancore, Cochin, &c. Then, through their sub-committees they collected subscriptions from the humbler but intelligent classes, to whom their catechism, which they issued at the outset, had appealed. Madras boasts, moreover, of a host of petty mutual Loan, Benefit, and Pension Funds such as are almost, if not quite, unknown elsewhere in India, which aggregate a capital or collected subscriptions of some £200,000, and in which, probably, (for these are institutions for the comparatively poor, created amongst, and managed by, themselves), an almost equal number of persons are sharers. Not a few of these voted small donations towards the work, which in the aggregate constituted a not inconsiderable sum. Lastly, the priests of some of the great temples of Southern India were addressed, and the high priests in response sent donations; and, in one case, at any rate, a representative also.

Having thus in their own case provided alike for the men and the money, the Reception Committee proceeded to stir up the Standing Congress Committees, all over the country, to set on foot the necessary elections in their several juris-

* The following are the principal of these donations:—

	Rs.	A.	P.		Rs.	A.	P.
His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore	1,000	0	0	Sir S. Ramasamy Moodeliar, C.I.E.	200	0	0
" Maharajah of Travancore	500	0	0	Hon. S. Subramania Iyer	400	0	0
" Rajah of Cochin	500	0	0	M.R.Ry. G. Mahadeva Chettiar	200	0	0
" Maharajah of Vizianagaram	1,000	0	0	" P. Thyaga Raya Chettiar	200	0	0
" Rajah of Venkatagiri	500	0	0	" Ramakrishniah	200	0	0
Rajah of Bobbili	200	0	0	" A. Ramachandra Iyer	200	0	0
Rajah G. N. Gijapathi Row	325	0	0	Khan Bahadur Haji Mahomed Abdulla	200	0	0
His Holiness the Mahant of Tripathy	500	0	0	Bodshah Sahib	200	0	0
M.R.Ry. C. Moothoo Kumarasawmi Moodeliar	250	0	0	M.R.Ry. A. Sabapathy Moodeliar, Rai Bahadur	200	0	0
" Shunmooga Royya Moodeliar	200	0	0	" P. Anunda Charloo	200	0	0
" V. Thavaseemoothoo Nader	500	0	0	" A. Danakoti Moodeliar	300	0	0
Rajah Sir T. Madava Row, K.C.S.I.	200	0	0	" P. Rangiah Nayudu	400	0	0

Besides these donations the Honorable Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, to whose zealous co-operation the ultimate success of the Congress was in no small measure due, lent no less than three of his fine houses towards the accommodation of the Delegates.

dictionaries, and to ascertain and communicate to them the subjects that their people desired to be brought forward at the coming Congress.

A long list of subjects was thus collected and compiled, and, then, through the several committees, and through the medium of many of the native newspapers, circulated, about the middle of November, in the several Provinces. This list of proposed subjects, therefore, became known to all the delegates a month before they left, and all were thus in a far better position than in the previous year, to consider the questions that were to be discussed, maturely, with the assistance of the more intelligent of their constituents. But there were still two defects; the list was far too long, and though it gave the subjects, (e.g., "*reduction of military expenditure*,") it in no case formulated the Resolution that the proposers desired to have set forth in regard to them. Of course, the delegates were able to learn generally, what their constituents' views were on the leading subjects, but, in many cases they did not know exactly what they thought upon the details of these or exactly how far they desired the Congress to go in regard to them. Moreover, it was apparent to the great bulk of them, that a very large proportion of these subjects (for everything that any body had formally proposed had been honestly included) were, for one reason or another, unsuited to, or still unripe for, discussion by the National Congress. So, after much private discussion amongst the delegates who had assembled, as many did, before the Congress met, on the day of the inaugural sitting, the whole Congress formally appointed a very strong "Subject Committee" comprising representative men from every province, to weed the list, and draft Resolutions on such of the subjects as all were agreed in retaining. Their report formed the basis of the subsequent proceedings (though several of the resolutions were greatly modified, and some subjects added during the course of the debates,) and all this constituted a distinct advance on the procedure of former Congresses.

At the previous Congress, the want of a sufficiently large and suitable meeting Hall had been much felt, and the Congress had had to shift its quarters from the Town Hall to the rooms of the British Indian Association and back again, involving, as we have seen, the involuntary exclusion of the Press reporters—and, as Madras had no Hall, in which speakers could be heard, capable of accommodating, say 1,500 persons, besides the delegates, it was decided to erect a temporary Hall. This was nothing but a huge shed or "*Pandal*," as it is locally called, 130 feet long by 92 feet wide (of which a plan will be found in Appendix IV), and open at the sides; but, nicely lined with mats and coloured cloth, the interior, when closely packed, as it was throughout the session, with delegates and spectators, constituted a sight that none there present will ever forget, and it moreover developed acoustic properties that were simply marvellous. At one period fully 3,000 persons, including the delegates, were crowded beneath its roof, and yet, every word of every speaker (all spoke from the President's platform) was distinctly heard by every body. No doubt this was partly due to the very orderly character of the assemblage which, though making the whole structure vibrate at times, with cheers at the close of sentences and speeches, for the most part, maintained the most perfect silence whilst these were in progress. Still, allowing for this, it may be safely said that there is not in India, at present, a single Hall, where speakers could be equally well-heard by an equally large audience. And, then, proper accommodation was throughout provided for the large body of Press reporters who represented

almost every paper of importance in the country. So, in all these matters too, the late Congress was a marked advance on its predecessors.

All through October, November, and December elections were going on. So far as these went, they were regularly and properly conducted and the fact of the elections having been held, and the names of the parties delegated, were duly and regularly notified to the Reception Committee at Madras. There was no attempt, so far, to divide the country into definite electoral divisions, or restrict the number of delegates that might be sent from any particular locality, the one suggestion that was made was, that no province (other than that in which the Congress was held) should, as a whole, send more than 2 delegates per million of its total population. Any town, any of whose inhabitants felt interested in the question, held a public meeting, often consisting of only one or two hundred people, but, in some cases, mustering several thousands, and thereat, after speeches explaining the nature and the objects of the Congress, elected as delegates those men who were generally looked up to as leaders. Again, any association, (no matter whether it numbered only 50 or, 5,000 members) that desired to be represented called a general meeting and thereat elected one or more of its leading members. But, except in Madras, where they were only too successful, no persistent efforts were made to make all towns, and all associations do their duty in this matter, or to get the smaller towns and villages to hold preliminary meetings and select thereat several of their number to represent them at the election meetings in the bigger towns. This was done in several cases, but only just where the people, of their own accord, saw fit to do it. Again, except in Madras, where the political organization is more advanced than in any other province, no regular system was adopted to ensure the adequate representation of all creeds, classes, castes, and interests; any one who wanted to be represented could be represented, but no one troubled about those who did not themselves come forward, and if, after all, the representation was singularly exhaustive, it is due to the general interest in the Congress which pervades the community. In all these matters the idea has been to let the thing develop in its own fashion for a year or two, before attempting to lay down any fixed rules.

Moreover, no sufficient materials were collected to show what the true extent of the constituencies that the delegates represented really was. No doubt, they represented the entire population in this sense, though if the Resolutions they passed were translated and carefully explained in every town and village in the empire, a large majority in every place would endorse and approve these Resolutions. But, so far as direct participation in the elections go, adding up the totals of the reported meetings and taking into account the preliminary out-station meetings held in some cases, and including (so far as this can be ascertained) every member on the rolls of the several associations that sent delegates, and making other necessary allowances, barely half a million men actually directly took part in the movement. Of course, each of these represent at least* four others of the population belonging to their own families, and a very much larger number of their fellows and their families. For, amongst this still very conservative, and, in guild matters, united population, if three *Teles* (oil-sellers) out of any bazaar, attended and voted, it is quite certain that the great majority, if not every one, of the other *Teles* in that

* Considering what native families are, and that the men who had time to attend meetings, &c., must have belonged to the comparatively well-to-do classes, this average of 5 per family, including the heads, is probably far too low.

bazaar, agreed to, and approved of, their so doing, and so on through all but the very highest and most enlightened classes and communities. But we are dealing with a population of nearly 200 millions, and while we may confidently assert, that, if the matter was carefully explained to them, ninety per cent. of the adult male members of the entire community would ratify and express concurrence in the conclusions of the Congress, we cannot, making all allowances, see grounds for supposing that more than ten* per cent. of these, at the utmost, even indirectly and passively, supported the Congress. Very likely 80, out of the 90 non-participants, would, if brought face to face with the question, follow the 10 participants. Not improbably the 10 per cent. includes fully 75 per cent. of the in-any-degree awakened intelligence of the country, but none the less, the statistics, thus far available, do not lead to the conclusion that *as yet*, the Congress is by any means so "broad-based, upon the people's will," as has been supposed and asserted; and we think supposed without good reason, seeing that, however ripe the country may have been for this movement, it is still quite young, and has been conducted by sober constitutional methods, conducive rather to steady growth than to sudden gourdlike development.

On the 25th of December, the delegates commenced to appear, and by the morning of the 27th, on which the inaugural sitting was held, all but a very few, who came by the early mail of the 28th, had arrived. Then, it was seen that, out of some 760 delegates who had been elected, only 607 were present. The situation of Madras had told although (except in the case of the Panjab whence only 9 out of 42 delegates actually appeared) not to the extent anticipated.—"Deaths—deaths of near relatives (which in the case of Hindus prevent a participation, for from ten to thirty days in such an undertaking)—sickness, urgent private affairs or professional calls, and accidents of travel," may always be expected to prevent some twelve per cent. of those elected actually attending. Thus, some ninety of the absentees were easily accounted for, but the rest of the truants, nearly seventy in number, were undoubtedly mainly deterred from appearing by the great length and expense of the journey; and these belonged almost exclusively to the Panjab, North-West Provinces, and Oudh, and Behar.

Compared with the previous year the figures stand thus:—

PRESIDENCY OR PROVINCE.	NUMBER OF DELEGATES.	
	In 1886, at Calcutta.	In 1887, at Madras.
Madras	47	363
Bombay and Sindh... ..	47	52
Punjab	17	9
North-West Province and Oudh... ..	74	45
Central Provinces	8	12
Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Assam	238	79
Total...	431	607

* The percentage is much higher in Madras, but, again, lower in other provinces.

And these figures illustrate the effect these huge distances have on the attendance. The Madras 47 have, at any rate *partly*, in consequence of contiguity, risen to 363; while Bengal's 238, when the conference was held in Calcutta, has fallen to 79. The Punjab, very distant from Calcutta, but far more distant from Madras, has sunk from 17 to 9; and the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh from 74 to 45, while Bombay, not only nearer to Madras than to Calcutta but more akin to it, alike in people and in climate, has risen from 47 to 99. Still there was, on the whole, a clear gain, (much as is shown in the Central Provinces to which Madras and Calcutta are about equally convenient and which had 13 delegates against 8 last year) for, if we deduct, in each case, the delegates belonging to the Province or Presidency in which the Congress was held, we find the out-province delegates 245 in 1887, against 193 in 1886.

But, though the representation was unequal and still far from perfect, yet, considering that this was only the second Congress for which any attempt at elections had been made; a glance at the list of delegates, (Appendix I), will show that it was such as no man could, even three years ago, have believed that the people could have spontaneously created for themselves, not only without Government assistance but, in many places, in the face of the opposition of the local officials. Every province, every sub-province, and, except in the Punjab, almost every large city was represented; while in Bombay and Madras, every town, every district, and almost every association were represented. The representation too was more satisfactory than in 1886. There was this time no class of the community that had not spokesmen. This year not only were there two or three representatives of the old aristocracy amongst the delegates but, as already noticed, all the leaders of this class in the Madras Presidency, from the Maharajah of Vizianagram downwards contributed to the work and we may add, several of them attended and closely followed the debates. There were quite a number of shopkeepers, (last year, conspicuous by their absence,) and no less than 95 ryots or cultivators, against only, five last year. Doubtless, Madras sent the bulk of these; for, poor men, cannot, unaided, travel these huge distances, but twelve came from the Bombay Presidency, one from the Central Provinces, four from lower Bengal, and three from the North-Western Provinces. Besides these, as in the previous year, so in 1887, the higher landed interests, important Zemindars and Talookdars, were well represented from every Province. The legal profession again mustered very strong, and, while in 1885 there were only about 40 merchants and bankers, in 1886 these numbered 144. The principals, professors, and masters of Indian schools and colleges were far more numerous than on the previous occasion, and it may be noted that as in 1885, so in 1886, 25 per cent. of all the delegates were graduates. There were the usual quotas of newspaper editors, 43 in number, of medical men, millowners, manufacturers, ministers and missionaries—and what was very satisfactory 19 artisans, 2, 3, 4, 6 from every great province, (except the Punjab), one of whom, be it noted, a carpenter by trade, made a most sensible speech, in Tamil, on the necessity of a regular system of technical education. (*Vide pp. 146, 147 of Detailed Report.*)

Amongst the delegates were as before, members past and present, of the Legislative Councils, Fellows of the universities, Honorary Magistrates (some 31 this year) and no less than 160 of them were chairmen, vice-chairmen, or members of Municipal or Local Fund Boards.

So far as social grades and positions, professions and occupations were concerned, no assembly could possibly have been more truly representative of the entire community than was this last Congress; and although we attach less importance to this, (since we hold "that it is a community of temporal interests, and not of spiritual convictions that qualify men to represent each other in the vast majority of political questions,") it was equally representative where creeds, sects, and castes were concerned. There were Christians, (Catholics and Protestants, Native, Eurasian and European,) Jains, Parsees, Brahmans, a Sikh, Hindoos of all castes, (except the very lowest or *no-castes*), and Mussalmans.

Is it necessary to allude to the pretended defection of the Mussalman community from this national movement? With one of the very ablest men in India, a distinguished Mussalman, as President, with the Honourable Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, and some eighty odd other Muslim delegates from all parts of the empire, with the great bulk of the Muslim Press* supporting or professing sympathy with the Congress it may suffice to say, that one veteran reformer, of 70 years of age, whose past devoted services to the cause of education entitle him to universal respect, unable to keep abreast of the rapidly changing conditions of the age, has been displeased with the Congress, and has supplemented, by unusually forcible language, arguments against it, of the feebleness of which he seems himself not wholly unconscious. This worthy gentleman it is who constitutes the head and front of that so-called Mussalman opposition, of which we still hear from certain cliques of Anglo-Indian officials, and their especial organs, and if we regret his thus holding aloof, it is solely because we would fain see his latest days crowned with the regard and respect of his fellow-countrymen, of whom, in the past, he has deserved so well.

To return, a marked feature in this late Congress, was the presence, amongst the delegates, of some ten Eurasians and Europeans, all men of mark in their own communities, who took an active part in the debates. The Anglo-Indian and Eurasian Association of Southern India, co-operated with the Reception Committee throughout, and deputed their ablest members as delegates, Mr. D. S. White, their President, only failing to attend, because detained at Calcutta by the Public Service Commission, of which he was a member. And, as regards Europeans, it was not only that men like Mr. Eardley Norton, a prominent Barrister, Mr. John Adam, the Principal of the great Pachappa's Collegiate establishment,—with its 1,800 pupils,—and founder in India of a "commercial education," attended as delegates, but that numerous independent Europeans in various parts of the country, including even Mr. F. T. Atkins, so well known for the vehement part he took *against* the Ilbert bill, sent telegraphic messages, regretting their inability to attend, and expressing their most cordial sympathy with the Congress and its objects. When to this we add the fact that leading English newspapers, like Sir C. Lawson's *Madras Mail*, the first paper far and away in Madras; the *Bombay Gazette*, one of the two leading papers of Bombay; the *Daily News*, of Calcutta; and the *Statesman*, together with the entire Indian Press, English and Vernacular, warmly supported the Congress, all really interested in India's welfare, may congratulate themselves that, despite the lamentably erroneous

* Only two, even nominally, Mahomedan papers, at present, so far as we know, oppose the Congress. The *Atiqur Observer*, and the *Muslim Herald* of Madras, edited by Europeans.

statements of the *Times*' Calcutta correspondent, the *Pioneer*, and one or two other similar papers here, the nature of the congress is at last becoming clear to all classes, in India, at any rate, and all are beginning to recognize, that what it aims at are simply those changes in the existing form of the administration that the progress effected, along all lines, has rendered, not only desirable, but necessary, in the interests of *all* classes of the inhabitants, be they European, Anglo-Indian, or Indian.

One word more and we proceed to review the proceedings of the Congress. Not only did many of the European community here assume a distinctly friendly attitude towards the delegates, His Excellency Lord Connemara, inviting the President and all the gentlemen associated with him in the Congress, to a Garden-party, Mr. Eardley Norton organizing for them a grand evening entertainment*, which many Europeans attended and so on, but, throughout the Session, besides the general body of Indian spectators, (varying in number, from time to time, from about 1,000 to close upon 2,500,) the reserved gallery behind the President's platform, was occupied by a succession of visitors, the Maharajah of Vizianagram, Rajah Gajapathi Row, the Rajah of Bobbili, and many other native noblemen, European tourists, members of the civil and military services, and ladies, not only European and Eurasian, but Indian, and one or two of these from each Presidency, being amongst the number.

On the afternoon of the 27th of December, the inaugural sitting of the Congress was held in the great Hall, erected for the purpose. Rajah Sir Tanjore Madava Row, K.C.S.I., as Chairman of the Reception Committee, whose duty it was to welcome the delegates and call upon them to elect a President, took the chair. Independent of Sir Madava Row's great and just reputation as an experienced statesman, the prominent part he took in the proceedings is interesting, because, it has been the habit of the opponents of the Congress to declare that the older and abler leaders of the Indian community held aloof from it. This assertion received a strong contradiction, last year, in the persons of Babu Joykissen Mookerjee and Dr. Rajendra Lalla Mitra, the Nestors of Bengali politicians, but our critics, nothing daunted, fell back on Sir Madava Row, saying that he at least was a statesman, the foremost of Indian statesmen, and he would have nothing to do with it. The fact being that the movement has no warmer or wiser friend than this very cautious politician, though the sadly enfeebled state of his health, renders it no more possible for him to go to Bombay or Calcutta, to attend Congresses, than to go to the latter place to attend the Viceroy's Council, a seat in which he has recently declined.

Warmly Sir Madava Row welcomed all the delegates and, in a brief but impressive address, he declared the movement, of which the Congress was an outcome, to be the inevitable result of contact with the British nation.

"Contact with such a nation" he said, "is like the contact of iron with the magnet. It has the inevitable effect of the nation operated upon being, by insensible degrees, assimilated to the dominant type."

* Sir Savalai Ramasami Mudaliar, C.I.E., Sheriff of Madras also, with his customary liberality, nobly entertained the delegates on another evening, His Excellency Lord Connemara being amongst the guests on this occasion.

He showed how British rule had created this intellectual uprising and he went on:—

"Thus, then, it seems to me nothing strange, nothing phenomenal—that I should witness before me, in a vast and most influential assembly, the union of cultivated intelligence and patriotic ardour, and the confluence (so to speak) of many different streams of thought and of feeling. I see before me representatives from all parts of India, whose very personal appearance will bring home to the mind of the unprejudiced observer the conviction that, varied as are the castes and creeds and races of India, there is still a powerful bond of union which makes our hearts vibrate with sympathy and mutual love and a common affection for our mother-country. (*Loud and continued applause.*) To well-balanced minds such a gathering must appear THE SOUNDTEST TRIUMPH OF BRITISH ADMINISTRATION, AND A CROWN OF GLORY TO THE GREAT BRITISH NATION. (*Great applause.*)

"Gentlemen, let us not mind too much, or too little, what unfriendly or rather mistaken critics may say against us."

"Let us stand firm in our conviction that these gatherings are useful and desirable for a multitude of reasons. Let our single aim be to justify ourselves by invariable loyalty, good sense, and moderation in our thoughts, words, and deeds. These great qualities we have not to acquire *afresh*. Innumerable antecedent generations have happily bequeathed them to us. Let us retain this inheritance and trustfully place ourselves under the guidance of the great nation and the great Government which are providentially in charge of our destinies, and our future will be as satisfactory as it can possibly be."

"Now, that a splendid Empire has been constructed, completed and consolidated, now that unbroken peace and order have been established beyond the dreams of Asiatic philosophy, this Congress represents that very factor which is necessary for the further development of India." (*Applause.*)

"Henceforth, let us, therefore, invariably act on the principle that the various populations of this extensive Empire are bound together, by a common Government, by common interests, and by mutual sympathies." (*Applause.*)

"Judged, most unsparingly, the worst features of gatherings of this description might be superabundance of enthusiasm and youthful impetuosity. But, as a great thinker has said men learn to run before they learn to walk; they stagger and stumble before they acquire a steady use of their limbs. What is thus true of individuals is equally true of nations; and it is uncharitable to form a forecast of the future from the failings and weaknesses, if any such should exist, incidental to a nascent stage. The sentiments appropriate to such a condition of things are sympathy and kindly direction. An attitude of antagonism or of scorn only causes irritation and soreness; and it rouses, not unfrequently, a spirit of recrimination, if not also of answering disdain. This is almost a law of nature. I will, therefore, ask our critics to remember the early history of nations and to judge in a spirit of charity and magnanimity."

"When I ask this of our censors, permit me to advise you to be moderate and forbearing. It is the nature of vaulting ambition to overleap itself. It is the character of renovated youth to be carried away by excessive zeal. Steer clear of such shoals and quicksands. Discuss without prejudice; judge without bias; and submit your proposals with the diffidence that must necessarily mark suggestions that are tentative in their character. Much irritation and retaliation will be avoided, if the mutual dependence of the rulers and the ruled is steadily kept in view. With the ruled it must be a postulate that rulers err from ignorance and in spite of their efforts to avoid mistakes. By the rulers it must be taken for granted, that when subjects petition and expostulate, it is not in a spirit of disputation or cavilling, much less of disaffection and disloyalty (*hear, hear*); but only to enlighten those holding sway over them and in a peaceful and constitutional manner to have their wishes understood and their grievances made known. I entreat you to lay to heart these words of caution to all parties concerned—words which I ask you to accept, out of regard for my long experience (*applause*), for my age (*applause*), and for my earnest desire to see my countrymen prosperous and happy. (*Loud cheers.*)"

He then called upon the assembly to elect a President, when Mr. Badrudin Tyabji, the leading Mussalman Barrister of Bombay, (who, a few months ago, resigned his seat in the Bombay Council, when leaving India, in consequence of ill-health) was unanimously chosen. Naturally, as a Mussalman, Mr. Tyabji at the very

outset of his inaugural address, vindicated his co-religionists from the charge of holding aloof from the Congress.

"GENTLEMEN," he said "it has been urged in derogation of our character, as a representative national gathering that one great and important community—the Mussalman community—has kept aloof from the proceedings of the two last Congresses. Now Gentlemen, in the first place, this is only partially true and applies only to one particular part of India and, moreover, is due to certain special, local, and temporary causes (*hear, hear, and applause*), and in the second place, no such reproach can, I think, with any show of justice, be urged against this present Congress (*applause*) and Gentlemen, I must honestly confess to you that one great motive which has induced me, in the present state of my health, to undertake the grave responsibilities of presiding over your deliberations, has been an earnest desire on my part to prove, as far as in my power lies, that I at least, not merely in my individual capacity, but, as representing the Anjuman-i-Islam of Bombay, (*loud applause*), do not consider that there is anything whatever in the position or the relations of the different communities of India,—be they Hindus, Mussulmans, Parsees, or Christians—which should induce the leaders of any one community to stand aloof from the others in their efforts to obtain those great general reforms, those great general rights which are for the common benefit of us all (*hear, hear and applause*) and which, I feel assured, have only to be earnestly and unanimously pressed upon Government to be granted to us."

"Gentlemen, it is undoubtedly true that each one of our great Indian communities has its own peculiar social, moral, educational and even political difficulties to surmount, but so far as general political questions affecting the whole of India—such as those which alone are discussed by this Congress—are concerned, I for one, am utterly at a loss to understand why Mussulmans should not work shoulder to shoulder (*hear, hear, and applause*) with their fellow-countrymen of other races and creeds for the common benefit of all. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, this is the principle on which we in the Bombay Presidency have always acted and from the number, the character, the position, and the attainments of Mussulman delegates from the Bengal Presidency and from the Presidency of Madras, as well as from the North-West and the Punjab, I have not the smallest doubt that this is also the view held, with but few, though perhaps, important exceptions, by the leaders of the Mussulman communities throughout the whole of India. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*)"

Then he dealt with the charge of disloyalty so often, and so absolutely groundlessly brought by the opposition clique against the movement, and exposed its utter absurdity. But we have already (*ante p. 3*) quoted one passage from that portion of his address which refers to this subject and need not further dwell upon it here.

Next he alluded to the ludicrous attacks persistently made by the same clique upon the Congress, because it is only a political assemblage, and declines to interfere in other matters with which its constitution unfits it to deal; but in this connection likewise we have in previous pages (*ante p. 7*) reproduced some of his remarks, which will suffice to show the position he assumed.

He repudiated the idea that all Europeans were unsympathetic to "the just aspirations of the natives of India" affirming that he had—

"The good fortune to know many Europeans than whom truer or more devoted friends of India do not breathe on the face of the earth." (*Hear, hear, and applause.*)—

and said that one of the greatest and most difficult problems of the day, was "how to persuade our European friends to look upon India, in some sense, as their own country even by adoption";—

"For, GENTLEMEN," he continued, "if we could but induce our retired Merchants, Engineers, Doctors, Solicitors, Barristers, Judges and Civilians to make India permanently their home (*hear, hear, and applause*) what an amount of talent, and ability, political experience and ripe judgment, we should retain in India for the benefit of us all. (*Applause.*) All those great questions in regard to the financial drain on India and those questions arising from jealousy of races and the rivalry for public employment—would at once disappear. And when we speak of the poverty of India because

of the draining away of vast sums of money from India to England, it has always seemed to me strange that so little thought should be bestowed upon the question of the poverty of our resources caused by the drain of so many men of public, political and intellectual eminence from our shores every year." (Applause.)

He paid a fitting tribute to the memory of Messrs. Girija Bhushan Moorkerjee, and Dayaram Jethumal, and other active labourers at the previous Congresses, "who have now, all too soon, for their country's sake, passed from amongst us," concluding with the words:—

"But, to all these gentlemen, of whose assistance and guidance we have been deprived, we must owe a lasting debt of gratitude. They, in their lifetime, spared no pains to make the Congress, either in Bombay or Calcutta, a success, as far as in their power lay, and it only remains for us, while cherishing their memories, to emulate their example. (Loud and continued applause.)"

He then referred to the very large number of letters and telegrams, (the latter more than 60 in number, and many more were received subsequently) expressing sympathy, and said:—

"But, GENTLEMEN, there is one among those (telegrams) which I am particularly anxious to bring to your notice, and that is from our old and distinguished friend, Mr. Atkins, (applause) whom by name, at least, I have not the smallest doubt, every one of us here perfectly knows. (Applause.) Gentlemen, in his telegram, he wishes this Congress and all future Congresses perfect success. (Applause.) He wishes that the unity of the different communities should be promoted and that the objects, which we all have at heart, should be attained. (Applause.) I think you will be of opinion that that is a very good omen. We want the assistance, not only of representative men of the Indian communities, but we also want the assistance of Europeans. (Applause.) Gentlemen, while we are attempting to learn some few lessons in the art of Self-Government, our European friends have inherited that art from their forefathers after centuries of experience, and it cannot be doubted that if we can induce our European friends to co-operate with us in these various political matters, which, in point of fact, affect them no less than they affect us, it cannot, I say, be doubted that it will conduce to the advantage, not only of ourselves, but of the European community also. (Loud applause.)"

But really the letters and telegrams received deserve fuller notice than our President, in the waning evening light, was able to accord them, the more so, that a very large number, in addition to those that he had before him, came to hand subsequent to the delivery of his speech. Telegrams and letters, expressive of sympathy and regret, at not being able to attend, were received during the second Congress, but in nothing like the numbers that poured in upon us on this third occasion. Setting aside communications, asking for assistance in some way or another, and letters in all the vernaculars of India, which there has been no time to attempt to translate, there were over 300 letters and telegrams, of sympathy mostly, also expressing regret at not being able to attend. Of course, there are several telegrams, in some cases, from the same locality. Thus, from Hyderabad, Deccan, there are 27 telegrams and letters from Rajah Padman Raj, on behalf of Shorapore Jaghirdars and other landowners; Rajah Sivaraj; Savoy Sankarama, "on behalf of my minor grandson, Rajah Ramasor Row, and other members of our family;" Rajah Murali Manohur; Mir Sarfarazi Ali Khan; Syed Abdulla Shah Quaderi; Quazi Ahined; a whole number of Moulvies, and other Mussulmans and Hindus. Calcutta, Dacca, Patna, Allahabad, Lucknow, Delhi all sent several telegrams and letters, but still very close upon two hundred places communicated with us—places separated as widely as Almora and Tuticorin, Bunnoo and Debrooghur. Many of the communicants were men of note, e.g., Mr. R. M. Sayani (Mussulman), late Sheriff of Bombay;

the Hon'ble Kashinath Trimback Telang,* the Hon'ble Ananda Mohun Bose, Messrs. Manomohan and Lall Mohan Ghose, Rai Jai Perakash Lall, H. H. the Maharajah of Durbungah, H. H. The 3rd Rajah of Calicut, Sri Mahant Bhaghan Dossji, of Tirupati; the Revd. T. J. Scott, of Bareilly; Rajah Mohina Ranjan Roy Chowdhuri, of Kakiharajbari; Mr. T. F. Atkins, and a host of others, four of them Europeans. There were telegrams from Presidents of all kinds of Associations—of the Arya Samaj, Yeola and, again, Muttra; of the Bilgram Institute; of the Mombadevie Oriental Society; of the Anjumani Reayah; of the Society for the Prevention of Crime; of the Mahomedan Association, Rajahmundry; of the Bhadratri Sabha, Dera Ismail Khan; of the Workingmen's Club, Barnagore; of the Sukhdik Sabha, Bunnoo; of the Behar Landowners' Association; of the Prayag Najar Gayan Vardhak Sabha; of the Sunbeam Library and Reading Room; besides others from regular political associations, from whom such marks of sympathy might have been expected. Then there were letters and telegrams from Chairmen of public meetings at the most out-of-the-way places—Verunkonda, Shillong, Sambhur, Ambasamudrum, Barisal,—besides others at Bangalore, and a score of other well-known places. It is really impossible to avoid the suspicion created by this mass of communications from all classes of men, and all parts of the country, that the interest in the Congress, may, after all, be more widely diffused amongst the inhabitants of the country, than on the figures and facts available to us we have felt justified in assuming.

To return, the President, then, closing his address, as it was growing dusk, called on the assembly to appoint a strong committee of men from each province, whom their brother-delegates were willing to accept as their representatives, to work out a programme of subjects and Resolutions as a basis for the discussions of the Congress at its coming sittings. This was done, the meeting dissolved, and the Committee taking up their work then and there, were able, the matter having already been much discussed in most of the provincial groups, to complete their work that night and to send the programme to the *National Press*, so that copies might be in every delegate's hands next morning.

Next day, the 28th, the Congress assembled a little after midday and, in pursuance of the programme, prepared by the Committee just referred to, the first work brought forward was the appointment of a Committee to consider and report to the Congress what Rules, if any, might now usefully be framed in regard to the constitution and working of the Congress. In proposing this, Dr. Trailokyanath Mitra† said:—

"We ought, it seems to me, to have some rules as to who our delegates are to be, how they are to be elected and how certified to. We ought to have some rules as to the procedure, to be followed in this assembly, and as to other similar matters. The rules must, of course, in the beginning, be very simple, indeed, embodying the existing practice, as far as possible, and giving, as it were, the force of Law to Custom. They must not be hard and fast rules that will prematurely bind us down to any special scheme: ours is a young and growing institution, and, if our constitution is really to fit us, it must grow with us; but there must be some very simple temporary rules as to the selection of delegates, and as to the working of the Congress. That is all, I think, that we ought, at this very early stage of our career, to attempt. We may avoid, by this, one serious objection that has been raised to this National Congress. It has been said that this National Congress is a sort of mutual admiration society, (voices of 'no, no'), consisting of a number of self-constituted delegates, each one appointed by himself as his own delegate, without

* The Honorable Mr. G. M. Ranade was present as usual, though not as a delegate, but as an universally respected *amicus curiæ*.
† Page 77 of Detailed Report.

any sort of representation whatever. If, by our rules, we can show to our critics that the men whom we allow to take part in the deliberations of this assembly are, as we all know that they are, men, duly elected, either by public bodies at general meetings, or by towns or groups of towns at public meetings, and if we can thus convince them that the delegates, who take part in the deliberations of this great assembly, are men who have the confidence of important groups of their countrymen, all over this vast Empire, shall we not be sufficiently answering our unkindly critics?" (*Applause.*)

Mr. Hamid Ali, a Lucknow Barrister, in seconding the proposition, remarked* that there could be hardly two opinions on the subject and that "the necessity of crystallizing existing practice, if only for a season, into tangible rules and regulations (that all who run may understand)" was, he believed, universally admitted. Mr. W. S. Gantz, a Madras Barrister, who followed, said : †

"Gentlemen, it is not a figure of speech, it is no exaggeration to say, that this Congress is now a great national factor. (*Applause.*) Two years ago, when the son of one of the greatest statesmen the world then knew, happened to be travelling through this country he visited one of these Congresses—the very first one, I think, and he went home and described it as a factor which every Government should hereafter take account of. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, that was when this movement was not merely in its infancy but, as it were, a mere babe of an hour old. (*Applause.*) But since then it has grown and grown apace at a rate which few could have anticipated and, therefore, since the Congress has become, and will, year by year, increase and still more become, a great factor in the progress of this vast Empire, we are now bound not only to make clear to the world what it is and how it works, but further to consider carefully, all means and steps and ways whereby its business may be carried out, from year to year, more efficiently and effectively."

This seemed reasonable enough, but the assembly would not, at first, accept it. There was a strong feeling that nothing should be done to fetter the natural growth of the institution, that the thing was still too young and the practice of too recent introduction to warrant its "crystallization," as yet, into "tangible rules." Moreover, the word constitution was a little misapprehended, and, on an amendment for its omission, a rather amusing episode occurred. As a rule, all persons who desired to speak were required to speak from the President's platform, no one was allowed to speak from their seats in the body of the Hall; but—

"A DELEGATE (name not ascertained) here rose in his seat, and said :—"I want to know what a constitution is, will somebody define it?" (*Cries of 'look in your dictionary': 'this is not a school' and 'sit down.'*)"

"THE PRESIDENT said :—The amendment before the meeting must first be seconded, if anybody intends to second it, before any discussion on the subject can be allowed."

"A DELEGATE :—But what's the use of talking about things one does not understand? I want a constitution defined—it may mean anything (*cries of 'no, no'*) but I say it may."

"THE PRESIDENT said :—You will have full opportunity later on of saying whatever you wish to say, but I must now request you, Sir, to resume your seat."

Which the offending delegate then did with perfect good humour. Well an amendment was proposed by Mr. R. P. Karandikar for the omission of the words "if any" and "constitution and." As to the first, he submitted that it was for the Congress itself, and not for any Committee, however influential, to decide whether there should be any rules or not, and as to the second, he said ‡ :—

"We have held a Congress in Bombay in 1885, and another more splendid one, no doubt in Calcutta in 1886, and one still more splendid here in 1887, but, gentlemen, there are other

* Page 78 of Detailed Report.
† Pages 78, 79 of Detailed Report.
‡ Pages 79, 80 of Detailed Report.

Presidencies and Provinces which have yet to learn the needful lesson by the enlightening presence of the Congress—for instance, we may have a Congress in Allahabad next year and another in the Punjab in the following year,—and just as the people of the Madras Presidency have evinced an amount of interest and zeal, we may be able to observe further development in the interest from the people of the Punjab and the people of the North-west Provinces. I do not mean to say that they are lacking in that energy and spirit and zeal which is necessary and which marks the whole character of our National Congress. But what I mean is, that we ought to bring the Congress nearer home to the people of these other Presidencies, and, to give them an opportunity of witnessing the working of such vast numbers of delegates as we have before us now, to learn, in fact, the lessons of the Congress by practical personal experience, before we ask them, through their representatives, to join in framing any constitution."

Other speakers followed on the same lines. Mr. A. R. Jogalekar contended that—

"The populations of all the great Provinces must have been enabled to realize what these Congresses are, must have had an actual practical experience of their working and must have become one with us of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta in our knowledge of them, before it is expedient to set to work to establish a constitution. I do not, of course, object to the framing of rules for the working of the Congress when it has met, but all else I would leave to local discretion, until the whole country really knows, by practical experience, what is needful, and I see no use in embodying existing practice, which we may hope to improve year by year, in anything so formal as a constitution."

Again Mr. R. M. Sane remarked—

"If we take into consideration the very varied political and intellectual development of the different Provinces of India, I believe, you will agree with me in thinking that we have not yet arrived at a stage at which uniform constitutional rules are possible or desirable. Let this annual gathering be held in all Provinces. Let the people of all Provinces grow into taking an equally absorbing interest in the movement, and then, perhaps, we may arrive at a stage when the laying down of definite rules would be proper, otherwise, if we have rules for working the Congress now, we shall continually have to make alterations in, and additions to them, as difficulties crop up, and we gain experience. Is this worth while? I think not. We are proceeding on a certain system, but, until we completely elaborate it, why seek to codify it in a constitution?"

Ultimately the proposal was unanimously agreed to, but not before it had been made quite clear, that the rules, if any, that the Committee might frame, would, in no way, bind the Congress, to which each and all of them would be submitted for discussion and approval, and not before the President had explained as follows, the meaning of that word "constitution" to which so many had taken objection.

"I think some one asked an explanation as to the meaning of the word constitution. Well, I think it is a word which, as here used, is not very difficult of comprehension. The Resolution, I think we all feel, does not contemplate any gigantic growth of ages like the British constitution (*laughter*) or even any such grave comprehensive formal contract as the American constitution—nay, I am not sure that the word "composition" might not, without injuring the sense of the Resolution, have been substituted for "constitution." What is intended is that there should be some rules framed as to who and what the delegates, who come up to the next Congress, should be; how and when they should be chosen, or elected, and which are the provinces or places from which they may be sent. And again the rules might lay down whether the number of the delegates should be in any way limited, whether the Congress is to consist 700, 1,000, 1,500 or 3,000 delegates or whether there should be no limit at all, and so on. These are matters, of course, which will have to be considered by the Committee. I merely allude to them to explain what I understand to be the meaning of the word constitution as used in the proposed resolution."

We may add, to avoid the necessity of referring to the question again, that when on the last day of the Congress, the Committee submitted its report with a

* Page 81 of Detailed Report.

rather elaborate system of rules, it was generally felt that the matter was not ripe for decision and a Resolution was unanimously passed*,—

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

In itself the matter is not perhaps of much consequence but it has, been dwelt on, as illustrating, what every discussion, in this late Congress made more and more clear, viz., the extreme care with which the delegates avoided being led into affirming anything that they did not fully apprehend and concur in. Last year it was more than once asserted by hostile critics that a score or so of men decided what was to be said and done, the rest following blindly like a flock of sheep, and the difference between this and real Parliamentary work was insisted on. But, as a matter of fact, it is ten times more difficult to get any thing through the Congress (at least on which public opinion is not absolutely unanimous) than through the English House of Commons. There, if the leaders of both parties, concur, the thing is done, while in the Congress although the leading men of all the twelve great circles may be entirely of one mind, if one single delegate out of the 600 is not satisfied or does not understand, up he gets and proposes an amendment, to which he adheres until convinced that he is in error. It is a great trouble, no doubt, and delays work, but it ensures a very thorough consideration of every question and certainly entitles the final unanimous conclusions of the Congress, to a weight that they could, in no other way, acquire.

The next Resolution was the most important passed at the Congress, and as having been affirmed unanimously at three successive Congresses, and intermediately at several hundred public meetings and general meetings of an equal number of Associations, Institutes and Societies, throughout the length and breadth of the land, may be commended to the earnest consideration of all really interested in the welfare and progress of India. This Resolution ran as follows :—

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

Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee opened the discussion in an eloquent speech‡ which should be read in its entirety. But we may extract a passage or two as illustrating the position he assumed. He said :—

"GENTLEMEN, we attach the utmost importance to this question of the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils. We accord to it the foremost place amongst the topics of discussion. We unfurl the banner of the Congress, and upon it are written, in characters of glittering gold which none may efface, the great words of this Resolution—'Representative Institutions for India.' (Applause.)

"Are we guided by mere sentimental considerations in making this act of deliberate choice? Ah! No! There are the strongest reasons why the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils should be placed in the forefront of topics to be discussed by the National Congress. It is impossible to think of a domestic grievance or a matter of domestic complaint which will not be remedied, if the constitution of the Councils were changed and remodelled according to our programme. Talk of the separation of judicial from executive functions, why, the reform would be effected at once if we

* Page 162 Detailed Report.

† All these Resolutions will be found reprinted at the close of this volume.

‡ Page 83, 84 of Detailed Report.

had a potential voice in the making of our laws. Talk of the wider employment of our countrymen in the public service, why the Queen's Proclamation would be vindicated to the letter (applause) if we had some control over the management of our domestic concerns. (Applause.) You fret and fume under the rigors of an income-tax which touches even the necessities of subsistence, why, the incidence of the tax would be altered, the minimum raised, if we had anything to do with the imposition of the tax, or if we were permitted to modify it. (Applause.) I might multiply instances but that is not necessary. The reconstitution of the Legislative Councils would be a panacea for countless grievances in relation to the internal administration of the country. Gentlemen, by this Resolution we re-affirm the necessity for the expansion and reform of the Councils according to the programme laid down by the Congresses of 1885 and 1886.* We lay down the principles, but further elaboration is not needed, and further elaboration would be unwise. It would be presenting a broader flank to the attack of our opponents. They would attack us in points of detail and the great cardinal principles of the scheme would be lost sight of, in this discussion. Therefore it has been wisely resolved that there should not be, at present, any further elaboration of details. We have suggested the principles; we have made it abundantly clear that we have thought—earnestly thought—out the subject; but we are not the Legislators of the country, though we hope to be so some day (hear, hear) when the Councils are reconstituted. The Government has highly-paid officials drawing thousands of Rupees a month (laughter) and it is for them to elaborate the Bill and settle the details upon principles which may find acceptance with the Government."

He pointed out in detail that all that was asked for was a moderate advance after 25 years' growth of the country on lines that more than a quarter of a century ago the British Government had approved, he quoted from a recent speech of Mr. Macaulay, Secretary to Government, in the Bengal Council, practically supporting our demands, as also a passage from Lord Dufferin's Jubilee speech, (reproduced on the inside of the cover of this vol.) expressing the gratification he would experience, were he enabled during his term of office to concede them, and concluded with these words :—

"I have heard with feelings, I may say, of concern, the disappointment which has sometimes been expressed with regard to the work of the National Congress. It has been said, of course, by our opponents, that the labours of the National Congress have not yet been attended with any definite and marked results. But the Congress is an infant institution of only 2 or 3 years' growth. What are 2 or 3 or even 50 years in the lifetime of a nation? We must go on working and agitating. The Goddess of Liberty is a jealous goddess, and she is exacting in her worship from her votaries. We should worship her with assiduity, sincere, sustained and devoted, and then only can we expect to receive her smiles. It will not do to take part in this great national assembly on this particular occasion and then to go to sleep for the rest of the year. We must be steady, and continuous in our work, and I am quite sure, that when the whole country has, with one voice, expressed itself with reference to this question, ENGLAND, THE AUGUST MOTHER OF FREE NATIONS, will not refuse to grant us a boon which is in such entire accord with her own traditions and which will establish her empire broad-based upon the affections of her people. (Applause.) To England we may appeal with confidence. When Italy was struggling for liberty, England stretched forward the right hand of sympathy. When Greece was endeavouring to assert her place amongst the nationalities of the earth, England was there, the foster-mother of freedom, responsive to the call. We are neither Italians nor Greeks. We are something better. We are British subjects. (Hear, hear and applause.) England has taken us into her bosom and claims us as her own. We appeal to her by the sweetest, the gentlest, the tenderest and yet, with all, the most durable of all ties, that which binds the mother to her offspring, to confer upon us the inestimable boon of representative institutions, and, I am sure we shall not appeal in vain. Let us go on, praying, asking, agitating, resting our hopes of success upon Divine Providence, and victory will assuredly crown our efforts. (Loud and continued cheering.)"

To him succeeded, Sir T. Madava Row in a speech,† brief it is true, but one which no one acquainted with the position, attainments and past history of this

* Vide Resolutions III of the Congress of 1885 and III and IV of the Congress of 1886, reprinted at the close of this volume.

† Pages 86, 87 of Detailed Report.

extremely cautious statesman, can read without a deep conviction of the necessity for early action in this matter.

"GENTLEMEN," he said,—“I believe my friends, and the public generally, have given me some credit for prudence. (*Laughter.*) Gentlemen, I do claim some credit for prudence and, I believe, most gentlemen here will agree with me in admitting my pretensions to this virtue.

"If they are doubtful about it, I will prove it to you beyond all doubt, by the prudence I exercise in refraining, after the magnificent and enthusiastic speech to which we have all listened with so much admiration, (*applause*) from attempting anything like a long or elaborate speech of my own. No, I shall simply confine myself to my duty upon this occasion. I have specially attended here not to make a speech but simply to express a few sentiments of my own on this subject, and I have particularly attended here, because I take a deep interest in this part of the proceedings of this Congress. (*Hear, hear and applause.*) I have written out what I desired to say, partly because I am far from well, but chiefly in order to convince everybody that the sentiments I express, are the deliberate results of my most mature consideration, set forth, not in the enthusiasm engendered by such an address as we have listened to, but, carefully written out beforehand in words as expressive and emphatic as I can command. I will now, with your kind permission, read out what I have written—(*Reads.*) Gentlemen, I cordially second the important Resolution now before you. (*Hear, hear.*) I do so under a profound conviction of the necessity and good policy of the measure proposed. It is a profound conviction, I assure you, because by temperament and training, I am, to a great extent, conservative and yet having looked at the matter from every point of view, and having carefully considered it, I have a profound conviction that the measure proposed is a necessity, that is quite consistent with good policy and even required by good policy. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) I further aver my conviction that it should not be long postponed. (*Applause.*)"

Mr. P. Somasundaram Chettiar, the "Doyen" of the Madras native mercantile community, a large and wealthy body, next supported the Resolution in a speech from which we may quote the following :—*

"We all know the objects with which these Councils" (the existing Legislative Councils) "were established. They were established after the direct assumption of the Government of India by Her Majesty the Queen, Government taking into consideration the expediency of rendering the laws good and safe so as to meet the wants and wishes of the people at large, and to suit the convenience of each sect and creed. They have undergone various changes and reforms in their constitution since their establishment, but, permit me to observe that the practical utility of these Councils has not been such as to merit the approbation of the people, owing to the limited number of non-officials constituting the Council, the ruling authorities taking precautionary measures to have the official element prevailing over the non-official, thereby retaining all Legislative power in their hands, who are, in fact, the authorities in the Executive branches; thus the feelings of the Native community in regard to these Councils have not been satisfactory, and agitations for their reform were frequently and repeatedly made by local and other associations and institutions, by the Press and through the channel of separate publications, but without success. The subject was, however, warmly taken up by the Congress meetings in the two last previous years on behalf of the nation, urging the necessity for a general reform in the constitution, showing the grounds and reasons for such reform, adding that the vitality of the Councils so reformed will be increased and they will be better adapted and suited to the nation, which in these days of its education and progress is wanting better and sounder Legislators. There are many instances, too numerous to enumerate here, where grave defects have been noticed and no remedial measures have been adopted to afford relief to the nation. Hasty steps are too generally taken, without mature consideration, when, under financial pressure, the thought of raising taxes occurs, without giving any reasonably satisfactory explanation for so doing. As education and culture advance, people naturally aspire to better forms of administration, which the Government is bound to provide for, as well as to receive and view favorably, liberally and with equanimity, all suggestions for Reform. So long as the ruling authorities encroach in all manners possible upon the incomes of individuals, and tax them under one designation or other, in their resources, under pretext of the exigencies of the State, their mode of administrative procedure should be such as to satisfy the general feelings of the natives. I learn that the Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta and Madras, the representatives of the European mercantile community, have lately represented rightly and justly, the necessity of the Imperial Budgets being laid before the public at an earlier time, with elaborate returns so as

* Pages 87, 88 of Detailed Report.

to enable that Public to know precisely how the financial administration is conducted, and thus to see the real wants of the country. Every individual before payment of additional taxes will be very desirous to know how the money is being spent, in a similar way as our household expenses are known, and the Government should be pleased to satisfy the reclamations of the people on this head. A large independent and representative element should be added to the Councils thus conferring on them a larger sphere of usefulness and respectability, and thereby winning the goodwill and affection of the people, soothing the feelings of the rulers and the ruled."

A series of so-called amendments were then proposed and seconded, but it was clear that these were in no sense amendments, but perfectly distinct substantive propositions, which could not be taken up in conjunction with the Resolution before the assemblage, on which, therefore, the discussion proceeded, Mr. Eardley Norton, a leading Madras Barrister and Coroner of the place, who had been elected by two of the divisions of the city, and who was received with loud cheers, speaking next. The whole speech* should be read but as the first considerable speech made by any European at any Congress we may be allowed to quote from it at some length:—

"MR. PRESIDENT," he said, "AND MY NATIVE FRIENDS :—Your warm welcome ringing in my ears, enables me to face you in a spirit of glad exultation. I say, in a spirit of glad exultation, because in your greeting I taste, in the first place, something of the promise of that kindlier feeling and of that more cordial relationship between ourselves and our respective races, which shall make our connection in the future more harmonious than it is to-day, and cement our friendship with the solemn seal of a more perfected trust. (*Cheers.*) In the second place, I realise that your attitude to-day exhibits that earnestness of purpose which foreshadows triumph, a triumph that, I hope, I may share with you (*cheers*) and shows that you are alive to the privileges and responsibilities of being British subjects. (*Cheers.*) Your cordial welcome is a kindly compliment to my nationality. (*Cheers.*) Not unfrequently, gentlemen, the illiberal reproach is cast in our teeth that the spirit of an unconquerable antagonism is abroad between the Europeans and the Natives, that there is a great gulf, which never can be bridged, between us, which must keep us each, for all time, apart from the other. And even more frequently is the reproach cast upon us, with greater particularity in the matter of the Congress, that your objects are confined exclusively to the Native communities of this vast continent, objects with which no Englishman, can have any legitimate sympathy or tie. Let me in my own person refute that aspersions as unfounded; let your reception of me attest the complete concord of European and Native aspiration. (*Cheers.*) I assure you, speaking from this platform to-day, that I feel sincerely how great is the honour of my position. I am not a "self-elected" delegate. I have not nominated myself. I have been sent here, without any solicitation on my part, to place before you not merely the sentiments with which my constituents—humble they may be, yet my constituents still (*hear, hear*)—are animated, but also to convince you into the belief that in all the great and fundamental principles of your political and social reforms, not only I, but thousands of Englishmen, whose voices are tied partly by reason of their official positions (*applause*) and partly by their generous but mistaken belief in a state of things which does not exist, are influenced by feelings of the deepest sympathy, and by the most vivid desire to see you in the enjoyment of something of their own political freedom at home. (*Cheers.*) In my opinion there is no Resolution before you so important and far-reaching in its ultimate effects as that which touches the reconstitution of our Legislative Councils. (*Cheers.*) Act, therefore, gentlemen, on my advice. Cling to that reform. That is the key-stone of all your future triumph. And when once you achieve it, you will find yourselves, at last, in an atmosphere in which you can breathe without effort, which will no longer stifle all your aspirations to regard yourselves as human beings of some intelligence with a right to have a voice in the administration of your own affairs. (*Prolonged cheers.*) Then shall you really be worthy of being England's children. (*Cheers.*)"

"Frequently have I had many capacities thrust most unwillingly upon myself in Madras. Only last night I have been made to assume a new representative capacity. (*Laughter.*) I was told yesterday by one for whose character and educated qualities, I cherish a great esteem that, in joining myself with the labourers in this Congress, I have earned for myself the new title of a 'veiled seditionist.' (*Laughter.*) If it be sedition, gentlemen, to rebel against all wrong, if it be sedition to insist that the people should have a fair share in the administration of their own country and affairs, if it be sedition to resist class-tyranny, to raise my voice against oppression, to matiny

* Pages 89, 93 of Detailed Report.

† This was the appellation recently conferred by the *Pioneer* on another English gentleman who has always taken a lively interest in the Congress.

against injustice, to insist upon a hearing before sentence, to uphold the liberties of the individual, to vindicate our common right to gradual but ever-advancing reform (*cheers*)—if this be sedition, I am right glad to be called a 'seditionist' (*cheers*), and doubly, yes, trebly glad, when I look around me to-day to know and feel I am ranked as one among such a magnificent array of 'seditionists.' (*Loud cheers.*)

"We have been told, again, that in this matter your aims are purely Hindu and Mahomedan. What can you conceive, gentlemen, more false than that? Have our critics forgotten that we, as Europeans, even for the limited portion of our sojourn in India, are as deeply affected by questions of taxation and of legislation as any of yourselves, Mahomedan or Hindu? (*Cheers.*) Have they forgotten that there are many important European interests in India eager to be represented upon the Legislative Councils so that their owners may have a voice in the formation and formulation of those laws which they are called upon themselves to obey, (*cheers*)—such interests, for example, as the planting, the mining, the mill-owning and the whole of the non-official interest throughout the length and the breadth of this land? These, gentlemen, are among the persons who take a deep and anxious interest in the welfare of the Congress; and I am enabled honestly to assure you that if I speak with the feeble voice of a single individual, I speak with the accumulated strength of many hundred Englishmen behind me. (*Loud and continued applause.*)"

Then after touching upon other branches of the question, he insisted on the importance of the right of interpellation* and proceeded to refer to a recent lamentable outrage on decency by a high official, which Government have passed over, if not with approval, at any rate without the public censure it merited. He said:—

"Do you suppose, gentlemen, that the English Civilian in Central India, whose name I will presently mention, of high official rank, occupying a position of great trust and of grave responsibility—do you think that this officer of the Government would have delivered himself of the speech which we have all read—a speech, let me add, to the shame of his English birth and his official reputation (*loud cheers*)—if we were, at this moment, possessed of the great right and weapon of a public interpellation of the Government? (*Shame, shame!*) The official, to whom I allude instead of attempting to efface social mistrust, instead of endeavouring to allay religious fanaticism, to still animosity and to appease faction—although himself a representative of that great Power, whose splendid mission in India it is, to promote a cordial harmony among the various populations entrusted to its Rule—has thought fit to widen the breach that caste and religion have created in this land, to separate one part of India from the other, to foment sectarian hate, to excite the Mahratta against the people of Bengal, and thus to betray his trust to his conscience, his country, and his Queen. (*Loud cheers.*) This official is Sir Lepel Griffin. (*Groans and loud cries of shame, shame.*) Had we the right of interpellation, do you think Sir Lepel Griffin would not have been more cautious before committing himself to a course which, so far as we have yet seen, has provoked not a word of official censure or rebuke? (*Shame, shame!*) If we might put questions, we should put some excessively unpleasant ones. We should ask, for instance, what action the Government of India intended to adopt towards one of their own servants who, in broad day light and, apparently, under theegis of their silence, has cast a slur upon the Government of the Queen, and discredited the service of which he is a member. (*Loud cheers.*)"

Then again later adverting to the necessity for continued agitation and especially in England, he remarked,—

"I do not know of any measure which will more surely or more speedily effect the advancement and enlightenment of this country, than the measure for which I speak. I believe, that the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils on the lines indicated, and the employment of a large number of the natives of the country upon those Councils will tend, not merely towards political progress, but to create and foster and disseminate throughout this enormous Empire an increase of that sense of self-respect without which you can never hope to become a nation worthy of true political advancement. (*Cheers.*) These, surely, are aims worthy of achievement. These surely are objects worthy of some self-sacrifice. (*Cheers.*) You will not win them easily. I do not believe you will get them from the Government of India. You will have to reach the ears and touch the hearts of the great English people, as you have already done, to a limited extent, through the medium of such men as Messrs. Manomohun and Lal Mohun Ghose, Mr. Chandavarkar

* Vide Clause 6 of Resolution IV of the Congress of 1886, printed at the close of this volume.

and Mr. Ramasamy Medalliar. The people at Home know next to nothing about you. They are in absolute ignorance of our form of Government. They do not know your wants. They believe that our system of Government here is ever surely and beneficently carried on, and they believe it is carried on, more or less, upon the lines of their own freer rule. You must disturb that belief. You must continually agitate, both in India, and in England. Words are not enough. You must be up and doing."

And after pressing this point strongly he concluded a speech that was rapturously received, with the words—

"Boldly and constantly re-affirm your great resolution, till you carry it in spite of all (*cheers*), carry it and by your indomitable courage and perseverance break down the barriers of suspicion, of ignorance, of indifference. (*Loud cheers.*) The time is fast coming when you shall enjoy that fuller political franchise which you are fit to enjoy even to-day. (*Loud and continued cheering.*) Its attainment needs, as I have told you, considerable self-sacrifice. You will not be reluctant, you, who have already shown so much self-sacrifice by attending here, some of you from such enormous distances, and all of you also at much personal inconvenience, for you will all recognize that the cause is worth your most devoted services. (*Cheers.*) Accord to it that ungrudging labour and single-mindedness of purpose of which you have not stinted it hitherto. (*Cheers.*) Even if we ourselves do not live to see the great reform carried out in our own time—though I am convinced, the boon is not far distant (*cheers*)—there is not a little, ennobling in the belief, not a little consoling in the reflection that we are working, not merely selfishly for ourselves, but, unselfishly, for the generations of our children yet unborn. (*Loud cheers.*) These, when we are dead, though not forgotten, shall bless us for our labours, (*cheers*) and make grateful and reverent mention of our names who, meeting here to-day, and elsewhere, year after year, with stubborn insistence (*cheers*) devote our lives with ready gladness, and whatever of eloquence and of energy we may possess, to the triumph of a measure, which we believe to be necessary for the national welfare (*cheers*) to be indispensable for the security and progress of ourselves and of our children. (*Loud cheers.*) Let us labour in a spirit of mutual brotherhood and fortitude, for the realization of so grand a dream (*loud cheers*) patient in the trials we may have to endure to-day, because we are secure in our belief that to-morrow will bring us consolation (*cheers*) and strong in the knowledge that, if we are capable of resolute self-sacrifice we, too, may hope to—

"Stretch a hand through time to catch
The far-off interest of tears."

(*Loud and continued cheering.*)

Pandit Bishen Narayan Dar, was the next speaker and from his address also we shall make lengthy excerpts. His speech* strongly contrasted in its calm argumentative tone with the fervid eloquence of the previous orator.

"GENTLEMEN," he said, "there are a great many advantages that we all know must accrue from the introduction of some, or any, real form of representative institutions into this country. I shall simply allude to one which, I believe, to be one of the greatest of all, viz., that such institutions constitute the best practical school for mental and moral discipline. Gentlemen, the very idea that you are citizens of a vast Empire, and that your actions and opinions have a permanent and substantial influence over the welfare of your country is in itself a restraining power of the highest moral value. Gentlemen, to be called upon, from time to time, to take part in the affairs of your country, to discuss, with the sense of responsibility that power gives, public questions, to have to employ your highest faculties in the management of affairs that have a direct bearing on your country's glory and on the happiness of her people, these things, I say, are all steps in the education necessary for the unfolding of all the speculative and practical faculties of a nation."

Without this education, he said, the genius of a people could never be fully developed.

"Such a nation may be temporarily glorified by the effulgence of the fine arts and the lustre of the more effeminate types of poetical genius, but it will lack that instinctive sense of liberty, that robustness of character which are essential to all healthy and, therefore, progressive, national life."

"Gentlemen, what is the strongest objection brought against our demand for Representative Government for this country? It is said that India is divided by petty sectarian differences and that, moreover, she is divided into two great rival nationalities, Hindu and Mahomedan. It is alleged that in a country where there are so many sects and so many creeds and, above all, two such great rival parties, representative institutions are unworkable. Well, gentlemen, this argument has been answered and disposed of, time after time, so that it seems impossible that it can now-a-days be brought forward in earnest by people capable of thinking. Turn it over in our minds as we will, it is impossible to discover in it any of that cogency which people often profess to attach to it. There is one point, and only one point on which there is not a perfect accord, a perfect sense of oneness, between Indian Hindus and Indian Mahomedans, and that is, of course, their religious beliefs. In social customs, in manner and languages, in their habits of thought and, I may say, even in their prejudices and in their inclinations, there is no essential difference between them. Why, the whole past history of India shows how when there was no British Government, Hindus and Mahomedans pulled on together, and how, if they fought, they fought about secular, and not religious matters. It shows that Hindu Generals have led Mahomedan armies more than once, and that Mahomedan swords have been unsheathed on behalf of Hindus."

"But, gentlemen, it has been urged that as the larger portion of the population is Hindu, the introduction of Representative Government in India, will place the Mahomedans at the mercy of the Hindus, as they will form a great majority, and put their own interests before Mahomedan interests and do everything they like. Now, gentlemen, for my part I have never been able to understand what is meant by Mahomedan and Hindu interests. In Europe, there may be Catholic interests and Protestant interests, because there, there is a real connection between the Church and the State, and yet the existence of such interests have not prevented the success of representative institutions. But in India, no such connection exists and the objection seems to me wholly futile. In England, I could understand this objection having some specious appearance of validity. I could, I say, understand this, because there are two powerful parties, the Established Church and the Non-Conformists, both of which might have their antagonistic political interests but even in England, we do not find these supposed antagonistic sectarian interests have, in any way, impaired the success of representative institutions and how can it do so, in India, where, fortunately, there is no connection between Church and State? The Government has wisely taken its stand upon the principle of religious neutrality and, under these circumstances to pretend that there are in matters of politics, Mahomedan interests distinct from Hindu interests is really mockery, delusion, and a snare. (*Hear, hear.*) Sir, I think, that if you look into this question dispassionately, you will find that, so far as India is concerned, Mahomedan interests and Hindu interests have no separate existence whatsoever."

"But, gentlemen, there is yet another thing of which we hear as barring the way to the fruition of our aspirations. It is said that there is such hostility between Hinduism and Mahomedanism as to render it impossible. To this I first reply, that were this really so, it would be the strongest of all reasons why Representative Government should be introduced into this country. Why, gentlemen, supposing the Hindus and Mahomedans were really divided by deep social and religious prejudices, are we to keep them apart and perpetuate that supposed hostility? Would not the question rather be, how to remove these prejudices, how to dissipate that hostility, and how to blend the two communities into one nation? Now, gentlemen, sectarian prejudices are the result of selfishness of the heart and patriotism is the best corrective of selfishness. A representative form of government is best calculated to eradicate all hostile race prejudices, by raising men above the cloud of selfishness into the purer regions of the wider and more enlarged sympathies of national feeling. By the more intimate intercourse it necessitates, by the juster mutual appreciation it engenders and in a thousand other ways, it removes those prejudices and that sectarian bias, which stand in the way of unity between the various communities which are combined in it."

"But I need not pursue this question further, because, though accepting them for the sake of argument, I deny the premises. I say if this terrible antagonism did exist, even then, representative institutions would do more than anything else to remove it. But I deny that it exists. There are low ignorant people of both communities—mostly, what the English papers call 'roughs'—who, at festivals, when intoxicated by religious zeal and, perhaps, something else, will fight, and there may be a Hindu or a Mahomedan leader here and there who, from selfish motives, tries to engender the hatred that does not exist, and speaks of it as if it were really so. But, gentlemen,—and I speak to several hundreds of both communities—is it true, that we Hindus and Mahomedans hate each other in this way (*cries of 'No, no.'*) and is it not a fact that we live as very good friends? (*Cries of 'Yes, yes!'*) We have our ways in minor matters and you don't perhaps much like them, but, we don't want you to follow them, and you have your ways and they are not quite like ours—and we don't dine together or intermarry—neither do we Hindus of different

castes, amongst each other, for that matter—but despite all this, the great mass of us are good friends, rejoicing in each other's good fortune and sympathizing in each other's troubles; and is this a state of affairs that precludes the introduction of Representative institutions?" (*Loud applause.*)

Then the speaker quoted opinions expressed by Lord Lawrence, Mr. Gladstone, and Sir Richard Temple in support of the claim made in the Resolution, and, after a few other remarks, concluded thus:—

"Now, gentlemen, all these things lead me to believe that it is by no means on a hopeless quest that they have embarked who are now, at this time, seeking to secure the expansion of our councils and the introduction of some tentative form of Representative Government in India. Gentlemen, that we all desire this, the unanimous voice of the country here embodied declares, and it is a desire which has been created in us by the English Government itself and which is the greatest glory of that Government. England has moved us from our ancient anchorage. She has cast us adrift, against our will, upon the wide waters of a seething proletariat, and we turn back to England and ask her to grant us that compass of representative institutions by which, amid a thousand storms, she has steered her prosperous course to the safe haven of regulated political freedom. (*Loud applause.*)

"Gentlemen, the desire for greater freedom is not confined simply to the educated classes, but is shared also by the uneducated classes, by the masses who feel it as keenly as we do, but, in whom it has not, (and in this lies the danger) yet found an articulate utterance. Gentlemen, it is in truth a national demand that we are making this day, and it is the duty of every one of us, so far as in him lies, to bring home this fact to the British Government and the British public, and to open their eyes to the true character of the efforts that are being made to blind that Government and that public, to the universality of the desire of which the proposition, now before us, is a temperate expression."

"Two of the most eloquent speakers who preceded me have referred in very just terms to Sir Lepel Griffin, and to another person, a native gentleman of very high repute. One of them has been inciting the Mahrattas against the Bengalees, the other, whatever he may allege, has been, in practice, egging on the Mahomedans to be less friendly with the Hindus. (*Cries of 'shame, shame.'*) And this, gentlemen, is the class of men, and the only class, that denies, what we all so well know, the truly national character of our present demand. Well, things hidden from political sages have sometimes been revealed to the masses of the people, and, believe me, gentlemen, that those are no true statesmen who are blind to the dawning lights of the fires which Western civilization is kindling in our hearts, and who raise their puny arms to arrest the chariot of India's destined development. Gentlemen, the demand we are making is a national demand and strong in the consciousness that we are the honest mouth-pieces of countless millions, too long dumb, I ask you not to take to heart too much, the base insinuations or the idle clamours that may be raised against you and the sacred task you have in hand. These will all pass away, the rising tide (*loud cheers*) is with us; so let us unite together in the performance of this noble task which is practically, the political regeneration of India. Let us aim, not to do good to one community or to two communities, to Hindus or Mahomedans, but to all the communities and all the sects of India. That is undoubtedly the noble ideal, the national ideal that we have set before us, the realization of which will be the political Kingdom of Heaven. The various races, sects and creeds of India will blend together into one imperial whole in which all a free-born British subject's privileges and rights will be obtained and enjoyed; not by one sect or creed, but by all, and thereby the British Government so far from being weakened will be strengthened beyond measure. (*Applause.*) For the link which will then join a happy and united India to England will not be the link of fear, will not be the link of servility, but it will be the link of affection and gratitude which no misfortune can sever, and which no calamity can shatter." (*Applause.*)

At this stage of the proceedings the President, alarmed at the flood of eloquence which this subject (the depth of feeling in regard to which it is difficult to exaggerate) threatened to let loose upon the assembly, appealed to intending speakers, of whose names he held a portentous list in his hand, to limit their addresses to a period of five minutes each.

Then rose Pandit Madan Mohun Malaviya, a very young and enthusiastic labourer in the cause, and from his speech too we feel bound to extract largely; partly because although over-fervid in expression towards its close, it embodies truths

that merit careful consideration; but mainly because it was the only single speech during the whole Congress, to the tone of which even hostile critics could possibly take objection and we consider it only just, therefore, to place it before the reader.

Apologising for venturing to speak after the practised orators who had preceded him, he continued* :—

"Allow me to say this much, that, placed as we are in this country, under a foreign Government, however benevolent and generous its motives—the motives of those who take part in the administration,—we stand in the greatest need of our own representatives in the Legislative Councils. Gentlemen, the whole of Europe, with the exception of Russia, has declared that the most efficient and best form of Government for any country, which has made any advance in any civilization, is a government conducted not solely by the few for the many, but to a greater or less extent by the many for themselves—a government, in fact, in which the representatives of the people have some potential share—and if this be expedient for European countries, where the rulers and the ruled are of the same nationality, and where they are of the same religion, I think, it must be conceded that it is even more essential for India which is inhabited by people whose habits, manners, customs, language, race and creed differ from those of their rulers. If we demand for India that there should be representatives of her people in the State Councils—we only ask for what, not simply Europe, but America, Australia, and almost the whole civilized world, have declared with one unanimous voice to be essential, for any Government that is to be suitable to any country, as it is only where the representatives of the people are allowed to take part in that administration, that the wants and wishes, the aspirations and grievances of the people can be adequately set forth, properly understood, or duly provided for."

"What is it that we see year after year?—People assembling from all parts of India, from the Punjab, Sind, Assam, Madras, Bengal, Bombay, the N.W. Provinces, Oudh, the Central Provinces; from every province, from every town, coming together to implore Government humbly to grant this reform which is after all their birth-right as free-born British subjects. (Loud cheers.) It is no desire or motive of self-ambition that brings these people together at such heavy cost and at such great personal inconvenience. There is no taint of self-interest in the matter. No. Their sole idea is that India, their country, of all things, stands badly in need of this fundamental reform and they hope, and God grant that they may not hope in vain, that their unselfish persistence in asking may secure for their native land this great boon."

"The British Government has already made this concession to so many countries—so many colonies—so many British Colonies enjoy it. Canada, the Cape, the Australian Colonies, innumerable smaller places, even the so-called crown colonies, except perhaps the Fiji Islands and some purely military posts, all enjoy some measure, and most of them the fullest measure of Representative Government. Britain has granted or conceded this concession to all these places. (Applause.) Why should she withhold it from the people of India? (Hear, hear.) Does she think that we are less loyal than her subjects in other lands? (Hear, hear, and applause.) Australia would break with her to-morrow if she ventured to prevent Australia from trading British goods, while we in all good temper accept an odious income-tax, wisely administered, and imposed not to meet the expenses of our own Government, but to provide funds to enable Great Britain to annex Bismarck or German Congo. (Loud and continued applause.) Does she think we are not prepared for the privilege? I think this very Congress is proof positive of our ripeness for the task and of the intelligence and knowledge which would be brought to bear upon the affairs of the nation, if only the Government were kind enough to accede to our wishes. (Applause.) Gentlemen, I am sorry that, looking to the announcement our worthy President has made, I cannot venture to take up much more of your time, but if you will permit it, I will go on for a few minutes more. (Voices 'go on.') I thank you, gentlemen, for this indulgence. This question of the reform of the Legislative Councils is one in regard to which too much can hardly be said. Something was said in speeches in Parliament about the Budget being introduced there at an earlier date, but what effective criticism can we hope for there, if we do not supply the materials by our criticisms when the Budget is introduced here? But how can we, outside, criticise a thing of details, when those details are skilfully veiled from us? It is only when we have our own representatives inside the Government who can get at those essential details, that we shall ever be able to control, or, at any rate, effectively protest against, financial mismanagement."

* Pages 26—27 of Detailed Report.

"The Indian Councils Act was passed when the Government was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown. According to the provisions of that Act, the expenditure of this country should be checked and controlled by the Secretary of State, assisted by a Council. But how has this been carried out? We see that provision was made for the Budget, being presented to Parliament with the object of securing some check. But we also know that no less a personage than Professor Fawcett, of lamented memory, speaking in Brighton, in 1872, was compelled to confess that "the most trumpery question ever brought before Parliament—a wrangling over the purchase of a picture, a road through a Park,—excited more interest, than the welfare of 180,000,000 of our Indian fellow-subjects." (Loud applause.) And as it was then, so it is now. It is not only Professor Fawcett, moreover, who has protested against this monstrous injustice. Year after year some honest independent Politician has raised his voice against a state of things which, if it means our misery, means also England's shame. Even this last session, Mr. Bradlaugh rose to protest "against the practice of bringing this subject (the Indian Budget) forward at so late a period of the Session. Last year the Budget was considered on June 21st and the year before, on August 6th. It was not right to leave to the last moment of the Session—the only opportunity that was afforded to Parliament of considering the wishes and the grievances of the 200,000,000 of people whom we rule. That any Parliamentary control should be exercised over the affairs of India was impossible when the Indian Budget figured upon paper as the 8th order upon one of the last days of an expiring Session." (Applause.) Following him Mr. Reid said: "How could Parliament do anything when these matters were only brought to its cognizance on one of the very last days of a weary session, when only fifteen or sixteen gentlemen had sufficient energy left to watch the proceedings—the debate was almost reduced to a farce—the discussion was begun at about quarter past six o'clock and in four or five hours from that time they would have settled the affairs of 200,000,000 of their fellow-subjects and sanctioned the expenditure of between seventy or eighty millions of money. Surely, it would be better to delegate these duties than to continue doing that which was a mere mockery. Would it not be possible to appoint a Committee to overlook the affairs of India, in order that the people of that country might know that their interests were being cared for adequately by the Imperial Parliament." (Loud applause.)

Then again Sir John Gorst, in connection with this matter, said: "The regret which the Honorable Member expressed with regard to the late period of the session at which the affairs of India had come up for discussion was shared by the Government with those who sat on the opposite side of the House. He believed every one would be glad, if it were possible, to bring the affairs of India under consideration of the House at a time when more members were present and when greater interest would be taken in the matter. Although many promises to introduce Indian Financial Statements earlier in the session had been made, no Government had ever succeeded in fulfilling those promises, and ever since he had a seat in the House, the Indian Budget had been one of the incidents of the Session that had immediately preceded the Prorogation." (Applause.)

"Now, gentlemen, you see that Parliament will not or cannot give that consideration even to our Budget, even to the expenditure of 80 millions of money, yearly wrung, out of the country,—and none know better than you do with what hardships to the people,—that we have a right to expect from them—that common sense and justice demand—and, if this be the case with the Budget, what chance have the rest of our affairs of getting a hearing of any kind? I say none and, therefore, we ask Parliament to allow us to look after our own affairs. We say if you cannot or will not do your duty by us, at least put us in a position to do some portion of our duties to ourselves. We say, we entreat you in all fairness to allow us some control over our Budget, to put us in a position to say something through our representatives about it when it is brought into the Council (applause) to give us some voice here in the management of our domestic affairs. But it would seem as if our entreaties were vain. They will not do their duty by the country themselves and they will not allow us to do it. (Applause.) Can anything be more cruel, or more unjust of the English nation which professes to love freedom and justice and boasts itself the founder of constitutional and free Government? Gentlemen :—After this, I think, nothing need be said by England about justice and freedom, if this concession is not granted to us."

"Gentlemen, I must express my regret that the rapidly passing minutes debar me from speaking on this subject more fully, as I should wish to do, though I know it does not require much further illustration after the speeches you have heard. Allow me now to say in conclusion that we should continue to press this righteous demand on the Government and, if all else fail, simply ask them to act according to their own Christian principles which tell them to do unto others as they would be done by. (Applause.) Would the English nation like to have their affairs treated in this way; would they tolerate it for one instant? Would they even dare to treat us in this way, did they not know that we are the most patient and law-abiding people on the face of the earth? Only

29 members present out of 675, or something like that, when the welfare of 250 million souls is to be discussed and when a sum of seventy or eighty millions is to be disposed of. (Loud applause.) How would they like their own affairs to be treated in that way? Would they, I repeat, stand it for one week? Would they dare thus to deal with only five millions of Irishmen? Gentlemen, I must leave them to reply and that reply, if truthful, must be their own condemnation. No, Gentlemen, let them allow us a gradually increasing liberty to look after and manage our own business and they will find that we shall forget any temporary injustice that their negligence has caused us and always, always, remember per contra all the good they have done us and be grateful to them for all this and not least grateful for that concession we are now urging." (Applause.)

Now fully admitting that there are expressions in this powerful appeal to Great Britain's sense of justice that might well have been toned down, we cannot believe that any impartial Englishman will read it without acknowledging that the present position of affairs is both unsatisfactory, and unjust to India, and that the time has arrived when it is due to both countries, that the administration of this vast Empire should be placed on a broader and sounder basis.

Many other speeches followed, for which we may refer the reader to the detailed Report. One gentleman, Mr. A. K. Dutt* produced a petition in favor of this Resolution, signed by 25,000 persons in a single district, and gave numerous instances to prove how even the lowest classes everywhere, were becoming growingly interested in, and anxious for, this fundamental reform.

Rajah Rampal Singh, in a brief speech † that convulsed the assembly with laughter, exposed the utterly fictitious character of the representation now supposed to be embodied in the existing councils, he said:—

"GENTLEMEN,—I do not rise here to make any set speech, but I think I may touch on certain circumstances which will help to illustrate this question of reform in the Legislative Council. Gentlemen, we, the people of India, are permitted (nominally) to send a certain limited number of our countrymen, who are elected by the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governors, to these existing Councils. It is very kind of them to take this trouble off our shoulders, (laughter), but with their permission we would rather elect them ourselves. Joking apart, the defect which lies in this present system is this: the natives who sit in Council are chosen by the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors whom they look to as their constituents and are not, therefore, likely to bring forward the views of the people, whom they in no way represent, and on whose suffrages they are in no way dependent. Necessarily these men, who are mostly the favourites of Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, think of nothing but pleasing their Patrons; there are noble exceptions, but this is the rule. (Hear, hear.) On one occasion, I was talking to a gentleman, who has the honor of being a Member of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws, but who knew not one syllable of English. (Laughter.) He was one of the Maharajahs of the North-Western Provinces, and a relation of mine too. (Laughter.) I asked the Maharajah. How did you manage to vote and take part in the discussion? (Laughter.) He told me. 'It was difficult for me at first; for I do not understand English, nor was I allowed to take anybody with me to explain what went on to me, (laughter), but as I received it through the favor of the Viceroy, I raise my hand whenever the Viceroy raises his, and I hold down mine when he holds down his hand.' (Loud laughter.)

Mr. Gantz followed on the same lines, he said, ‡ appealing to delegates who were, or had been, members of the so-called Legislative Councils:—

"Let me put to them the simple question, whether it is not true that every public measure of any importance that comes before these Councils is practically framed and shaped and pushed through by Government, so that free and independent criticism is absolutely impossible? Have they, has any independent member, ever any potential voice in determining the outcome of these deliberations? So far as any real practical good comes of their labours, beyond perhaps the softening of some repugnant clause, might they not just as well remain at home? I throw out these as questions and I should like to have definite replies. On what principle are gentlemen

* Page 102 of Detailed Report.

† Page 100 of Detailed Report.

‡ Pages 100, 101 of Detailed Report.

nominated to these Legislative Councils? (Voices 'none, none.') That is the opinion, I see, of some gentlemen from Bengal. If it is the opinion in Bengal, I can assure you it is the opinion in Madras also. But, inasmuch as these institutions are considered to be representative institutions, we have a right to know who and what these men are. Are they to be the men who, in the eloquent and significant language of Rajah Rampal Singh hold up their hands when the Viceroy holds up his, and keep theirs down when he keeps his down?" (Laughter.)

And he went on to show that in the absence of real representatives of the country in these councils, the local European officials were so strong as to render null and void, in many places, even that small measure of Local Self-Government, which Lord Ripon endeavoured to confer on the country.

"I may say" he went on "that I have had some experience of the working of self-Government in the Mofussil, and I tell you that Self-Government as it exists in this Presidency is simply nothing more than a sham and a delusion. (Applause.) I can tell you that we cannot even raise the pay of an ordinary daffadar, by one Rupee, without sanction. (Applause.) The Municipalities are called upon to spend large sums of money, year after year, in the maintenance and the support of educational, medical, and charitable institutions, and in regard to these also, we have no real control, but have simply to find the money; we are overridden by some dominant official who takes us under his paternal wing. In one particular station, there was the greatest dissension and the greatest dissatisfaction in regard to the working of one particular branch of that particular Municipality. His Excellency the Governor was expected to visit the place, on his tour, and some of the members thought they would ventilate their grievances in an address. An address was duly prepared by the Official Chairman which was to be merely an address of welcome to H. E. the Governor. The dissentient members, who wanted to ventilate their grievances thereupon resolved to wait upon His Excellency by deputation with another address. A meeting was called, at which this second address was to be framed, and I may tell you this, that in one of those mysterious ways, familiar to most of us, the wires were pulled, and there was no quorum. His Excellency came, received the Chairman's address of welcome, and in his reply said: 'I am happy to find, gentlemen, that you have no wants, and no grievances.' (Laughter and applause.) That is an instance of the kind of Self-Government, that we enjoy in the Madras Mofussil."

Of course, with the councils reconstituted on a representative basis, cases like this, and they are of daily occurrence, would cease to be possible, and officials would cease to be able to defeat, in the interests of their own autocratic authority, the plain intentions of the Legislature, and of the Governments both of India and of England.

Ultimately, as evening closed in, the entire assembly, to one man, being absolutely unanimous on the necessity for this great reform, the President suggested that the Resolution should be put and this being done, it was carried unanimously with loud acclamations, and the Congress adjourned.

We have dwelt, it may be thought, at excessive length on this debate, because this question of enlarging greatly the various councils and reconstituting them on a partially representative basis, is really the question of the day in India. Tens of millions of men, who, as yet know little or nothing of the Congress, and cannot be said as yet to have supported it in any way, fully understand and are acquiring a lively interest in this matter of representation, which is one entirely in consonance with their traditions. As one of the speakers* remarked:—

"The principle of representation underlies Hindu society in all its various forms and phases. A Hindu, from his childhood understands what representation is, nay, you will also find the principle of representation underlying the Hindu religious system."

It is no exotic plant: its original habitat is the village communities of India, and the nations of the West merely enjoy cultivated varieties of a stock which has travelled to them from the East. It is indispensable, we think, that all

* Babu Mohan Sadan Das, page 103 of Detailed Report.

should fully realize not only the justice of, but the enormous weight of public opinion which gives stability to this one demand, at any rate, of the National Congress.

The first Resolution, brought before the Congress when it re-assembled, about midday, on the 29th, was one re-affirming the necessity, strongly urged in 1886, for the complete separation of Judicial and Executive functions.

Of secondary questions there is probably none in which the educated classes throughout India feel a stronger interest than in this, because, every day of their lives, instances of injustice, to their poorer and more ignorant countrymen, resulting from the combination of these functions, come to their notice. Mr. N. Subramaniam, a Native Christian barrister, in proposing* the Resolution said, that, as is undeniable, neither work was as well done as it would be by specialists in each branch, and he pointed out that, moreover, from the nature of the case it was impossible for any one human being to do his duty properly in both capacities. He said:—

"The Magistrate must necessarily, if he is to be a just magistrate, shut his ears completely to everything said outside of his court and yet, how can the same individual, who is a magistrate, shut his ears to everything he hears as an executive officer? As an executive officer, the Magistrate is bound to receive all sorts of information and a great deal of information is sent to him by demi-official letters—I do not know whether you have any such document in other Provinces, (voices, 'yes, yes')—and his mind is prejudiced, or let me say, necessarily influenced by the reports sent to him by the Police officers. But he is to set aside all this information, all the bias, nay, all the conviction that is thus necessarily engendered, when he enters his court, where, he must not be biased as a magistrate one way or the other, in regard to the criminal, and he must know nothing of him or of the case but what comes up in evidence before him. Surely, this is impossible! Again the executive officer, to be successful, has to be in constant touch with the people. He has to know all the vagaries of the various men within his district, all the bad qualities of the men, and yet, that is the very thing which would unfit him for the just performance of his duties as a magistrate. It is impossible for a man who is an executive officer, to avoid forming his opinion for good or evil in regard to a person that he has to judge, in regard to a witness or criminal or complainant, it is impossible, I say, for him to avoid forming his opinion partly on knowledge acquired out of court and, therefore, impossible for him to deal with them impartially (hear, hear, and applause) on the evidence before him and on that evidence alone, as a magistrate is bound to do. (Hear, hear.)

Then he dwelt upon the practical drawbacks of the existing system; how, as a matter of fact, it is the good executive officers, and not the conscientious Magistrates who get promotion and how, consequently, there is a strong temptation to men to devote all their energies to executive work and scamp their judicial work; also how great the hardships are to which the system exposes accused persons and he added that, although it was well known, that the necessary re-arrangements could be effected without extra expenditure, he, and he believed every other man in the country, who understood the question, would gladly "pay an additional pie in the rupee, rather than allow my poorer fellow-countrymen, to continue exposed, to this constantly recurring failure of Justice." Babu Kalicharan Bannerjee, a Pleader, but better known as an earnest and eloquent, social and religious reformer, supported the Resolution. In the course of his speech* he remarked:—

"You will understand what the combination of these functions implies. It implies in the first place, the combination of the Prosecutor and the Judge in the same person. (Applause.) It is

* Page 105 of Detailed Report.
† Page 105 of Detailed Report.

not necessary to be initiated into the mystery of law to understand that justice is in jeopardy if the prosecutor happens to be also the judge. If you have a case, in which there is a private complainant, there the prosecuting and persecuting energies of the private complainant are brought to bear upon you. Then you have, in addition, the Police machinery, with all its prosecuting and persecuting energies, brought to bear upon you, and if, in addition to these two-fold prosecuting energies, you have brought to bear upon you all the prosecuting energies of a magistrate, why, the poor defendant finds himself simply in a hopeless condition. (Applause.) We cannot avoid private complaints being, at any rate, preferred. We do not contemplate, here at any rate, any interference with the Police machinery. All that we pray for, is, that the strong arm of the magistrate should not be, by anticipation, lent either to the private complainant or to the police machinery set on foot by him. (Applause.)

"Then, again, as you have already been told, the combination of these two functions sets aside all the safeguards, which the rules of evidence have provided for the due administration of justice. There is the magistrate, listening attentively to the police papers, read out to him by the Police officer early in the morning. The Police officer is in personal communication with the magistrate and instils into his mind his own ideas, in respect to the case he has been kind enough to take into his own hands. And the magistrate listens to all sorts of things, and not only is much of the so-called evidence which is, at such times, laid before a magistrate no evidence at all, but he, as it were, has his judgment sketched out for him, beforehand by the policeman. He listens to all this and then, if it so happens, as it often does, that he places the case on his own file, when he sits to try it the conditions are all reversed, for the judicial function has been exercised by the policeman, while the magistrate has been closeted with him, and when he comes into court, he is merely the executive who carries out that secret judicial decision. (Applause.) The judge has become the executive, while the executive has become the judge." (Loud applause.)

Other speakers followed and the Resolution was unanimously adopted. No sane man can doubt that, as Mr. Ambica Charan Mozumdar remarked,* this is:—

"One of the cardinal questions upon which the fair fame of the British administration of this country, not less than the happiness and contentment of the many millions of people who obey its sway, materially depend."

As Babu Kalicharan Bannerjee said towards the commencement of his speech:

"Gentlemen, this is another Resolution which we, as a Congress, find ourselves in a position to re-affirm to-day. In one sense, it is re-assuring, that the experience of a year, enables us to re-affirm the position we took up last year. (Hear, hear, and applause.) In another sense, it is discouraging to realise, that there should still be occasion so to re-affirm it." (Loud and continued applause.)

This is the real point: the whole thinking portion of the community is lost in astonishment at the inaction of Government in a matter at once so simple, and involving so grave a scandal. Instances of executive officers abusing their magisterial powers, in furtherance of objects that they have in view in their executive capacities, are, in some provinces, so frequent as hardly to attract sufficient notice. Certainly the Government does not approve such improprieties as, especially of recent years, it has publicly marked its displeasure of some of them, that have, by special efforts, been pressed upon their notice, but why do they allow a system to continue under which such abuses of power are possible? A considerable section of the community undoubtedly adopt the view embodied in the following passage from Mr. B. Narasimhaswara Sarma's speech†:—

"Our critics say: 'Well, if you separate the two functions, how are you to collect the revenue? How is the Collector to get the money out of the people, if they do not fear him, knowing what he can do to them in his magisterial capacity?' We reply, that the present system defeats its own purposes—it does not strengthen authority, injustice never does, it only weakens it."

* Page 113 of Detailed Report.
† Page 114 of Detailed Report.

But the majority absolutely refuse to believe that Government deliberately winks at getting its work done by unlawful means. Why then does it persist in refusing a reform, which every man in the country knows to be urgently required? "It cannot," they say "be a matter of expense; in every one of the large Provinces, the Associations have worked out detailed schemes, proving that no extra expenditure is needed, though in some the substitution, in a few highly-paid appointments, of uncovenanted men on salaries of from one-half to two-thirds of what the existing covenanted* incumbents draw, may be needed. Besides, you are not usually so careful of our money; you have absolutely needlessly† increased military expenditure by two millions a year, besides wasting, none of us know, how many tens of millions on forts, fortifications, strategic railways and the like; so, if even you believe that this reform will cost money, it can hardly be that which deters you. But if it be this, the whole country has declared, that it will cheerfully pay any thing that is necessary on this account. So, why do you not move?"

There is no doubt that the inaction of Government in the case of this reform, which it has, itself, repeatedly declared to be desirable, is producing an unsatisfactory feeling amongst those classes capable of understanding the question, but, of course, this is not one that the masses, who chiefly suffer by it, have yet come, as a rule, to realize in the abstract. They feel that they do not get justice and grumble, but they do not yet clearly perceive how, and why, this is so.

Next came a Resolution, urging the establishment of Military Colleges in India, whereat the sons of Indian noblemen and gentlemen might be trained — officers of the Indian Army.

"If it be England's divine mission," said ‡ Babu Norendronath Sen, in proposing the Resolution —

"that she should raise us as a nation in every respect, she should offer every facility for our admission into the higher ranks, not only of the civil, but equally of the military services, in order that we may be equally qualified for Self-Government in times of peace and self-defence in times of war. (Applause.) Our lessons in the art of Self-Government will be incomplete, if we are not trained in the art of self-defence. (Applause.) If England means to confer upon us the highest benefits in the present advanced stage of Indian progress—in the present turning-point in the national life,—both for the sake of herself and for the sake of India, she cannot consistently with her duty, withhold, any longer, opening out a military career, to the higher classes, at least, of our countrymen, as officers of the Indian army. (Applause.) We claim nothing which is immoderate or

* Covenanted Civilians, as a rule, do not shine, as Judges. If 2/3rds of the existing covenanted Civilian Judges on £2,500 a year were replaced by barristers and Sub-Judges on £1,500 a year, the country would gain in every way, and High Courts would not be so often, as they now are, at their wits' ends, as to how to deal with the vagaries and incompetence of District Judges. At this very moment three such cases are in the papers. In one of these a Judge after deciding the case without hearing any evidence on the one point on which the matter turned, passed a decree that it was impossible to execute, of which Mr. Justice Straight (concurring in by Mr. Justice Tyrrell) pathetically remarked: "The decree of the Judge, therefore, is a most difficult one to deal with, and what our decision with regard to it hereafter may be I am at this moment unable to say, and find very great difficulty in imagining."

† It is necessary to understand that Native Opinion throughout India is as nearly as possible unanimous as to the needlessness of this expenditure. No one doubts (or very few do) the good faith of Government: no one doubts (though many doubt) the danger of Russian aggression: what all contend is, that a far smaller sum (expended on creating and rendering efficient powerful bodies of native militia and volunteers throughout Sind, the Punjab, Rajputana and the N.W. Provinces and Oudh), would have strengthened the Empire far more than anything that has been done and would, once for all, have won all hearts. No one believes that Russia will ever be able to get more than 50,000 regular troops across the Frontier; the danger, they think, lies in her bringing with her hundreds of thousands of Afghans, Turks, and what not, bribed by the hope of plundering all the, to their idea, rich cities of India. To meet the regular troops, the existing British army sufficed, while the native militia and volunteers would have promptly exterminated the robber vermin. Of course, from an English point of view arises the question "Quis Custodiet ipsos custodes?" can we trust that militia? The country says "you can,"—we are not only just as interested as you are in keeping out these milians, but a great deal more so, and we can't turn against you because we know well that we can't do without you, and, really we like you, and if you would only be a little more reasonable in some matters, it could do no harm to love you."—This is the crucial point—trust or no trust—and it was fully discussed when the modification of the Arms' Act and the subject of native volunteering came up later before the Congress.

‡ Page 115 of Detailed Report.

unreasonable. If the sons of foreign noblemen, such as the Duc D'Orleans, can be admitted as officers of the British army, and as it was announced, that he was to be admitted, I do not see, why the scions of great houses of this country, eminent for their loyal services to the crown, and young gentlemen of good birth, good education, and high culture, should not be educated and trained as officers of the Indian army." (Applause.)

"The loyalty and devotion, the bravery and heroism I may say, of native soldiers are too well-known and have been too often recognised by Government to need any particular mention from me. (Hear, hear.) The native soldiery is the ultimate bulwark, the main body of the support of the empire. (Hear, hear.) The fine steel edge may be our gallant European troops, but the body of the sword is our native soldiery."

"Well, then, gentlemen, if such be our experience—if such be our general experience of the native army of the past—I fail to perceive why the Government should hesitate, in the least, to open military colleges, as we propose, for the education of the sons of Indian noblemen and gentlemen. They cannot certainly, as the result of higher education, nobler antecedents, loftier position or closer ties to Government, prove less devoted and less loyal, less faithful or less courageous in the discharge of their duties, when admitted into the commissioned ranks of the Indian army, than their humbler and more ignorant countrymen have proved as mere soldiers and non-commissioned officers. (Hear, hear.) If the present native troops, soldiers, havildars, jemadars, subadars of the Indian army are admitted to be bound by the strongest ties to Government—if, I contend, they have proved so faithful, brave and useful to Government, and the country, as they have in many a hard-fought field—how much more may we not expect from the better born of these and from the scions of the higher classes, still, who will not enter the army on the present footing, if they are admitted to the commissioned ranks of the army? (Hear, hear, and applause.) The inclusion in the army of those who necessarily keep aloof, at present, will only serve to identify their interests more closely with the interests of the British Government and lay deeper the foundations of the empire. (Applause.) As an addition to the physical defences of the empire, if for no other reason, I say that it should be the policy of Government to start military colleges for the education of the young noblemen and gentlemen of this country. (Applause.) But the indirect addition to, what I may call, the moral bulwarks of British rule will prove even more important. Gentlemen, we have had our losses and gains under the British Government—our gains have been many,—but, one of our chief losses has been our exclusion from the higher ranks of the army, (hear, hear) and that, in my opinion, has led to a rapid deterioration in the character of the natural leaders of the people, and so, indirectly, through their example in our national character. (Hear, hear.) The privilege we ask for, is one which has not been denied to India by any previous dynasty. It is not even now denied to the many subject races in Central Asia, by the less civilized Russians, (applause) and I will not believe, that it will long be denied to us by our British rulers and friends. (Cheers.)

A prolonged discussion took place in regard to this Resolution, and amendments were brought forward and strongly supported. It was not that the principle of the Resolution was questioned—all were agreed as to this—but, because, in the first place, as originally worded, it only proposed the training of sons of noblemen and gentlemen, and, in the second place, because a small section of the Congress desired to append to the Resolution, a recommendation to Government to devote the large sums of money, recently offered by certain Native Princes for the defence of the country, to the purposes of the proposed colleges. As regards this latter proposition, after some speaking, the President remarked: *

"I may say it does seem extraordinary for the delegates here to pray that any funds that had been offered by one party to another party for one purpose should be disposed of in a different manner according to the desire of a third party! If A gives some money to B for an express object, it is surely no business of C's to say that that money should be diverted to some other object, or even to any particular purpose. (Laughter.) I have already appealed to the proposer of this amendment, but he does not see the absurdity into which we shall be led. He wishes to press his proposition and, therefore, I shall allow the discussion to proceed. But I desire that it should be distinctly understood that what is really asked for is this, namely, that the money that has been

* Page 119 of Detailed Report.

offered by Native States to the British Government, for certain purposes, according to arrangements between the two parties of which we know nothing, and which, so far as we know, has not yet been accepted, should be devoted by Government, on our advice, to the purposes of these military colleges." (Laughter.)

This view, however, was not allowed to pass altogether unchallenged. Some at least of the delegates declined to be considered third parties.

"With regard to the remarks made by the learned President," said one gentleman,* "I have to say that we are not third parties. A certain amount of money has been placed by a certain party in the hands of the British Indian Government. We are loyal subjects of the British Indian Government and, being loyal subjects, we are identified with Government. I really think it is exceedingly to be regretted that any distinction should be made between Government and the subjects of Government. I think we, the representatives of the nation, can very properly advise and suggest how any sum of money which becomes part of the national funds should be expended by Government—the Government of the nation. The first part of the Resolution requires that Government should establish new institutions, and, therefore, if it is proper for us to suggest the establishment of the institutions, it is equally proper for us, as subjects, to go on and advise Government how the requisite funds may be provided and pray them to expend certain moneys that they have received, on our account, in a certain, viz, in this particular, way. I think, therefore, that, as a matter of principle, the second part of the amendment should remain. I really believe it would be mischievous to make any distinction between Government and the subjects of Her Majesty. They are one and the same. They have every right to advise Government to take any action as to the expenditure of any money or anything of that sort. I should be very sorry to know that the delegates of the people of India are to have no voice and no right to suggest anything they please as regards the expenditure of money in the hands of Government." (Applause and a voice of "but it is not in the hands of Government yet, and you ought not to count your chickens before they are hatched,"—laughter.)

All the same the proposal was generally opposed. Babu Bipin Chandra Pal, said †:—

"It is a question of principle, whether the money that has been offered to the Government of India for the defence of the Indian Empire by certain native princes should be accepted or not. Speaking on behalf of those whom I represent, I can assure you, gentlemen, that the native press hardly any exception has asked Government not to accept this money. I condemn the policy involved in the acceptance of such offerings, (hear, hear,) and, I think, the Congress would be going entirely out of its way, if we took up this question, and on a side-issue, affirmed that policy. We ought, by no means, to affirm it."—

And Munshi Devi Prasad remarked ‡:

"It has been suggested that the money which has been placed at the disposal of Government by certain Native princes should be spent in the construction of colleges for military education. Well, the first thing to be considered is this. This money has been given for purposes of defence. It is not known when the money will be required. We, however, are to ask that the money may be expended at once on these colleges. But even considering that the construction of these colleges can be held to be a step in the defence of the empire coming within the scope of the donor's instructions, which I doubt, complications on our frontier may become serious to-morrow, and we shall then not have our colleges, nor our trained men to fight for us, nor shall we have our money for practical purposes of defence. It will take years to construct the colleges and to turn out officers, but, in the meantime, the money may be required at any moment for the defence of the empire. (Applause.) I therefore propose that this last part of the amendment be expunged. (Applause.)"

This portion of the amendment was then withdrawn, but the general sense of the assembly was, that the original wording was too restricted. Mr. Norton objected§ to the combination of the words "noblemen and gentlemen" as

* Page 119 of Detailed Proceedings.

† Page 119 of Detailed Report.

‡ Page 120 of Detailed Report.

§ Page 122 of Detailed Report.

he did "not see why a nobleman might not also be a gentleman!" Mr. Ganguli insisted that,*

"The interests this Congress is intended to promote are not the interests of any special class of Her Majesty's subjects, but of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects."

and, therefore, protested against any reference to any special class. Moreover, it was pointed out that Eurasians, Anglo-Indians, and Domiciled Europeans might be excluded, whereas their inclusion was a *sine quâ non*.

Again it was contended that the Resolution did not sufficiently prominently set forward the fact, that, under the Queen's Proclamation, natives of India had a right to admission to the higher offices in the Military, as well as in the Civil branches of the service. Ultimately, after a very long and animated discussion, the following Resolution was agreed to:—

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

The Volunteer question, on which so strong a feeling exists throughout the country, next came before the Congress. The Resolution proposed, was couched in the same guarded language adopted in 1886, and ran as follows:—

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

The Resolution was proposed by Mr. Sankara Nair, about as fine a specimen of one of India's fighting races as could be met with. This gentleman, himself a High Court Vakil, was one of four Indian gentlemen of the City of Madras who, at the time of the last Russian scare, endeavoured to enter the Madras Artillery Volunteers. They were received with open arms by the volunteers themselves, and duly admitted, but, by a piece of that lamentable want of perception that characterized Sir Grant Duff's entire administration, were by his orders, removed from the corps. The whole case was explained by Mr. Adam,‡ one of the subalterns of the corps, and a delegate.

* Page 121 of Detailed Report.

† As one of the speakers remarked, page 122 of Detailed Report,

"All Hindus, all Mahomedans, all Parsees, all Eurasians, all East Indians, and all domiciled Europeans and all persons born in India of domiciled parents are in the eye of the law, "natives of India," and are defined to be so by statute."

‡ Mr. Adam said, "some time ago, about the time of the Russian scare, my friends, Mr. Sankara Nair, who proposed this motion, and Mr. Salem Ramaswami Mudaliar, one of the delegates to England, and two or three other native gentlemen, applied to be admitted into our volunteer corps and they were accepted at once. (Applause.) There was no difficulty at all, as to their being accepted, we were all most happy to welcome them. But, unfortunately, and through a misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the order of the Government of India—a misinterpretation on the part of the Government of Madras, or the military authorities here—these gentlemen, although we desired it, were not allowed, at that time, to be admitted into the corps. Subsequently, and in fact, quite recently, it was discovered that a mistake had been made and that the interpretation which the Government of Madras had put upon this order of the Government of India was not applicable to the Madras Presidency, but was applicable only to Burma, which, at the time this order of the Government of India was issued, was considered a portion of the Madras military command; but the military authorities here and the Government, extended the limitation—which should have been applicable only to Burma—to the whole of the Madras Presidency. The mistake was afterwards discovered, when the original Government order was re-published a little time ago. But subsequent to that, a short time ago, three of these gentlemen applied to be re-admitted into the corps under the conditions which were laid

There was, therefore, a peculiar propriety in Mr. Sankara Nair proposing the Resolution, and we may quote at some length from his temperate and sensible speech.*

"There is this difference between this Resolution and the previous ones which have been carried. In this case we have, if we are correctly informed, an expression of opinion by the Viceroy of India which is not very favourable to our views. The Viceroy has expressed his sympathy with our aspirations for a reform and expansion of our legislative Councils and also, to a certain extent, in regard to the separation of judicial from revenue functions. But in this case, I regret to say, that it is understood that the Viceroy has stated that it is impossible to meet our views, and, therefore, the task of moving this Resolution to one who entertains the highest respect for Lord Dufferin, both as our gracious Empress's representative and as a statesman of European reputation, is by no means an easy or pleasant one. But, gentlemen, though the Viceroy, in the discharge of his duty, as he views it, may have been compelled, peremptorily to negative our former prayer, this is no real reason why we, of the country who know more of its real needs and condition than any Viceroy can know, why we the representatives of the thinking classes throughout the empire, should not also do what we believe to be our duty, and persistently urge a prayer, the granting of which will, we know, conduce, in such a high degree, not only to our own safety, but to the stability, and glory of the throne of that great Empress whose servant he is and whose loyal and loving subjects we are." (Loud cheers.)

"It is impossible to doubt, that sooner or later, we are sure to have a radical reform in the constitution of the legislative councils, but neither that blessing nor the separation of the judicial and executive functions, nor any other blessing that we enjoy under the British Government, can compensate us for the state of helplessness into which, as the result of the policy pursued by the British Government in this matter, we are rapidly drifting. Not only has it made us helpless, it has had also the effect of lowering and degrading the character of our countrymen. But this has already been pointed out by Baboo Narendranath Sen, and was dwelt upon so eloquently and fully by Rajah Rampal Singh last year, that I shall not take up your time, by going over the same ground again, but I shall pass on at once to the next, though kindred, ground, which I have to adduce, in support of this Resolution. Every mail that comes from England brings alarming news of the state of affairs in Europe, a state of affairs that can mean nothing but that war between mutually jealous neighbours, in which England must be involved, is sure to be proclaimed at some not distant date. Now, gentlemen, what is our state or position under these circumstances? Our ancient civilization—is that to be broken into, and destroyed by Northern invaders? Of course, we have this much freedom, that we have full liberty to offer our prayers for the success of the British Government. But prayers, I fear, are not likely to be of much use to us or to them. Is the peace and tranquillity, I say, which we now enjoy to be ravished from us, without our voices being heard, our arms being raised in the settlement of the dispute? It appears to me absurd to entertain such an idea. It appears to me intolerable, the more especially as even the English themselves cannot assert what the result of the struggle here is likely to be, if India continues debarred from helping herself and them. It is impossible to foresee what will happen, if this policy of Government, of refusing our co-operation is persisted in. It appears to be absolutely suicidal and we only hope, equally for our own and their sakes, that the English may not some day regret that she has refused, while there was yet time, and we could have been trained into serviceable allies, those prayers which we have so repeatedly put up in regard to this matter. (Hear, hear, and applause.) The Russians have armed their foes of yesterday to fight on their own behalf to-day and the result shows that they have been justified in their action. (Applause.) Have we been less loyal to the British than the Turkomans to the Russians, whom they fought with only yesterday? (Applause.) They lie who say that our loyalty cannot be depended upon in the hour of danger. (Applause.) It is in

down in that order. Immediately on their application, steps were taken to give effect to their wishes, but it was necessary, under the Government order, that the consent and approval of all the existing members of the corps should be obtained, to the admission of these gentlemen as fellow-comrades with them in the corps. This consent is in process of being, and I believe has been practically and unanimously, given. (Applause.) Speaking for myself, I may say that, in that portion of the corps specially under my charge and which I had to consult upon the matter, both officers and men, were perfectly unanimous in agreeing most cordially to welcome them, and I believe the same is the case in various other detachments of the corps. I may also say that all the officers are perfectly unanimous in agreeing to receive these gentlemen into the corps." (Applause.) Naturally, however, an order which requires every single member of corps' assent—of a corps scattered over half a presidency—to the admission of a pure-blooded Hindu or Mahomedan gentleman as a volunteer, while every other race, full-blood and half-blood that finds its way to India is admitted, as a matter of course, is not calculated to soothe the feelings of these excepted communities.

* Page 123 of Detailed Report.

the highest degree probable, that the fighting races of India will be required to have a voice in the settlement of that dispute, if it is to end favourably for our empire, and, therefore, it is absolutely necessary now, while there may be yet time, to train and educate them, so that they may be able to bear their share, the lion's share, in the defence of that portion of the empire which is their home and mother-land. (Applause.) I should have thought that no objection could reasonably be urged against this proposition, as worded both last year and this, but the Viceroy has expressed himself, it is said, unable, on account of race feelings that are alleged to exist between the various races in India, to grant our prayer to be enrolled as volunteers. He expressed that opinion, it appears, to some delegates from Madras, after this Resolution was passed last year. It appears to me that if he did so, and my friend here assures me he did, he did so without carefully reading over the Resolution. I understood from a speaker yesterday, that a journalist may review magazines without reading them and that hostile critics often criticise without knowing what they are criticising. But a man in the Viceroy's position, I take it, would surely have read over the Resolution properly, before he delivered himself of such an opinion. Now, gentlemen, under our proposals, it is in the Viceroy's power to make rules, such that only those gentlemen, whom he may consider unquestionably loyal, who he is convinced may be entirely relied upon, should be admitted as volunteers, as soldiers who, in the hour of danger would stand beside the British."

"It is to me inconceivable that a representation thus carefully guarded, should be summarily rejected by any reasonable man. Race feelings indeed! The assertion cannot be challenged by anybody who at all understands the country, that in a corps of volunteers composed of men drawn from the Mahomedans and Hindu communities, indifferently, we shall have the best, the only possible effective safeguard against any collision between the lower classes of these races. In my own district, for instance, a part of the district has been disarmed on account of what was called the Moplah outbreak, and it is the opinion of many of us, both Hindus and Mahomedans, that a corps of volunteers, in which both of these races were represented, would be the best safeguard against the occurrence of any further outbreaks of fanaticism."

There was absolutely no dissentient voice in this discussion, the whole assembly, as one man, supported the Resolution. Malik Bhugwan Das, from Dera Ismail Khan, said* :—

"Now, I will bring certain facts to your notice, which should lead every honest thinker to hope that this Resolution will be accepted by the Government. Just about the year 1849, Dewan Malraj, the Governor of Mooltan rebelled against the Sikh Government, which was practically the British Government, as the entire administration was guided by British officers, and the Gondapurs and afterwards the Pathans, who were well trained in the use of the arms, were collected in hundreds and thousands, to help the British officer Mr. Edwardes, Resident in the Derajat frontier, in those days. There was no railway in those days and it was a most critical time. It would have been in the utmost degree difficult, if not, as I believe, absolutely impossible, for the British officers, to have put down that rebellion but for the help of the arms-trained Pathans of the country. Again, you well know, gentlemen, that it was a very critical time for our Government during the Mutiny of the year 1857. The British empire was in a most dangerous position, and it really was, for a time, a mere toss-up, (let British historians disguise it as they please,) whether India would not be lost to it for ever. But, fortunately, the Punjab, especially the frontier part of that province, had been recently conquered and there were, at that time, a great number of persons, in the frontier districts, especially, who had been trained in the use of the arms and had known what a soldier's life was, and liked it.

Col. Nicholson, who was then deputy commissioner of the Bannu district, (to whom the capture of Delhi was admittedly in a great measure due) collected thousands of such trained warriors and of the frontier Pathan tribes, and with these joined the attack on Delhi and the success attained, if the truth be told, was in a great measure due to these Pathans. I need not give you more examples, my brethren, as these two will suffice to inculcate the lesson that, in times of the extremest danger, it is on the natives trained to arms, that the British Government and we, its loyal subjects, must, as a last resort, rely. Now, the past policy, for the last 30 years of our Government, has been such as to kill out everywhere, a knowledge of the use of arms and a willingness to accept the dangers and privations of a soldier's life. Even for the native army, recruits, untrained recruits, that take a couple of years to turn into anything like soldiers, are scarcely to be procured, and if, at this moment any crisis were to arise, the Government could not rely upon the assistance, in the field, of one hundredth of the men it could have commanded 30 years ago. I mean,

* Page 127 of Detailed Report.

of course, in my part of India. Now this, to me, seems a grievous misfortune and it is to remedy this state of affairs and ensure Government having at its call, in any crisis hundreds of thousands of partially trained soldiers, that I so strongly advocate, as I do the volunteer movement. God forbid that the Russians, bribing the Afghans, should, with them, make a joint descent on the rich plains of India, but if they were to do so and the Government perseveres in its present policy of converting its bravest and most soldierly races into helpless pen-and-word men, the results would be the loss of India to the British and of all the blessings that we owe to them, of all we most prize and cherish, to us. (Applause.) Therefore, brethren, we have a right, the best of all rights, to claim, again and again from Government, that our young men shall be trained to arms, and made fit to defend us and our homes, our liberties and our lands. (Loud cheers.) The Government cannot be blind, they must see the contingencies lying before them and us, as we frontier men see them and, if so, it is cruel, it is unjust for them, to refuse us what we ask for in this Resolution, (cheers) nay, it is a folly, a crime, for we ask it, as much in their interests, as much in the interests of our empire and our Empress, as in those of our country, our families, and ourselves. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, I support this Resolution and so does every man, on our frontier, and so does every well-wisher of the British Government throughout the empire." (Continued applause.)

The debate was closed by a most powerful speech by Mr. Ali Mahomed Bhimjee, a Mill-owner from Mhow which was received with a continuous and deafening applause, that showed only too clearly that the speaker's words were embodying the thoughts of all his hearers' hearts. The subject is becoming one of primary importance, and we need, therefore, scarcely apologise for reproducing the whole of this really remarkable speech, lengthy as it is.

He said *

"I appear before you to support a Resolution that has been proposed, as regards our admission into volunteer corps. Government ask us why we should be admitted into volunteer corps, and why we want to be admitted. I answer "For the simple reason that this is our home and we want to defend our hearths and homes." (Applause.) It is their hearths and homes that Englishmen want to defend and it is the same that we want to defend here, in our own country. (Applause.) You have heard some speakers refer to Lord Canning's order, that natives of India may be admitted into volunteer corps, if the members of the corps, consent to their admission. I say "Why make that restriction? If you are honest, grant us the privilege. Why make the restriction? If you wish us to be admitted, then, why leave it to the members of any Corps to decide whether they choose to admit us or not? Answer that question." (Applause.) I say, it is the authorities, and not the members of any corps (Applause) who are competent to judge whether we are entitled or not, to defend our hearths and homes. (Applause.) Our Government is perfectly mistaken. You will excuse my warmth, I am carried away, but I will cool down. (Laughter and applause.) I say that our Government is making a terrible mistake. Some fifty or sixty years ago, by a lavish expenditure of money, they were able to raise as many German and other mercenaries as they desired, but they will never be able to do so, in these days, and if they fancy that they will be able to do so, they commit a great blunder which they will some day bitterly repent. Mercenaries are a class of people who are not to be had now. You all know that the different continental nations have not only their standing armies, but every male in their populations, between eighteen and forty-five or even fifty years of age, registered as soldiers in one class of reserve or other, which they had not about the time of Waterloo. Not one mercenary soldier can England now draw from any continental nation. Russia has some five millions, Germany four, Austria has got two or three millions, France three or four million soldiers of the line and reserves and so on. Had they anything of all this when Waterloo was fought? Even in the Crimean war? (Voices of 'no, no,') They had not and, consequently, our English Government in virtue of their long purse—by their unbounded and unlimited expenditure of money—were able to procure mercenaries to help them to fight their battles. Where will they procure mercenaries now, when the odds against England are three-fold what they were? (Hear, hear.) Supposing Russia does invade India and we all know that from the time of Peter the Great, Russia's aim has been—India! India! India! It is not barren Central Asia, she has been aiming at. She has been sending large armies into Central Asia and wasting untold millions there, but she has been aiming at India. She wants an outlet for commerce and she must have it either here or on the Golden Horn, at the expense of the Turkish or the British Empire, and all

* Page 129 of Detailed Report.

those who have studied this question know this very well. Now Austria, Germany and Italy bar the way to Constantinople and it is much to be feared, that it will be at our expense that the outlet of Russian commerce will be found.

Gentlemen, if Russia realizes this desire to pounce upon India, she will first create serious complications in Europe and when our English rulers' energies are perfectly absorbed in meeting the dangers that beset them there, when they have, as in the Crimean war, denuded India of European troops and probably, as has been her practice, even in petty wars in late years, of a strong contingent of her best native troops, then, I ask, how many men will England be able to throw into the field here, to meet the million or so, of soldiers and robbers of a hundred wild tribes that Russia will be able to tempt into making common cause with her, in plundering our towns and ravishing our women? The English Government may have millions and hundreds of millions of money; but money won't fight—it is men that will fight, and where will she get them, when, by her present policy, she has (laughter and hear, hear) turned us all into women? (Laughter.) Are we to be for ever treated as if we cannot be trusted? Are we so low and degraded that we are not able to be trusted to defend our hearths and homes? (Hear, hear, and applause.) Are we such fools as not to realize the difference between British and Russian rule? (Cheers.) What then? Is it not mockery? Is it not idiotic, to say to us "You may be enrolled as volunteers with the consent of all the members of any existing corps?" and how many thousands, should I not say hundreds, will thus be able to obtain some military training? Some gentlemen here, told us "We are all unanimous in admitting native gentlemen." Yes, you are at the moment all unanimous, but will this unanimity continue—does it exist elsewhere? In one or two instances, corps may be unanimous; but, is that any guarantee that we shall be admitted, generally, throughout the country, in anything like adequate numbers to defend our homes, our families? We have a perfect right to be admitted. Why make these conditions? What are you afraid of? We do not want to drive you away from the country. (Voices of 'no, no, certainly not!') We want to keep you, to help you, to support you. (Tremendous cheers.) Is there one here so false, so foolish, as to say "We want to drive the English away from this country"? (Loud cries of 'no, no, no!') No, we are not so base, (applause) we are not such fools (loud applause), were we to drive you away from our country, what would become of us? Who should we have instead? We may go from one end of the earth to the other end, we shall not find one to come up to you, (loud applause.) "England with all thy faults, we love thee still." There is not one single Power in all the world, to come up to England, or that would, on the whole, have dealt so nobly and generously with a subject nation as England has done. (Loud applause.) Whom shall we have instead of you? We must have a head here—a body without a head cannot live. (Applause.) If we get our Hindu friends here, who are so well educated, and after we have driven you away, we take them and put them into power and give them the gold * (voices of 'no, no,') shall we get on well? Or are we fit to rule the whole empire? Or can we in our present state, even combined, produce a Government half as good as that of England? No. We must have the English. But they are treating us like mere children, (applause), they are simply trifling with us. We do not want to drive you away from here, we cannot do without you, and if you give us all the liberty in the world, we shall still respect you and cling to you and keep you with us, (a voice of 'and respect you all the more'), yes, and respect you all the more, (thank you, sir, for your correction.) I did not want to speak to-day, but, when I saw this matter brought up, I asked the President to allow me to speak. Who does not feel the degradation of not being allowed to become a volunteer, who does not feel the humiliation of being debarred from the use and practice of arms, who does not tremble for the day when armed, helpless, our martial spirit dead, we shall have to stand waiting like women, to see our English friends massacred by Russian hordes and ourselves, our fortunes and our families, the prey of their ruthless barbarities? (Applause.) I say this meeting speaks with one voice, and it is the voice of India, and no Government in the world, can turn a deaf ear to such a voice or long refuse to permit us to qualify ourselves for defending it and ourselves, our hearths and homes, and the British empire. (Loud and prolonged applause, and cries of 'vote, vote.' 'We are all agreed!')

The Resolution was then unanimously carried.

To those unfamiliar with the state of affairs in India, the persistent refusal of the Government of India to avail itself of the vast addition, it may so urgently need, to the defence resources of the empire, which a general, but

* Literally on "the cushion," i.e., place them on the throne.

carefully regulated, system of volunteering would provide, must seem neither more nor less than an illustration of the oft-quoted line "*Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*"

The matter is, however, by no means so simple as it may at first sight appear. In the first place, despite the enthusiasm on the subject that prevails in certain classes, to create a really powerful and effective body of, say, only a quarter of a million of volunteers, would need time, a great deal of trouble, and (for the people are poor) no small expenditure. Ten, fifteen, or twenty thousand volunteers might very probably appear spontaneously,—and there seems to us no really valid reason why their services should *not* be accepted and innumerable reasons, why they should—but to create a force of volunteers that should constitute a real bulwark to the empire, such as all the speakers contemplated, would be a work of much labour, involving not only the exercise of much tact, and talents of a high order, but a kindly rapprochement between the rulers and the ruled to which the official classes, who, as a rule, pose as gods amongst their humble mortal subjects, are utterly unwilling to condescend. In every province there are noble gentlemen who would do it, but, to the bulk of the European officials, any spirit of "*bon camaraderie*" with natives, such as the successful development of a general scheme of volunteering would involve, would be held to be a degradation.

This, however, might, in time, and by the exercise of judicious pressure on the part of the highest and unprejudiced functionaries, be surmounted; but then would arise the real difficulty—*viz.*, that the development of such a body of volunteers would gradually involve a radical change, not in the principles, but in the practice of the administration. "Undoubtedly," the Government may say "such a body of volunteers, officered by the best amongst themselves and picked men of our own, would set at rest for ever all anxiety in regard to Russian aggression. There might be only a quarter of a million of actual volunteers at any moment, but there would be many times that number of men who had been, more or less trained in the force in previous years, and brothers and other relatives of the volunteers ready to join them in any crisis, and the whole heart of the country would be with these volunteers and with us, and there need never then be any apprehension of troubles in our rear, even if we threw every soldier on to the frontier. We might then, doubtless, materially reduce the strength of the standing army, the taxation involved by the maintenance of which, at its present strength, is crushing the country (so that it is becoming almost a case of *propter vivendi causas perdere vitam*), and we fear somewhat alienating the affection of the people; and we might not only establish a financial equilibrium, despite the gradual loss of the opium revenue, which is now an assured fact, but even have money available for that internal development of the resources of the country, which is what India so much needs. But, on the other hand, *our* position in the country would be altogether changed. We do not for a moment pretend that these volunteers would join the Russians, or any other foreign foe against us. Far from it; they know when they are well off, and they would, we doubt not, loyally and enthusiastically support us in any such crisis. But, for all that, the situation would be altogether altered. At present, we practically do what we like. If we want to take Egypt or Herma, or threaten Russia, we do it,—use

Indian soldiers and make India pay for it,—if we desire in violation of our Free trade Gospel to tax your tea or your silver we do it—if we want to prevent your taxing our cotton goods, no matter if it destroys your entire fiscal system, we do it—in minor matters we do make some show of deferring to the wishes of the people,—but in great matters we make no pretence of this,—we do just what we think right, and we leave the people of India to like it or not, as they please. Our Government is absolutely despotic in all great matters, though in minor matters it is in a small degree constitutional. But with a quarter of a million of volunteers, backed by the whole country, and with all our native troops necessarily more in sympathy with their fellow-countrymen than with us—our native troops that some of us have considered a possible danger isolated as they are,—the present system would be impossible. It is quite true that we do not now dread any recurrence of a mutiny; and even in such a case, the volunteers would, we believe, stand by us. We do not for an instant say and very few of us even think, that the volunteers would *ever* actually fight us; but the fact remains, that such a body, supported as we have indicated above, would from its potentiality of doing this, acquire a moral force that we could not disregard, and we should be compelled thenceforth alike in great and small matters to govern India with considerable regard to the views, wishes, and opinions of the country. This means a revolution,—a noiseless, bloodless revolution, but, none the less, a complete revolution—in our existing system of Government, for which we are not prepared; and which, if made at all, must be made deliberately, by the people of England, and not slid into unwittingly by us out here, who, after all, are merely the servants of the English People. This is why we will not hear of volunteering on an extended, in fact, practical scale. As to the ten or twenty thousand purely spontaneous volunteers, they would, of course, be of little account, either as a protection or as disturbers of the present equilibrium, but we won't have them either because, once allowed, it might be very difficult, if not impossible, to prevent further and, from our point of view, inexpedient developments."

This is an intelligible argument, and explains, we believe, what to the country at large is unaccountable in the present attitude of the Government of India towards the volunteering question. Not only are the people loyal, but the mass of them, we mean of those who do the thinking for the country, are convinced that the Government *believes* them to be so, and, in the face of this, its refusal to allow them to take the necessary steps to provide for their own and its defence, seems incomprehensible.

It remains for the English nation to decide, whether the principles it has laid down for the Administration of India, shall really be acted up to or not, whether the pledges given, time after time, by the greatest statesmen of both parties shall continue persistently to be violated, and whether for the sake of being able to make poor patient India pay for her little wars and make other trumpery little profits out of her, Great Britain will persevere in keeping India only half-defended (and such she must ever remain until a system of a national defence be organized) when even that imperfect measure of defence entails taxation that is crushing the country, and if it continues to grow, as it has grown during the last 3 years, will, before many years are over, have absolutely ruined it.

To resume. The volunteering question was succeeded by one in regard to the income tax. The proposal was to raise the taxable minimum to Rs. 1,000 (say £68 a year) and to provide for the loss of Revenue thus entailed either by retrenchment, or the re-imposition of an import duty on the finer classes of cotton goods. The whole case was fairly enough put by the proposer, a leading Pleader of Behar, Mr. Gurn Prasad Sen, and we may quote what he said* :—

"GENTLEMEN,—When the first Congress met at Bombay, we had to deal with the license tax, a tax so illogical and inconsistent, that we could do nothing better than to propose that an income-tax should be substituted in its stead. We did not approve either license tax or income tax. We said, if more money be really wanted for military purposes and the Government will not provide this, as they ought to provide it, by retrenchment in other branches of the service, the required funds ought to be provided "firstly, by the re-imposition of the customs duties; and secondly, by the extension of the license tax to those classes of the community, official and non-official, at present exempted from it, care being taken that, in the case of all classes, a sufficiently high taxable minimum be maintained." What we said then was, "if you will have more money, if you won't retrench, as you ought to do, if you won't re-impose the customs duties, then, rather than devise new schemes of taxation turn your illogical license tax into a logical income tax, only keep your taxable minimum high enough." It was, in fact, the lesser of two evils which we chose. But we soon found that the taxable minimum had been struck too low, that the administration of the income tax, as it was worked when the income tax came to be introduced— we found, I say, that the practical administration of the tax was by no means so satisfactory as it ought to have been, especially with reference to the taxation of incomes below, or coming but little above, the minimum. Now, having given the matter a fair trial, we propose that the taxable minimum be raised to Rs. 1,000, and we do this, in the interest of the humbler classes of our countrymen. (Applause.) It is not in the interest of the distinguished delegates whom I see before me, not for per cent. of whom, probably, have incomes of less than Rs. 1,000 a year, but in the interests of the large body of our countrymen of the middle classes; that we desire that this relief should be granted, namely, the raising of the minimum from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. (Applause.) Now, there are many reasons why this raising of the minimum has become a necessity. In the Act, we find the minimum Rs. 500 and that, of course, you must admit is a very low limit. It means at the present rate of exchange, that all incomes of £34 a year and upwards are liable to taxation. Well, prices have risen during the last twenty years enormously and they have even risen within the last two years. Sir, the minimum I submit, ought to be fixed with due regard to the necessities of life and this limit of Rs. 500 takes no account of them. To fix it as all conceivable for a man, in our part of the country, a respectable householder who lives on from Rs. 500 to Rs. 800 or 900 a year which comes to from Rs. 40 to 70, or say £2-5 to less than £5 a month, to provide the mere necessities of life and then have any margin to spare for income tax? (Loud applause.) Then there are not only his own necessities and those of his family to be supplied, but, in all Indian families there are a number of dependants to be clothed and fed. It is not a question of individuals, but a question of many dozens, in every case, depending upon individuals. In fact, as you all know, a man has not only to feed, clothe, and educate his own ones, but he has to feed, clothe, and educate those of his relatives, subordinates and so on. This, of course, is inevitable; it may be a good or bad custom, but it is one, hallowed by the traditions of thousands of years, and that we must still bow to. We cannot help ourselves, if we would, and, for all its disadvantages, it is a good and kindly custom. It is not the question of the support of one individual and his family, but the support of a family and its connections and retainers. The income really belongs to half a dozen families. It is an aggregate of incomes here treated as one, but which would in other countries have stood divided. These points were not sufficiently taken into consideration when "the necessities of life" for Indians were considered or the taxable minimum which is supposed to be fixed above necessities would not have been placed so low. The necessities of life for Indian families are not to be measured with reference to the single individual requirements; but with reference to the requirements of his family and household, and if you measure necessary requirements with due regard to these, you will all agree with me that the minimum of Rs. 40 a month is very much too low, (applause) and, therefore, under these circumstances, we now propose that the taxable minimum be raised, from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. (Applause.) It was, I believe, originally under contemplation to fix the minimum at this figure for a certain class of people—I mean for officials in Government employ. Government thought this was a minimum exactly

* Page 131 of Detailed Report.

suited to the necessities of that class, but it was pointed out that, if that concession was made, a concession of a similar nature would be needed on behalf of every class and that otherwise the tax would be inconsistent and illogical and it was then, and then only, that the minimum, in their case, was reduced to Rs. 500; so that, according to the admission of Government, in regard to the only class of which it knows anything, the minimum ought to be fixed at Rs. 1,000, and not at Rs. 500; and we, who know all classes, can tell them that this is equally necessary in the case of all classes. (Applause.) Well, that being so, there can be no difference of opinion, it seems to me, with respect to the raising of the minimum. But, before I leave the question, I have one word more to say. In England, the minimum is, I am told, £150 a year, which would correspond, at the present rate of exchange, to something like Rs. 2,250. (Hear, hear.) So that our present minimum is fixed at a very low figure, if you compare it with the English minimum, and especially, if you take into consideration the fact that the one is for a single family, while in India, looking to the requirements of an Indian family with its dependants, it is really the income of a group of families and you must admit that the minimum, if it is not to be Rs. 2,000 ought, at least, to be raised to Rs. 1,000. (Applause.) Then, sir, we are confronted with this difficulty. If the minimum is raised from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000, how are we to meet the loss in revenue? I submit we can do it by reducing expenditure. In a household, where the expenditure is 70 millions of pounds sterling, do you not think it possible that a paltry reduction of, say, one-third of one of those millions (which, I suppose, would be the utmost loss that would be sustained), could be very well made up by the reduction of expenditure? A prudent householder, under such a contingency would, in the first place, set about and reduce his expenditure, if he had no reasonable prospect of increasing his income, and if Government could at all be made to feel that the limit of taxation has already been reached, I think it would immediately set to work to bring about a reduction in expenditure, sufficient to meet the reduction our proposals involve in the out-turn of the income tax."

"But we say further: "Even if that is not possible, that is to say, if you persist in not seeing that it is possible,—and none are so blind as those who won't see,—if you insist that you cannot meet the loss by reduction of expenditure, do this,—as the present low minimum is telling so heavily on the well-being of the masses of our lower middle class people—do this, re-impose the import duty which has been given up (hear, hear,) an import duty, not on the poor man's clothing, but on the finer kinds of cloth, which only the comparatively rich—those really able to contribute to the necessities of the state—practically use." Well, the only thing that can be said against this measure is, that it is a measure of protection. But, it may be so low as to be practically inoperative in this direction. Even were it otherwise, I would still say it is not a protective measure at all, it is a fiscal measure, adopted solely in the interests of our finances. It would not be, say, all the circumstances considered, no one can pretend that it could be opposed to the rules laid down by the best political economists, and, indeed, it is absurd to talk, in these days, of protection for our industries—our industries do not require protection—but so as to leave no handle for such an argument, let there be a corresponding excise duty on our own similar finer productions."

Babu Jogender Chunder Ghose, went further into the practical evils of the existing, ridiculously low, minimum. He pointed out* that—

"A man who has only three or four hundred rupees a year may easily be mistaken by the most honest assessing officer, misled by subordinates who want to make a name, for one who has five hundred rupees. But when you raise the minimum to Rs. 1,000 a year, it is different. None of the mass of folks who have two, three or four hundred a year can be assessed by mistake at Rs. 1,000,—of course, there will be men on seven, eight and nine hundred, in regard to whom such a mistake may be made, but there are ten of the former class to one of the latter; and it is not only mistakes, that have to be guarded against; the hundreds of thousands of comparatively helpless ignorant persons who have between Rs. 200 and 500 a year, are made to pay, by rascals who threaten them that, if they do not bribe them, they will have them taxed, and you get rid of all this, which is the cause of half the discontent the income tax brings about, by raising the limit to Rs. 1,000, because the 7, 8 and 9 hundred people are very, very much fewer in number, and are in a better position, and know more, and are stronger and much less able to be frightened by threats."

"I think, gentlemen, that our demand is very reasonable. All that we want is the exemption of the poor and the weak from the tax and its accompanying oppression. The classes that will

* Page 133 of Detailed Report.

thus be exempted will be the more poorly-paid servants of Government, and the great mass of small traders, shopkeepers and artisans."

"As regards Government servants, you know, gentlemen, that they are mostly taken from the middle classes, the lower ranks of what we may call the gentry of the country. You know how, day by day, they are being reduced to poverty. Their wants are many and their means are small and we know how keen their struggle for existence is, and the accident of birth has added to their misery. Rs. 25 is a large sum for them, for they can save nothing. If possible, as a matter of humanity only, they should be let alone; but the principal reason why this tax, so far as they are concerned, should be removed, is, that it diminishes the efficiency of the public service, because it still further, and materially, reduces the salaries of the poorest-paid and yet hardest-worked servants of the Government. In Bengal, we had the salaries commission for the avowed purpose of increasing the pay of our ill-paid officials, and that purely in the interests of the public service. But nothing came out of it. The income tax, however, still remains. When the income tax bill was first framed, these servants of the State, drawing small salaries were exempted from its operation. But our wise legislators thought that, by this, the principle of equality would be infringed; and, for once, equality was accepted to be a very important principle in the administration of the country,—indeed more important than the efficiency of the public service. But I think I express the opinion of the Congress when I say, that the other classes would not, certainly, have grudged these officials this poor privilege.

"As for the other classes upon which the measure of this tax falls the heaviest, it is the class of small traders and shopkeepers, and these men, besides illegitimate extortions wrung from them, by threats of getting them still more highly assessed, are always assessed, at a great deal more than their actual incomes. Most of them are illiterate, many of them entirely so, and none of them keep, or can possibly keep, account-books that assessors will accept, and these poor men are always the least able to defend themselves, and least able to pay competent men to protect their interests. Many small tradesmen have been thus obliged to give up their trade, and many that have not done this yet, find it most difficult to keep up their business. I know one, a man who was literally obliged to close his shop on account of the heavy income-tax imposed upon him, and for no other reason—it just absorbed his entire profits. As for the small artisans and manufacturers, English competition is daily driving them out of the market; and the income-tax has added to their difficulties and is absolutely crushing them. There is no encouragement for them anywhere, and they are dying out, to the great detriment of the prosperity of the country. That is a bad tax which benefits the Government financially far less than it oppresses and injures the people. And that is just what this income-tax does, when imposed upon these classes. If the Government had only a conception of all the suffering caused, and all the injury inflicted on the prosperity of the country by allowing the nominal taxable minimum to remain, at its present low level, they would not hesitate one moment, cost what it might, to accept our recommendation."

Then referring to the re-imposition of the customs duties he remarked:—

"We all know how, at the bidding of the merchants of Manchester, the cotton duties were abolished. The voice of a few English merchants was found more powerful than the voice of 250 millions of Indians. We hope that, at last, the good sense and the keen sense of justice of the great English nation will awake to the injustice of adding to the burdens of a poor and already over-burdened people, for the sake of a few merchants."

An amendment was then proposed by Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, which will be best explained in his own words* :—

"GENTLEMEN,—I am entirely at one with the proposer and seconder of the proposition now before you, but I desire to insert a few additional words in it. Gentlemen, if the Government refuse to raise the taxable minimum as we recommend, then our recommendation about the re-imposition of the customs duties falls, as it were, to the ground; whereas, gentlemen, it should be our object never to allow this to fall to the ground, but to perpetually keep before the eyes of the British public and the British Government that, though we may forgive, we can never forget the gross injustice that was done to us at the bidding of a small though powerful English mercantile clique, and that we will never rest, at any rate as long as other worse and far less productive taxes have to be borne by us, until we obtain redress. I may say, gentlemen, that I am told that, now that the true fiscal character of those duties have become known to them, now that they realize that they were, in no degree, practically protective,—that it is advantages in situation and cheap labour, and not any duties

* Page 134 of Detailed Report.

that favour our mills and that despite the abolition of these, our mills go on, year by year, absorbing more and more of the trade—now, I say, that they have come to realize this, I am told that the more enlightened members of the Manchester manufacturers themselves, regret having had any indirect share in inflicting on this financially struggling country, the terrible financial loss, which the abolition of these duties involved, (*cheers*), and I believe it, gentlemen, for though manufacturers, though Manchester manufacturers, they are Englishmen, and though they may be hasty for the moment, they cannot help being just in the long run. (*Loud cheers.*) But be this as it may, it is essential, for us at any rate, to make clear, that not only as a means of recouping any such reduction of revenue as is involved in our present recommendation, but in all and every case in which additional revenue may be required, the re-imposition of customs duties on articles mainly used by the rich is, in our opinion, in the opinion of the entire country, the only legitimate course of action. We say, the entire country says. If you, at any time, really need more money, you must not enhance the income tax, you must not raise the salt-tax, you must not go devising any new fiscal instruments of torture, you must so re-impose the customs duties that they shall be paid by the rich, and not add to the burdens of the poor."

This amendment was universally accepted and was followed by another which was as universally rejected as will be seen from the proceedings which we quote.* Mr. Chackravarti, rose and said :—

"At this late hour, I do not wish to try your patience too much. As the income tax is now administered it is working great injustice and is utterly iniquitous, so I beg to propose that the tax be abolished. The amended proposition which I suggest would run thus:—"*That as the administration of the income tax has involved very great hardships, it is essential, in the opinion of this Congress, that the tax be abolished.*" (*Voices of 'no, no, withdraw': 'it is the only tax that reaches the rich': 'we don't want to relieve ourselves of taxation': 'we won't have it' and 'withdraw, withdraw.'*)—Well, gentlemen, of course, I bow to the general sense of the assembly, but I retain my own opinion, that the only thing to be done about the income tax is to abolish it *in toto*. What is the use of half measures? (*Cries of 'sit down' 'sit down.'*) Well, as you will have it, I withdraw my amendment." (*Loud applause.*)

Then came another amendment to the effect that besides raising the minimum, to Rs. 1,000, a rebate of Rs. 300 should be granted. But this too was rejected on the grounds, firstly, that the object of the Resolution was to relieve the poorer middle classes, and not the comparatively rich who had incomes of Rs. 1,000 and upwards; and secondly because, whether rightly or wrongly the Government had definitely decided not to admit the principle of rebate in India and it was inexpedient "to complicate† our otherwise simple Resolution by pressing Government to reverse its mature and carefully considered procedure," in such a comparatively unimportant matter.

At last, the following Resolution was unanimously passed :—

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

The meeting then adjourned till next day.

The Congress assembled for its last sitting at 11 A.M. on the 30th of December, and the first Resolution brought before it was the following :—

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

* Page 135 of Detailed Report.

† Mr. Gurn Prasad Sen, page 135 of Detailed Report.

It was proposed by Sir Savalai Ramaswami Mudaliar, C.I.E., now, Sheriff of Madras and renowned throughout the South of India for his munificent gifts for charitable and other public purposes. It was seconded by Mr. John Adam to whom reference has already been made. (*Vide ante pp. 18, 43.*) The main point brought out in regard to Technical Education was that, despite the facts that the educated classes throughout India took a deep interest in the matter, and that in various localities Bombay, Madras, Patna, &c., really large sums of money had been subscribed for the purpose, these sums remained unexpended, because the various committees, composed of the most enlightened Europeans and Indians of the several localities, were unable to devise or propound any really suitable and practical plan for securing the required technical education for the people. It was therefore eminently a case in which the Government might justly be pressed, to elaborate a suitable scheme. Given this, the country would soon have it in working order. Mr. Adam pointed out that here, as elsewhere, it is ignorance that bars progress. There is absolutely nothing of any value on record as to the actual existing condition of the several arts and industries. We do not know, what they lack, wherein they fail, in what points they need aid and guidance. As Mr. Adam said in a minute laid before Government long ago, and which he quoted:—

"I have, in common with many other persons, a floating general idea that much can be done, but what enquiry I have been able to make into specific industries, for instance weaving, shows only how little we know, and the impossibility of framing, on that scanty knowledge, any practical scheme or suggestion. I think that a small Committee might be appointed, either by the technical institute committee or by Government, to investigate the actual condition of native industries, *in esse* and *in posse*, not from the æsthetic, but from the practical and economic point of view. The aim should not be to produce a renaissance in Indian industrial art, but to discover whether, by improved methods of working and increased technical skill, competition is possible between native manufactures and foreign imports. I cannot think of any way in which money, whether of the institute or of Government, can be better expended than in payment of the expenses of such a preliminary enquiry."

The main point of the Resolution was to press Government to cause such enquiries to be made, and collect such detailed data as are necessary and thereupon, on the solid basis of facts, to elaborate and present the country with a really practical scheme. Mr. Adam commented humourously on "a portentous-looking blue book called a Note upon Technical Education" recently published by the Government of India, the sum and substance of which, despite its great volume, simply was, that we are to establish technical schools, wherever an enquiry establishes the fact that these are wanted!

"This, then, is their suggestion—that we are to establish technical schools, wherever an enquiry establishes the fact that technical schools are wanted. This enquiry is the very thing we have not got; and this is the very thing we want the Government of India to make for us, either by appointing a commission, as the motion impliedly suggests, or by local committees or special officers. That is the outcome of this long note, *viz.*, that we are to aid and promote technical education, by establishing technical schools in localities where they are required. It goes on further, to state, very sympathetically, but not very practically, "Natives of all castes are increasing in number, looking to technical education as affording an honorable livelihood and career in life. It is submitted that it is desirable to assist and encourage this popular feeling; that room exists for improvement in almost every department of technical instruction in India; and that the time is ripe not only for calling on local Governments to take the matter up in earnest, but for indicating to them some of the directions in which improvement seems possible, and from which funds can be obtained for effecting it." Thus, Sir, we see that the Government has admitted, that the main point of difficulty in connection with the subject is an enquiry, and I think, therefore, that we are justified in going forward, in the strongest and in the most emphatic terms, to ask the Government of India to make some such enquiry."

The subsidiary points in the Resolution are akin to the main point. Time after time the Government of India has directed that, so far as possible, all stores required for the Public service should be procured of local manufacture in the local market. But, as a fact, these directions are daily disregarded every where, and the Resolution suggests that the existing orders on the subject should be more strictly enforced. That anything will result from this suggestion the Congress was far from sanguine. THE GREATEST DEFECT IN BRITISH RULE IS THE PREDOMINANCE IN IT OF PROMISE OVER PERFORMANCE. If practical effect had been given to all the noble sentiments in regard to India's Government, enunciated by British Sovereigns, Statesmen, and Viceroys, and endorsed by the British Houses of Parliament and the British nation, India would at this day be the happiest and most prosperous, instead of one of the poorest countries in the World. There is not a single grievance of which her people complain which cannot be shown to exist in defiance of solemn pledges, given either by Great Britain's Sovereign or her most eminent Statesmen.

The whole secret of the matter is that between those high and enlightened authorities (whose honest aim and object, in most cases,* have been the welfare of our nation,) and our poor suffering people, has ever stood the compact, all powerful phalanx of the Indian Bureaucracy. Comprising as it has, at different times, men of the noblest characters and highest aspirations, consisting almost without exception of highly educated, and so far as pecuniary matters are concerned, rigidly upright† men, it has nevertheless steadily opposed a "*non possumus*" to all orders devised in England, and even by Viceroys here, for the elevation of the status of the Indian community. If you say of these gentlemen:—"But the Queen's Proclamation distinctly lays (and so," he either replies with Mr. Fitzjames Stephens, "Oh the Queen's Proclamation don't count—it was a mere kindly expression of her own private feelings, and has no legal or official status," or he says, "The Queen didn't know anything about it; it's all nonsense—mere talk—the thing is not possible and can't be done and what's more, it won't be done." In other words, they will do it. They are, the great bulk of them, very good men, mostly honest and willing to labour zealously for the good of India, as they understand it, but they will hear of nothing that tends towards curtailing their autocratic power, that will operate towards changing their position from that of kindly despots into that of responsible servants of the people. They believe that all knowledge of the people and the country (of which they often really know less than many unbiassed men, who have spent only a couple of months in India *mixing freely as equals* with the best of the Indians) is centred in themselves, and they honestly consider all who desire to go beyond what they like, be they local reformers, Viceroys or Governors, the House of Commons or even our Gracious Queen-Empress, to be either very mischievous and designing, or unhappily ignorant persons, and they are steadfast in preventing any real effect being given to what they are pleased to consider the seditious, or erroneous views of these objectionable or mistaken parties. Until this all powerful phalanx is weakened by the

* Of course, the cotton duties, and one or two "little war" bills are not forgotten, but they are distinctly exceptions.

† Madras ought perhaps to be excluded—but it is in that Presidency alone, that any serious shortcomings in these respects, have, during nearly 50 years, tarnished the fair fame of the public service.

admission of a large body of independent members into the councils and by the inclusion in itself of a large proportion of Indians, England's beneficent intentions in regard to India, will always continue to be unrealized.

Akin to the question of utilizing local manufactures is that of utilizing indigenous skill and talent. Although something has been done in the way of substituting statutory natives, as Post masters, Engine drivers, Guards, and the like, for Europeans,* there are still large numbers of these holding posts on salaries fully twice as large as would be needed to secure equally competent natives for the work, and it is against this abuse—which has a distinct, if not very considerable, bearing on the poverty of the country—that the last clause in the Resolution was directed.

The entire Congress was unanimous on all the points embodied in the Resolution, though amendments for enlarging its scope were proposed and subsequently withdrawn. Mr. B. H. Chester, M. A., one of the ablest members of the Madras Eurasian community, made a speech† which should be read, but from which we may cull a couple of passages.

Explaining that he was one of the delegates elected by the large Eurasian community of Madras, and authorised by their leader, Mr. D. S. White, at the moment detained in Calcutta on the Public Service Commission of which he was a member, to express his entire sympathy with the movement; he said:—

"I am happy to be able to stand here, and speak to you as one of yourselves. (Cheers.) Though I am proud, and justifiably so, I hope, of the English blood that flows in my veins, still I feel by residence, by community of interests, I am as much entitled to the designation as any delegate now present."

When he went into the details of the main question and showed that out of 3 millions and odd of scholars receiving education throughout the empire in Colleges and Schools of different classes, only some 6,000 were receiving any technical training. This he pointed out was the crucial defect in the existing system in India.

It has been said that too many men have been trained in one single groove. At present the hands of youths have been highly educated, but only a very limited number of them are qualified for the public service, and the liberal professions. What the country needs is a radical change in the character of the training given in our public schools, so that, while some may qualify for the Government service and the various professions, others may turn their attention to the useful and necessary branches of trade, of commerce, and of manufacture."

After going further into the question of the kinds of industry to which attention might first be turned, he concluded with these words:—

"When the young men of India know that this Congress views with favor the encouragement of industrial and technical pursuits, they will be more likely to shake off that false pride and shame which keeps so many of them from earning an honest livelihood by following trade. And, is it idle to say, that, just as the present educational system has produced brilliant scholars, thinkers and writers, and speakers such as we have heard during the past few days, so, in the near future, by the new scheme of education which, we hope, will soon be inaugurated, we shall have distinguished

* Non-domiciled Europeans be it understood. No native objects to the domiciled European, who has become a countryman, and whose pay and pension alike remain in India. Nor if the truth be told, do they seriously object to even non-domiciled Europeans who are already here; what they protest against, is the persistence in getting out, year after year, relays of fresh men, when equally good men are available on better terms in the country already.

† Pages 144, 145 of the Detailed Report.

inventors and brilliant discoverers who will sow the seeds of gigantic manufacturing and commercial enterprises originated and worked by India's sons, with India's money, and for India's good. (Loud applause.)

But perhaps the most interesting feature in the debate was a long, sensible, matter-of-fact speech in Tamil, by Mr. Mookkanasari*, of Tanjore, a working carpenter, who, with two other artisans, came here, as he said, "as the duly elected representatives of the whole industrial class in the Tanjore District." He maintained that the country was steadily growing poorer and that only a revival and development of local industries could arrest the downward progress:—

"We should pray," he said, "the Government to establish and maintain throughout the country technical institutes, where the manufacture, by machinery of all articles of Indian consumption should be carried on and all facilities afforded to those who wish to learn and study the principles and modes of such manufactures. Should this, however, be found impossible, we should ask them to establish, experimentally at least, model factories in every one of the Presidency cities in India, the capital for which will be found either by Government, exclusively from its own funds, or by the raising of a private capital under Government guarantee and supported by Government aid.—The management of these institutions should not be exclusively in the hands of Government like the Madras School of Arts, but should be left in the hands of a company formed of native capitalists, subject to the control and supervision of Government. Such institutions, if they prove to be flourishing, may be established again at important mofussil centres, and the Government should encourage such institutions, by purchasing from them all their supplies of such articles, as are locally manufactured in this country. Besides, the Government should stimulate a desire for improvement and progress among the native artisans and the industrial classes, by the holding of periodical exhibitions in various local centres, of all local manufactures and industries, whereat the best design and the most excellent workmanship will be selected and encouraged, by the granting of prizes and certificates. All the Local and Municipal Boards should be made to contribute for a prize-fund, which will be necessary for this purpose. By the Congress working towards the achievement of this end, not only the dying industries of the country will be revived and receive a stimulus for improvement, but also, new industries will spring up everywhere, tending to the growth of material improvement in the country and to our independence of support, as a nation, which will ultimately regain for us our lost place among the nations of the world. These factories and workshops, gentlemen, when they spring up, will be a source of gaining an honest livelihood to thousands of our countrymen who now, destitute, of any means, are driven to despair how to keep body and soul together. And, gentlemen, how welcome will be the day for India when, by the immense and growing development of her arts and industries, she will be able to find, at least a wholesome morsel of food for her 45 millions of completely destitute children, who are now, by official admission, going without even one single full meal a day!"

Referring to Mr. Mookkanasari's concluding words, it may not be amiss to explain, that it is due to no want of sympathy for the miserable half-starving millions of their fellow-countrymen that so little has been said during this last Congress of that cruel poverty which is year by year decimating the lowest classes and as many, perhaps a majority, believe is surely, if slowly, creeping higher up the social scale. The fact simply is that since the resumption of the aggressive annexive policy and the enormous increases of taxation, that have, thus far, been the chief features of Lord Dufferin's administration, the Indian community despair of obtaining any material alleviation of the misery they see around them, until they can secure a potential voice in the administration, and it is this conviction, more than anything else, that is giving such an intense earnestness, to their efforts in the direction of representation.

* An artisan, who never enjoyed anything which would be considered education in Europe, this gentleman is one of the most prominent citizens in Tanjore, a Municipal Commissioner and member of the Local Board, devoting daily many hours to his private, so many, to his public work and absolutely untiring in his exertions to do good to his neighbours. A monster meeting of the artisans of the entire District of Tanjore was held at Kumbakonam and this gentleman with two more were duly elected.

† Page 146 of Detailed Report.

‡ The italics are ours.

The next Resolution referred to the existing Arms Act, under which no native of India may possess or carry arms without special license, whereas Europeans, Eurasians, Negroes, Hottentots or Fiji Islanders, any son of the earth, even, that the ocean casts on India's shores, may wear arms unquestioned. Naturally this is a law, (passed by Lord Lytton it may perhaps be needless to remark) which does not commend itself to the Indian public. Thousands and tens of thousands of men and cattle are killed by dacoits and wild beasts, and the crops of millions ravaged by wild animals, owing to the defenceless state in which the community is thus left, but even this, bad as it is, is nowhere felt so deeply as the insult which, the Indians consider, is involved in the Act to every single one of them.

Every delegate present was of one mind as to the intolerable character of the existing arrangements, and yet the Resolution in regard to them, gave rise to the most energetic debate of the whole session. How this came about was clearly set forth by the President when, after an animated, almost fiery, discussion, which lasted some hours, he was enabled to put a modified Resolution satisfying all parties. He said* :—

"The essence of this debate, I take it, has been this.—The proposer of the original Resolution, fixing his attention mainly on the point, that the Act presumes that everybody in the country, not specially authorized to wear arms, is unfit to be trusted with them, and feeling the slur thus implied on the loyalty of the nation keenly, proposed the abolition of the Act. He did not stop to consider that the Act embodied numerous necessary provisions, he saw what was galling to the national self-respect in the Act, and desired to get rid of it *in toto*. On the other hand, the proposer of the amendment, fully realizing the necessity of an Arms Act, and the beneficial character of many portions of the existing Act, only thought to provide for such a liberal administration of the Act as should enable all persons, considered by their neighbours to be fit to have arms, to possess and wear them. He probably did not quite realize how strong the sentimental objection to the presumption involved in being required to take out licenses, is, throughout the country. The amendment, it is true, assumed that all people who were certified to be fit to wear arms, by their neighbours, were thus fit, but what the proposer of the original Resolution, and, as it would seem from the course of the debate, a very large number of other delegates desired, was, that all persons should be presumed so fit to be trusted with arms who were not certified to be unfit. In practice, probably, the result would be much the same, but, under the latter scheme, the presumption of disloyalty or unworthiness to be trusted with arms, which even the first amendment, though to a limited extent, involves, would disappear. So, now, we have prepared a new Resolution, which gives full weight, both to the objections of those who supported the amendment, and of those who objected to it, and this Resolution will run as follows :—

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

This Resolution was carried unanimously and with acclamation, but the discussion was a very characteristic one and passages from it may be here advantageously reproduced. The proposer, who advocated simply the entire repeal of the Act, was Rao Bahadur Sabapathy Mudaliar, a gentleman who carries much weight in the Southern Presidency, and whose sobriety of temperament and general cautiousness no one, who knows him, can question. He said :—†

"Under the previous and present Act, no man can carry arms, whatever his position may be, without obtaining a license from the magistrate of the district, except, indeed, certain persons who

* Page 161 of Detailed Report.
† Pages 147, 148 of Detailed Report.

are exempted on account of their high position. I mean the magistrates and members of the Municipal Council and Local Board, and some few gentlemen, specially exempted. But this exemption is not of any great value. I mean, that the exempting of such people means practically nothing where the country is concerned. It is no concession at all to the people, as a whole. On the other hand, I consider the provisions of the Act degrading. Although I, personally, am exempted, in virtue of my official position, still, I consider it a degradation (*hear, hear*) that so many of my worthy and loyal countrymen should be deprived of this privilege. (*Applause*.) Of course, the official view is that persons who want to get arms can apply to the Magistrate and get them by payment of a license fee. But the slur which it casts upon us, and upon our loyalty, is the thing that has been preying upon my mind. (*Hear*.) To the farmer, to which class I belong, to protect his crops and stores from the attacks of wild beasts as well as from the attacks of robbers, the possession of arms is a necessity ; so much so, that in consequence of being deprived of them, the poor ryot has everywhere been a loser of much of his hard-earned produce. I may also say, that before the Mutiny of 1857, people enjoyed the privilege of carrying arms wherever and whenever they liked, and even after the mutiny, even after, I say, that calamitous event, the Government never thought of imposing any restrictions as to the possession of arms ; but recent events have induced the Government to frame this Act, to the great detriment of the people in general. Up to the mutiny, during the mutiny, and for years after the mutiny, we possessed arms ; what have we done since to deserve their forfeiture ? If the Government find it necessary to keep any part or any parts of India, for political reasons, under the operation of this Act, it may be so enacted that the Governor-General may have the power of proclaiming that such districts shall not have the use of arms for a while. Beyond which, I do not think it is necessary for the Government to possess any power in this matter and, I do not think it is right that there should be an Act of the present nature, entailing as it does, the greatest hardships on the people, and involving, as it does, a slur on the entire nation."

Babu Bipin Chandra Pal, seconded the original Resolution and from his elaborate speech, which illustrates well, alike the merits and defects of the Bengal School of oratory, we shall make a lengthy quotation, the more so, that it puts very clearly an important feature of the case scarcely touched upon by any of the many other speakers. He said,* after a very humorous and florid introduction,

"I am loyal to the British Government, because, with me, loyalty to the British Government is identical with loyalty to my own people and my own country. I am loyal to the British Government, because I believe the British Government to be an instrument in the hand of God for the salvation of my people. (*Applause*.) I am loyal to the British Government, because I love Self-Government. (*Applause*.) I am loyal to the British Government, because I love this Congress. I confess, sir, that I am a radical and a democrat, but, strange to say, my radicalism and my democracy have both combined to make me a sincere well-wisher of the British Government. (*Applause*.) And gentlemen, the love that I bear to the British Government compels me to condemn strongly the suicidal policy enunciated in the Arms Act, and to call for its repeal. The Resolution which I am here to second, seems, sir, to be slightly different from those that have gone before it. The supporters of those Resolutions appealed on behalf of the people to the Government, but I appeal on behalf of the Government to itself. It is not for me to say, sir, that this Act does not operate to the injury of the people. When I remember that, year after year, ravages of wild beasts are increasing with alarming rapidity ; when I remember that thousands of my countrymen and country women are every year killed by tigers and leopards ; when I find poor cultivators, every where appealing to Government to protect their crops from the ravages of wild animals—for the Arms Act has deprived them of the means by which they could protect their crops themselves,—when, I say, I look to all these facts, how can I say that this Act does not operate against the life and property of the people ? But excuse me, gentlemen, for saying that the direct injury which this Law does to the people, simply dwindles into insignificance before the immense harm that it is doing to the Government itself. We are very frequently told, sir, that the Government must maintain its prestige. But I can never fully understand the meaning of the prestige of the British Government in the face of this obnoxious Act. If you have really any prestige, why, then, that ought, in itself, to be a tower of strength to you which needed no Arms Act, and the consequent disarming of a whole nation, to keep up. It appears to me, gentlemen, that like some low caste-men, suddenly grown rich and placed in honourable positions, who are ever anxious to keep up their position—because they ever suspect that they have really no solid basis for that position,—

* Pages 148, 149, 150 of Detailed Report.

our Government also, in their extreme anxiety, to preserve their prestige, betray their weakness only. (*Applause and laughter.*) I am not destined to be a military man, and it is not for me to say what injurious effect the disarming of the nation is exercising upon the people of the country by demoralising them. I am a peace-loving Bengalee who is living in comfortable security, under the protection of the British Government, and to my mind the most injurious effect of the Arms Act consists in the temptation that it is holding out to Russia to come and invade India. I am not a Russophobe, gentlemen, God save me from that dire disease! I do not believe that Russia's advance has been actuated by a policy which has the invasion and conquest of India as its ultimate aim. But if ever Russia comes and puts in her appearance at our North-western frontier, she will be brought there by the Arms Act. What, I ask, are all our professions of loyalty worth in the face of the Arms Act? The Nizam may offer sixty crores, instead of sixty lacs, for the defence of the empire, ten thousand Jubilee demonstrations may be organised, the Government may publicly acknowledge the sincerity of those loyal demonstrations, British newspapers may trumpet them forth to the whole world; but the question is, will foreigners believe, will Russia believe in the truth and sincerity of these demonstrations in the face of the Arms Act? Would she not put the important question, if the people of India are loyal, and if you believe them to be so, why do you require the disarming of the entire population by an Arms Act to maintain your position there? So long as this Arms Act exists, nothing will convince outside people that the British Government feel themselves strong in the loyalty of their subjects. You know, sir, that the Russian war party set considerable store by the supposed disaffection and disloyalty of the Indian people, and, if ever Russia makes bold to invade India, the Arms Act, I repeat, will be her chief temptation. Her Majesty has most solemnly declared that in our contentment she shall find her principal strength, why then do her Indian Government ignore our loyalty and our contentment, and set up the silly bulwark of a disarming law for the safety of her Indian Empire? The policy of the Arms Act, sir, is wrong in principle, injurious in its effect—and, is simply, suicidal to the Government and, as such, in the interest of that very Government, whose safety it seeks to secure, it should be once repealed." (*Long and prolonged cheers.*)

The debate which was throughout most animated and every step in which was followed by every member of the assembly, showing the vivid, if somewhat sentimental, interest taken by all in the question, may be read, but it does not seem necessary here to quote further from its pages.

The Arms Act question disposed of satisfactorily and other formal Resolutions adopted (*Detailed Report, p. 162, et seq.*), the President delivered a brief parting address, from which we may reproduce the following passage*—

"GENTLEMEN, if this Congress does no other good, it will still have achieved a very great good, if it brings the members of different provinces, and the members of different communities into contact with each other. I have not the smallest doubt that you, gentlemen of the Madras Presidency, have now far kinder feelings for the defects of your brethren of Bengal and Bombay than you had before you had that intimate knowledge of us, which you have now obtained by coming in almost hourly contact with us during this past week. I say that this is a great good in itself. I trust we shall be able to obtain great political reforms in the administration of our own country, if we carry on a perfectly legitimate and constant agitation. At the same time, I do think, that the social improvement we are introducing among ourselves by contact, is in itself a very great good. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, one of the best features of the Congress in Madras has been the hearty co-operation that we have received from the European members. (*Hear, hear, and loud and continued applause.*) It has, gentlemen, been alleged that the Europeans keep aloof from the natives, and that there is always a great deal of misunderstanding between the two communities. I took the liberty of addressing a few observations to you on that question. You will remember that I absolutely denied the universal application of that assertion. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, at that time my knowledge of the Madras Presidency was very limited, and I was not aware that my assertion would be completely borne out by what I have seen of the conduct of our European friends. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, I, for one, am absolutely at a loss to understand why our European friends should not co-operate with us in the business that we have undertaken. As I have said, the limit and scope of our agitation and action are the good of the whole of India, not the good of any particular part of India, and not the good of any particular community, but, gentlemen, the good of the whole of India, and are not our European

* Pages 163, 165 of Detailed Report.

friends included? (*Cheers.*) The good of the one, must necessarily re-act upon the good of the other. Therefore, I do heartily wish that the co-operation of all our European friends should go on increasing from year to year, till we find that the delegates are composed, not of 600 natives and 5 or 10 Europeans, but of a very large portion of Europeans, who should assist us by the experience,—by the true political experience—which they have inherited for centuries from their forefathers. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, I must ask our European friends, such of them as have honored us with their presence, or such of them as may read the proceedings in the newspapers, if they find any expression or sentiment which may, perhaps, have been uttered in the heat of the discussion, to which, they think, objection may be justly taken, to remember that this Congress is only in its third year, and that no political association can achieve any great success, till it has acquired a great deal of experience, which must take a very, very long time for us to get, who are entirely new to the art of self-government. (*Applause.*) I do trust that any defects which may have been found in the proceedings of this Congress will be pointed out to us, not in the spirit of cavil, not in the spirit of hostility, not in the spirit of antagonism, but in that spirit of consideration, conciliation, and assistance, which, I think, our European friends are in a position to accord us." (*Applause.*)

Then the Congress, (which it had been settled should re-assemble at the close of December 1888 at Allahabad) after venting its loyalty in an air-quake of hurrahs for our gracious Queen-Empress, and, after subsequently delivering itself of batches of cheers for the President and others, peaceably dissolved, and it is not, we think, too much to say of them, that each one of the delegates returned to his home, a wiser, better, and happier man than when he left it, at his country's call, to attend the late assemblage.

Looking back on the Congress, the characteristics, that most impressed themselves we found, and justly so, on the minds of spectators, were the extreme earnestness and extraordinary good humour of the entire gathering.

Of the earnestness, the speeches embodied in the Detailed Report, (from which we have given extracts), may convey some conception, but while they testify to the ardour of individual speakers, they can give no idea of that which was imprinted on the faces of that vast assemblage, or of the wrapt attention with which every turn in the debate, every speaker, and almost every word he uttered was followed not only by the 600 delegates, but by the very much larger body of spectators, several hundreds of whom had travelled from considerable, in a few cases, huge distances, merely to witness the proceedings.

But of the good humour that prevailed it seems impossible to convey, to those not present, any adequate notion. Amongst no body of educated men, elsewhere in the world, would such a combination of enthusiasm with imperturbable good temper have been, we believe, possible. Throughout the session every little joke and play of words, of which there were many, though these are lost in shorthand reporting, was instantly caught, and as warmly responded to by hearty laughter, (even when the most animated discussions were proceeding,) by the party against whom they were directed, as by the speaker's own friends. Not one cross or sour face was to be seen, not one harsh or unkind word was spoken by any one, even of that far from popular body—the Bureaucracy. Men vindicated their rights, or what they conceived to be such, with an out-spoken energy that could not have been surpassed in England; but they did not abuse, on the contrary, they dealt with their opponents in a most brotherly spirit. All was so harmonious, despite vigorous differences of opinion, that one might have supposed the whole thing concerted beforehand, the result of a solemn compact. But there was nothing of the kind; it was only the normal kindly charitable nature of the people

shining out under favourable circumstances. Whether all would have been quite so *couleur de rose*, had the Congress been a failure instead of the conspicuous success, it was, or had its foes triumphed, instead of being, as they were, defeated along the whole line, we cannot presume to say; but, as a fact, the whole thing went off as though "envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness" were unknown to the hearts of all who entered those Portals.

And now we must take leave of the Congress, and the many speakers must, in the following pages, speak in their own words for themselves and their country, and it will remain for the great English nation, in whose abiding love of justice and freedom all here, as yet, rely implicitly, to bethink themselves seriously of the responsibilities which Providence has imposed upon them and which they have accepted, and to make up their minds that India, who loves and trusts them, shall henceforth have something like fair play, and that something like justice shall be, *at last*, the reward of Her patience and Her loyalty.

SUMMARY

OF

Resolutions passed at the THIRD INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, held at Madras on the 27th, 28th, 29th, and 30th December, 1887.

Resolution I.

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

* Messrs. Nam Joshi, Chandavarkar, Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, Hajee Mahomed Abdul Shakoor Badstow Sahib, S. Subrahmaniam Iyer, W. S. Gant, Rangiah Naidu, Surendranath Bannerjee, Trailokyanath Mitra, Kali Charan Bannerjee, Gura Prasad Sen, Saligram Singh, Ram K. Chanchari, Hafiz Abdul Rahim, Rampal Singh, Pandit Madan Mohun, Ganga Prasad Varma, Bishan Narayan Dar, Hamid Ali, Murlidhar, Satyanand Agnihotri, H. H. Dhruva, W. C. Bonnerjee, Surendranath Sen, Hardley Norton, Joy Govind Shome, Iswari Lal Sircar, G. Subramania Iyer, D. A. Khare, S. A. Saminada Iyer, Sabapathy Mudaliar, A. O. Hume, C. Vijaya Raghava Chariar, Govind Bakesh, Karandikar.

(marginally enumerated*) to consider what rules, if any, may now be usefully framed in regard to the constitution and working of the Congress, with instructions to report thereon to the Congress, on the 30th instant.

[Proposed by Dr. Trailokyanath Mitra, (Bengal), seconded by Mr. Hamid Ali, (Oudh), supported by Mr. W. S. Gant, (Madras), and carried unanimously.]

Resolution II.

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

[Proposed by Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee, (Bengal), seconded by Raja Sir T. Madava Rao, K.C.S.I., (Madras), supported by M.R.Ry. P. Semasubdaram Chettiar, (Madras), and carried unanimously.]

Resolution III.

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

[Proposed by Mr. N. Subramaniam, (Madras), seconded by Babu Kali Charan Bannerjee, (Bengal), supported by Mr. Hafiz Abdul Rahim, (N.-W. Provinces), and carried unanimously.]

Resolution IV.

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

[Proposed by Babu Norendranath Sen, (*Bengal*), seconded by Babu Saligram Singh, (*Behar*), supported by Mr. Eardley Norton, (*Madras*), and carried unanimously.]

Resolution V.

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

[Proposed by C. Sankara Nair, (*Madras*), seconded by Khan Bahadur Sheikh Ahmed Hussain Khan, (*Oudh*), supported by Rajah Rampal Singh, (*N.-W. Provinces*), and carried unanimously.]

Resolution VI.

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

[Proposed by Babu Gura Prasad Sen, (*Behar*), seconded by Babu Jogender Chandra Ghose, (*Bengal*), and carried unanimously.]

Resolution VII.

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

[Proposed by Sir S. Ramaswami Mudaliar, C.B.E., (*Madras*), seconded by Mr. John Adam, (*Madras*), supported by Sheikh Kadir Buksh, (*Oudh*), and carried unanimously.]

Resolution VIII.

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

[Proposed by Rao Bahadur Sabapathy Mudaliar, (*Madras*), seconded by Babu Bipin Chandra Pal, (*Bengal*), and carried unanimously.]

Resolution IX.

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

[Proposed by Mr. A. O. Hume, (*Madras*), seconded by Dr. Trailokyanath Mitra, (*Bengal*), and carried unanimously.]

Resolution X.

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

[Proposed by Mr. A. O. Hume, (*Madras*), seconded by Rajah Rampal Singh, (*N.-W. Provinces*), and carried by acclamation.]

Resolution XI.

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

[Proposed by Rajah Yatindranath Chaudhuri (*Bengal*), seconded by Babu Jotendra Nath Tagore, (*Bengal*), and carried unanimously.]

(Signed) BUDRUDIN TYABJI,

President of the Third Indian National Congress.

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DETAILED
REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OR
THE THIRD INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
HELD AT
MADRAS

On the 27th, 28th, 29th and 30th of December, 1887.

FIRST DAYS PROCEEDINGS.

THE INAUGURAL MEETING of the Congress was held, on the afternoon of the 27th December, at the "Pandal," a vast temporary Hall, erected for the purpose, in Mackay's Gardens, Madras.

The local enthusiasm was great and from midday, or even before this, a huge crowd had assembled in the neighbourhood of the Hall. When the Proceedings opened, the Hall, which provided accommodation for about 1,500 spectators, besides the delegates, was closely packed, and probably almost an equal number of visitors were grouped round the Hall, which being open at the sides, permitted most of the speeches to be fairly well heard, even by those outside.

The chair was taken by RAJAH SIR TANJORE MADAVA RAO, K.C.S.I., &c., as Chairman of the Reception Committee, whose duty it was to welcome the Delegates and invite them to elect a President.

SIR T. MADAVA RAO (*Madras, No. 1 in List*) rose and said :—GENTLEMEN,—The language of genuine pleasure is short. I am delighted to meet so many of my countrymen from so many parts of this extensive empire. (*Applause.*) The Congress, every one must now see, is a great success. In fact, it seems, every time it meets, to outgrow its originally contemplated dimensions. My duty now is to offer a cordial welcome to the delegates assembled before me. (*Loud applause.*) It is a pleasant and a very agreeable duty and I consider it a privilege—a great privilege—which has been conferred upon me by my colleagues, of the Madras Congress Reception Committee, who have asked me to offer to you all, in their names, the warmest of welcomes. (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen, I am indeed glad that the state of my health, of late, I regret to say, far from satisfactory, has permitted my presence here to-day; (*applause*) had it been otherwise, as I at one time feared, and had I been debarred from witnessing and aiding in this grand assemblage, I should have considered it one of the greatest misfortunes of my life. (*Applause.*) Owing to my feeble state of health I am unequal to the task of addressing, at any length, an assembly so very large as this. My failing voice, I fear, will reach but few of those thousands, now assembled around me, as delegates and earnest sympathisers in the work which those delegates have met to undertake, and yet, there are some things that I wish to say to all, and so, trusting to your indulgence to an old man, I have ventured to put on paper, something of what I desire to lay before you and, with your kind permission, I shall now hand this brief address to a younger and stronger friend, who will read it for me.

(The following address was then read for Sir T. Madava Rao, by Mr. C. V. Sundaram Sastri, Madras, No. 77 in List.)

GENTLEMEN,—On behalf of the Congress Reception Committee, and on behalf of the citizens of Madras, I welcome you from the bottom of my heart.

Gentlemen, it is a matter of sincere congratulation that this city has been chosen for the meeting of the Congress this year: you may well imagine that Madras ardently coveted the honor, which the sister cities of Bombay and Calcutta have already enjoyed. (Applause.)

Many of you have come down from very distant parts of the empire. We hope that your stay here will be comfortable, pleasant and interesting, and that when you have returned home, you will retain a kindly remembrance of your brethren in this far-off part of India. (Applause.) It may be that we cannot compete with our Bombay brethren in the kindly care and the generous hospitality with which gentlemen from this part of the country were received at the first Congress. It may also be that we must despair of being able to imitate the princely character of the reception, which was accorded to those that attended the second Congress, in the 'City of Palaces.' (Applause.) But if you are prepared to take the will for the deed,—as I trust you are,—you may rest assured, that we gather you to our bosom with hearts as sympathetic as they are proud. (Loud cheers.)

That we should rejoice with pride to receive you, and that you should kindly consent to be our honored guests is, gentlemen, I think, quite natural, when we take into account the forces which have been at work among us, and the environment with which we have been surrounded by the wisdom, justice, and generosity of the British nation. (Applause.) Contact with such a nation is like the contact of iron with the magnet. It has the inevitable effect of the nation operated upon, being, by insensible degrees, assimilated to the dominant type. Let cavillers at this view shew me the people who, having been taught the lessons of liberty and enlightened statesmanship, did not, in due time, thirst for the blessings of freedom and good government. (Hear, hear.) Let them shew me the community which, having been brought within the sphere of liberal education, did not wish, and strive, to secure a status consistent with such culture, and necessitated by such discipline. Let them shew me the land which is covered with a net-work of railways, spanned by telegraphic lines, and studded over with post-offices, but which is not characterised by the dropping off, like autumn leaves, of local prejudices and home-bred idiosyncracies. (Hear, hear.) Such a people and such a land can exist only in the reveries of a wild imagination,—at any rate, I cannot bring myself to believe that they could exist within the pale of that empire, which has been beautifully described as the empire, on which the sun never sets. (Hear, hear, and applause.) To a multitude of factors, such as these, the Indian community has been subjected, for over fourscore years; and who can wonder that local differences are getting effaced, and that there is among us an earnest desire to recognise original identity of type and undoubted community of interests, and to fraternise and unite. Thus, then, it seems to me nothing strange, nothing phenomenal, that I should witness before me, in a vast and most influential assembly, the union of cultivated intelligence and patriotic ardour, and the confluence (so to speak) of many different streams of thought and of feeling. I see, before me, representatives from all parts of India, whose very personal appearance will bring home to the mind of the unprejudiced observer the conviction that, varied as are the castes and creeds and races of India, there is still a powerful bond of union, which makes our hearts vibrate with sympathy and mutual love, and a common affection for our mother-country. (Loud and continued applause.) To well-balanced minds, such a gathering must appear the soundest triumph of British administration and a crown of glory to the Great British nation. (Great applause.)

Gentlemen, let us not mind too much, or too little, what unfriendly or rather mistaken critics may say against us.

Let us stand firm in our conviction that these gatherings are useful and desirable for a multitude of reasons. Let our single aim be to justify ourselves by invariable loyalty, good sense, and moderation in our thoughts, words, and deeds. These great qualities we have not to acquire afresh. Innumerable antecedent generations have happily bequeathed them to us. Let us retain this inheritance and trustfully place ourselves under the guidance of the great

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nation, and the great Government, which are providentially in charge of our destinies, and our future will be as satisfactory as it can possibly be.

Now that a splendid Empire has been constructed, completed and consolidated, now that unbroken peace and order have been established beyond the dreams of Asiatic philosophy, this Congress represents that very factor which is necessary for the further development of India. (Applause.)

From all that I have known of Englishmen, during half a century of intimate intercourse with the best of them, I have no hesitation in assuring you that your well-meant offer will not be superciliously rejected. (Hear, hear.)

Henceforth, let us, therefore, invariably act on the principle that the various populations of this extensive empire are bound together by a common Government, by common interests and by mutual sympathies. (Applause.)

Judged most unsparingly, the worst features of gatherings of this description might be superabundance of enthusiasm and youthful impetuosity. But as a great thinker has said, men learn to run before they learn to walk; they stagger and stumble before they acquire a steady use of their limbs. What is thus true of individuals is equally true of nations; and it is uncharitable to form a forecast of the future from the failings and weaknesses, if any such should exist, incidental to a nascent stage. The sentiments appropriate to such a condition of things are sympathy and kindly direction. An attitude of antagonism or of scorn only causes irritation and soreness: and it rouses, not unfrequently, a spirit of recrimination, if not also of answering disdain. This is almost a law of nature. I will, therefore, ask our critics to remember the early history of nations and to judge in a spirit of charity and magnanimity.

When I ask this of our censors, permit me to advise you to be moderate and forbearing. It is the nature of vaunting ambition to overleap itself. It is the character of renovated youth to be carried away by excessive zeal. Steer clear of such shoals and quicksands. Discuss without prejudice; judge without bias; and submit your proposals with the diffidence that must necessarily mark suggestions that are tentative in their character. Much irritation and retaliation will be avoided if the mutual dependence of the rulers and the ruled is steadily kept in view. With the ruled, it must be a postulate that rulers err from ignorance, and in spite of their efforts to avoid mistakes. By the rulers it must be taken for granted, that when subjects petition and expostulate it is not in a spirit of disputation or cavilling, much less of disaffection and disloyalty; (hear, hear) but only to enlighten those holding away over them, and, in a peaceful and constitutional manner, to have their wishes understood and their grievances made known. I entreat you to lay to heart these words of caution to all parties concerned—words which I ask you to accept, out of regard for my long experience, (applause) for my age, (applause) and for my earnest desire to see my countrymen prosperous and happy.

Gentlemen, there are amongst you many men of distinguished attainments, of high culture, liberal views, sound judgment and sincere patriotism. The infirmities of age prevent me from enjoying the honor and discharging the duty of taking an active part in the discussions that you will enter upon. (Hear, hear.) Let me, therefore, call upon you to elect from among the multitude of wise and learned and earnest men, that I see around me, a President, whose lead you may follow with perfect confidence, and whose force of character and sincere interest in the true well-being of the country, will lead to your deliberations being directed into such paths, and confined within such limits, as will secure to your conclusions the regard and attentive consideration of all right-minded men. I welcome you once again with a heart overflowing with joy and pride, and wish you "God-speed" in your generous and noble efforts to elevate the political and social condition of our common mother-land. (Loud and continued applause.) Proceed then to elect a President: and may the Almighty Disposer of all things grant that you command that success which you so richly deserve. (Loud applause.)

MR. W. C. BONNERIEE (Calcutta, No. 547 in List) then rose and said:—SIR T. MADAVA RAO AND GENTLEMEN,—In response to the invitation of our honored and worthy Chairman, I rise to propose that Mr. Budrudin Tyabji be elected (loud applause) the President of the National Congress for the year 1887, and I do so with peculiar pleasure, (applause), both on personal and on public grounds. (Applause.) Mr. Tyabji is, I have no doubt, very well

known to you as a distinguished member of the Bombay Bar, (*hear, hear and applause*) and a distinguished citizen of Bombay—a gentleman who has, in many trying circumstances, been of great service, not only to his own Presidency, but also, to other parts of India. (*Hear, hear and applause.*)

I had the pleasure of being introduced to him as early as 1865, (*applause*) when both he and I were students of the Middle Temple in England, (*hear, hear*) trying to be called to the Bar, so that we might come back to our own country and do the best we could, both for ourselves and for that country. (*Applause.*) You see Mr. Tyabji before you, and I need hardly say that both in his public and private capacities, the promise of his youth has been more than fulfilled. (*Applause.*) But, gentlemen, it is not simply upon personal grounds, that I ask you to accept my nomination; Mr. Tyabji is, as I have told you, a well-known citizen of Bombay. (*Applause.*) But in this connection, it is necessary for me to remind you that he is also a Mahomedan gentleman. (*Loud and continued applause.*) I am very sorry, indeed, to have to say it, but there is no disguising the fact, that in Bengal, in some quarters, amongst our Mahomedan friends, some misapprehension as to the scope and objects of our National Congress still exists, (*hear, hear*) and it is absolutely necessary that that misapprehension should be removed, (*applause*) and that we should be in fact, as we are in thought, one community and one country, owing allegiance to one Sovereign. (*Loud applause.*) The misapprehension, under which those Mahomedan gentlemen, (some of them at least,) labour, who do not cordially sympathise with us, is due, I believe, to an apprehension that the question of "Representative Government" which was presented to the Congress of the year 1885, which was again pressed by the Congress of the year 1886, and which, I believe, will be once more urged by us here (*applause*) will not, if given effect to, practically prove to be conducive to the interests of the Mahomedan population of this country. (*Voices of 'no, no.'*) I am very glad to hear these murmurs of dissent from this assembly of delegates, a large number of whom, I see, are Mahomedans, because, I was just going to say that this apprehension was perfectly unfounded. There is nothing in the objects and scope of this National Congress, which can, directly or indirectly, be in any way inimical to the interests of our Mahomedan fellow-countrymen, or of any other section of the community. (*Prolonged applause.*) We want a representative Government in its truest and best sense, and I, for one,—and I am speaking in this matter on behalf of, I believe, the whole of the Hindu delegates (*loud applause*)—do not desire a hole and corner representation, but a representation of every community in the country, (*hear, hear, and applause*) so that the whole of India may be perfectly represented to the governing authorities—so that their grievances may be remedied—so that everything necessary to make the nation contented and happy, may be done by the governing authorities. (*Applause.*) It is not necessary for me to detain you at any length upon this subject, as I see we are all agreed upon it. (*Applause.*) I have no doubt you will accept my nomination with the acclamation with which Mr. Tyabji's name was first received by you. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

THE HON'BLE S. SUBRAEMANIA AYYER (*Madras, No. 5 in List*) said:—GENTLEMEN,—It is my pleasant duty to second the proposition just moved by Mr. Bonnerjee. It is quite unnecessary, gentlemen, after his speech, for me to trouble you any further. I have only one word to say. You can easily conceive the pleasure and pride which I feel, in having the honor of seconding the proposal, that Mr. Tyabji be elected as our President, when you remember, that he is a distinguished ornament of the profession, of one section of which I am an humble member. (*Applause.*)

RAJAH RAMPAL SINGH (*N.-W. Prov. No. 485 in List*) said:—GENTLEMEN,—I have been asked to speak as a delegate from the North-West Provinces, on this subject, and to express my opinion. I have much pleasure in supporting—or I may say, speaking in favour of this proposition. Mr. Bonnerjee has ably set forth Mr. Tyabji's public claims to our respect, and has feelingly dwelt on his long private acquaintance with that gentleman, whom you are going, as I hope, to elect as your President. Unfortunately for me, my acquaintance with the Hon. Mr. Tyabji has been but of short duration, but this one thing I can tell you in regard to him, and that is, that all of us will be very pleased to see a Mahomedan gentleman presiding over us on this occasion, (*applause*) as a Parsee gentleman did, at the last Congress, and a Hindu at the first, so as to enable us to vindicate, even in this matter, the catholicity and nationality of our assemblage. The belief which has been expressed by some wise people, (wise, at any rate, in

their own conceits), and even I may say, by some Journals which I have read to-day, that Hindus and Mahomedans are not at one in this matter, is quite erroneous. (*Hear, hear.*) I can tell you, gentlemen, that Mahomedans and Hindus in my part of the country are so at one in this and all public matters and so sympathising with each other that during the Mohurrum we almost moved as one people, neglecting our own festivals, which happened at the same time. On the other hand, when small-pox and other epidemic diseases have afflicted the joint community, the Mahomedans sympathetically joined in the observances of the Hindus of their neighbourhood. (*Hear, hear.*) I might be contradicted here by some gentleman, who has acquired experience in places where either priesthood enjoys a marked predominance, but that does not alter the case that Hindus and Mahomedans, in parts of the country where there is no strong ecclesiastical element, live in perfect accord. (*Hear, hear.*) But I need not pursue the subject and with the remark that Mr. Budrudin Tyabji is, I believe, the oldest and most distinguished of Indian Barristers, and his son, the youngest and most distinguished of Indian covenanted civilians, I urge you to adopt my friend Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee's proposal and elect Mr. Tyabji as President of this Congress. (*Applause.*)

SIR T. MADAVA RAO, (Chairman), then asked if any one desired to propose any one else for President, and being answered in the negative by the whole assembly, put the proposal to the Congress which was received and carried by acclamation amidst a perfect storm of cheers. The chairman then declared Mr. Budrudin Tyabji duly elected and, rising, led him and installed him in the Presidential chair.

MR. BUDRUDIN TYABJI, President, (*Bombay, No. 362 in List*), rose and said:—RAJAH SIR T. MADAVA RAO AND GENTLEMEN,—I thank you most sincerely for the very great honor you have done me by electing me President of this great national assembly. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, it is impossible not to feel proud of the great distinction you have thus conferred upon me, the greatest distinction which it is in your power to confer upon any one of your countrymen. (*Loud and continued applause.*) Gentlemen, I have had the honor of witnessing great public meetings both in Bombay and elsewhere, but it is quite a novel sensation for me to appear before a meeting of this description—a meeting composed not merely of the representatives of any one city or even of one province—but of the whole of the vast continent of India,—representing not any one class or interest but all classes (*hear, hear, and applause*) and all interests of the almost innumerable different communities that constitute the people of India. (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen, I had not the good fortune to be present at the proceedings of the first Congress, held in Bombay in 1885, nor had I the good fortune to take a part in the deliberations of the second Congress, held in Calcutta last year. But, gentlemen, I have carefully read the Proceedings of both those Congresses, and I have no hesitation in declaring that they display an amount of talent, wisdom and eloquence of which we have every reason to be proud. (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen, from the proceedings of the two past Congresses, I think we are fairly entitled to hope that the proceedings of this present Congress will not only be marked by those virtues, but by that moderation and by that sobriety of judgment which is the offspring of political wisdom and political experience. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, all the friends and well-wishers of India, and all those who take an interest in watching over the progress and prosperity of our people, have every reason to rejoice at the increasing success of each succeeding Congress. At the first Congress in Bombay, in 1885, we had less than 100 representatives from the different parts of India, in the second Congress, at Calcutta, in 1886, we had as many as 440 representatives, while at this Congress, I believe, we have over 600 delegates (*applause*) representing all the different parts and all the different communities of this great empire. I think, then, gentlemen, that we are fairly entitled to say that this is a truly representative national gathering. (*Hear, hear and applause.*) Indeed, if that tentative form of representative institutions which has so often been asked for, from Government, were granted to us, I have not the smallest doubt but that many of the gentlemen, I now have the honor of addressing, would be elected by their respective constituencies to represent their interests. (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen, it has been urged in derogation of our character, as a representative national gathering, that one great and important community—the Mussulman community—has kept aloof from the proceedings of the two last Congresses. Now, gentlemen, in the first place, this is only partially true and applies only to one particular part of India, and is moreover, due to certain special, local, and temporary causes (*hear, hear and applause*), and in the second place, no such reproach can, I think, with any show of justice, be urged against this present Congress, (*applause*) and gentlemen, I must honestly confess to you that one great motive which has induced me, in the present state of my health, to undertake the grave responsibilities of presiding over your deliberations, has been an earnest desire, on my part, to prove, as far as in my power lies, that I, at least, not merely in my individual capacity, but as representing the Anjuman-i-Islam of Bombay (*loud applause*), do not consider that there is anything whatever in the position or the relations of the different communities of India,—be they Hindus, Mussulmans, Parsees, or Christians—which should induce the leaders of any one community to stand aloof from the others in their efforts to obtain those great general reforms, those great general rights which are for the common benefit of us all (*hear, hear and applause*) and which, I feel assured, have only to be earnestly and unanimously pressed upon Government to be granted to us.

Gentlemen, it is undoubtedly true that each one of our great Indian communities has its own peculiar social, moral, educational and even political difficulties to surmount—but so far as general political questions affecting the whole of India—such as those which alone are discussed by this Congress—are concerned, I, for one, am utterly at a loss to understand why Mussulmans should not work shoulder to shoulder (*hear, hear and applause*) with their fellow-countrymen, of other races and creeds, for the common benefit of all. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, this is the principle on which we, in the Bombay Presidency, have always acted and from the number, the character, the position, and the attainments of Mussulman delegates from the Bengal Presidency and from the Presidency of Madras as well as from the North-West Provinces and the Punjab, I have not the smallest doubt that this is also the view held, with but few, though, perhaps, important exceptions, by the leaders of the Mussulman communities throughout the whole of India. (*Hear, hear and applause.*)

Gentlemen, it has been urged as a slur upon our loyalty that this Congress is composed of what are called the educated natives of India. Now, if by this it is intended to be conveyed, that we are merely a crowd of people with nothing but our education to commend us, if it is intended to be conveyed that the gentry, the nobility and the aristocracy of the land have kept aloof from us, I can only meet that assertion by the most direct and the most absolute denial. (*Hear, hear and applause.*) To any person who made that assertion I should feel inclined to say, come with me into this Hall (*applause*) and look around you, (*applause*) and tell me where you could wish to see a better representation of the aristocracy, not only of birth and of wealth, but of intellect, education, and position, than you see gathered within the walls of this Hall. (*Applause.*) But, gentlemen, if no such insinuation is intended to be made, I should only say, that I am happy to think that this Congress does consist of the educated natives of India. (*Hear, hear.*)

Gentlemen, I, for one, am proud to be called not only educated but a “native” of this country. (*Applause and hear, hear.*) And, gentlemen, I should like to know, where among all the millions of Her Majesty’s subjects in India are to be found more truly loyal, nay, more devoted friends of the British empire than among these educated natives. (*Loud and continued applause.*) Gentlemen, to be a true and a sincere friend of the British Government, it is necessary that one should be in a position to appreciate the great blessings which that Government has conferred upon us, and I should like to know who is in a better position to appreciate these blessings—the ignorant peasants or the educated natives? Who, for instance, will better appreciate the advantages of good roads, railways, telegraphs and post offices, schools, colleges and universities, hospitals, good laws and impartial courts of justice?—the educated natives or the ignorant peasants of this country? (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, if there ever were to arise—which God forbid—any great struggle between Russia and Great Britain for supremacy in this country—who is more likely, to judge better of the relative merits of the two empires? (*Hear, hear.*) Again I say, gentlemen, that in these matters it is the educated natives that are best qualified to judge, because it is we, who know and are best able to appreciate—for instance,—the blessings of the right of

public meeting, the liberty of action and of speech, and high education which we enjoy under Great Britain, whereas, probably, under Russia we should have nothing but a haughty and despotic Government whose chief glory would consist in vast military organization, aggression upon our neighbours, and great military exploits. (*Applause.*)

No, gentlemen, let our opponents say what they please, we, the educated natives, by the mere force of our education, must be the best appreciators of the blessings of a civilized and enlightened Government and, therefore, in our own interests, the best and staunchest supporters of the British Government in India. (*Applause.*) But, gentlemen, do those who thus charge us with disloyalty stop for a moment to consider the full meaning and effect of their argument,—do they realize the full import and significance of the assertion they make? Do they understand that, in charging us with disloyalty, they are, in reality, condemning and denouncing the very government which it is their intention to support. (*Hear, hear, loud and continued applause.*) For, gentlemen, when they say that the educated natives of India are disloyal, what does it mean? It means this: that in the opinion of the educated natives,—that is to say, of all the men of light and leading, all those who have received a sound, liberal and enlightened education, all those who are acquainted with the history of their own country and with the nature of the present and past governments, that in the opinion of all these—the British Government is so bad that it has deserved to forfeit the confidence and the loyalty of the thinking part of the population. (*Hear, hear and applause.*) Now, gentlemen, is it conceivable that a more flagrant and unjust condemnation of the British Government can be pronounced than is implied in this charge of disloyalty against the educated natives of India? Gentlemen, if this charge were brought by some bitter enemies of Great Britain, if it were brought by the Russians,—for example—I could understand it. (*Hear, hear.*) But it is almost beyond my comprehension that it should come, not from enemies, but, from the supposed friends of the British Government, (*loud laughter, and hear, hear*) not from the Russians, but from Englishmen, (*hear, hear*) who presumably want, not to destroy, but to support their Government! I say it surpasses my comprehension. (*Loud applause.*) Gentlemen, just consider for a moment the effect of this reckless allegation upon the uneducated millions of the inhabitants of this country, upon the hordes of the Russians in the North, and upon the enlightened nations of Europe! I say, therefore, that the conduct of those who thus recklessly charge us with disloyalty resembles the conduct of the “foolish woodman” who was lopping off the very branch of the tree upon which he was standing (*hear, hear, loud applause and loud laughter*) unconscious that the destruction of the branch meant the destruction of himself. (*Applause and laughter.*)

Happily, however, gentlemen, this allegation is as absurd as it is unfounded. It is as unjust to us as it is unjust to the Government it impeaches. But, though, gentlemen, I maintain that the educated natives, as a class, are loyal to the backbone (*hear, hear.*) I must yet admit that some of our countrymen are not always guarded, not always cautious, in the language they employ. I must admit that some of them do sometimes afford openings for hostile criticisms, and I must say that I have myself observed in some of the Indian newspapers and in the speeches of public speakers, sentiments and expressions which are calculated to lead one to the conclusion that they have not fully realised the distinction between license and liberty; that they have not wholly grasped the lesson, that freedom has its responsibilities no less than its privileges. (*Hear, hear.*) And, therefore, gentlemen, I trust that not only during the debates of this Congress, but on all occasions, we shall ever bear in mind and ever impress upon our countrymen that, if we are to enjoy the right of public discussion, the liberty of speech and liberty of the press, we must so conduct ourselves as to demonstrate by our conduct, by our moderation, by the justness of our criticisms, that we fully deserve these—the greatest blessings which an enlightened Government can confer upon its subjects. (*Hear, hear and applause.*)

Gentlemen, it has been sometimes urged that Europeans in this country do not fully sympathise with the just aspirations of the natives of India. In the first place, this is not universally true, because I have the good fortune to know many Europeans than whom truer or more devoted friends of India do not breathe on the face of the earth. (*Hear, hear and applause.*) And, in the second place, we must be prepared to make very considerable allowances for our European fellow-subjects, because their position in

this country is surrounded by difficult and complicated questions not merely of a political but of a social character, which tend more or less to keep the two communities asunder in spite of the best efforts of the leaders of European no less than of native society. Gentlemen, so long as our European friends come to this country as merely temporary residents, so long as they come here merely for the purposes of trade, commerce or of a profession, so long as they do not look upon India as a country in whose welfare they are permanently interested, so long it will be impossible for us to expect that the majority of the Europeans should fraternize with us upon all great public questions (*hear, hear*) and it has, therefore, always seemed to me that one of the greatest, the most difficult, the most complicated and, at the same time, one of the most important problems to be solved is how to make our European friends look upon India as in some sense their own country, even by adoption. For, gentlemen, if we could but induce our retired merchants, engineers, doctors, solicitors, barristers, judges and civilians to make India permanently their home, (*hear, hear and applause*) what an amount of talent and ability, political experience and ripe judgment, we should retain in India, for the benefit of us all. (*Applause.*) All those great questions in regard to the financial drain on India and those questions arising from jealousy of races and the rivalry for public employment—would at once disappear. And when we speak of the poverty of India, because of the draining away of vast sums of money from India to England, it has always seemed to me strange, that so little thought should be bestowed upon the question of the poverty of our resources caused by the drain of so many men of public, political and intellectual eminence from our shores every year. (*Applause.*)

Now, gentlemen, one word as to the scope of our action and deliberations. It has been urged—solemnly urged—as an objection against our proceedings—that this Congress does not discuss the question of Social Reform. But, gentlemen, this matter has already been fully dealt with by my friend, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji,* who presided over your deliberations last year. And I must confess that the objection seems to me strange seeing that this Congress is composed of the representatives, not of any one class or community, not of one part of India, but of all the different parts, and of all the different classes, and of all the different communities of India. Whereas any question of Social Reform must of necessity affect some particular part or some particular community of India only;—and, therefore, gentlemen, it seems to me, that although, we, Mussulmans, have our own social problems to solve, just as our Hindu and Parsee friends have theirs, yet, these questions can be best dealt with by the leaders of the particular communities to which they relate. (*Applause.*) I, therefore, think, gentlemen, that the only wise, and, indeed the only possible course we can adopt is to confine our discussions to such questions as affect the whole of India at large, and

* The passage alluded to in Mr. Dadabhai's presidential address for 1886, runs as follows:—

"It has been asserted that this Congress ought to take up questions of social reforms, (*cheers and cries of 'yes, yes'*) and our failure to do this has been urged as a reproach against us. Certainly no member of this National Congress is more alive to the necessity of social reforms than I am; but, gentlemen, for everything there are proper times, proper circumstances, proper parties and proper places (*cheers*); we are met together as a political body to represent to our rulers our political aspirations, not to discuss social reforms, and if you blame us for ignoring these, you should equally blame the House of Commons for not discussing the abstruser problems of mathematics or metaphysics. But, besides this, there are here, Hindus of every caste, amongst whom, even in the same provinces, customs and social arrangements differ widely;—there are Mahomedans and Christians of various denominations, Parsis, Sikhs, Brahmans and what not—men indeed of each and all of these numerous classes which constitute in the aggregate the people of India. (*Loud cheers.*) How can this gathering of all classes discuss the social reforms needed in each individual class? What do any of us know of the internal home life, of the customs, traditions, feelings, propensities of any class but our own? How could a gathering, a cosmopolitan gathering like this, discuss to any purpose the reforms needed in any one class? Only the members of that class can effectively deal with the reforms therein needed. A National Congress must confine itself to questions in which the entire nation has a direct participation, and it must leave the adjustment of social reforms and other class questions to class Congresses. But it does not follow that, because this national, political body does not persist to discuss social reforms, the delegates here present are not just as deeply, nay, in many cases far more deeply, interested in these questions than in those political questions we do discuss, or that those several communities whom those delegates represent are not doing their utmost to solve those complicated problems on which hinge the practical introduction of those reforms. Any man who has eyes and ears open must know what struggles towards higher and better things are going on in every community; and it could not be otherwise with the noble education we are receiving. Once you begin to think about your own actions, your duties and responsibilities to yourself, your neighbours and your nation, you cannot avoid looking round and observing much that is wrong amongst you; and we know, as a fact, that each community is now doing its best according to its light, and the progress that it has made in education. I need not, I think, particularize. The Mahomedans know what is being done by persons of their community to put on the education their brethren so much need; the Hindus are everywhere doing what they can to reform their social institutions which they think require improvement. There is not one single community here represented of which the best and ablest men do not feel that much has to be done to improve the social, moral, religious states of their brethren, and in which, as a fact, they are not striving to effect, gradually, those useful improvements; but these are essentially matters too delicate for a stranger's handling—matters which must be left to the guidance of those who alone fully understand them in all their bearings, and which are wholly unsuited to discussion in an assemblage like this, in which all classes are intermingled." (*Loud cheers.*)

to abstain from the discussion of questions that affect a particular part or a particular community only. (*Loud applause.*)

Gentlemen, I do not, at present at least, propose to say anything upon the various problems that will be submitted to you for your consideration. I have no doubt that the questions will be discussed in a manner and in a spirit that will reflect credit upon us all. I will only say this: be moderate in your demands, be just in your criticism, be accurate in your facts, be logical in your conclusions and you may rest assured that any propositions you may make to our rulers will be received with that benign consideration which is the characteristic of a strong and enlightened Government. (*Applause.*) And now, gentlemen, I fear, I have already trespassed (*voices of 'no, no,'*) too long upon your time. Before I sit down, I will once more offer to you my thanks from the very bottom of my heart for the very great honor you have done me, and I pray to God that I may be enabled, in some measure, at least, to deserve your approbation and justify the choice you have made and the confidence you have reposed in me. (*Loud applause.*) Gentlemen, I wish this Congress and all succeeding Congresses, every success and every prosperity. (*Applause.*)

I am very glad to see the representatives of so many different communities and parts of India gathered together this afternoon before us. This, in itself, gentlemen, is no small advantage that we, as representatives of the different parts of India, should have the opportunity of meeting and discussing together the various problems that affect us all. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, I will not take up much more of your time. I say, as our Chairman, Sir T. Madava Rao has said:—I welcome you here—but at the same time I cannot help expressing my deep regret, a regret that I know you all share, that on this occasion we are deprived of the aid and counsel of some of those gentlemen who laboured most earnestly for and who graced with their presence the Congress on previous occasions, and who have now, all too soon for their country's sake, passed from amongst us. Among the friends we have lost are Dr. Athalye, of Bombay and Madras, who took such an energetic part in the first Congress, held in Bombay, in the year 1885, and Mr. Girija Bhusan Mookerjee whom you all know, and whom all who knew, loved and respected, and who was one of the most active workers for the Congress, held in Calcutta, last year. Then, too, we have to mourn the loss of Mr. Dayaram Jethunall, the founder of the National Party in Sind, and a distinguished gentleman belonging to this Presidency, (though I fear I am not in a position to pronounce his name correctly), Mr. Singaraju Venkata Subbaroyudu, of Masulipatam. But, to all these gentlemen, of whose assistance and guidance we have been deprived, we must owe a lasting debt of gratitude. They, in their lifetime, spared no pains to make the Congress, either in Bombay or Calcutta, a success, as far as in their power lay, and it only remains for us, while cherishing their memories, to emulate their example. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

Gentlemen, in addition to those of you, who have been able to come to Madras, we have received numerous letters and telegrams from Associations of various kinds, and from a large number of representative men in other parts of India, who, for some reason or other, have been debarred from being represented at, or attending, this Congress. We have received telegrams from Hyderabad, from all kinds of places in the Madras Presidency,—the names of which I shall not venture to pronounce,—from Kurram, Calcutta, Dehra Dun, Sambhur, Bangalore, Dacca, from His Highness the Maharaja of Durbangah, Messrs. Lal Mohun and Manomohan Ghose, Mr. Telang, and a vast number of other places, and persons too numerous for me to pretend to recapitulate. There are no less than sixty odd telegrams alone placed before me. But, gentlemen, there is one among those which I am particularly anxious to bring to your notice, and that is from our old and distinguished friend, Mr. Atkinson. (*laughter.*) Atkinson, at least, I have not the smallest doubt, every one of us here perfectly knows. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, in his telegram, he wishes that the unity of this Congress and all future Congresses perfect success. (*Applause.*) He wishes that the unity of the different communities should be promoted and that the objects which we all have at heart should be attained. (*Applause.*) I think you will be of opinion that that is a very good omen. We want the assistance not only of representative men of the Indian communities, but we also want the assistance of Europeans. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, while we are attempting to learn some few lessons in the art of Self-Government, our European friends have inherited that art from

their fathers after centuries of experience, and it cannot be doubted that if we can induce our European friends to co-operate with us in these various political matters, which in point of fact affect them no less than they affect us, it cannot, I say, be doubted that it will conduce to the advantage, not only of ourselves, but of the European community also. (*Loud applause.*)

Gentlemen, before we can actually proceed with our deliberations, it will be necessary to have a programme carefully prepared, and the best course we can adopt is to appoint a Committee, whose duty it will be to look over the various suggestions that have come from the different parts of India and to prepare a workable programme which will be laid before you for discussion and deliberation. I, therefore, propose that the gentlemen whose names I will presently read out to you do form themselves into a Committee in order to draw up a programme of the work which is to be first brought before the Congress. The names are:—

Bengal, Assam and Orissa.—Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Babus Trailokyanath Mitter, Surendranath Banerjee and Narendranath Sen.

Behar.—Babus Saligram Singh, and Gurn Prasad Sen.

Bombay and Sind.—Messrs. Chandavarkar, Khare, Dhruva, Nam Joshi, and Gobind Bulsh.

North-West Provinces and Oudh.—Moulvi Hamid Ali, Rajah Rampal Singh, Babu Ram Kali Chaudhuri and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Punjab.—Pandit Satyanand Agnihotri and Lalla Murlidhar.

Madras.—Messrs. Hume, Sabapathy Mudaliar, Sankara Nair and W. S. Gantz.

(*Loud and continued applause.*)

These, gentlemen, whom, I see, you have accepted for this duty, will frame a necessary programme and it will be laid before you to-morrow, after which we shall proceed, noon precisely, with our deliberations and, I hope, I shall then have the pleasure of not only seeing you all again, but also those other delegates (and there are still some more to come from Bombay and, perhaps, other parts of India) who have not as yet arrived. (*Loud applause.*) I think it is desirable that the gentlemen, whose names I have read out, instead of dispersing, should at once meet together and proceed with the business that has been entrusted to them. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

Mr. W. C. BONNERJEE (*Bengal, No. 547 in List*) rose and said:—GENTLEMEN,—I wish to say one word to you before you disperse. Mr. Eardley Norton, one of our brother-delegates, has been good enough to organise an evening entertainment for us all, on the 29th, and he wishes to ask you all to be good enough to honour this entertainment with your presence. (*Loud applause.*)

Loud and prolonged cheers were then given for the President, handkerchiefs and hats were waved, and gradually the great gathering dispersed and the Select Committee were left to their labours.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Wednesday, 28th December, 1887.

THE delegates having assembled, and order having been established amidst the vast crowd of visitors, THE PRESIDENT, MR. BUDRUDDIN TYABJI rose and said:—GENTLEMEN,—Since we rose last evening, we have received several additional telegrams from various gentlemen from several parts of India, sympathising with us in our efforts and wishing success to this Congress. I need not read those telegrams, but I think it right to announce the fact to you. Another matter I wish to mention is that the Committee appointed yesterday to frame a programme of business for the Congress has completed its work. The programme has been sent to be printed, and as soon as it comes to hand, and we are, expecting it every minute, it will be placed in the hands of all the delegates present. I think, therefore, we had better proceed, in accordance with the programme of which a few copies have already come to hand, and I will, therefore, call upon my friend on my left to move the first Resolution, in regard to the appointment of a certain Committee. (*Applause.*)

DR. TRAILORIANATH MITRA (*Bengal, No. 550 in List*) rose and said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—It is a very simple and, at the same time, a very agreeable duty that I have been called upon to perform. I have to move—

“That a Committee be appointed consisting of the following gentlemen to consider what rules, if any, may now be usefully framed in regard to the constitution and working of the Congress, with instructions to report thereon to the Congress on the 30th instant.” The names of the proposed Committee men are:—Messrs. Nanajoshi, Chandavarkar, Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, Hajee Mahomed Abdul Shakoor Badshaw Saheb, S. Subramania Iyer, W. S. Gantz, P. Rangiah Naidu, Surendranath Banerjee, Kalicharan Banerjee, Guruprasad Sen, Saligram Singh, Ram Kali Chaudhuri, Hafiz Abdulrahim, Rampal Singh, M. M. Malaviya, Ganga Persad Varma, Bishen Narayan Dar, Hamid Ali, Murlidhar, Satyanand Agnihotri, H. H. Dhruva, W. C. Bonnerjee, Narendranath Sen, Eardley Norton, Joy Gobind Shome, Iswari Lal Sircar, G. Subramania Iyer, D. A. Khare, S. A. Saminada Iyer, Sabapathy Mudaliar, A. O. Hume, Vijaya Raghava Chariar, and Gobind Bulsh.

Speaking for myself, gentlemen, I should say that we ought to have some sort of constitution for this great assembly. (*Hear, hear and applause.*) A constitutional assembly without a constitution, is a sort of misnomer and inconsistency and it may be a logical absurdity. Therefore, we ought, it seems to me, to have some rules as to who our delegates are to be, how they are to be elected and how certified to. We ought to have some rules as to the procedure, to be followed in this assembly, and as to other similar matters. The rules must, of course, in the beginning, be very simple, indeed, embodying the existing practice as far as possible and giving, as it were, the force of law to custom. They must not be hard and fast rules that will prematurely bind us down to any special scheme; ours is a young and growing institution, and, if our constitution is really to fit us, it must grow with us; but there must be some very simple temporary rules as to the selection of delegates and as to the working of the Congress. That is all, I think, that we ought, at this very early stage of our career, to attempt. We may avoid, by this, one serious objection that has been raised to this National Congress. It has been said that this National Congress is a sort of mutual admiration society, (*voices of 'no, no'*), consisting of a number of self-constituted delegates, each one appointed by himself as his own delegate without any sort of representation whatever. If, by our rules, we can show to our critics that the men whom we allow to take part in the deliberations of this assembly are, as we all know that they are, men, duly elected either by public bodies at general meetings, or by towns or groups of towns at public meetings, and if we can thus convince them that the delegates, who take part in the deliberations of this great assembly, are men who have the confidence of important groups

of their countrymen all over this vast empire, shall we not be sufficiently answering our unkindly critics? (*Applause.*)

If it be only for this purpose and for nothing else, I think, we should have some rules, defining, and making public a knowledge of our constitution such as it is, and the procedure which we really adopt. I have read to you the names of the gentlemen to whom it is proposed to entrust this work. These gentlemen have been carefully selected by the Committee that was appointed by you last evening to frame the programme for this Congress's proceedings. The names will, I hope, be accepted as those of really representative men, of people who are entitled to speak and advise in this matter with some authority, each one of them having already studied the question, and having more or less discussed it with his fellow co-provincial delegates—and you will, therefore, I have little doubt, adopt this first Resolution which I have had the honour to propose to you.

MR. HAMID ALIKHAN (*Lucknow, No. 521 in List*) in seconding the motion said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—I have much pleasure in seconding the Resolution, and the fact that I am a purely orthodox Mahomedan, (*applause*) though I am afraid I look more like a Christian (*applause*) adds infinitely to the pleasure I feel in advocating the expediency and the wisdom of this Resolution. I really think that there can be hardly any two opinions on this subject. The necessity of crystalizing existing practice, if only for a season, into tangible rules and regulations (that all who read may understand) for the working and constitution of this Congress is, I believe, as generally admitted in the mis-called "benighted" Presidency of Madras, and in the enlightened Presidency of Bombay, and in the eloquent and cultured Presidency of Bengal, as it is in the backward Provinces of the North-West Provinces, Oudh and other remote parts of India.

And, here I may say, on the part of the Mahomedans of Oudh, that we have felt this necessity in a peculiar and painful degree. For in our out-of-the-way part of the country, we hardly knew what was going on in the more advanced portions, and felt by no means sure that we were electing men properly and the like, and yet, having as near neighbours co-religionists by no means friendly to this movement, we were specially anxious to avoid any laches that might give them a handle for reviling us. And, here, I hope you will forgive me, if I digress for a moment, and say that to my mind the Mahomedans and Hindus are, as it were, the two eyes of India. (*Applause.*) The policy of such of our co-religionists as assume an unfriendly attitude towards the Congress, has a tendency to make our dear India a poor one-eyed creature, while, on the other hand, the far-sighted policy of Mr. Badruddin Tyabji and the Bombay Mahomedans, of Mir Humayun Jah and the Madras Mahomedans and of some, at any rate, of the ablest Mahomedan gentlemen of Bengal, Oudh, the North-West Provinces and the Punjab, is calculated to allow our motherland to retain her vision unimpaired, and it is their example that has prevented the rest of us from blindly—as a poet, I am pursuing the metaphor—following the suicidal policy of those two or three able, but, short-sighted leaders, to whose unhappy defection from the national cause Mr. Badruddin Tyabji referred, in kindly and eloquent language, in his yesterday's speech. I hope, I may say that, in regard to those great subjects upon which the mind of the country is already made up, in regard, in fact, to those subjects which have heretofore occupied the consideration of this Congress, there is absolutely no different platform for Hindus and Mahomedans, but one common platform where there is ample room for both. (*Applause.*)

But, to return, the time has arrived, it seems to me, for defining, to a certain extent, our constitution and laying down some simple and definite, though not stringent, rules for regulating the representation at, and the methods of procedure in, the Congress. I have not the smallest doubt that most of you will concur in this view, and that without any further discussion you will adopt the proposition which has been laid before you by my able friend Dr. Trailokyanath Mitra.

MR. W. S. GANTZ (*Madras, No. 52 in List*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I have very great pleasure in supporting this proposition, if indeed, after the two able speeches which you have heard, it can be said, that any support is necessary. I think, gentlemen, that the most powerful argument that I can appeal to in support of this proposition is—this vast assem-

bly that I see before me. Gentlemen, it is not a figure of speech, it is no exaggeration to say, that this Congress is now a great national factor. (*Applause.*) Two years ago, when the son of one of the greatest statesmen the world then knew, happened to be travelling through this country, he visited one of these Congresses—the very first one, I think, and he went home and described it as a factor which every Government should hereafter take account of. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, that was when this movement was not merely in its infancy, but, as it were, a mere babe of an hour old. (*Applause.*) But, since then, it has grown and grown apace, at a rate which few could have anticipated, and, therefore, since the Congress has become, and will, year by year, increase and still more become, a great factor in the progress of this vast empire, we are now bound not only to make clear to the world what it is and how it works, but, further, to consider carefully all means and steps and ways whereby its business may be carried out, from year to year, more efficiently and effectively. (*Loud applause.*) And, therefore, gentlemen, it seems to me, that one of the first things we ought to do is to try to fix upon certain rules—not hard and fast, gentlemen, but necessarily at first, somewhat elastic—by a general adherence to which, we may hope to render the working of this movement more successful and efficient.

But, gentlemen, there are many other considerations, which render the proposition now before you deserving of your acceptance. These large Congresses are simply annual, and they are held in different places, at the very end of the year, and, then, the Congress disperses and, in most provinces, (of course, I speak subject to correction) no very great amount of work is done between the dispersing of one and the meeting of another Congress. But if we can constitute ourselves into smaller Committees or Sub-divisions, so to speak, of this Congress, working under something like definite rules, and, as such, continue our work throughout the year, I am in great hopes that before we next meet, we may be able to lay down our procedure and define our position in a much more satisfactory way than we are able to do at present, for we shall then have had a practical experience of our difficulties and requirements, far beyond what we now possess, and shall be in a position to begin building on the rough foundations that we are now asking you to lay. Gentlemen, I need not detain you longer, because the proposition is one, which must, I think, commend itself to you as a deliberative assembly, which is not intended to be merely a deliberative assembly, of which it may be said, that beyond passing Resolutions it does nothing, but an assembly of which, before long, it will have to be conceded, that throughout the year, it labours to bring about those results that, at its great annual meeting, it decides to be desirable. (*Applause.*)

BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 551 in List*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT,—I desire to supply one little omission. I think that the name of the mover should be included in the list of Committee men and, I, therefore, propose that the name of Dr. Trailokyanath be added to the list.

(*This proposal was received with loud acclamations and, although never formally seconded or put, was accepted as carried.*)

THE PRESIDENT then rose and said:—Before any further discussion is allowed upon this general proposition, it is necessary for me to inform you that a copy of an amendment has been handed to me, coming, apparently, from a delegate from the Bombay Presidency. I do not know whether the gentleman, whose name I find here, is now prepared to move the amendment, but I will call upon Mr. Karandikar to say what he has to say. The amendment runs thus: "That the words 'if any', in line 2, and the words 'constitution and' in line 3, be omitted."

MR. RAGHUNATH PANDURANG KARANDIKAR (*Bombay, No. 410 in List*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—Of course, it is no great wonder if I feel myself placed in a rather awkward position, in having to propose an amendment on a Resolution which has been so ably proposed, by Dr. Trailokyanath, seconded by Mr. Hamid Ali Khan, and supported by Mr. Gantz. But, then, gentlemen, it is the business of every delegate that has been sent here by any constituency whatsoever, under our existing rules—rules, not as yet laid down in black and white—it is the business, I say, of every delegate to speak up, and not be silent, (*hear, hear*) when he has to say anything against a proposition before the assembly

and, with that view, and simply with that view (I am open to correction if I am wrong) I rise, though I do not rise without a considerable amount of hesitation, to address you. The amendment I have to move is this: That the words "if any" in line 2, and the words "constitution and" in line 3, be omitted.

Gentlemen, you will perhaps agree with me in thinking that such an important duty as the business of determining whether there ought to be a constitution for this National Congress or not, should not be entrusted to a mere Committee, however important its members may be in character and personage. I should like to have the sense of the whole meeting taken on the subject, whether the constitution of the Congress ought to be fixed upon by the Committee appointed, or by the Congress itself. It is a difficult task, however, to have the opinion taken, and, I believe, if you are prepared to open that question, the question should not go to the Committee, but should be answered either in the negative or affirmative by the Congress, and then I believe you will have done a great part of the business that will have to be entrusted to the Committee. Because the first part of the proposition, which provides for the consideration of the rules carefully inserts the words "if any"; there you will mark a certain amount of diffidence in the mind of the person proposing this Resolution, and also I may say, a corollary to this in the minds of the persons seconding and supporting the same Resolution. If it is fixed and resolved to have a constitution for the Congress, let us omit, for justice sake, the words "if any."

Well, gentlemen, we have again to think over another most important factor in this Resolution. It is whether we ought to accept, from the Committee appointed, I believe, of no less than forty personages—distinguished personages no doubt,—a report upon such an important matter as the constitution, in such a short space of time as three days. You will remember the Committee is to be appointed "to report thereon to the Congress on the 30th instant." I believe there is not a more important question affecting the cause than the constitution of the Congress, and I submit—with all due deference to the arguments offered in support of the Resolution and also in seconding it—I submit that more time and more thought ought to be devoted to such an important subject as the constitution of the Congress. (*Applause.*) It was especially because of this consideration that I have made myself bold enough to come forward, though it was not quite within my power to refute the arguments so ably set forth by Dr. Trailokyanath Mitra and others. I trust you will, however, take into consideration the few sentences I have been able to offer for your consideration. Well then to proceed further about the constitution of the Congress. We have held a Congress in Bombay in 1885, and another more splendid one, no doubt, in Calcutta, in 1886, and one still more splendid here, in 1887, but, gentlemen, there are other Presidencies and provinces which have yet to learn the needful lesson by the enlightening presence of the Congress—for instance, we may have a Congress in Allahabad next year, and another in the Punjab, in the following year,—and just as the people of the Madras Presidency have evinced an amount of interest and zeal, we may be able to observe further development in the interest from the people of the Punjab, and the people of the North-West Provinces. I do not mean to say that they are lacking in that energy and spirit and zeal which is necessary and which marks the whole character of our National Congress. But what I mean is, that we ought to bring the Congress nearer home to the people of these other Presidencies, and, to give them an opportunity of witnessing the working of such vast numbers of delegates as we have before us now, to learn, in fact, the lessons of the Congress by practical personal experience, before we ask them, through their representatives, to join in framing any constitution. Well then it was on this account that I have risen, with due deference to the arguments you have heard from previous speakers, to propose this amendment for your kind consideration.

A DELEGATE (name not ascertained) here rose in his seat and said:—"I want to know what a constitution is, will somebody define it?" (*Cries of 'look in your dictionary,' 'this is not a school' and 'sit down.'*)

THE PRESIDENT said:—The amendment, before the meeting must first be seconded, if anybody intends to second it, before any discussion on the subject can be allowed.

A DELEGATE.—But what's the use of talking about things one does not understand. want a constitution defined—it may mean anything (*cries of 'no, no'*), but I say it may.

THE PRESIDENT said:—You will have full opportunity, later, of saying whatever you wish to say, but I must now request you, Sir, to resume your seat.

MR. A. RAMACHANDRA JOGLEKAR (*Bombay, No. 431 in List*) rose and said:—Sir,—I beg to second the amendment, and in seconding, I will only offer a single remark as to the necessity, or otherwise, of framing a constitution. We have as yet only made a beginning—we have had two Congresses—one in Bombay, and one in Calcutta within two years, and this is only the third Congress. No doubt, before long, we shall feel the necessity of a formal constitution. People will require to know exactly what our rules are and what the constitution of the Congress is. But my learned friend suggested the holding of Congresses in Allahabad and in the Punjab, and I must say I think that the populations of all the great provinces must have been enabled to realize what these Congresses are, must have had an actual practical experience of their working, and must have become one with us of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta in our knowledge of them, before it is expedient to set to work to establish a constitution. I do not, of course, object to the framing of rules for the working of the Congress, when it has met, but all else, I would leave to local discretion, until the whole country really knows, by practical experience, what is needful, and I see no use in embodying existing practice, which we may hope to improve year by year, in anything so formal as a constitution.

MR. RAMCHANDRA MORESEWAR SANE (*Bombay, No. 404 in List*) then said:—MR. PRESIDENT,—I rise to support the amendment which has just now been proposed by my friend Mr. Karandikar. I do not wish to take up your time by advancing the same arguments that he has done. If we take into consideration the very varied political and intellectual development of the different Provinces of India, I believe, you will agree with me in thinking that we have not yet arrived at a stage, at which uniform constitutional rules are possible or desirable. Let this annual gathering be held in all provinces. Let the people of all provinces grow into taking an equally absorbing interest in the movement, and then, perhaps, we may arrive at a stage, when the laying down of definite rules would be proper, otherwise, if we have rules for working the Congress now, we shall continually have to make alterations in and additions to them, as difficulties crop up, and we gain experience. Is this worth while? I think not. We are proceeding on a certain system, but until we completely elaborate it, why seek to codify it in a constitution?

THE PRESIDENT then rose and said:—GENTLEMEN,—Before we discuss the proposition before us any further, I trust you will bear with me if I venture to point out what seems to me a misapprehension on the part of the gentlemen who moved, seconded and supported the amendment. I myself have not the smallest doubt that every one of the delegates here is prepared to welcome, in the highest degree, any and the fullest discussion on every proposition that may be brought forward here. (*Loud applause.*) And, therefore, so far from deprecating any discussion or deprecating any amendment that may be brought forward, I welcome every amendment and I desire the amplest discussion on every Resolution and amendment that comes up before the meeting. But before this amendment is pressed further,—and if it is pressed further, of course, it must be discussed—but before we proceed further, I would appeal to the gentlemen, who have moved and seconded the amendment, to consider whether the amendment has not been proposed under some misapprehension, and, that misapprehension seems to be this—they seem to suppose that, simply by the appointment of a Committee, to consider whether any rules are necessary in regard to a constitution, this Congress at this present meeting binds itself to accept the rules, if any, that may be framed by that Committee. But this is not so. What is referred to the Committee is to consider whether any rules are necessary. (*Hear, hear.*) That will be the first thing. They may come to either conclusion—they may agree with the proposer and seconder of this amendment that, in the present infantile stage of the Congress movement, it is not necessary to frame any rules in regard to its constitution. On the other hand, they may consider that some rules are necessary, and, then, in that case, they will suggest the rules that they may think necessary. But, ultimately, and before the rules can have any force, they must be submitted to the Congress itself. (*Hear, hear and applause.*) And, therefore, I now appeal to the mover and seconder to inform me, whether they still press their amendment, because, if they do, then, I must say, with reference to other speakers, that the discussion must proceed, both upon the

original proposition and upon the amendment, and I will then take votes on the question. What do you say, Mr. Karandikar, do you press the amendment?

MR. KARANDIKAR (*Bombay, No. 410 in List*) then said:—In order to express myself fully, I shall have to take up a few minutes of your time. I should prefer to defer my remarks until the 30th instant.

THE PRESIDENT then said: Either you must withdraw your amendment now, or press it.

MR. KARANDIKAR said:—Then I withdraw it. (*Applause.*)

THE PRESIDENT then said:—I hope it is not withdrawn under the impression that any pressure has been put on anybody? (*Voices of 'no, no' and applause.*)

THE PRESIDENT then said:—If it is the sense of this meeting that the amendment should be withdrawn, as it apparently is from the acclamations I have heard, then there is no amendment now before the meeting, upon which any speaking is necessary; but still it is open to any of you, who desire to speak, if you still think it necessary to speak, upon the original proposition and point out anything in it, which you think objectionable or susceptible of improvement. If you will allow me to say it—I think some one asked an explanation as to the meaning of the word constitution. Well, I think it is a word which, as here used, is not very difficult of comprehension. The Resolution, I think, we all feel, does not contemplate any gigantic growth of ages, like the British constitution (*laughter*), or even any such grave comprehensive formal contract, as the American constitution—nay, I am not sure that the word “composition” might not, without injuring the sense of the Resolution, have been substituted for “constitution.” What is intended is that there should be some rules framed as to who and what the delegates, who come up to the next Congress, should be; how and when they should be chosen, or elected, and which are the provinces or places from which they may be sent. And again, the rules might lay down whether the number of the delegates should be in any way limited, whether the Congress is to consist, of 700, 1,000, 1,500 or 3,000 delegates, or whether there should be no limit at all, and so on. These are matters, of course, which will have to be considered by the Committee. I merely allude to them to explain what I understand to be the meaning of the word “constitution” as used in the proposed Resolution. Does any one wish to say anything further? (*Cries of 'no, no.'*)

A DELEGATE said:—“I have to make a proposal here that the name of the proposer of the amendment be added to the list of the Committee (*Voices of 'no, no.'*)

THE PRESIDENT said:—We have heard his views here, and I think it is important that this gentleman should have an opportunity of expressing his views before the Committee, and, therefore, with your permission, I will include his name in the list. I take it that this Resolution, with this addition, is now generally agreed to. However, that there may not be any doubt upon the subject, I put it to the vote. It will now stand.

RESOLVED.—That a Committee is appointed consisting of the following gentlemen

(marginally enumerated*) to consider what rules, if any, may now be usefully framed in regard to the constitution and working of the Congress, with instructions to report thereon to the Congress, on the 30th instant.

* Messrs. Namjoshi, Chandavarkar, Mir Humayan Jali Bahadur, Hajee Mohamed Abdul Shakoor Badshaw Salub, S. Subramania Aiyar, W. S. Gantz, Rangiah Naidu, Surendranath Bannerjee, Trailokyanath Mitra, Kalicharan Bannerjee, Guruprasad Sen, Saligram Singh, Ram Kali Choudhuri, Hafiz Abdul Rahim, Rampal Singh, Madan Mohan, Ganga Prasad Varma, Bishen Narayan Dar, Hamid Ali, Murlidhar, Satyanand Agnihotri, H. H. Dhruva, W. C. Bonnerjee, Surendranath Sen, Eardley Norton, Joy Gobind Shome, Iswari Lal Sircar, G. Subramania Iyer, D. A. Khare, S. A. Saminada Iyer, Sabapathy Mudaliar, A. O. Hume, Vijaya Raghava Chariar, Gobind Baksh, Karandikar.

The Resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT said:—The next Resolution, which is proposed for your consideration, by the Subject Committee whom you appointed yesterday, runs as follows:—

“That this Congress do re-affirm the necessity for the expansion and reform of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and the Provincial Legislative Councils, already set

forth in Resolutions III of the Congresses of 1885 and 1886, and expresses the earnest hope that the Government will no longer delay action in the direction of this essential reform.”

BABU SURENDRANATH BANNERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 551 in List*) who was received with an enthusiastic greeting said:—GENTLEMEN AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—I thank you for the cordial greeting which you have just accorded to me, and I shall endeavour, to the best of my ability, to discharge the very onerous and responsible duty, which the proposer of this Resolution has to perform. I will not repeat the words of the Resolution, as they have already been read out to you by our distinguished President. But before I proceed to make any remarks upon this Resolution, you will permit me, on my own behalf, and on behalf of my brother-delegates of Bengal, (*applause*) and, I may claim also, on behalf of my countrymen in Bengal in general, whose sympathies—whose watchful sympathies I may add—will follow us through every part of these proceedings, to tender our obeisance, and the tribute of our heart-felt homage, to this great and representative national gathering. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, the dream of ages is about to be realized. The differences of generations are about to be forgotten, (*hear, hear*) and a noble prospect is opening out to view, a prospect, fraught with brilliance, with beauty, and untold happiness, to the people. I will not dare to anticipate the future, nor will I indulge in the ecstasies of prophetic vision; but this I undertake to say, that whatever may be the future of this Congress, and with it, of the country, we are on the right track—that track of light—leading to the destined goal (*loud and continued applause*), marked by the consolidation of British rule and the emancipation of our people. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, in this connection, it would ill become me not to refer for a moment to the magnificent hospitality, which we are receiving at present from our countrymen of Madras—Madras mis-called “benighted”—but a source of living light to the sister Presidencies of India. (*Hear, hear.*) May the spirit of union and sympathy, of which this Congress is the highest expression, and the noblest embodiment, grow and deepen to the eternal honor of English rule, and to the manifold advantage of the people of India. (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen, we attach the utmost importance to this question of the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils. We accord to it the foremost place amongst the topics of discussion. We unfurl the banner of the Congress, and upon it are written, in characters of glittering gold, which none may efface, the great words of this Resolution “Representative Institutions for India.” (*Applause.*)

Are we guided by mere sentimental considerations in making this act of deliberate choice? Ah! No! There are the strongest reasons why the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils should be placed in the forefront of topics to be discussed by the National Congress. It is impossible to think of a domestic grievance, or a matter of domestic complaint, which will not be remedied, if the constitution of the Councils were changed and remodelled according to our programme. Talk of the separation of judicial from executive functions, why, the reform would be effected at once, if we had a potential voice in the making of our laws. Talk of the wider employment of our countrymen in the public service, why, the Queen's Proclamation would be vindicated to the letter, (*applause*) if we had some control over the management of our domestic concerns. (*Applause.*) You fret and fume under the rigors of an income-tax which touches even the necessities of subsistence, why, the incidence of the tax would be altered, the minimum raised, if we had anything to do with the imposition of the tax; or if we were permitted to modify it. (*Applause.*) I might multiply instances, but that is not necessary. The reconstitution of the Legislative Councils would be a panacea for countless grievances in relation to the internal administration of the country. Gentlemen, by this Resolution we re-affirm the necessity for the expansion and reform of the Councils, according to the programme laid down by the Congress of 1885 and 1886.* We lay down the principles, but further elaboration is not needed, and further elaboration would be unwise. It would be presenting a broader flank to the attack of our opponents. They would attack us in points of detail and the great cardinal principles of the scheme would be lost sight of, in this discussion. Therefore, it has been wisely resolved that there should not be, at present, any further elaboration of details. We have suggested the principles; we have made it abundantly clear that we have thought—earnestly thought—out the subject; but we are not the legislators of the country, though we hope to be so some day, (*hear, hear*) when the Councils are

* See the Resolutions of these Congresses, reprinted at the end of this Vol.

reconstituted. The Government has highly-paid officials drawing thousands of Rupees a month (*laughter*) and it is for them to elaborate the Bill and settle the details, upon principles which may find acceptance with the Government.

We did, as you will remember, submit, at the last Congress, a succinct scheme, to prove to our rulers that we, at any rate, knew what we wanted and had fully considered, *how* the concession we desired might be practically granted to us. But, gentlemen, succinct as our scheme was, it did not escape criticism. Criticism we do not wish to avoid. Ah! No! The National Congress walks by the broad light of publicity. We court and solicit criticism; but it must be honest criticism. (*Hear, hear and applause.*) What, then, are we to think of a critic who, forgetting what is due to his official position and the reserve which such position implies, tells the public upon a memorable occasion that this Congress is a sham Congress (*voices of 'shame, shame'*), that it is a Hindu Congress (*cries of 'no, no'*), and that it is a Congress of nobodies? (*Voices of 'no, no.'*) Sham Congress! In the midst of this illustrious array of delegates and of this stupendous spectacle of self-sacrifice, which the delegates have displayed in coming from their distant homes to attend the Congress! If ever there can be any true test of sincerity, it lies in self-sacrifice. Tell me the measure of your self-sacrifice and I will tell you what is the measure of your patriotism. But we are told this Congress is a Hindu Congress, presided over, forsooth, by an illustrious Mahomedan gentleman! (*Applause and laughter.*) But it is also a Congress of nonentities, where there is Raja Sir T. Madava Rao (*laughter and applause*), and where, last year, such men as Sir Maharaja Jotendro Mohun Tagore and Dr. Rajendra Lalla Mitra and others took a prominent part in the proceedings!

But, gentlemen, we will leave our official critic to reflect upon his own performance in the solitude of his official dignity. Let us pass on to another gentleman who has been criticising the Congress—not so much the Congress, as the scheme of Representative Government propounded by that body. I suppose we expect our critics to read what we have been saying or what we have been writing. Gentlemen, I am a journalist, and I know that we sometimes depart from this principle (*laughter*) and criticise books without reading them (*laughter*) and possibly our friend who hails from Allyghur (*a voice 'beneath notice.'*) Yes, he is beneath notice, but one or two of his observations have to be noticed,—our friend who hails from Allyghur possibly acted on the principle of the journalist and he was good enough to tell the public, in a letter which extended over 12 columns of a leading journal, that what we wanted was an oligarchy of educated natives, but that it was an impossibility to place the army under the control of this oligarchy. Now this was precisely what we did not want. (*Heard laughter.*) We neither wanted an oligarchy or any other "archy." The dream of an oligarchy never entered into our remotest conceptions. As for the army, we specially excluded it from all control on the part of our reconstituted Legislative Councils. It was not even covered by the right of interpellation.

Gentlemen, such have been the criticisms which have been made with regard to the scheme. It is not from such critics that we can derive any light or leading; but it strikes me that the more we examine the scheme, the more we examine the principles underlying it, the deeper becomes the conviction that it is marked by a remarkable degree of moderation, and I am prepared to prove by reference to the existing state of things, by reference to the recorded views of the Government and by reference to legislative enactments, that our scheme judged by them is moderation itself. (*Applause.*) The Legislative Councils were constituted under the India Councils Act of 1861. Let me read to you the 45th Section of the Act which applies to the provincial Legislative Councils: "Whenever such Proclamation, as aforesaid, shall have been issued regarding the said division or territories respectively, the Lieutenant-Governor thereof shall nominate, for his assistance in making Laws and Regulations, such number of Councillors as shall be in such Proclamation specified; provided that not less than one-third of such Councillors, shall in every case, be non-official persons."

Now, what do we want? What is our programme? We want that, instead of one-third, not less than one-half of the Council should consist of non-official members, and that we should have the right of electing that half. The Government itself makes the concession that, at least, one-third of the members should be non-officials. After twenty-five years of trial and experience, we want the Government to move a step further, and raise the third to a half. I do

not think that we are making a very extravagant demand. On our side of the country, (I am not prepared to speak of Bombay and Madras) the Municipal Laws are revised every ten years. I hope it is the case here also. I am not competent to speak, nor do I hear any response from the Bombay or Madras delegates. If the Municipal Laws are revised once in every ten years, why should not the laws relating to the constitution of the Councils be revised, at least, say, once in every twenty years? In 1861, these laws were passed, and now, more than quarter of a century has elapsed, and great changes have taken place; therefore, I think that upon the very foundations the Government have laid for us, we have a very strong case to urge.

But this is not all. The second point which we insist upon is that the right of interpellation should be accorded to the Legislative Councils. Well, gentlemen, will it be believed that a right of this nature was actually enjoyed by the members of the Supreme Legislative Council at one time, but, because some lawyers made the Council too hot for the officials—they would drive a coach-and-four through the restrictions imposed upon the right,—the privilege was subsequently withdrawn. The first meeting of the Legislative Council of India was held on the 20th May 1854, during the reign of Lord Dalhousie, who was not only vigorous in his foreign policy, but was an ardent reformer in regard to domestic affairs; and let me read from the Standing Order of the first meeting. The order is as follows:—"A member may ask a question of another member, but such questions must be confined to matters immediately connected with the business of the Legislative Council and must be asked in a manner which does not involve argument or inference."

Thus, you see that the right of interpellation existed in regard to the items of business then pending before the Council. All that we now tell the Government is: "Go a step further, and give us the right of interpellation, but do not confine it merely to matters pending before the Council, but rather, extend it to all matters of domestic concern." I think that is a reasonable request to make, and especially bearing in mind the great and rapid advance which the country has made, within the last 30 years.

Well, gentlemen, there is a third prayer in connection with the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils and that is, that the Budget should be discussed by the Councils. (*Hear, hear.*) Now, how does this matter stand at present? I suppose you are aware that the Budgets are discussed by the Supreme Legislative Council but only when any fresh measure of taxation is proposed; otherwise, the Budget is—shall I use the word—burked; it is not laid before the Council at all. Well, now, it so happens, curiously enough, for truth must triumph, and it receives unexpected support from unexpected quarters, that the Chambers of Commerce of all the Presidencies have addressed a memorial to the Government asking that the Parliamentary statute might be revised, so as to permit the discussion of the Budget by the Supreme Legislative Council in all cases, whether it is proposed to levy a new tax or not. (*Hear, hear.*) In this matter, the Chambers of Commerce, the National Congress and all India, with its multitudinous races, creeds and sects, are unanimously agreed, and this fact again points to the moderation of our demands.

Thus, then, gentlemen, you will see that, whether, in regard to the addition of non-official members, or to the right of interpellation or to the discussion of the Budget by the Legislative Council, we ask Government to proceed upon lines which the Government has either partially adopted or which meet [with the unanimous support of public opinion. Gentlemen, it is with satisfaction, we find that our demands being so moderate, the question has come within the range of practical politics. It is no longer a dream, an Utopia, or the phantom of an excited imagination. In February 1885, Mr. Macaulay, Secretary to the Bengal Government, thus wrote or rather spoke,—but it is all the same thing for all their speeches are really written beforehand (*laughter*):—"We require critics and destroyers as well as authors and constructors. From this point of view, I, for one, entirely agree with those who consider that our Council should be enlarged. It seems to me of the utmost importance that all views, all rights, all parties, should be properly represented, in order that the broad light of practical knowledge and experience, as well as the keener gleam of special interests, and it may even be of special prejudices, may be freely let in upon our deliberations."

This was what Mr. Macaulay said, in February 1885. But one greater than Mr. Macaulay, greater than all Indian civilians—His Excellency the Viceroy himself—has, upon a

memorable occasion, expressed his warmest sympathy with our aspirations in this respect. This was what the Viceroy said in his speech, on the Jubilee occasion:—"Glad and happy should I be if, during my sojourn among them (the people of India), circumstances permitted me to extend, and to place upon a wider and more logical footing, the political status which was so wisely given a generation ago, by that great statesman, Lord Halifax, to such Indian gentlemen as by their influence, their acquirements and the confidence they inspired in their fellow-countrymen, were marked out as useful adjuncts to our Legislative Councils." Thus, we are within measurable distance of victory. We are in view of the "promised land" so to speak. If we are true to ourselves, and, if we go on affirming, reaffirming, and re-affirming again and again, the Resolution of to-day, God willing, it will soon be an accomplished reality. (Applause.)

I have heard with feelings, I may say, of concern, the disappointment, which has sometimes been expressed with regard to the work of the National Congress. It has been said, of course, by our opponents, that the labours of the National Congress have not yet been attended with any definite and marked results. But the Congress is an infant institution of only 2 or 3 years growth. What are 2 or 3 or even 50 years in the lifetime of a nation? We must go on working and agitating. The goddess of Liberty is a jealous goddess and she is exacting in her worship from her votaries. We should worship her with assiduity, sincere, sustained and devoted, and then only can we expect to receive her smiles. It would not do to take part, in this great national assembly, on this particular occasion, and then to go to sleep for the rest of the year. We must be steady and continuous in our work, and I am quite sure that when the whole country has with one voice expressed itself with reference to this question, England, the august mother of free nations, will not refuse to grant us a boon which is in such entire accord with her own traditions and which will establish her empire broad-based upon the affections of her people. (Applause.) To England we may appeal with confidence. When Italy was struggling for liberty, England stretched forward the right hand of sympathy. When Greece was endeavouring to assert her place amongst the nationalities of the earth, England was there, the foster-mother of freedom, responsive to the call. We are neither Italians nor Greeks. We are something better. We are British subjects. (Hear, hear and applause.) England has taken us into her bosom and claims us as her own. We appeal to her by the sweetest, the gentlest, the tenderest and yet, with all, the most durable of all ties, that which binds the mother to her offspring, to confer upon us the inestimable boon of representative institutions, and, I am sure, we shall not be disappointed in vain. Let us go on, praying, asking, agitating, resting our hopes of success upon Divine Providence, and victory will assuredly crown our efforts. (Loud and continued cheering.)

RAJAH SIR T. MADAVA RAO (Madras, No. 1 in List) in seconding the proposition said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I believe my friends and the public generally have given me some credit for prudence. (Laughter.) Gentlemen, I do claim some credit for prudence, and I believe most other gentlemen here will agree with me in admitting my pretensions to this virtue.

If they are doubtful about it I will prove it to you beyond all doubt, by the prudence I exercise in refraining after the magnificent and enthusiastic speech to which we have all listened with so much admiration, (applause) from attempting anything like a long or elaborate speech of my own. No, I shall simply confine myself to my duty upon this occasion. I have specially attended here not to make a speech but simply to express a few sentiments of my own on this subject, and I have particularly attended here, because I take a deep interest in this part of the proceedings of this Congress. (Hear, hear and applause.) I have written out what I desired to say, partly because I am far from well, but chiefly, in order to convince everybody that the sentiments I express, are the deliberate results of my most mature consideration, set forth not in the enthusiasm engendered by such an address as we have listened to, but carefully written out beforehand in words as expressive and emphatic as I can command. I will now, with your kind permission read out what I have written.—(Reads.) Gentlemen, I cordially second the important Resolution now before you. (Hear, hear.) I do so under a profound conviction of the necessity and good policy of the measure proposed. It is a profound conviction, I assure you, because by temperament and training, I am, to a great extent, conservative, and yet, having looked at the matter from every point of view, and having carefully considered it

I have a profound conviction that the measure proposed is a necessity, that is quite consistent with good policy and even required by good policy. (Hear, hear and applause.) I further aver my conviction that it should not be long postponed. (Applause.) The principle upon which the proposal rests, and which is embodied in the resolution, is one which the British Government, I am sure, will not, and cannot, refuse to recognise. Gentlemen, English statesmen possess immense political knowledge; and immense political experience, and they will not find it a difficult, or an embarrassing problem to give effect to the principle, once they recognise it. We already see, it seems to me, unmistakable signs of their recognition of the principle and I would only beg you to persevere for a year or two, patiently awaiting the results, and you will, believe me, receive a satisfactory response to our very reasonable recommendations. I need say no more, even did my present state of health permit it. The matter requires no further exposition. We are all convinced. We thoroughly know and understand the whole thing. It is a matter which, now-a-days, requires no demonstration whatever. (Hear, hear and applause.)

MR. P. SOMASUNDARAM CHETTIAR (Madras, No. 6 in List) supported the resolution, and in doing so, said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—In supporting the proposition moved by Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee, and seconded by Sir T. Madava Rao, in respect to the reform of the constitution of the present Legislative Council in different Provinces, my two able friends, whose speeches on the matter have so emphatically attracted the attention of the great assembly present in this pandal, have dwelt largely on the various aspects of the question and it may seem, therefore, needless for me to enlarge on the subject, but being aware that many of my friends may be desirous of knowing my views, I rise to say a few words, and I will be as brief as possible, so as not to tire the patience of the assembly. We all know the objects with which these Councils were established. They were established after the direct assumption of the Government of India by Her Majesty the Queen, Government taking into consideration the expediency of rendering the laws good and safe, so as to meet the wants and wishes of the people at large, and to suit the convenience of each sect and creed. They have undergone various changes and reforms in their constitution since their establishment, but, permit me to observe that the practical utility of these Councils has not been such, as to merit the approbation of the people, owing to the limited number of non-officials constituting the Council, the ruling authorities taking precautionary measures to have the official element prevailing over the non-official, thereby retaining all Legislative power in their hands, who are, in fact, the authorities in the Executive branches; thus the feelings of the Native community, in regard to these councils, have not been satisfactory, and agitations for their reform were frequently and repeatedly made, by local and other associations and institutions, by the Press and through the channel of separate publications, but without success. The subject was, however, warmly taken up by the Congress meetings in the two last previous years on behalf of the nation, urging the necessity for a general reform in the constitution, showing the grounds and reasons for such reform, adding that the vitality of the Councils so reformed will be increased, and they will be better adapted and suited to the nation which, in these days of its education and progress, is wanting better and sounder legislators. There are many instances, too numerous to enumerate here, where grave defects have been noticed and no remedial measures have been adopted to afford relief to the nation. Hasty steps are too generally taken, without mature consideration, when, under financial pressure, the thought of raising taxes occurs, without giving any reasonably satisfactory explanation for so doing. As education and culture advance, people naturally aspire to better forms of administration, which the Government is bound to provide for, as well as to receive and view favorably, liberally, and with equanimity, all suggestions for reform. So long as the ruling authorities encroach in all manners possible upon the incomes of individuals, and tax them under one designation or other, in their resources, under pretext of the exigencies of the state, their mode of administrative procedure should be such, as to satisfy the general feelings of the natives. I learn that the Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta and Madras, the representatives of the European mercantile community, have lately represented, rightly and justly, the necessity of the Imperial Budgets being laid before the public at an earlier time, with elaborate returns, so as to enable that Public to know precisely how the financial administration is conducted, and thus to see the real wants of the country. Every individual before payment of additional taxes will be very desirous to know how the money is being spent, in a similar way as our household expenses are known, and the Government should be pleased to satisfy the

reclamations of the people on this head. A large independent and representative element should be added to the Councils, thus conferring on them a larger sphere of usefulness and respectability, and thereby winning the good-will and affection of the people, soothing the feelings of the rulers and the ruled. From this expression I do not mean to signify the existence of any dangerous discontent, but to urge wise actions on Government for preventing differences. Though we may not meet with success in our efforts immediately, yet we should continue without any discouragement, agitating constitutionally till we gain the object, as we are told in an old adage, that the "mother will give milk to the child when it continues to cry." For the reasons stated, I warmly and gladly support the proposition just moved. I have only a few words to express in conclusion, being apprehensive that no further public opportunity will be given to me for addressing the meeting. I, on behalf of my community and myself, tender most heartily, sincerely, and cordially, our humble thanks to our brethren in this Hall who have travelled from various distant countries at great inconvenience and expense, to this city with the sole aim of assisting the work of this Congress, which has been the means of gathering so large a number as are now present, and I trust that the Almighty giver of all things will confer His benediction for the prosperity and happiness of us all, and aid us in all our efforts. (*Loud cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT :—Gentlemen,—Before the discussion proceeds further on this resolution, as I have received notice of certain amendments, I will call upon the gentleman who has given me that notice, to move his amendments and if those amendments are duly seconded, then the further discussion may proceed on both the resolution and the amendments.

MR. NAM JOSHI, (*Bombay, No. 391 in List*): GENTLEMEN,—Our worthy President has just told us that we shall have a very good discussion both on the proposition submitted for acceptance and the amendments that I now propose. I would rather, therefore, reserve my observations both as regards the proposition and also as regards the amendments to some future time. I would only read the amendments and then when the discussion is over, it would be time for me to reply to such arguments as may be urged against my amendments. If no arguments are urged against these, and if they are found to be acceptable to my friends in other provinces, any remarks on my part would be unnecessary. I will therefore read the amendments for your acceptance and then, with the permission of the President, discussion will take place and then, if it is necessary for me to say anything, either in support of the amendments or against the proposition, I will do so. With these remarks, I will read the amendments :—

(1.) *That this Congress views with satisfaction the establishment of a separate Legislative Council for the North-West Provinces, and is of opinion that the time has arrived when, a similar concession may be extended to the Punjab, as prayed for in the Resolution of the Congress of 1885.*

(2.) *That in view of the fact that the amendment of the Indian Councils Act cannot be secured, on the lines recommended by the Congress, before the enquiry prayed for in the Resolution No. 5 of the Congress of last year, this Congress is of opinion that the Government of India should be moved to obtain sanction for a short amendment of the Act, authorising them to submit their annual Budget for scrutiny by the Select Committee of the Supreme Council.*

(3.) *That in the interests of the administration the Government of India should on all occasions on which the opinions of Local Governments and of influential gentlemen in the different parts of India are invited on matters of public interest, consult this Congress through the Standing Committees, lists of which will be submitted to the Government every year.*

MR. H. H. DHURVA (*Kaira, No. 452 in List*) said :—I beg to second the amendments proposed by my friend Mr. Nam Joshi and I may tell you in connection with these amendments that they do not in any way clash with the original proposition that has been so ably moved by Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee. There is nothing new in them. They are intended simply to show that we are doing something. We have been questioned by many people, and even by friends, as to what the Congress has been actually doing from year to year, and so we should endeavour to show some practical results. We should show that since the first resolution that was proposed at the Congress of 1885, we have made some progress and that that resolution has obtained a Legislative Council for the North-West Provinces. Further, we want to show, to the different Provinces, as well as to the people who do not take part in these meetings, that,

having secured a council for the North-west Provinces, we are this time going to press for a similar concession, where the Punjab is concerned, and later, when this is made, as if we press it, it soon must be, we shall have another tangible piece of work to point to. The other amendments are clear in themselves, and by bringing these matters to the notice of Government, who will doubtless concur with us, (especially as in the Budget matter we have all the European Chambers of Commerce with us), we shall have several tangible concessions to point to as the results of our labours, and fair grounds for all men to believe that we may expect farther, and even more important, results in the future. It is with that view that I and my friend have brought these amendments before you for your consideration.

THE PRESIDENT then said :—I did not wish to stop the mover or the seconder of the amendments, because I was not exactly aware of the form in which these so-called amendments would be put before you. If they were really amendments, it would have been the proper thing to discuss them along with the Resolution. But I did not know exactly what it was that these gentlemen wanted to put forward; now that we all know, I must say that it appears to me that these propositions are not really amendments of the original proposition, (*applause*), but are rather distinct and independent Resolutions, which can in no way affect the original Resolution itself. The course, therefore, that I propose to adopt, is this—I accept these propositions as having been duly proposed and seconded and as capable of being taken up independently, but not as in any shape amendments of the Resolution now before the assembly to which the discussion should at present be confined. After that Resolution has been distinctly dealt with, and the rest of the work on the programme disposed of, we can go on to consider these Resolutions which have been duly proposed and seconded. I will now call upon Mr. Norton, whose name stands next on the list of gentlemen desirous of speaking on the original proposition, to proceed with the discussion.

MR. EARDLEY NORTON (*Madras, No. 43 in List*) who was received with loud cheers, said :—MR. PRESIDENT AND MY NATIVE FRIENDS :—Your warm welcome ringing in my ears enables me to face you in a spirit of glad exultation. I say in a spirit of glad exultation, because in your greeting I taste, in the first place, something of the promise of that kindlier feeling, and of that more cordial relationship between ourselves and our respective races, which shall make our connection in the future more harmonious than it is to-day, and cement our friendship with the solemn seal of a more perfected trust. (*Cheers.*) In the second place, I realise that your attitude to-day exhibits that earnestness of purpose which foreshadows triumph, a triumph that, I hope, I may share with you, (*cheers*), and shows that you are alive to the privileges and responsibilities of being British subjects. (*Cheers.*) Your cordial welcome is a kindly compliment to my nationality. (*Cheers.*) Not unfrequently, gentlemen, the illiberal reproach is cast in our teeth, that the spirit of an unconquerable antagonism is abroad between the Europeans and the Natives, that there is a great gulf, which never can be bridged between us, which must keep us each, for all time, apart from the other. And even more frequently is the reproach cast upon us, with greater particularity in the matter of this Congress, that your objects are confined exclusively to the Native communities of this vast continent, objects with which no Englishman can have any legitimate sympathy or tie. Let me, in my own person, refute that aspersion as unfounded; let your reception of me attest the complete concord of European and Native aspiration. (*Cheers.*) I assure you, speaking from this platform to-day, that I feel sincerely how great is the honour of my position. I am not a "self-elected" delegate. I have not nominated myself. I have been sent here, without any solicitation on my part, to place before you, not merely the sentiments with which my constituents—humble they may be, yet my constituents still—(*hear, hear*)—are animated, but also to convince you into the belief that in all the great and fundamental principles of your political and social reforms, not only I, but thousands of Englishmen, whose voices are tied, partly by reason of their official positions, (*applause*), and partly by their generous but mistaken belief, in a state of things which does not exist, are influenced by feelings of the deepest sympathy, and by the most vivid desire to see you in the enjoyment of something of their own political freedom at home. (*Cheers.*) In my opinion there is no resolution before you so important and far-reaching in its ultimate effects as that which touches the reconstitution of our Legislative Councils. (*Cheers.*) Act, therefore, gentlemen, on my advice. Cling to that reform. That is the key-stone of all your future triumph. And when once you achieve it, you will find yourselves at last in an atmosphere in which you can breathe

without effort, which will no longer stifle all your aspirations to regard yourselves as human beings of some intelligence, with a right to have a voice in the administration of your own affairs. (*Prolonged cheers.*) Then shall you really be worthy of being England's children. (*Cheers.*)

Frequently have I had many capacities thrust most unwillingly upon myself in Madras. Only last night I have been made to assume a new representative capacity. (*Laughter.*) I was told yesterday by one, for whose character and educated qualities I cherish a great esteem, that in joining myself with the labourers in this Congress, I have earned for myself the new title of a "veiled secessionist." (*Laughter.*) If it be secession, gentlemen, to rebel against all wrong; if it be secession to insist that the people should have a fair share in the administration of their own country and affairs; if it be secession to resist class-tyranny, to raise my voice against oppression, to mutiny against injustice, to insist upon a hearing before sentence, to uphold the liberties of the individual, to vindicate our common right to gradual but ever advancing reform—(*cheers*)—if this be secession, I am right glad to be called a "secessionist," (*cheers*), and doubly, aye, trebly glad, when I look around me to-day to know and feel I am ranked as one among such a magnificent array of "secessionists." (*Loud cheers.*)

We have been told, again, that in this matter your aims are purely Hindu and Mahomedan. What can you conceive, gentlemen, more false than that? Have our critics forgotten that we, as Europeans, even for the limited portion of our sojourn in India, are as deeply affected by questions of taxation and of legislation as any of yourselves, Mahomedan or Hindu? (*Cheers.*) Have they forgotten that there are many important European interests in India worthy to be represented upon the Legislative Councils, so that their owners may have a voice in the formation and formulation of those laws which they are called upon themselves to obey, (*cheers*)—such interests, for example, as the planting, the mining, the mill-owning, and the whole of the non-official interest throughout the length and the breadth of this land? These, gentlemen, are among the persons who take a deep and anxious interest in the welfare of the Congress; and I am enabled, honestly, to assure you that if I speak with the feeble voice of a single individual, I speak with the accumulated strength of many hundred Englishmen behind me. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

Again, there is another reproach. It has been said that the native aristocracy of this country shows no interest in the affairs of this Congress, exhibits no concern in the political development of this country. I am glad to think that, at any rate, so far as Madras is concerned, the presence of His Highness the Maharajah of Vizianagram (*loud applause*) on this platform, himself one of the best educated and wealthiest of our native nobles, entitles me to say that that accusation is as untrue as is each one of those others to which I have already referred. (*Loud applause.*)

Let me reiterate my advice already given, let me repeat my solemn warning. Cling to this resolution and its aims. Never let it go from you. It contains the richest germs of all your future political progress. (*Cheers.*) My eloquent friend, Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee, has told you in language I would not venture to imitate, because I could not, (*applause*), although I envy him his happy gift (*loud applause*) of the liberty and freedom which must follow, if only you are true to your conscience and your cause. (*Cheers.*) I have had much reason to look very carefully into the political condition of the people of this Presidency during the last five years, to scrutinize their liberties, and to ponder over the system under which they and I live. We urgently need the salutary reform for which we plead. (*Cheers.*) Therefore persevere as you have begun, and march ever onwards. Do not be cowed by opposition. Meet sneers and threats with a front of adamant. Adhere to your policy through all dangers, and through all doubts, and complete for yourselves the schemes of reform you have so admirably begun. The day will come when an infinitely larger and truer freedom will be yours, when the great question of taxation will be within your grasp, when you will in truth realise that you have got something more than mere potential power, when you shall place your hand upon the purse-strings of the country and the Government. (*Loud and continued applause.*) Money is power, whether it be in the hands of an individual or of a Government. He who has the dispensing of money, is he who has the control of all ultimate authority. (*Cheers.*)

Once you control the finances, you will taste the true meaning of power and of freedom. (*Cheers.*)

Gentlemen, with respect to this resolution, there are two points I would more particularly bring to your attention. The first is the body with whom is to rest the ultimate election of Representatives.* Madras differs somewhat, upon this point from her sister Presidencies. I think our proposal a reasonable and a feasible one. It is that our various District and Municipal Boards, Chambers of Commerce and Universities should elect a certain number of persons apiece, who shall form a so-called "Electoral College." Each of these bodies would send up, say, from 2 to 20 such individuals, who would number, let us say, between 200 and 400. These, it is suggested, should choose the various members for the various districts and bodies who are to be represented upon the reconstituted Council. Local patriotism is apt to be somewhat short-sighted and perverse. The richest man of the district would, probably, apart from any other qualification, be elected to represent or misrepresent (*laughter*) his constituents' views. Whereas, there is a distinct safeguard in the system which would transfer the power of election from the Districts themselves, which are scarcely equal, as yet, to such a responsibility, to a body of men who would practically represent the flower of the educated inhabitants of the Presidency. It is further suggested, and the suggestion seems a good one, that the Government should be empowered to scrutinize the list of the "Electoral College," and supplement any deficient representation thereof of any particular sect or interest, by a nomination of a certain number of persons from such deficient interest or sect. You would thus have a large body of qualified and widely representative men to consult the best interests of the country at large in the choice of candidates for seats upon the Council. The scheme is, of course, only tentative, and I would gladly give way and advocate any better system which could be suggested. (*Cheers.*)

The second point is, in my opinion, even of greater importance than the first. I mean the right of interpellation. (*Cheers.*) That will be the beginning of great good. It will place in your hands, for your country's benefit, an engine of enormous power. It will furnish you with a check upon authority. (*Cheers.*) It will entitle you, in the public interests to put questions to Government which they must either answer, or the refusal to answer which, they must refer to a Standing Committee. I can picture nothing more desirable than that we should possess a real and substantial check upon the governing authorities, as they are at present constituted. (*Cheers.*) I speak with all respect when I maintain that it is not for the good of this country, or of Government themselves, that they should be allowed to rule unquestioned and unrestrained, exercising a discretion unfettered by public opinion, (*cheers*), or by the knowledge that they are bound to account to the nation for any single legislative or executive action. (*Cheers.*) I speak after eight years' experience of such a state of things. (*Cheers.*) As an instance of the license to which I allude, let me refer you to what has happened quite lately, within the last 10 days. Do you suppose, gentlemen, that the English Civilian in Central India, whose name I will presently mention, of high official rank, occupying a position of great trust and of grave responsibility—do you think that this officer of the Government would have delivered himself the speech which we have all read—a speech, let me add, to the shame of his English birth and his official reputation—(*loud cheers*)—if we were, at this moment, possessed of the great right and weapon of a public interpellation of the Government. (*Shame, shame!*) The official, to whom I allude, instead of attempting to efface social mistrust, instead of endeavouring to allay religious fanaticism, to still animosity and to appease faction—although himself a representative of that great Power, whose splendid mission in India it is to promote a cordial harmony among the various populations entrusted to its rule—has thought fit to widen the breach that caste and religion have created in this land, to separate one part of India from the other, to foment sectarian hate, to excite the Maharatta against the people of Bengal, and thus to betray his trust to his conscience, his country, and his Queen. (*Loud cheers.*) This official is Sir Lepel Griffin. (*Groans and loud cries of 'shame, shame!'*) Had we the right of interpellation, do you think Sir Lepel Griffin would not have been more cautious before committing himself to a course which, so far as we have yet seen, has provoked not a word of official censure or rebuke? (*Shame, shame!*) If we might put questions, we should

* Vide Clause 2 of Resolution IV of 1889, reprinted at the close of this volume.

put some excessively unpleasant ones. We should ask, for instance, what action the Government of India intended to adopt towards one of their own servants who, in broad daylight and, apparently, under the ægis of their silence, has cast a slur upon the Government of the Queen, and discredited the service of which he is a member. (*Loud cheers.*) Gentlemen, the right of interpellation has received considerable attention from a Native Statesman who has addressed you to-day. (*Loud applause.*) He has himself told you, that he is remarkable for nothing if he is not remarkable for prudence. (*Applause.*) Never in the whole course of his career has Rajah Sir T. Madava Rao shown himself more prudent than he has to-day, in speaking on this resolution. (*Cheers.*) I recollect some 4 or 5 years ago, when he addressed the natives of this city in a popular institution, in the presence of many Englishmen, that he induced us all in Patcheappah's Hall to insist upon the right to interpellate the Government as being a fresh guarantee of national security and independence. (*Loud cheers.*) Sir T. Madava Rao spoke with all the prudent authority due to one who had himself for many years held the reins of Government, and experienced something of the lust of power. (*Laughter.*) The suggestion of such a safeguard, coming from such prudential quarters may, therefore, fairly be accepted, not only with gratitude, but also with safety. (*Loud applause.*) Once again, when Lord Ripon, (*loud and continued cheers*), who has done so much for us all (*renewed cheering*) when Lord Ripon landed in Madras, he was met by a large section of our most highly educated native gentlemen. In the petition that was presented to him by, I think, Sir T. Madava Rao, this very question of the interpellation of the Government was insisted upon with some force. (*Cheers.*) This shows that we are not straining after an empty chimera, (*cheers*), but that we are demanding that practical and reasonable concession which has already received the approval of so moderate, so practical, and so prudent a statesman as your fellow-countryman, Rajah Sir T. Madava Rao. (*Loud cheers.*)

I do not know of any measure which will more surely, or more speedily, effect the advancement and enlightenment of this country than the measure for which I speak. I believe that the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils on the lines indicated, and the employment of a large number of the natives of the country upon those Councils will tend, not merely towards political progress, but to create and foster and disseminate throughout this enormous empire an increase of that sense of self-respect without which you can never hope to become a nation worthy of true political advancement. (*Cheers.*) These, surely, are aims worthy of achievement: those surely are objects worthy of some self-sacrifice. (*Cheers.*) You will not win them easily. I do not believe you will get them from the Government of India. You will have to reach the ears and touch the hearts of the great English people, as you have already done, to a limited extent, through the medium of such men as Messrs. Manomohun and Lal Mohun Ghose, Mr. Chandavarkar, and Mr. Ramasamy Mudaliar. The people at Home know next to nothing about you. They are in absolute ignorance of our form of Government. They do not know your wants. They believe that our system of Government here is ever surely and beneficently carried on, and they believe it is carried on more or less upon the lines of their own free rule. You must disturb that belief. You must continually agitate, both in India and in England. Words are not enough. You must be up and doing. You must act. We must not mind, if we are sneered at as "agitators." We, in Madras, are accustomed to that of old. (*Laughter.*) Boldly and constantly re-affirm your great resolution, till you carry it in spite of all, (*cheers*), carry it and by your indomitable courage and perseverance break down the barriers of suspicion, of ignorance, of indifference. (*Loud cheers.*) The time is fast coming, when you shall enjoy that fuller political franchise which you are fit to enjoy even to-day. (*Loud and continued cheering.*) Its attainment needs, as I have told you, considerable self-sacrifice. You will not be reluctant, you, who have already shown so much self-sacrifice by attending here, some of you from such enormous distances, and all of you at much personal inconvenience, for you will all recognize that the cause is worth your most devoted services. (*Cheers.*) Accord to it that ungrudging labour and single-mindedness of purpose of which you have not stinted it hitherto. (*Cheers.*) Even if we ourselves do not live to see the great reform carried out in our own time—though I am convinced, the boon is not far distant—(*cheers*) there is not a little ennobling in the belief, not a little consoling in the reflection, that we are working not merely selfishly for ourselves, but unselfishly for the generations of our children yet unborn. (*Loud cheers.*) These, when we are dead, though not forgotten, shall bless us for our labours (*cheers*) and make grateful and reverent mention of our names

who, meeting here to-day, and elsewhere, year after year, with stubborn insistence, (*cheers*), devote our lives with ready gladness, and whatever of eloquence and of energy we may possess, to the triumph of a measure, which we believe to be necessary for the national welfare, (*cheers*), and to be indispensable for the security and progress of ourselves and of our children. (*Loud cheers.*) Let us labour in a spirit of mutual brotherhood and forbearance, for the realisation of so grand a dream (*loud cheers*), patient in the trials we may have to endure to-day, because we are secure in our belief that to-morrow will bring us consolation (*cheers*) and strong in the knowledge that, if we are capable of resolute self-sacrifice, we too may hope to

"Stretch a hand through time to catch
The far-off interest of years."

(*Loud and continued cheering.*)

PANDIT BISHAN NARAYAN DAI (*Bengal, No. 517 in List*) next rose and said:—GENTLEMEN,—After the very eloquent speeches that have been made upon this resolution, in regard to the expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils, it well becomes a man of my poor ability to hide his diminished head and it is only the sense of national duty that impels me to speak a few words instead of remaining silent. But this is a subject of the most vital importance to this country—indeed, I know no subject at all comparable, in its importance to all of us, with this subject of the inclusion of a representative element in the Government of India. (*Loud applause.*) Gentlemen, I am inclined to think with our eloquent proposer that, under existing circumstances, there is great wisdom at this hour of the day in laying less stress upon the details of the subject, and more upon the principle more especially, when we consider the state of public opinion in England. —(*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, when Lord Salisbury, in his repudiation of Ireland's claim to Home Rule, groups us Indians and Hottentots, together as equally without the pale of political freedom, when Goldwin Smith says, that to grant the Hindus any form of popular government would be to hand them over to a murderous anarchy; when the *Times of London* says, that India has been conquered by the sword, and by the sword it must be held, when the *Quarterly Review* says that we are unfit for freedom, because we are a nation of liars, (*voices of 'shame, shame'*), when Mr. Froude, whose antipathy to democracy is well-known, says, that in case we show any signs of discontent, he would send a contingent of Australians and pack us off, to other scenes, when this is the state of public opinion in certain, not altogether unimportant, quarters in England, I say it is necessary to discuss the principle itself, and thus, if possible, clear away the delusions which seem to stand in the way of its acceptance by a considerable section of the English nation. (*Hear, hear.*)

Gentlemen, there are a great many advantages that we all know must accrue from the introduction of some, or any, real form of representative institutions into this country. I shall simply allude to one which, I believe, to be one of the greatest of all, *viz.*, that such institutions constitute the best practical school for mental and moral discipline. Gentlemen, the very idea that you are citizens of a vast Empire and that your actions and opinions have a permanent and substantial influence over the welfare of your country is in itself a restraining power of the highest moral value. Gentlemen, to be called upon, from time to time, to take part in the affairs of your country, to discuss, with the sense of responsibility that power gives, public questions; to have to employ your highest faculties in the management of affairs that have a direct bearing on your country's glory, and on the happiness of her people, these things, I say, are all steps in the education necessary for the unfolding of all the speculative and practical faculties of a nation.

Gentlemen, wherever a nation is debarred from this education, though there may be genius in it, it will wither undeveloped; and though there may still be certain kinds of literary and artistic activity; though there may be philosophers, metaphysicians and scientists, there will never be an intelligent public, or a nation really capable of judging or appreciating the policies of its rulers, or capable even of benefiting, to the fullest extent, by such experience and wisdom, as their rulers may possess. Such a nation may be temporarily glorified by the effulgence of the fine arts and the lustre of the more effeminate types of poetical genius, but it will lack that instinctive sense of liberty, that robustness of character which are essential to all healthy and, therefore, progressive, national life.

Gentlemen, the sentiment of nationality is, perhaps, the grandest out-come of British Rule in India. But, though it is to them we owe the seed, the *plant* is still in its infancy; and it requires very careful fostering before it can grow up into a strong and stately tree, under the shadow of whose mighty branches the planters may repose. We must do, as we are doing this day, all we can, but it is to them to whom we owe the inspiration, to foster, by conceding what we aspire to, what they have called into life.

Gentlemen, what is the strongest objection brought against our demand for Representative Government for this country? It is said that India is divided by petty sectarian differences and that, moreover, she is divided into two great rival nationalities, Hindu and Mahomedan. It is alleged that in a country where there are so many sects and so many creeds and above all, two such great rival parties, representative institutions are unworkable. Well, gentlemen, this argument has been answered and disposed of, time after time, so that it seems impossible that it can now-a-days be brought forward in earnest by people capable of thinking. Turn it over in our minds as we will, it is impossible to discover in it any of that cogency which people often profess to attach to it. There is one point and only one point on which there is not a perfect accord, a perfect sense of oneness, between Indian Hindus and Indian Mahomedans, and that is, of course, their religious beliefs. In social customs, in manners and languages, in their habits of thought, and I may say even in their prejudices, and in their inclinations, there is no essential difference between them. Why, the whole past history of India shows how, when there was no British Government, Hindus and Mahomedans pulled on together, and how if they fought, they fought about secular, and not religious matters. It shows that Hindu generals have led Mahomedan armies more than once and that Mahomedan swords have been unsheathed on behalf of Hindus.

But, gentlemen, it has been urged that, as the larger portion of the population is Hindu, the introduction of Representative Government, in India, will place the Mahomedans at the mercy of the Hindus, as they will form a great majority, and put their own interests before Mahomedan interests and do everything they like. Now, gentlemen, for my part, I have never been able to understand what is meant by Mahomedan and Hindu interests. In Europe, there may be Catholic interests and Protestant interests, because there, there is a real connection between the Church and the State, and yet the existence of such interests have not prevented the success of representative institutions. But in India, no such connection exists and the objection seems to me wholly futile. In England, I could understand this objection having some specious appearance of validity. I could, I say, understand this, because there are two powerful parties, the Established Church, and the Non-Conformists, both of which might have their antagonistic political interests, but, even in England, we do not find that these supposed antagonistic sectarian interests have, in any way, impaired the success of representative institutions and how can it do so, in India, where, fortunately, there is no connection between Church and State? The Government has wisely taken its stand upon the principle of religious neutrality and, under these circumstances, to pretend that there are, in matters of politics, Mahomedan interests distinct from Hindu interests, is really mockery, delusion, and a snare. (*Hear, hear.*) Sir, I think that if you look into this question dispassionately, you will find that, so far as India is concerned, Mahomedan interests and Hindu interests have no separate existence whatsoever.

But, gentlemen, there is yet another thing of which we hear, as barring the way to the fruition of our aspirations. It is said that there is such hostility between Hinduism and Mahomedanism as to render it impossible. To this, I first reply, that were this really so, it would be the strongest of all reasons why Representative Government should be introduced into this country. Why, gentlemen, supposing the Hindus and Mahomedans were really divided by deep social and religious prejudices, are we to keep them apart and perpetuate that supposed hostility? Would not the question rather be, how to remove these prejudices, how to dissipate that hostility, and how to blend the two communities into one nation? Now, gentlemen, sectarian prejudices are the result of selfishness of the heart and patriotism is the best corrective of selfishness. A representative form of government is best calculated to eradicate all hostile race prejudices by raising men above the cloud of selfishness into the purer regions of the wider and more enlarged sympathies of national feeling. By the more intimate intercourse it necessitates, by the juster mutual appreciation it engenders and in a

thousand other ways, it removes those prejudices and that sectarian bias, which stand in the way of unity between the various communities which are combined in it.

But I need not pursue this question further, because, though accepting them for the sake of argument, I deny the premises. I say if this terrible antagonism did exist, even then, representative institutions would do more than anything else to remove it. But I deny that it exists. There are few ignorant people of both communities—mostly, what the English papers call 'roughs'—who, at festivals, when intoxicated by religious zeal and, perhaps, something else, will fight, and there may be a Hindu or a Mahomedan leader, here and there, who, from selfish motives, tries to engender the hatred that does not exist, and speaks of it as if it were really so. But, gentlemen,—and I speak to several hundreds of both communities—is it true, that we Hindus and Mahomedans hate each other in this way (*cries of 'no, no'*) and is it not a fact that we live as very good friends? (*Cries of 'yes, yes'!*) We have our ways in minor matters and you don't perhaps much like them, but, we don't want you to follow them, and you have your ways and they are not quite like ours—and we don't disc together, or intermarry—neither do we Hindus of different castes amongst each other, for that matter—but despite all this, the great mass of us are good friends, rejoicing in each other's good fortune and sympathizing in each other's troubles; and is this a state of affairs that precludes the introduction of Representative institutions? (*Loud applause.*)

But, gentlemen, there are the recorded views of some of the most eminent Englishmen who have held high offices in this country. But, I am afraid, I have taken too much of your time, and I shall not detain you with their views. (*Cries of 'no, no,' 'go on, go on.'*) Since you are so indulgent, I will venture to quote some of the views, to which I referred. You all know Sir Richard Temple. He was not an enthusiastic advocate of the Hindus. What does he say about this demand for Representative Government? He says:—

"For all that it must be remembered that the elective principle is essential to that political training which every stable government (like that of British in India) must desire to see possessed by its subjects. . . . Public spirit cannot be created without entrusting the people with a part of their own public business, a part limited at first, but increasing as their fitness shall grow. Even if political risks should accrue, they must be borne in performing the duty which the British Government owes to the people of India. In that country, a trustful policy will be found a wise one, and that which is sound morally, will prove to be the safest politically."

This is the view of Sir Richard Temple. The view of Sir John Lawrence, in 1864, was:—

"The people of India are quite capable of administering their own affairs, and the municipal feeling is deeply rooted in them. The village communities, each of which is a little republic, are the most abiding of Indian institutions. Holding the position we do in India, every view of duty and policy should induce us to leave as much as possible of the business of the country to be done by the people."

Now, gentlemen, here is the opinion of the greatest statesman this century has seen—the patriarch of British Liberalism. (*Loud cheers.*) Mr. Gladstone says:—

"I hold that the capital agent in determining finally the question whether our power in India is or is not to continue, will be the will of the two hundred and forty millions of people who inhabit India. The question who shall have Supreme Rule in India is, by the laws of right, an Indian Question; and those laws of right are from day to day growing into laws of fact. Our title to be there depends on a first condition, that our being there is profitable to the Indian nations; and on a second condition, that we can make them see and understand it to be profitable."

Now, gentlemen, all these things lead me to believe that it is by no means on a hopeless quest that they have embarked who are now at this time, seeking to secure the expansion of our councils and the introduction of some tentative form of Representative Government in India. Gentlemen, that we all desire this, the unanimous voice of the country here embodied declares, and it is a desire which has been created in us by the English Government itself and which is the greatest glory of that Government. England has moved us from our ancient anchorage. She has cast us adrift, against our will, upon the wide waters of a seething proletariat, and we

turn back to England and ask her to grant us that compass of representative institutions by which, amid a thousand storms, she has steered her prosperous course to the safe haven of regulated political freedom. (*Loud applause.*)

Gentlemen, the desire for greater freedom is not confined simply to the educated classes, but is shared also by the uneducated classes, by the masses who feel it as keenly as we do, but, in whom it has not (and in this lies the danger) yet found an articulate utterance. Gentlemen, it is in truth a *national* demand that we are making this day, and it is the duty of every one of us so far as in him lies to bring home this fact to the British Government and the British public, and to open their eyes to the true character of the efforts that are being made to blind that Government and that public, to the universality of the desire of which the proposition, now before us, is a temperate expression.

Two of the most eloquent speakers who preceded me have referred in very just terms to Sir Lepel Griffin, and to another person, a native gentleman of very high repute. One of them has been inciting the Mahrattas against the Bengalees, the other, whatever he may allege, has been, in practice, egging on the Mahomedans to be less friendly with the Hindus (*cries of 'shame, shame.'*) And this gentleman is the class of man, and the only class, that denies, what we all so well know, the truly national character of our present demand. Well, things hidden from political sages have sometimes been revealed to the masses of the people; and, believe me, gentlemen, that those are no true statesmen who are blind to the dawning lights of the fires which Western civilization is kindling in our hearts, and who raise their puny arms to arrest the chariot of India's destined development. Gentlemen, the demand we are making is a national demand; and strong in the consciousness that we are the honest mouth-pieces of countless millions, too long dumb, I ask you not to take to heart too much, the base insinuations or the idle clamours that may be raised against you, and the sacred task you have in hand. These will all pass away, the rising tide (*loud cheers*) is with us; so, let us unite together in the performance of this noble task which is, practically, the political regeneration of India. Let us aim, not to do good to one community or to two communities, to Hindus or Mahomedans, but to all the communities, and all the sects of India. That is undoubtedly the noble ideal, the national ideal that we have set before us, the realization of which will be the political, Kingdom of Heaven. The various races, sects, and creeds of India will blend together into one imperial whole, in which all a free-born British subject's privileges and rights will be obtained and enjoyed; not by one sect or creed, but by all, and thereby the British Government, so far from being weakened, will be strengthened beyond measure. (*Applause.*) For the link which will then join a happy and united India to England will not be the link of fear, will not be the link of servility, but it will be the link of affection and gratitude which no misfortune can sever, and which no calamity can shatter. (*Loud applause.*)

THE PRESIDENT said:—Before I call upon the next speaker, I think it is necessary, seeing the amount of work that we have yet to get through, to say that I feel disposed to follow the rule which was laid down by my predecessors, *viz.*, that speakers should try, if possible, to confine their speeches within the limit of 5 minutes.

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA (*Allahabad, No. 486 in List*) then said.—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—My heart beats high within me as I rise to speak on this great subject. You have listened to the weighty words of Sir P. Madava Rao and the eloquent appeals of Babu Surendranath Bannerjee, Mr. Hardley Norton and others, and if, after such speakers as these, I venture to address you, it is with the hope that you will grant me that indulgence which, being placed in this position, I earnestly crave of you. Gentlemen, after what has been said, it would be difficult to advance further arguments, or to bring forward additional reasons, as to the expediency and necessity for this great reform. But allow me to say this much, that, placed as we are in this country under a foreign Government, however benevolent and generous its motives—the motives of those who take part in the administration,—we stand in the greatest need of our own representatives in the Legislative Councils. Gentlemen, the whole of Europe, with the exception of Russia, has declared that the most efficient and best form of government for any country, which has made any advance in civilization, is a government, conducted not solely

by the few for the many, but to a greater or less extent by the many for themselves—the government, in fact, in which the representatives of the people have some potential share—and if this be expedient for European countries, where the rulers and the ruled are of the same nationality, and where they are of the same religion, I think, it must be conceded that it is even more essential for India, which is inhabited by people whose habits, manners, customs, language, race and creed differ from those of their rulers. If we demand for India that there should be representatives of her people in the State Councils—we only ask for what, not simply Europe, but America, Australia, and almost the whole civilized world, have declared with one unanimous voice to be essential, for any Government that is to be suitable to any country, as it is only where the representatives of the people are allowed to take part in that administration, that the wants and wishes, the aspirations and grievances of the people can be adequately set forth, properly understood or duly provided for. That being so, gentlemen, I think, there cannot possibly be two opinions on the point, that the reform which we crave for from Government, is one so essential, for the well-being of this country, that it should be conceded to us, without the least avoidable delay. This is now the third time that we have thus been meeting at yearly intervals, we have come from every district, from the most distant portions of this Empire, and in many cases, at the cost of great personal sacrifice. We have nothing personally to gain, no selfish aim to serve. We come together, chosen by our fellow-countrymen, primarily, to press upon Government the fact that the country stands badly in need of this reform, and that the entire nation prays for it. But, unhappily, Government has not as yet listened to our people's prayer!

What is it that we see year after year?—People assembling from all parts of India,—from the Punjab, Sindh, Assam, Madras, Bengal, Bombay, the N.-W. Provinces, Oadh, the Central Provinces, from every province, from every town,—coming together to implore Government humbly to grant this reform, which is, after all, their birth-right as free-born British subjects. (*Loud cheers.*) It is no desire or motive of self-ambition that brings these people together at such heavy cost, and at such great personal inconvenience. There is no taint of self-interest in the matter. No. Their sole idea is that India, their country, of all things, stands badly in need of this fundamental reform and they hope, and God grant that they may not hope in vain, that their unselfish persistence in asking may secure for their native land this great boon! I cannot possibly believe that there is one single educated Indian, who after studying this question can rest happy in his mind, without trying his very best to secure this reform. (*Applause.*) I cannot possibly believe that any good man who once really understands what this reform truly means for his country and his countrymen, for his kinsmen, his children and himself, can remain indifferent to it. And, gentlemen, neither we nor any other intelligent Indians are indifferent to it—and though thus far success has not crowned our efforts, we must only go up to Government again and ask their earliest consideration of our demands, or of our prayers, (call them which you will) and entreat them, again and again, to concede to us this reform. Gentlemen, it is nothing very great we are asking them to do. The British Government has already made this concession to so many countries. So many colonies, so many British Colonies enjoy it. Canada, the Cape, the Australian Colonies, innumerable smaller places, even the so-called crown colonies, except perhaps the Fiji Islands and some purely military posts, all enjoy some measure, and most of them the fullest measure, of Representative Government. Britain has granted or conceded this concession to all these places. (*Applause.*) Why should she withhold it from the people of India? (*Hear, hear.*) Does she think that we are less loyal than her subjects in other lands? (*Hear, hear and applause.*) Australia would break with her to-morrow if she ventured to prevent Australia from taxing British goods, while we, in all good temper, accept an odious income-tax, vilely administered, and imposed not to meet the expenses of our own Government, but to provide funds to enable Great Britain to annex Burmah or menace Russia. (*Loud and continued applause.*) Does she think we are not prepared for the privilege? I think this very Congress is proof positive of our ripeness for the task and of the intelligence and knowledge which would be brought to bear upon the affairs of the nation if only the Government were kind enough to accede to our wishes. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, I am sorry that, looking to the announcement our worthy President has made, I cannot venture to take up much more of your time, but if you will permit it I will go on for a few minutes more. (*voices 'Go on.'*) I thank you, gentlemen, for this indulgence. This question of the reform of the Legislative Councils is one in regard to which too much

can hardly be said. Something was said in speeches in Parliament about the Budget being introduced there at an earlier date, but what effective criticism can we hope for there, if we do not supply the materials by our criticisms when the Budget is introduced here? But how can we, outside, criticise a thing of details, when those details are skilfully veiled from us? It is only when we have our own representatives *inside* the Government, who can get at those essential details, that we shall ever be able to control, or at any rate effectively protest against, financial mismanagement.

The Indian Councils Act was passed when the Government was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown. According to the provisions of that Act, the expenditure of this country should be checked and controlled by the Secretary of State, assisted by a Council. But how has this been carried out? We see that provision was made for the Budget, being presented to Parliament with the object of securing some check. But we also know that no less a personage than Professor Fawcett of lamented memory, speaking in Brighton in 1872 was compelled to confess that "the most trumpery question ever brought before Parliament—a wrangling over the purchase of a picture, a road through a Park—, excited more interest, than the welfare of 180,000,000 of our Indian fellow-subjects." (*Loud applause.*) And as it was then, so it is now. It is not only Professor Fawcett; moreover, who has protested against this monstrous injustice. Year after year some honest independent Politician has raised his voice against a state of things which if it means our misery, means also England's shame. Even this last session, Mr. Bradlaugh rose to protest "against the practice of bringing this subject (the Indian Budget) forward at so late a period of the Session. Last year the Budget was considered on June 21st and the year before, on August 6th. It was not right to leave to the last moment of the Session—the only opportunity that was afforded to Parliament of considering the wishes and the grievances of the 200,000,000 of people whom we rule. That any Parliamentary control should be exercised over the affairs of India was impossible when the Indian Budget figured upon paper as the 8th order upon "one of the last days of an expiring Session." (*Applause.*) Following him, Mr. Reid said: "How could Parliament do anything when these matters were only brought to its cognizance on one of the very last days of a weary session when only fifteen or sixteen gentlemen had sufficient energy left to watch the proceedings—the debate was almost reduced to a farce—the discussion was begun at about a quarter past six o'clock and in four or five hours from that time they would have settled the affairs of 200,000,000 of their fellow-subjects and sanctioned the expenditure of between seventy or eighty millions of money. Surely, it would be better to delegate these duties than to continue doing that which was a mere mockery. Would it not be possible to appoint a Committee to overlook the affairs of India, in order that the people of that country might know that their interests were being cared for adequately by the Imperial Parliament." (*Loud applause.*)

Then again, Sir John Gorst, in connection with this matter, said: "The regret which the Honorable Member expressed with regard to the late period of the session at which the affairs of India had come up for discussion was shared by the Government with those who sat on the opposite side of the House. He believed every one would be glad, if it were possible, to bring the affairs of India under consideration of the House at a time when more members were present and when greater interest would be taken in the matter. Although many promises to introduce Indian Financial Statements earlier in the session had been made, no Government had ever succeeded in fulfilling those promises, and ever since he had had a seat in the House, the Indian Budget had been one of the incidents of the Sessions that had immediately preceded the Prorogation." (*Applause.*)

Now, gentlemen, you see that Parliament will not or cannot give that consideration even to our Budget, even to the expenditure of 80 millions of money, yearly wrung out of the country—and none know better than you do with what hardships to the people,—that we have a right to expect from them,—that common sense and justice demand,—and if this be the case with the Budget, what chance have the rest of our affairs of getting a hearing of any kind? I say none and, therefore, we ask Parliament to allow us to look after our own affairs. We say if you cannot or will not do your duty by us, at least put us in a position to do some portion of our duties to ourselves. We say, we entreat you in all fairness to allow us some control over our Budget, to put us in a position to say something through our representatives about

it when it is brought into the Council. (*Applause.*) to give us some voice here in the management of our domestic affairs. But it would seem as if our entreaties were vain. They will not do their duty by the country themselves and they will not allow us to do it. (*Applause.*) Can anything be more cruel, or more unjust of the English nation which professes to love freedom and justice and boasts itself the founder of constitutional and free Government? Gentlemen:—After this, I think nothing need be said by England about justice and freedom if this concession is not granted to us.

Gentlemen, I must express my regret that the rapidly passing minutes debar me from speaking on this subject more fully, as I should wish to do, though I know it does not require much further illustration after the speeches you have heard. Allow me now to say in conclusion that we should continue to press this righteous demand on the Government and if all else fail simply ask them to act according to their own Christian principles which tell them to do unto others as they would be done by. (*Applause.*) Would the English nation like to have their affairs treated in this way? would they tolerate it for one instant? Would they even dare to treat us in this way, did they not know that we are the most patient and law-abiding people on the face of the earth? Only 29 members present out of 675, or something like that, when the welfare of 250 million souls is to be discussed and when a sum of seventy or eighty millions is to be disposed of. (*Loud applause.*) How would they like their own affairs to be treated in that way? Would they, I repeat, stand it for one week? Would they dare thus to deal with only five millions of Irishmen? Gentlemen, I must leave them to reply, and that reply if truthful, must be their own condemnation. No, Gentlemen, let them allow us a gradually increasing liberty to look after and manage our own business and they will find that we shall forget any temporary injustice that their negligence has caused us and *always, always* remember *per contra* all the good they have done us and be grateful to them for all this and not least grateful for that concession we are now urging. (*Applause.*)

RAO SAHEB RAGHUNATH PANDURANG KARANDIKAR (*Sabara, No. 410 in List*) said:—GENTLEMEN,—It is hardly necessary for me to support the proposition now before this assembly which is in itself so strong that it clearly needs no support from anybody, least of all, after the many speeches which have been delivered, support from an humble voice like mine. But I must add something as a representative from the Bombay Presidency though I shall confine myself to only a few sentences. What we ought all to do is, to look to the practice of Government in passing Acts, which, we will hope, will give a clue to their practice in dealing with the requests of the people also. We have three times affirmed this proposition. We asserted it first in 1885, affirmed it in 1886 and re-affirmed it in 1887, and I venture to hope that this will be the last time because we all know that Bills in the Legislative Councils are all read three times, and only three times. Now, this is the third reading of this National Bill, and I hope that it will now be passed and that our efforts will be crowned this year with success, and our requests will be fully granted. I need hardly say anything more. (*Applause.*)

MR. SIBAPATHY MUDALIAR (*Bellary, No. 272 in List*) GENTLEMEN,—Before I commence the few words I am going to say I hope you will not be disappointed if I say that I am not going to give a lecture, as my predecessors, who had the ability to do so, have done on representative Government. I mean to speak only of a few facts—facts that are, I think, convincing as to the mutual friendship that prevails in the Bellary district, where I and my colleagues are living, between Hindus and Mahomedans. (*Applause.*) During the Mohurram festival for the last three years there were grave apprehensions entertained by the officials of the place, as well as by other people, as to some conflict between the ignorant mobs of both creeds, but to the great credit of the Mahomedans, as well as of the Hindus, they both cheerfully gave up some of their rights as to places through which their processions usually passed, when they saw that it would be a convenience to the members of the sister religion, and I can boldly say that, so far as my knowledge goes, the Hindus and Mahomedans of our place have no feeling of ill-will towards each other, and that there is absolutely no disunion amongst them. (*Applause.*)

When the Municipal Bill was being enacted I was appointed one of the members of the Committee that sat to frame the present Madras Municipal Act. During the discussion

of the provisions, I was strongly in favor of certain clauses being inserted but which were excluded by official interference. I mean so far as the election of a chairman was concerned. I considered that such a matter should be left entirely in the hands of non-officials and not in the hands of the officials. One of my European colleagues feared that as they had had an unfortunate riot in the district of Salem, if that clause was inserted in the Act, there would be riots all over India, although I pointed out to him that he was mistaken in his views, as my experience of the Bellary district—in fact of the whole of the Ceded Districts—was that Hindus and Mahomedans were very friendly with each other. (*Applause.*) As an instance, I had even gone the length of showing him that at the recent elections which had taken place a month or two previously the Hindus elected three leading inhabitants who were Mahomedans, as Councilors, and the voters were for the most part all Hindus. (*Applause.*) This itself was evidence that no spirit of rivalry, or animosity existed as far as that Province was concerned. (*Applause.*) But still this did not satisfy him—I mean my European colleague, who was an official of high standing. Then I told him in plain words that if he meant to bring forward this argument for not supporting my proposition, I should simply bring out the present state of Ireland where riots were always going on. They had no Mahomedans and Hindus there to cause all these riots. They were all one nation and professed one religion. I attributed the riots amongst Hindus and Mahomedans, firstly to bad administration and, secondly to the wretchedness and ignorance of the lower classes, which also are due to that bad administration, and when I mentioned those facts it was enough to shut his mouth, and he had nothing more to say on the subject. It is very unfortunate that our critics seize upon this imaginary religious animosity whereby to blot our character and if possible defeat our hopes, and we must simply, it seems to me, point out persistently, instances, where Hindus and Mahomedans have been acting in perfect unison, which have come under our own personal notice, as I have just done. I have nothing more to say. I thank you for listening to me. (*Applause.*)

RAJAH RAMPAL SINGH :—(*Allahabad, No. 485 in List*) GENTLEMEN,—I do not rise here to make any set speech, but I think I may touch on certain circumstances which will help to illustrate this question of reform in the Legislative Council. Gentlemen, we the people of India are permitted (nominally) to send a certain limited number of our countrymen, who are elected by the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governors, to these existing Councils. It is very kind of them to take this trouble off our shoulders, but with their permission we would rather elect them ourselves. Joking apart, the defect which lies in this present system is this: the natives who sit in Council are chosen by the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors whom they look to as their constituents and are not, therefore, likely to bring forward the views of the people, whom they in no way represent, and on whose suffrages they are in no way dependant. Necessarily these men, who are mostly the favourites of Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, think of nothing but pleasing their Patrons; there are noble exceptions, but this is the rule. (*Hear, hear.*) On one occasion, I was talking to a gentleman, who has the honor of being a Member of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws, but who knew not one syllable of English. (*Laughter.*) He was one of the Maharajahs of the North-Western Provinces, and a relation of mine too. (*Laughter.*) I asked the Maharajah: "How did you manage to vote and take part in the discussion?" (*Laughter.*) He told me, "It was difficult for me at first; for I do not understand English, nor was I allowed to take anybody with me to explain what went on to me, (*laughter*), but as I received it through the favour of the Viceroy, I raise my hand whenever the Viceroy raises his, and I hold down mine when he holds down his hand." (*Loud laughter.*)

MR. W. S. GANTZ, (*Madras, No. 52 in List*) rose and said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN.—I must ask your indulgence for five minutes and for five minutes only. With the general principle underlying this proposition, I apprehend, we all agree and, therefore, it is not necessary for me to follow, at any length, the previous speakers who have so eloquently addressed you. I did not intend to speak on this subject, until I this morning saw the last issue of the *Madras Mail*. But, since we have had, from one or two speakers, allusions to the utterances or writings of prominent men in the northern portion of India, which certainly are very decided opinions, I trust, I may be permitted to refer to another and very different view. I find the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, Sir A. Colvin, speaking so lately as the

19th of this month, in regard to representative institutions said that "the business of Administration in India becomes more complex as years pass on and the wants of the country grow more numerous; and he went on to say that "It is impossible for Government, unaided by the people, either to know, or to supply all these wants. It is to the co-operation of the people in the administration of certain branches of public business, that the Government must look, to enable it to deal successfully with its difficulties. The assistance which may be thus rendered to Government has a two-fold advantage. It enables the Government to work more efficiently, and it trains those who assist it, in those habits of exertion, of self-discipline and of interesting themselves in the general welfare, which lie at the root of all progress and improvement."

Gentlemen, I think these are very appropriate words and, I say, they supplement in a most marked and significant degree the remarks culled from the speeches of others. Sir A. Colvin further says "Nobody knows better than I, how sound is the sense and how temperate the judgment of the Natives of this Province, and I look with great confidence to the ultimate success of the institutions that have been given us. But the best way of obtaining success is to look facts in the fact. The fact is that all of us, both official and private, are at the commencement only of an effort which requires, for many years to come, all our energies, and which will need all the intelligence, patience, forbearance and good will which all of us can bring to it." I thought it was my duty, when I saw this extract, to lay it before the meeting and you will pardon me for reciting it to you.

Gentlemen, I much regret that some members of these existing Councils whose constitution we have been criticising, have not risen and spoken in regard to the work, of these Councils. I see several gentlemen here who have been members of Council, and I see one very prominent member of the Madras Council, and I very much regret, indeed, that not one of these gentlemen has got up and said a word about these Legislative Councils. Let me ask them now, to do so. Let me put to them the simple question, whether it is not true that every public measure of any importance that comes before these Councils is practically framed and shaped and pushed through by Government, so that free and independent criticism is absolutely impossible? Have they, has any independent member, ever any potential voice in determining the outcome of their deliberations? So far as any real practical good comes of their labours, beyond, perhaps, the softening of some repugnant clause, might they not just as well remain at home? I throw out these as questions and I should like to have definite replies. On what principle are gentlemen nominated to these Legislative Councils? (*Voices 'none, none.'*) That is the opinion, I see, of some gentlemen from Bengal. If it is the opinion in Bengal, I can assure you it is the opinion in Madras also. But, inasmuch as these institutions are considered to be representative institutions, we have a right to know who and what these men are. Are they to be the men who, in the eloquent and significant language of Rajah Rampal Singh hold up their hands when the Viceroy holds up his, and keep theirs down when he keeps his down? (*Laughter.*)

Gentlemen, in regard to the question of Self-Government (and the remarks of Sir A. Colvin, which I have quoted, originated in certain matters appertaining to this that came before him,) I may say that I have had some experience of the working of self-Government in the Mofussil, and I tell you that Self-Government, as it exists in this Presidency is simply nothing more than a sham and a delusion. (*Applause.*) I can tell you that we cannot even raise the pay of an ordinary duffadar, by one rupee, without sanction. (*Applause.*) The Municipalities are called upon to spend large sums of money, year after year, in the maintenance and the support of educational, medical, and charitable institutions, and in regard to these also, we have no real control, but have simply to find the money; we are overridden by some dominant official who takes us under his paternal wing. In one particular station, there was the greatest dissension and the greatest dissatisfaction in regard to the working of one particular branch of that particular Municipality. His Excellency the Governor was expected to visit the place, on his tour, and some of the members thought they would ventilate their grievances in an address. An address was duly prepared by the official chairman which was to be merely an address of welcome to H. E. the Governor, and the dissentient members, who wanted to ventilate their grievances thereupon resolved to wait upon His Excellency by deputation with another address. A meeting was called, at which this second address was to be framed,

and I may tell you this, that in one of those mysterious ways, familiar to most of us, the wires were pulled, and there was no quorum. His Excellency came, received the Chairman's address of welcome, and, in his reply said: "I am happy to find, gentlemen, that you have no wants, and no grievances." (*Laughter and applause.*) That is an instance of the kind of Self-Government, that we enjoy in the Madras Museum.

BABU A. KUMAR DUTT (*Bengal, No. 584 in List*) then ascended the platform bearing a huge bundle and said:—Everybody may wish to know what is the meaning of this burden that I bear here. I have been instructed by Mr. Surendranath Banerjee to place it on this table here. I am not going to inflict a long speech upon you. "Only 5 minutes," as our President is good enough to say. Now, then, gentlemen, I come from a district, which is considered one of the most backward districts in Bengal. If you only hear what I have to say, as to the interest that the people of this backward district take in this question of Reform and Representation, I am sure, you will all be convinced that the time has already come, when the Government should, and without further delay, grant us this concession. Considering the rapid progress the country has made, the genuine enlightenment that prevails on these matters, and the success that has in Bengal, at any rate, attended Local Self-Government, the country's demand, that the electoral principles be duly embodied in the constitution of the Legislative Council is the reverse of premature. All honor to Lord Ripon. (*Lord applause.*) His Local Self-Government has been the chief educator of the people. I have sounded the people myself, gentlemen, in many parts of my province and I have found even the common people, the lowest classes, taking great interest in this matter. The provedog speakers have spoken eloquently, but they have spoken little about the common people and I am going to say something about them—something of what the people feel in my own district. I had to attend a mass-meeting and there I addressed the people on this question of the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils. It was drizzling then, and some people said "better disperse". But the people of the lowest rank, who are called "Chandalas" immediately held up their hands and raised the cry "go on, go on". We had to go on with that address. When it was finished, a Chandal, a very low-caste man, came forward and said "we are going to have our own men to be our Legislators, that is very good, that is very good". (*Applause.*) The man in his delight, actually forgot his position, the surroundings, everything, when he came before the meeting and thus addressed them, and that is how the common people think, in one of our most backward districts, about this subject.

It is not a very difficult question and I have always been staggered by persons saying that these common people do not understand it, and that they look upon us as sedition-mongers who simply wish to kick up a row. They say that the common people do not understand one iota of what we are doing in regard to these things. Now, I have placed before you an example of what illiterate people do understand. I can recount many other instances. Another instance occurred in Backergunje. I was there addressing people on this very subject, and, directly I finished my address, a grim-looking Mussulman, poorly-dressed, stepped out and said: "Babu, I was dreadfully afraid that you had come to impose some new tax upon us. But, after hearing what you have said, I have come forward to pay down this four-anna piece to help on your cause." That four-anna piece was more to that poor old pauper than lacs of rupees are to some of you. That, gentlemen, is how the common people feel about this question. Don't you believe that the common people have no common sense. I know plenty of cases in which, at Municipal elections, the common people voted for, and elected, the best men, though these were opposed by European candidates possessing great local interest, or nominees backed by such influence. All kinds of pressure was brought to bear, but when the election took place, the common people all voted straight. Gentlemen, I could tell you many instances of this sort, I have been going through the various parts of Bengal, and wherever I went, I met with an enthusiastic welcome directly I opened the question of the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils.

Now, here is this burden which I am now about to explain to you. It is a petition, signed by more than 45 thousand persons, praying for this reform. The number of people in Backergunje, who can read and write, is 40 thousand. We have not taken signatures of minors or persons under age. Of these 40 thousand, some 25 thousand have come and put their names to that petition. I want you to work in this way, to bring in signatures from

every district of every province and let us overwhelm the Government with petitions, (*laughter*) and they will be bound to listen to our prayers. When we send in petitions to Government from our meetings, our adversaries say that we exaggerate the number of people who attended the meetings. But, here, you have got the chairman and vice-chairman, so that you can really know how many persons attended the meeting. If you put in signatures like this, there is no gainsaying signatures. If they doubt the signatures, let them send and enquire whether they are not all genuine. I know of one case—no, I am not going to take up your time. (*voices, "go on."*) Thanks for the indulgence. Well, when I was getting these signatures, as I told you, there was one Mussulman. He is almost illiterate. He can barely sign his name. He asked me to explain what the question was about. But another Mussulman explained it all to him. You will be surprised how he got to the very pith and marrow of this matter. He said, "Look here, as we elect our arbitrators, and as we hold ourselves bound by the decisions of such people, so let us elect our own men to be our Legislators and they will pass laws by which we will gladly be bound." It is clear that the people really understand the question. They know what it is to put questions before arbitrators to elect their own Panchayats. Now that is Local Self-Government in conjunction with the Panchayat system. But of 25,000 signatures, there are many thousand signatures of Mahomedans in Backergunje. Here is a telegram that I received from a Mahomedan delegate:—"Regret, unavoidable circumstances, express heartiest sympathy with the Mahomedan community of Backergunje." We are there acting like friends and brothers whenever national questions arise, and we stand shoulder to shoulder, Hindus and Mahomedans, for the advancement of our national cause.

I have given you a picture of Backergunje-life. Other districts give us a brighter picture. But now I will not take up your time. I want everybody else to go home, and to go about bestirring themselves, getting the people to sign petitions. (*Hear, hear.*) I feel as if the Almighty hand were outstretched for the helping of our cause. I begin to see that the Ruler of all the nations of the world has ordained that we should get representative institutions, as soon as we sufficiently exert ourselves. So I want you all to bestir yourselves, this and nothing more, and go onwards! onwards!! onwards!!! Do not cease to agitate; as Mr. Norton has advised us, agitate, agitate, agitate. When we have once put our shoulders to the wheel, as we have done now, we must just push, push, push, on and on, and on, until we have achieved our end. Let us realize and act upon this, and we shall very soon attain that end, fore-shadowed in the encouraging words of Lord Dufferin, uttered on that memorable occasion of the Jubilee, which have been already repeated to you by Babu Surendranath Banerjee.

BABU MOHUN SUDAN DAS (*Bengal, No. 692 in List*) next spoke as follows:—GENTLEMEN AND BROTHER-DELEGATES.—When I came here, I never thought of speaking, but I may assure you that I will not go beyond the limit of five minutes. I came to hear, and not to speak, as, I think, it is always easier to listen than to speak. But, by one or two remarks, which have fallen from previous speakers, I am tempted to lay before you a few facts from my own personal experience. It was said by one of the speakers that in certain quarters we are alleged to be self-constituted delegates. I myself am a delegate and I am proud to say that I come as a duly elected delegate, from a part of Bengal which is, perhaps, the most backward part of Bengal—I mean Orissa. I say, I am proud because the fact that I come from, and was formally elected in, that part of Bengal, shows that, even the masses of a backward province do take an interest in this movement and, Sirs, not only was I elected, but, I am sure, you will be delighted to hear, that two other gentlemen, that are present at this meeting, were also elected delegates from the same part of Bengal. One of them is a very wealthy Zamindar, Babu Romesh Chandra Mandle. He comes as a delegate from Chinsurah and Hugli, but he was also elected a delegate at Balasore. But, even there, the matter does not stop. That these people do really take an interest in a movement of this nature will be further evident from the fact that a brother-delegate who has travelled with me to this place has had all the expenses of the journey paid by his constituents. If there is any measure for the interest which the people take in a cause, it is in the pounds, shillings, and pence that they are willing to disburse to advance that cause. Of all measures, Englishmen, at least, ought to admit that this is the best. (*Applause.*) Again, it has been said by one of the speakers that the aristocracy

of the nation are alleged not to take an interest in this national movement. I can mention one fact which will, not only show that some of the aristocracy do take an interest, but that they take a very keen and active interest in it. My brother-delegate, who has been putting up with me, has just received Rs. 100 by telegram, sent, unsolicited, by one of the Indian Chiefs, towards defraying his expenses, and this is certainly an active interest. Are we to be told that this assembly of delegates is an assembly of self-constituted delegates? (Voices, "no, no.") We are told that the masses of the people do not care for representative institutions, do not value representative institutions and do not ask for representative institutions. To any person who makes these assertions, I should reply, look at this assembly, of which, at any rate, each delegate understands the principle on which he represents hundreds or thousands of people, each one of whom equally understood it, or they could not have elected their delegates. The principle of representation underlies Hindu society in all its various forms and phases. A Hindu, from his childhood understands what representation is, nay, you will also find the principle of representation underlying the Hindu religious system—but I promised not to take more of your time than five minutes, and I have taken exactly five minutes. So, I will not pursue the subject, as I might, but I thought it my duty to mention these two facts, coming within my personal knowledge, which tend to show that the aristocracy, the highest in the land, take a vivid interest in this matter, and that we delegates, are not self-constituted delegates, but, are the formally accredited representatives of hundreds and thousands of people, who elected us to speak for them and take an active and keen interest in this great and growing national movement. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT.—I think, gentlemen, that this question of the reconstitution and expansion of the Legislative Councils, has been thoroughly discussed from the affirmative point of view. So far as the speeches that have been delivered are concerned, they are all in favour of it. It seems to me that it is hardly necessary to go on with any further discussion of the question, unless some one takes the opposite view. (Cries of "no, no.") I take it then that this Congress is practically unanimous upon the question. (Hear, hear and applause.) Our time is limited and life is short, and we have other work to do. It is already 4-30 P.M. and I would ask you, by the indication of your hands to show, whether you desire that the Resolution should now be put to the vote.

(All hands were raised with loud cries of "Vote, Vote.")

Then I put the resolution which will stand as follows:—

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

The resolution was then put and unanimously carried, and the meeting adjourned until 12 noon, next day.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Thursday, the 29th December, 1887.

THE PRESIDENT said:—We proceed to-day to the further discussion of the subjects contained in our programme. The first now standing on the list is the proposal:—

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

This is the proposition which will be discussed first, but I must remind the delegates that we have a very great deal to do and that the time we have at our disposal is exceedingly short, and that it is necessary that gentlemen should bear that in mind, and the proposers and seconders confine their speeches to a period of ten minutes each, and the other speakers to one of five minutes each, and I venture to hope, that all will observe this rule without rendering any interference on my part necessary.

Mr. N. SUBRAANIAM (Madras, No. 9 in List) rose and said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN.—The sight of this vast assembly fills me with immense joy. I see gentlemen here, from every part of this great country, speaking different languages, and professing different faiths, but all come together with one desire—to consider and to discuss questions affecting the welfare of this common country, of our common motherland, (applause), and with one heartfelt feeling of loyalty to one common sovereign. (Applause.) It is to me a source of the deepest joy to see such a huge gathering as this. If any man, twenty years ago, had prophesied that, within a quarter of a century, such a representative gathering from all the different parts of the country, would be possible, he would have been mistaken for a lunatic and, if he was possessed of any property coveted by his relatives, probably promptly walked off to an asylum. (Laughter.) Even if they did not go so far as that, his friends would certainly have winked at each other when he passed and have pointed to his head and said that there was something wrong in his upper story. (Laughter.) But, what has been the real cause or mainspring of such a gathering having been made possible? I answer without any hesitation that the English education—the higher education, which has been granted to this country—has made it possible. (Applause.) That, what was before an impossibility has become a possibility—that men from all parts of the country should come and band together under one "Pandal" and discuss earnestly and lovingly the affairs of this, their common country—for this, gentlemen, we are indebted to the British Government. (Applause.) Mr. T. B. (later, Lord) Macaulay, Sir Charles Trevelyan and other eminent men realized, long ago, the wisdom of imparting a sound English education, and the principle for which they then fought, the dissemination of a sound English education, and whose cause they won, firmly established under the Government of Lord William Bentinck was thenceforth carried out by Government and by Missionary Societies, of whose instruments, Dr. Duff, (applause), the Prince of Indian Missionaries, was the foremost—this principle, I say, continued to be given effect to by the Indian Government and by Missionaries, and lastly, in later times, by our own countrymen, and will, now, be religiously adhered to, I doubt not, to the end of time. (Applause.) Gentlemen, because we, here, forsooth, come and open our minds to Government in regard to the grievances which afflict our country, some people, we hear, say that we are not grateful for the blessings we already enjoy. Nothing is further from the truth. (Applause.) A son, who has received the larger portion of the share of that patrimony to which he is entitled, would not go to his father and say "I have already received from you this and that and the other thing." All that is already known to both of them, but, rather, he would go to his parent and say "Now, father, that I have made a good use of what I have received, give me that other estate to which I am entitled." Here

we are together assembled under this "Pandal"; but, we do not come merely to express gratitude for the blessings we already enjoy, but to prove our gratitude for the English education and railway communication and telegraphic communication and the thousand other blessings we enjoy, (many of which have combined to make it possible for us, thus drawn from all parts of the empire, to meet during our brief holidays,) by discussing all the more important questions that affect our country, and thus pointing out to our benefactors, what is still lacking and how they may best complete their good work. (Applause.) There are critics, who, instead of coming into our midst and seeing and hearing for themselves what we are, and what we are doing and what we say, prejudge us and affect to disbelieve in the goodness of our motives, to disbelieve, as it were, in our loyalty, and then try to sow the seeds of discussion between one section of the community and another. (A voice of 'shame'.) The English Government, the English nation have given us the education and the physical facilities which have made it possible for us thus to come together and enlighten them as to our real condition and wants. But there are isolated Englishmen, some of them in high position even, who attempt to undo and nullify their country's noble work and to sow the seeds of discord amongst our many races. Fortunately for us, these seeds have fallen, it would seem, upon a barren soil. (Loud applause.)

Now, gentlemen, the proposition I have been asked to move is one that was discussed at the last Congress at Calcutta, and it is one that seemed to demand on that occasion no great argument to convince all those present of the necessity of its adoption, and it will not be necessary, I take it, for me now to adduce arguments at any great length in its support. In moving the Resolution, I think it is nothing but right and proper to state some of the qualifications which warrant my presuming to speak upon this subject. Mr. President, while you are much my senior as a Barrister-at-law and an Advocate of the High Court, I may mention that, long before I became a Barrister, I had been in the practice of the Law as a public prosecutor, and a District Court Pleader, from as far back, indeed, as the beginning of 1867, and, although, Mr. President, I may not then have had the privilege of pleading before the High Court Judges, it has been my lot to practise a great deal before the mofussil courts, and the conclusion that I have arrived at is the result of twenty or twenty-one years' experience, before the lower courts where the combination of the Executive and the Judicial functions are daily and hourly before one's eyes and where the evil consequences that arise from that combination are constantly and lamentably apparent. Gentlemen, in principle, every one will admit that it is not right and proper to join together two distinct functions of this nature in one and the same man. Every watchmaker, every manufacturer, every merchant, will tell you that work is done the speediest and most satisfactorily, when it is divided between different hands, each specially trained for and skilled in the part he undertakes. The principle of the division of labor is well understood even by a man who manufactures a hatchet. He gets one man to make the wooden handle, out of wood that other men have cut down and seasoned and that others again have sawn into suitable scantlings, and he gets another man to shape and perhaps sharpen the iron portion out of metal that others have wrung from the stony ore, and then the two are put together in a shorter time, and prove more durable and effective, than if one person had attempted to do the whole work—and the same is true in the present case,—indeed Government have themselves confessed the expediency of the separation of the Executive and Judicial functions—they have so far approved of it as to have carried out this principle in various Provinces. They have carried it out as far as they saw it could be done easily, but they have not carried it out in its entirety. In this Presidency, the judicial work in the higher grades is entirely separated from the revenue work and other executive work. But the two are combined in the Magistrates and Collectors of districts. The District Magistrate and the Collector are rolled into one. The Subordinate Magistrates and the Subordinate Collectors are also rolled into one. The evil consequences arising from this combination are such—but, before I come to that, I would say, first of all, that the kind of work the Magistrate has to perform is wholly different in character from that which the Collector or executive officer has to do. The Magistrate is a judge and by instinct, he ought to be a man thoroughly impartial—he ought never to be led away by reports and rumours or influenced by anything he hears outside. Whereas, the executive officer, in order to be a successful man, ought to have his ears open, in order to turn all such reports and information as he can obtain, to the benefit of his district. The Magistrate must, necessarily

if he is to be a just Magistrate, shut his ears completely to everything said outside of his court and yet, how can the same individual, who is a Magistrate, shut his ears to everything he hears as an executive officer. As an executive officer, the Magistrate is bound to receive all sorts of information and a great deal of information is sent to him by demi-official letters—I do not know whether you have any such document in other Provinces, (voices, 'yes, yes')—and his mind is prejudiced, or let me say, necessarily influenced by the reports sent to him by the Police officers. But he is to set aside all this information, all the bias, nay, all the conviction that is thus necessarily engendered, when he enters his court, where, he must not be biased as a Magistrate one way or the other, in regard to the criminal, and he must know nothing of him or of the case but what comes up in evidence before him. Surely, this is impossible! Again the executive officer, to be successful, has to be in constant touch with the people. He has to know all the vagaries of the various men within his district, all the bad qualities of the men, and yet, that is the very thing which would unfit him for the just performance of his duties as a Magistrate. It is impossible for a man who is an executive officer, to avoid forming his opinion for good or evil in regard to a person that he has to judge, in regard to a witness or criminal or complainant, it is impossible, I say, for him to avoid forming his opinion partly on knowledge acquired out of court and, therefore, impossible for him to deal with them impartially (hear, hear and applause) on the evidence before him and on that evidence alone, as a Magistrate is bound to do. (Hear, hear.) Again, gentlemen, Government, in the selection it makes of these officers, has, I am sorry to say, to a great extent, to be influenced by the success of the man as an executive officer. If he turns out to be a good Collector and shows a large revenue in the district, why, Government does not, it seems to me, much care how he does his magisterial work and the result is, that, good, faithful, and honest as the officers are, when there is work placed before them, magisterial and executive, the temptation to discharge the executive work, in order to win the approbation of Government, is far too great for any man to resist entirely, and he, therefore, sticks to the executive work and scamps the judicial work. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, only for this, if for no other reason, it is absolutely necessary, that one man should be told off to do the executive work, which is no doubt very important, and that another man should be told off to do the magisterial work which is, I submit, if the welfare of the people be regarded, quite equally important. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, such cases are an everyday experience, but, I may tell you of one particular instance, where the combination of the two functions very nearly wrecked a client of mine. There was a case before the Magistrate and I had to defend the prisoner. I successfully defended him and got him off, but the Magistrate told me that if he only used the information he received, and which he received as an executive officer, he should have convicted my client. (Hear, hear.) He received information, which he believed to be true, that my client was guilty, but the evidence on paper was such that he could not convict him and, therefore, he acquitted him. Well, he was one officer who realized the necessity of separating legal from illegal evidence, but, out of ten officers, I believe, that nine, under the like circumstances, would have convicted my client. Gentlemen, I will give you another instance, an instance of the manner in which magisterial work is shelved and takes the second place, because of the pressure of executive work. There is a Magistrate, a personal friend of mine, before whom a prisoner was being tried. He thought the vakils would take up time in arguing the case. He had a great deal of executive work to do, and so he said "Gentlemen, I will not hear your case. I will not hear your arguments. Will you please put down on paper what you have to say and I will read it over at night." (Hear, hear, and laughter.) The vakils did so and the man was convicted. There was another officer that I knew, who was compelled to do these two kinds of work, and he said "Let the other go to the wall" and he confined himself to executive work. Gentlemen, justice in order to be effectual must be speedy and sure, but, by reason of the combination of the two functions, the results are neither speedy nor sure. These are not imaginary cases. I have had hundreds of them. The Magistrate receives a case and he posts the case for a certain day. The day arrives, the parties are there, but the Magistrate has a lot of executive work that must be attended to. He, therefore, goes on with his letters. He has been at them from early morning and he is at them till 10 or 11 o'clock. Even when the Magistrate has had his breakfast, the unfortunate prisoner and witnesses and complainant have to wait till the Magistrate is at liberty to take up the case. It often happens that at 3 or 4 or 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the Magistrate is not, even then, at liberty. He has still got other things to do

and so the case drags on. Sometimes again, the executive work compels the Magistrate to go away far into camp, some 20 miles or more, and there he holds court in his tent. The poor parties that come before him have to wait outside in the sun or rain and then comes the difficulty of getting legal advisers—no legal adviser, worth any thing, can afford to go out and hang about the tents, and, if an unfortunate vakil does go out, he has to roam roundabout the tents for hours, wasting his time with only his Penal Code and Criminal Procedure Code under his arm, to amuse him. (*Laughter.*) He has to wait outside, and when he does go inside, he finds a small camp-table and one single chair on which, latter, the Magistrate sits and he has to sit down on the floor or stand where he is. (*Laughter.*) Vakils, therefore, do not care to go and hang about the tents or to go inside and be received in this manner. The Magistrates, of course, try to accommodate the vakils, but the system is wrong, and unless you put an end to the system, this sort of inconvenience will arise, resulting in a great failure of justice, as the unfortunate prisoners can get no vakils, to defend them. Gentlemen, very often, the case is partly heard, and the Magistrate then tells the parties "The case is adjourned till the day after to-morrow." The parties accordingly appear. The Magistrate looks over his diary and says "I am off twenty miles away, I have got business there," and so on for the next week and the following week, and he adjourns the case for three weeks. He has more important and pressing executive work which occupy all his time. Gentlemen, there is one other observation, and that is—something has been said about the expenditure. I do not believe; there will be extra expenditure, but if there is extra expenditure in the separation of the two functions, will you not pay for it? (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) Let them re-adjust the taxes. Let them throw away some other burden upon the State. Properly managed, there need not be any additional expenditure, but, even were it necessary, that an additional tax should be imposed, I, for one, would pay an additional pie in the rupee, rather than allow my poorer fellow-countrymen to continue exposed to this constantly recurring failure of justice. Gentlemen, with these observations, I have great pleasure in moving the proposition that has already been read to you by our President and which was adopted at our last Congress. One word more. This Congress has been a still greater success than the two previous Congresses. We have numerous representatives of the Mahomedans of all parts of India, a community that to some extent kept aloof before. (*Applause.*) We have also able representatives of the Eurasian community who, also, to some extent, kept aloof (*applause*) and, lastly, we have even a few representatives of the European community and I would venture to express the hope, that the Europeans, as natives of India—those Europeans, who come and settle down here, and consider themselves citizens of this vast empire,—may now be induced to join us in larger numbers; and aid us by their superior knowledge of, and experience in, political matters. I must say, that it is very unfair that any one outside should refuse to come and look at us and hear what we have got to say and yet, standing outside and knowing nothing of what we are humbly trying to effect, judge us in an uncharitable manner. I would only, humble though I am, give them a piece of advice, and for this advice, I would charge no fee (*laughter*) and that is, that, instead of finding fault with us from outside, they should themselves come in and see for themselves the proceedings that take place, and if we be wrong, help us to do better,—and I give this advice not only to our rulers, but also to all those other gentlemen, who refuse to join us and, receiving information, second-hand, condemn us on hearsay evidence. (*Cheers.*) Why, gentlemen, if these very functionaries wanted to judge of a dramatic performance, they would, if they wished to judge honestly of it, go and see it, and they would not abuse it on the strength of second-hand reports. Our performance may be very poor, but such as it is, let them come and see it and see what kind of men we are, and whether we are preaching sedition or whether we are preaching loyalty—nay, if any of our rulers wish to come as delegates, to represent the interests of their class and make sure, that these are not overlooked in our deliberations, I am certain, that we shall all receive them with open arms and be only too thankful for their co-operation. (*Cries of 'yes, yes,' and loud applause.*)

BABU KALI CHARAN BANNERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 559 in List*) then said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—After the exposition and support which this Resolution has received at the hands of my learned leader, I feel, especially as we are pressed for time, as if I ought not to venture to do more than formally second it. If I overcome the feeling, it is because I have another feeling, it is because there is such a tremendous reality about the question, that it

would be unpardonable trifling to approach it in a merely formal manner. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, this is another Resolution which we, as a Congress, find ourselves in a position to re-affirm to-day. In one sense, it is re-assuring, that the experience of a year, enables us to re-affirm the position we took up last year. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) In another sense, it is discouraging to realise, that there should still be occasion so to re-affirm it. (*Loud and continued applause.*) Gentlemen, if you compare the propositions recorded in the programme of business, which is in your hands, if you consider the various demands made in these propositions, you will find, I think, that this proposition, which I have now the honor to second, has, perhaps, on the whole, most to recommend it. (*Applause.*) Not only is it true of this Resolution, that it represents the concentrated voice of all India, (*hear, hear*) but I feel, that I am in a position to include in that concentration, the voice of our rankest opponents. That the complete separation of executive from judicial functions will contribute, in an important degree, to the ends of justice; not one, even, of our opponents can decently gainsay. I have advisedly used the word 'decently,' for I feel, that there is nothing, to which rank opposition is not equal. There are no heights to which it could not rise. I should correct myself and say rather, that, there are no depths to which it could not stoop. (*Loud cheering.*)

There is another recommendation which this Resolution carries with itself. If we could get the officers who would be affected by this Resolution, if we could get them to express their sincere convictions on the subject, I believe, that they, likewise, would join us in pressing the Government for the boon we crave. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) It could not be said, as far as this Resolution goes, that the country is not yet ripe for this concession: unhappily the country is already too ripe for it. (*Applause.*)

There is another reason why we might go up to Government without hesitation with this prayer that is before the Congress, and that is, that, if it contemplates a curtailment of power, that curtailment will affect our own countrymen, as well as Europeans. (*Applause.*) In fact, there are more of our own countrymen likely to be affected by this curtailment than European officers, for there are more sub-divisions than districts.

There is yet one other reason, why this Resolution, as I have said, carries with it the greatest recommendation of all. In urging our prayer we need not imply any reflection whatever, on the officers concerned. I say, we need not imply, because, if only they would be prepared to plead guilty to the soft impeachment, namely, that we charge them with being human beings, they would admit that the difficulty we have in view, is a real difficulty. (*Applause.*) Man is man whether we be terrestrials or celestials. (*Applause.*) So long as we are all men, we are open to the difficulty which this Resolution pre-supposes. Therefore, gentlemen, we see that the Resolution, which we are now re-affirming, is a Resolution that has about it many a recommendation and we need feel no hesitation whatever, in re-affirming it, and in asking, further, that effect may be given to it without any further delay. (*Applause.*) As far as the merits of the Resolution are concerned, they have received an exhaustive exposition at the hands of my learned leader. You will understand what the combination of these functions implies. It implies, in the first place, the combination of the Prosecutor and the Judge in the same person. (*Applause.*) It is not necessary to be initiated into the mystery of law to understand that justice is in jeopardy, if the prosecutor happens to be also the judge. If you have a case, in which there is a private complainant, there the prosecuting and persecuting energies of the private complainant are brought to bear upon you. Then, you have, in addition, the Police machinery, with all its prosecuting and persecuting energies brought to bear upon you, and if, in addition to these two-fold prosecuting energies, you have brought to bear upon you all the prosecuting energies of a Magistrate, why, the poor defendant finds himself simply in a hopeless condition. (*Applause.*) We cannot avoid private complaints being, at any rate, preferred. We do not contemplate here, at any rate, any interference with the Police machinery. All that we pray for, is, that the strong arm of the Magistrate should not be, by anticipation, lent either to the private complainant, or to the police machinery set on foot by him. (*Applause.*)

Then, again, as you have already been told, the combination of these two functions sets aside all the safeguards, which the rules of evidence have provided for the due adminis-

tration of justice. There is the Magistrate, listening attentively to the police papers, read out to him by the Police officer early in the morning. The Police officer is in personal communication with the Magistrate and instils into his mind his own ideas, in respect to the case he has been kind enough to take into his own hands. And the Magistrate listens to all sorts of things, and not only is much of the so-called evidence which is, at such times, laid before a Magistrate, no evidence at all, but he, as it were, has his judgment sketched out for him beforehand, by the policeman. He listens to all this, and then, if it so happens, as it often does, that he places the case on his own file, when he sits to try it, the conditions are all reversed, for the judicial function has been exercised by the policeman, while the Magistrate has been closeted with him, and when he comes into court, he is merely the executive who carries out that secret judicial decision. (*Applause.*) The judge has become the executive, while the executive has become the judge. (*Loud applause.*)

If you have such a reversal of conditions, how can you expect that justice should be properly administered? There comes the witness before him, the policeman has given him a certain version of the evidence of that witness. God alone knows whether the witness has made such a statement before the police. But the Magistrate, having heard the police papers read out to him, has the idea that the witness has made such a statement. The witness, when he gives his evidence, does not, perhaps, say a word of what the police papers record him to have said. It is not easy for the Magistrate, then and there, to disabuse himself of the impression produced by the police papers that have been read out to him. He fancies that the witness has been tampered with, by the defendant; that he has stated the truth before the police; and that he is now contradicting himself, and, according to the amended Procedure Code, he must be prosecuted for perjury. (*Laughter and applause.*) He sees witness after witness coming, but his mind is made up, and, therefore, he is impatient of cross-examination. He has certain convictions, and he is not prepared to allow those convictions to be unsettled or disturbed in any way. His mind is made up, and that is the secret of his impatience. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, if only we could get statistics on this point, we might prove that there have been failures of justice in simply *countless* cases, because of this unsound procedure.

I may tell you some facts connected with the working of this mode of procedure. Sometimes, a case is made over by a Magistrate who has had the benefit of the police papers, to a Magistrate, who has not had the benefit of the police papers. I have a certain Sub-division in view, at the present moment. It happened that a number of cases "challaned," i.e., sent up, by the police, were dismissed by the Magistrate who, as I have said, had not been, in good time, initiated into the mystery of the police machinery in respect to them. The police officer was impatient of such a result, and he could not brook the indignity of having cases "challaned" by him, dismissed, and I may tell you, that in this Sub-division, for a time, at any rate, (I do not know whether this practice continues to this day); it was so arranged that the cases "challaned," by the police officer, were to be so arranged on the file, that the sub-divisional officer might have the necessary morning whispers instilled into his ears, by the police officer. If you compared the cases tried, on the one hand, by a Magistrate who has had the benefit of police coaching, and, on the other hand, by a Magistrate who has had nothing to do with the police, you would find that the Magistrate who went solely by the evidence and his own convictions, constantly dismissed cases, which the Magistrate who had the benefit of police guidance seldom dismissed, but frequently convicted. If we could only collect statistics, I say, they would prove beyond denial, how constantly failures in the administration of justice have been brought about by this uncivilized method of procedure. No doubt, there are difficulties in the way. When, in many cases, we go up to Government as one united India, and when we challenge the opinions of their own officers, I do not know whether the love of power—and all our reforms tend to render this less absolute—would not stand in the way of their owning the truth, but still, we might challenge even their opinions on this particular point and challenge the opinion of our opponents. When we thus go up to Government with this concentrated voice of all classes, no doubt, the Government will admit the desirableness of the separation, but there is no doubt also that, even the Government might find itself in difficulties as to how to carry out this separation. Now, in many cases, the separation might very easily be effected. In places where you have a Magistrate and a joint-magistrate as well, it is a fact that the

Magistrate does only a small proportion of the judicial work and chiefly hears only appeals from the decisions of the 2nd and 3rd class Magistrates. Of original judicial work, he has very little to do. If the Magistrate of the district, who does little of judicial work, except the hearing of appeals, is altogether relieved of judicial duties, and the Joint-Magistrate, who practically does the bulk of the judicial work, is required to do the whole judicial work, and nothing else, then, the difficulty, in some measure, at least, may be obviated. It may be less easy, no doubt, in sub-divisions where, in addition to one first-class Magistrate, there is no other Magistrate. But, as my learned leader has put it to you, if any extra expenditure is incurred for this purpose, each of us might be called upon to bear, and will cheerfully accept, his share of the burden. I would not detain you longer, but I would conclude by drawing your attention to the fact, that this measure, the desirableness of separating the judicial and executive functions was realized, as an imperative necessity, by our great reformer Raja Ram Mohun Roy. (*Cheers.*) So far so, that that great reformer, in the exercise of that foresight which he possessed, saw that a crisis, in this matter, must come, sooner or later, and that we should be compelled to go up to Government and require at their hands, this measure, which is indispensable to the due administration of justice. (*Applause.*)

PANDIT JWALA DUTTA JOSHI, (*Kanpur, No. 497 in List*) was then called on by the President, and spoke as follows:—After the speeches of the learned gentlemen who so ably proposed and seconded the Resolution, it seems, I confess, superfluous on my part to say anything further on the subject, but, since I have been called upon to speak, I cannot do better than giving the substance of my own thoughts on the subject. The proposed separation has always appeared to me to be not only necessary on legal grounds, as essential to the right administration of justice, but to be so, on economic grounds as well. According to the general principles of law, a man cannot be a Prosecutor and a Judge in the same case and Magistrates, who are the heads of the Executive Departments in their respective districts are, as the representatives of Government, prosecutors in all cases in which the Queen-Emress is the complainant. The combination also, is not justifiable, according to the generally accepted principle of the division of labour. We have also found in practice, that officers, acting in those various capacities, cannot and do not attain the excellence in any branch which they might, if allowed, to become specialists in any one. And the judicial work, especially, is apt to obtain less attention than executive, and men do not do it as well as they could do, even without becoming specialists, for want of time. With regard to the expenditure, it may be said that division of labour, as a rule, cheapens, rather than enhances the cost of work, and even supposing that it does not, as it should, cheapen it, the same amount of money which is set apart for the salaries of the officers now performing both judicial and executive duties, ought, certainly, to be sufficient for their salaries, even when each is confined to a single branch. Only the division of the officers into two classes will have to be made and the work re-arranged between the two, and in those parts of the country, with which I am acquainted, it certainly would not be a difficult task. But the subject of expenditure seems to be outside the pale of our discussion, inasmuch as we are prepared to have the separation effected, even if it necessitates some extra expenditure, in some parts of the country. (*Applause.*)

MR. SYED ABDUL AZEED (*Nagpur, No. 464 in List*) spoke in Hindustani. He said:—I beg to be permitted to say a few words in support of Resolution No. III. My brother-delegates, who delivered their excellent speeches before me, have completely shown the necessity of the separation of the executive from the judicial. It is not necessary for me to dilate upon the same subject again; but finding, that executive and some criminal powers are invested in one person in the provinces from which my brother-delegates have come to this Assembly, and civil, criminal, and revenue powers are centred in one and the same person, in the Central Provinces from which I have the honor to attend here, I thought it better to add a few words myself with reference to the Central Provinces. It is absolutely necessary that a separation of the judicial and executive functions should take place, without any further delay. Executive officers, hardened with a variety of miscellaneous work, have not, and cannot find, sufficient time to dispose, calmly, systematically, and with due deliberation, of the judicial work that comes before them. It is, moreover, the duration that prevents judicial business being done in the proper

style. If a case is not gone through within the prescribed time, no matter what its nature, explanation has to be furnished and want of time is not considered to be a sufficient excuse. Under these circumstances, a judge tries to get rid of the case any how, and the result is well known. I have always seen, as must be the experience of many others of my brothers in the profession to which I belong, that when there is a large number of witnesses in a case, they are not examined on the same day, owing to the pressure of work or want of time, and the party, on whose side witnesses have been examined, loses the advantage of cross-examination, because the opposite party gets an opportunity to tutor his witnesses. Wherever these two functions, executive and judicial, are combined in the same individual officer, there is a very great probability of a miscarriage of justice. With these observations, I submit, that the separation of the executive from the judicial, has become a great desideratum in the Central Provinces.

Before resuming my seat, however, I cannot help making a few remarks regarding the feeling that prevails between the Mahomedans and the Hindus of the Central Provinces. To be brief, I may say, it is one of complete cordiality and friendship. In all movements of general interest, whether set on foot by my co-religionists or the Hindus, one section of the community takes as much care to assist the other, as is expected between Mahomedans or Hindus themselves. (*Hear, hear.*) I can speak with confidence, with regard to my province, that none of my sect, so far as I have been able to find out, have been dissatisfied with these Congress meetings. (*Hear, hear.*) The assertion of the Mahomedans, who do not wish to take part in the Congress, that, when the Hindus are in want of aid from the Mahomedans, they willingly join with them; but when the Mahomedans require any assistance from the Hindus, they decline to give it—this assertion, I say, is without any truth whatsoever in it. In this Congress, several Mahomedan gentlemen have joined, and not only that, but one of them has been elected the President. Under these circumstances, this Congress can very well be designated "The Indian National Congress". You have already heard Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee say that the election of a Mahomedan gentleman to the presidential chair has been welcome to the Mahomedans, and to the Hindus as well. I fully endorse this expression of Mr. Bonnerjee's. With these few remarks, I beg to take my seat.

RAO SAHEB K. VENKATARAO, (*Madras, No. 273 in List*) said:—WORTHY PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS,—I have come here not to repeat what has been set forth by previous speakers but—limiting my remarks to the time allowed us by the President—to set forth a few simple facts. One fact is in connection with myself, *i.e.*, I had the pleasure or rather, let me say, the misfortune, to be myself, formerly, for some time, a second-class Magistrate and deputy tahsildar. In me, the two functions were then combined, and I had to exercise those functions. With regret, I submit, that I duly tasted the pleasures or, rather, I should say, the bitters of these two-fold functions, that I was supposed to exercise. With the greatest regret, I tasted them and, within a very short time, I perceived that this sphere of life would neither suit me, nor any other man who desired to go in the straight path of justice, and I resigned the appointment of my own accord, and took up the more congenial profession of a lawyer, although born in the family of a land-holder. (*Loud applause.*) During the time those functions were combined in me, they had to be exercised in conscious conflict with each other, and conscience had its own conflict to overcome. Since then, *i.e.*, for the last 5 years, I have made it a rule of my life, to keep a regular diary of what has been taking place in the different parts of this Presidency, so far as I could ascertain it from the papers and other sources, illustrative of the mal-discharge by persons, exercising these two functions of their duties in one or other branch, in consequence of their irreconcilable character; and of the injustice, which they, in consequence, were led into doing when they were seated in the seat of justice. Of course, official decorum will not permit me to state in what manner, external pressure was brought upon me continually, by my superior officers, beginning from the District Magistrate and down to the Superintendent of Police; and how I was virtually threatened with dismissal, criminal prosecution, and what not, at one time or another, in order to induce me to divert the course of justice, and modify the procedure that ought to have been followed according to the rules of law. But such was the sum of my experience and I, therefore, submit that the combination of these two powers in one and the same person is the cause of immense mischief, especially to the ignorant ryots. In

the case of mere labourers the consequence of this combination is, that, in 99 cases out of 100, it is sheer injustice that is done in our so-called Courts of Criminal Justice.

Whenever there is an important crime committed, some old offender is brought before the taluq Magistrate, or the sub-divisional Deputy Collector, or the sub-divisional Magistrate, and that man—for the purpose of clearing the file of heavy cases, such as dacoities, robberies, and showing convictions in them,—is too often convicted without any genuine evidence, merely for the purpose of pleasing the superior officials, who always desire to show to the public at large, in their administration report, that they are highly efficient officers, having secured convictions in all important cases, and so have got a clean file. As regards the financial difficulty, that is being urged constantly by the Government, since they have admitted the anomaly of combining these two functions in one and the same person, I may say, that after attending the last Congress in Calcutta, in December 1886, I travelled all over northern India, and I took special interest in this particular matter and I found that, in Delhi, for instance, having a population of 3½ laes, besides a number of honorary second and third-class Magistrates, there was a pensioned extra assistant Commissioner, exercising not the special first-class powers, but ordinary general first-class powers, to try all first-class cases (not the summary cases that have been noted down in chapter on "Summary Trials") and I found that, on three occasions, the honorary Magistrates had been placed in charge of an entire city division, to perform all the duties of the divisional Magistrates and I can quote numerous other instances both in northern and southern India, where honorary first-class Magistrates have been appointed to the divisional magistracy, including the general duties of a first-class Magistrate and have proved fully qualified for the task, and I maintain that, if Government utilized properly the gentlemen of this class available, the complete separation of the two functions need not cost one rupee extra. I remember—(*cries of 'time, time.'*)—but I must bow to the judgment of the President and the gentlemen of the Congress and I must not detain you longer than the 5 minutes which have been granted to me. (*Applause.*)

BAKU AMBIKA CHARAN MUZUMDAR (*Bengal, No. 574 in List*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:—The question of the separation of the judicial from the executive functions in this country must be admitted to be a question of vital importance. It is, indeed, one of the cardinal questions upon which the fair fame of the British administration of this country, not less than the happiness and contentment of many millions of people who obey its sway, materially depend. The agitation, which we have been making for the separation of judicial from executive functions has not been the result of an effervescent display of cultivated taste, nor the effect of a momentary and feverish excitement. It has been the impulse, not of excitement, but of a stern necessity, and, therefore, as we see, the whole country from one end to the other, with one voice, joins us in asking for the separation of the two functions. It is an unhappy combination and it is disastrous and mischievous in its application. As has been pointed out, it combines the prosecutor and the judge. It has brought untold misery upon many millions of British subjects. We all know of a recent infamous case in Assam, and of the Salem riots in Madras. Gentlemen, we often hear of the Vernacular Press being charged with sedition, or rather that which is called the Vernacular Press of this country, for I do say, without fear of contradiction or challenge that, for many of the editors of the real Vernacular Press, the jail is the proper place. (*Voices of 'no, no, no.'*) You must please understand what I mean by the Vernacular Press. I do not mean our leaders of thought, who write English, but the local Bengali papers, and certainly, there is a kind of maniacal writing in many of the petty Vernacular papers that would qualify, and should qualify, the writers for prison diet. (*Voices of 'no, no.'*) It may be as you say and I am glad you think so. But, understand me, I do not withdraw my contention. (*Voices of 'no, no, sit down.'*) As I said, you often hear our papers charged with sedition, the higher class, groundlessly, the lower class, not without cause, but this, at least, is a subject which both classes may discuss, and, in regard to which, both classes may paint in the most vivid colours, the cruel injustices inherent in the existing system, without laying themselves open to this charge. False patriotism has nothing to do in a matter like this. (*Voices of 'drop it' laughter, hisses, and voices again of 'time, time.'*)

(There was much noise during the remainder of this speech, which only lasted about 2 minutes more, the speaker concluding with "I do say, the time has come when we ought all to support this proposition.")

Mr. B. NARASIMHESWARA SARKA (*Vizagapatam, No. 114 in List*) said:—Mr. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—With great diffidence, I approach this august assembly, to speak on a subject of such vital importance as the separation of the judicial and executive functions. The various arguments that can be adduced in favor of the reform have been most ably set forth by previous speakers. I shall touch on only two or three, as shewing the necessity of the reform. There can be no two opinions as to the necessity of the immediate separation of the two functions, and, I think, it is a question, that has distinctly come within the region of practical administration. One thing, history seems to teach us, is, that no class or party should be entrusted with too much power, as human nature is liable to be corrupted by inordinate power being placed in its hands. Our critics say: "Well, if you separate the two functions, how are you to collect the revenue? How is the Collector to get the money out of the people, if they do not fear him, knowing what he can do to them in his magisterial capacity?" We reply, that the present system defeats its own purposes—it does not strengthen authority, injustice never does, it only weakens it. No nation can be well governed, for any length of time by simply striking terror into the hearts of the people. What can a poor unlettered man think of a system according to which the Magistrate is not only the head of the police, but also the Judge. A fellow that is brought into court may be a great rascal and known to the Judge in his executive capacity to be as such, and because of this, though quite innocent of the particular charge on which he is arraigned, the ends of justice may be perverted and the man convicted. This present system causes people to sympathise with the culprit when they see the great injustice done to him, not because of his known bad character, far from it, but because of the gross injustice done to him by the Magistrate, who is, at once, the head of the judicial, as well as the executive, branch. Gentlemen, it is said, that the Indians are notorious for servility. How can this system do anything else than make them servile, though, indeed, this present National Congress shows, clearly, of what even we, servile Indians, are capable, when the chance is afforded us of speaking our minds freely.

Mr. ALI MAHOMED BHIMJEE (*Indore, No. 473 in List*) here stood up in his seat and said:—I think sufficient time has been devoted to this question. Two hours have been taken up and I submit that no further discussion is necessary. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. K. SUBRAMANYA Aiyer (*Madras, No. 24 in List*) who was on the platform at this time, said:—I had come to make the same proposition that this Mahomedan gentleman, whose name I do not know, has suggested.

THE PRESIDENT said:—I understand that this gentleman has come forward to propose the same thing, as Mr. Ali Mahomed Bhimjee. If that is the general sense of the meeting, I think, perhaps, it will not be necessary to proceed farther with the discussion. (*Hear, hear.*) Those who are in favor of closing the discussion, kindly hold up their hands. (*Voices of all, all.*) I do not think any gentlemen after this will have the courage to come up here. (*Laughter.*) Then, gentlemen, I put this Resolution.

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

The Resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—The next proposition submitted to us by the Subject Committee is that the Congress should pass a Resolution to the effect:—

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, it is desirable that Government should establish military colleges in this country, whereat the sons of noblemen and gentlemen of all classes,

permanently resident in India, may be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army."

A complaint has been made to me that some of the delegates do not clearly understand the Resolutions, when they are read out in English and, therefore, I have to request, that some gentleman will translate this Resolution into the languages of this Presidency, and some other gentleman will kindly translate it into the Urdu language.

(This was accordingly done and the same procedure was followed in the case of subsequent Resolutions.)

BABU NORENDRANATH SEN (*24-Perjannaks, No. 563 in List*) rose and said:—Mr. PRESIDENT, AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—The proposition which I have been asked to move is one which does not re-affirm the principle of any Resolution, adopted at any previous Congress, but is a new Resolution altogether. It is new, and it is important. It is impossible for me to exaggerate its importance. If it be England's divine mission, that she should raise us as a nation in every respect, she should offer every facility for our admission into the higher ranks, not only of the Civil, but equally of the Military services, in order that we may be equally qualified for Self-Government in times of peace and self-defence in times of war. (*Applause.*) Our lessons in the art of Self-Government will be incomplete, if we are not trained in the art of self-defence. (*Applause.*) If England means to confer upon us the highest benefits in the present advanced stage of Indian progress—in the present turning-point in the national life, both for the sake of herself and for the sake of India, she cannot consistently with her duty, withhold, any longer, opening out a military career, to the higher classes, at least, of our countrymen, as officers of the Indian army. (*Applause.*) We claim nothing which is immoderate or unreasonable. If the sons of foreign noblemen, such as the Duc D'Orleans, can be admitted as officers of the British army, and as it was announced, that he was to be admitted, I do not see, why the scions of the great houses of this country, eminent for their loyal services to the crown, and young gentlemen of good birth, good education, and high culture, should not be educated and trained as officers of the Indian army. (*Applause.*) The concession that we are asking for, is not one which is at all novel or unusual. The expediency of admitting a few noblemen as *honorary* officers of the Indian army has already been recognised by Government. I allude to the appointments of their Highnesses the late Maharajahs Scindia and of Kashmir, of Kuch Behar, and others. Besides, the privilege we claim, is in accordance with the known views of Government, as a scheme for establishing an Indian Sandhurst has been under consideration by Government for some time past. (*Applause.*) Indeed, we anxiously looked forward to the public announcement of that scheme, on the occasion of the Jubilee celebration, but, unfortunately, only to be disappointed. Gentlemen, the desire amongst our high-bred youths, our *jeunesse dorée*, as they call them in Europe, to enter the commissioned ranks of the Indian army is quite as natural as that of the more advanced youths of the upper and middle classes to enter the higher ranks of the Civil Service, both in its so-called covenanted and uncovenanted branches, and such an aspiration amongst a people, situated as we are to our rulers, should, alike in their interests and ours, no longer be kept unsatisfied. (*Applause.*) The loyalty and devotion, the bravery and heroism I may say, of native soldiers are too well-known, and have been too often recognised by Government to need any particular mention from me. (*Hear, hear.*) The native soldiery is the ultimate bulwark, the main body of the support of the empire. (*Hear, hear.*) The fine steel edge may be our gallant European troops, but the body of the sword is our native soldiery. Their services to the State have been simply invaluable and that they are justly prized may be judged from the fact that, on the occasion of the celebration of the Jubilee in England, our beloved Queen-Empress, herself, conferred special marks of favor on those native officers of the Indian army, who had the honour of representing their brave comrades in the national rejoicings of Great Britain. (*Hear, hear, and loud applause.*) Well, then, gentlemen, if such be our experience—if such be our general experience of the native army of the past,—I fail to perceive why the Government should hesitate, in the least, to open military colleges, as we propose, for the education of the sons of Indian noblemen and gentlemen. They cannot, certainly—as the result of higher education, nobler antecedents, loftier position or closer ties to Government—prove less devoted and less loyal, less faithful or less courageous in the

discharge of their duties, when admitted into the commissioned ranks of the Indian army, than their humbler and more ignorant countrymen have proved, as mere soldiers and non-commissioned officers. (*Hear, hear.*) If the present native troops, soldiers, havildars, jemadars, subadars of the Indian army are admitted to be bound by the strongest ties to Government—if, I contend, they have proved so faithful, brave, and useful to Government, and the country, as they have, in many a hard-fought field—how much more may we not expect from the better-born of these, and from the scions of the still higher classes, who will not enter the army on the present footing, if they are admitted to the commissioned ranks of the army? (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) The inclusion in the army of those who necessarily keep aloof, at present, will only serve to identify their interests more closely with the interests of the British Government, and lay deeper the foundations of the empire. (*Applause.*) As an addition to the physical defences of the empire, if for no other reason, I say, that it should be the policy of Government to start military colleges for the education of the young noblemen and gentlemen of this country. (*Applause.*) But the indirect addition to what I may call the moral bulwarks of British rule will prove even more important. Gentlemen, we have had our losses and gains under the British Government—our gains have been many,—but, one of our chief losses has been our exclusion from the higher ranks of the army, (*hear, hear*) and that, in my opinion, has led to a rapid deterioration in the character of the natural leaders of the people, and so, indirectly, through their example in our national character. (*Hear, hear.*) The privilege we ask for, is one which has not been denied to India by any previous dynasty. It is not even now denied to the many subject races in Central Asia, by the less-civilized Russians, (*applause*) and I will not believe, that it will long be denied to us by our British rulers and friends. (*Cheers.*) With these words, I beg to move the proposition which has already been read out to you by the President. (*Applause.*)

BABU SALIGRAM SINGH (*Behar, No. 535 in List*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—After the eloquent speech of the last speaker, I am afraid, I can say very little additional, by way of commending this resolution to your acceptance. If it was for our joint benefit that Government established schools and colleges for the education of our countrymen in order to enable them to qualify for entrance into the Civil Service, it is equally expedient now in their, and our, interests, that there should be military colleges established for the purpose of imparting a military training to the sons of noblemen and gentlemen of this country, so as to qualify them for entrance into the military service. A nation, without trained military men in its midst, is not a perfect nation. (*Hear, hear.*) It is an imperfect, one-armed or one-legged thing unfit to do its duty in this rough world. Moreover, it is desirable that such colleges should be instituted, as they will afford an honorable opening for the sons of people of good families, and it will also preserve and develop the martial spirit which still, to some extent, subsists in the sturdier races of the country. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, it has already been mentioned to you by the last speaker, that our native soldiers, drawn chiefly from the lower classes, have won golden opinions from all by their services, in this country and abroad, in Mauritius, Borneo, Afghanistan, Egypt, and Abyssinia, and from this we may fairly infer that if the members of the higher classes be allowed to enter the military service, they also will win golden opinions from the authorities here, as well as in England. (*Applause.*) With these few observations, I beg to second the Resolution. (*Applause.*)

THE PRESIDENT:—GENTLEMEN,—An amendment on this Resolution has been sent up to me and I, therefore, now call upon Mr. Patshaha to move the same.

MR. P. J. PATSHAHA (*Ahmedabad, No. 451 in List*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND DELEGATES,—It is not in any carping spirit, nor in any spirit of opposition, that I rise to address you and propose an amendment. It is not, I say, in any spirit of opposition to the original resolution, that I venture to move an amendment. In so doing, all I seek is to evolve explicitly what has been implicitly involved in the proposition, moved and seconded by the preceding speakers. It seems to me that the original Resolution involves a principle, a principle which ought to be distinctly recognised. It has been implicitly asserted, silently moved, and silently recognised by the original speaker. What I intend to do, is to bring out more clearly the principle, of the absolute necessity of throwing upon the higher branches of the military services to all the natives. The principle which I assert is a principle which makes no difference between

native, generally and perhaps properly so-called, aristocracy, and the other natives of India. (*Applause.*) This principle I assert, and in support of this principle I argue, that in demanding the recognition of this principle, we assert no new privilege. It is a principle already directly recognised by the Act of Parliament of 1833, a clause from which, I will, if you please, read out to you:—“No native of the said territories, nor any natural born subject of Her Majesty shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent or colour, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Government.” This principle has been recognised by the Act of Parliament. The same principle has been also recognised by the great Magna Charta of the Indians—the Charter of 1858, the substance of which it is sufficient for me to recall to your memory. I say that the same principle has been enunciated recently on the authority of the Duke of Connaught. No one questions it, no one denies it.

Where is the necessity of holding back when such an opportunity occurs? It seems to me that, instead of this limited proposal, we might rightly go up to Government and directly sue for the concession of this principle in its broad integrity. This principle, I contend, is one we should hold to and maintain.

The preceding speakers, in speaking as to the original proposition, adduced arguments which fully support my view. It has been argued that the present uneducated native officers, holding even the subordinate position they do, have been most useful; much more useful would be, therefore, the educated native officers, supplied by the native gentry and aristocracy, in higher positions. But if men drawn from the lower classes, as now, even the uneducated, have proved the veritable bulwarks of the empire, why should they not, when educated and trained, prove ten times more useful? It is on individual capacity and training that the usefulness mainly depends—why talk of training the nobility and gentry only? The ability of the natives, as a body, is such as not to be denied. Where is the necessity for thrusting into the background that which we can boldly demand, as a matter of right, military training for all ranks and classes that chose to avail themselves of it. I say this is the Jubilee year—the 50th year of the reign of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. (*Applause.*) I say we may approach Her Majesty with the request, that she may be pleased to recognise in practice, the principle, that the higher branches of military service are, henceforth, to be opened to all natives. This is the opinion of that portion of the delegates whom I represent. This principle being recognised, it follows, as a consequence, that military colleges must be established. I want only to give prominence to the principle and I should, therefore, rather put in the fore-front, what has been thrust into the background by the wording of the Resolution which has been proposed to you. I attach minor importance to the founding of colleges and the greatest importance to the principle that has been suppressed, by confining to the native gentry or the aristocracy, the proposed admission into the higher ranks of the army. It may not even be necessary to state anything about the colleges in the proposition. If the Government understand and recognise the general principle that, henceforth, the higher branches of the military service are to be opened to all natives of India, the creation of military colleges follows, as a matter of logical necessity. The colleges will train up a body of men, who will be drafted as officers into the native army, now, when the Government has begun to recognise the real value of this native army. But it is absolutely necessary that the body of men whom the Government train up should be in complete sympathy—not partial sympathy, and not artificial sympathy—but in complete sympathy with the native army and this would be doubtful, if that body of men were drawn from a single class only. The colleges would turn out well-trained and well-educated officers, in perfect sympathy, both with the Government they supported, and the men they commanded. But if there are to be military colleges, funds must be provided. Now, the Government need exact no new tax from us, for this purpose. There are actually funds available for this purpose. We all know that the native princes of India have offered liberal donations, large sums of money for the support and defence of the empire. This may well be utilised for the purpose of maintaining these colleges, thus securing a legitimate and righteous use of the funds. If then the utilization of these funds be considered legitimate and fair, then we might, in our Resolution, also pray the Government, (I do not call upon the Government,) that all such donations and contributions, as have been, or may be, tendered by the native princes towards

the defence of the empire may be utilized for the purposes of constructing these colleges and working them efficiently. Gentlemen, you see there is no cardinal difference between me and the original speakers, between my arguments and their arguments. The fact is that I intend to assert the principle which underlies the proposition originally moved. Yesterday, a gentleman told us that, in such cases, we should rather discuss and assert principles and need not, in the present state of the case, much mind the details. I take up that argument for my own purpose; and I say that we must get, first and foremost, the general principle recognised and accepted. This is the very thing we want to get. What is the special necessity of opening military colleges, if we do not get the broad principle recognised? My amendment, taken together with the proposition, stands thus:—“*That, in view of the loyalty of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, this Congress considers it desirable, that the military service, in its higher branches, should be opened to natives of this country, and that, for the training of native officers in the British service and in certain Native States, it is desirable that the Government should establish military colleges in this country, whereat the sons of Indian noblemen and gentlemen and all classes, permanently resident in India, may be educated and trained, for a military career, as officers of the Indian army, and that the funds loyally offered by Native States may be utilized in aid of the establishment of such colleges.*” My amendment does not materially differ from the original proposition. (Hear, hear.) It renders explicit what is implicitly involved; my proposition is of universal application. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT:—Does the amendment say “*sons of noblemen and gentlemen of all classes*” or “*AND all classes*”?

MR. PATSHAHA (Ahmedabad, No. 451 in List) “*Sons of noblemen and gentlemen and all classes.*” My proposition is of universal application. The original proposition thrusts this essential principle into the background and renders null, or only timidly implies, what we boldly pray for as the matter for recognition.

MR. BASU DWARAKANATH GANGULI (Calcutta, No. 554 in List) said:—I shall second the amendment. I am anxious that it should not be understood that this Congress is intended for the promotion of the interests of certain classes only; I am anxious that it should be known that this Congress is intended for the promotion of the interests of all classes. (Hear, hear.)

THE PRESIDENT said:—There does not appear to be any very great or important difference between the original proposition and this amendment, though the latter is much wider in its scope; we might see if some sort of Resolution might not be drawn up that will meet the views of both parties.

THE PRESIDENT (after some consultation with the proposer of the original proposition and the proposer of the amendment) said:—So far as the first part of the Resolution is concerned, it seems to me, when I compare the amendment with the original Resolution, the difference resolves itself, in a great measure, into a question of language. Perhaps, the language of the amendment is wider and brings out more clearly, what I understand was intended by the original proposer, who now has no objection whatever to adopt the language of the amendment. (Hear, hear.) I will read the original Resolution, and you will see that, practically, there is not much difference. But there is one part of the amendment which seems to be an independent proposition in itself; namely, that Government should be prayed “*that the funds loyally offered by Native States be utilized in aid of the establishment of such colleges.*” It seems to me, that that refers to a very different question altogether, which will have to be very carefully considered before the delegates resolve upon it, one way or the other. But, so far as the Resolution itself stands, I may take it, that the proposer of the amendment and the proposer of the original Resolution are agreed and, therefore, you need not discuss that part. The amended Resolution reads:—“*That in view of the loyalty of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, this Congress considers it desirable that the military service, in its higher branches, should be opened to the natives of this country, and that for the training of native officers in the British service, it is desirable.*” The original amendment added “*and in certain Native States,*” but I am informed that the proposer drops these words, and I do not

think we can make any Resolution as to what should take place in Native States. However, the Resolution goes on: “*It is desirable that the Government should establish military colleges in this country, whereat the sons of Indian noblemen and gentlemen of all classes, resident in India, may be educated and trained for a military career, as officers of the Indian Army.*” So far, the proposer of the original Resolution, and the proposer of the amendment are agreed, and then it goes on “*and that the funds loyally offered by various Native States may be utilized in aid of the establishment of such colleges.*” This latter portion, in point of fact, becomes a substantive Resolution in itself. I may say it does seem extraordinary for the delegates here to pray that any funds that had been offered by one party to another party for one purpose should be disposed of in a different manner according to the desire of a third party! If A gives some money to B for an express object, it is surely no business of C's to say that that money should be diverted to some other object, or even to any particular purpose. (Laughter.) I have already appealed to the proposer of this amendment, but he does not see the absurdity into which we shall be led. He wishes to press his proposition and, therefore, I shall allow the discussion to proceed. But I desire that it should be distinctly understood that what is really asked for is this, namely, that the money that has been offered by Native States to the British Government, for certain purposes, according to arrangements between the two parties, of which we know nothing, and which, so far as we know, has not yet been accepted, should be devoted by Government, on our advice, to the purposes of these military colleges. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT (continuing) said:—I may now mention that this last part of the proposition is not yet seconded, because the seconder of this last part asks permission to withdraw his concurrence in support of it and, therefore, unless it is duly seconded by some other gentleman, we need not discuss it, because there is really no proposition before us. (Applause.)

BABU ISWARI LAL SIRCAR (Hughli, No. 569 in List) said:—As regards the second part, I beg to support it. With regard to the remarks made by the learned President, I have to say that we are not third parties. A certain amount of money has been placed by a certain party in the hands of the British Indian Government. We are loyal subjects of the British Indian Government and, being loyal subjects, we are identified with Government. I really think it is exceedingly to be regretted that any distinction should be made between Government and the subjects of Government. I think we, the representatives of the nation, can very properly advise and suggest how any sum of money which becomes part of the national funds should be expended by Government—the Government of the nation. The first part of the Resolution requires that Government should establish new institutions, and, therefore, if it is proper for us to suggest the establishment of these institutions, it is equally proper for us, as subjects, to go on and advise Government how the requisite funds may be provided, and pray them to expend certain moneys that they have received on our account in a certain, viz., in this particular way. I think, therefore, that, as a matter of principle, the second part of the amendment should remain. I really believe it would be mischievous to make any distinction between Government and the subjects of Her Majesty. They are one and the same. They have every right to advise Government to take any action as to the expenditure of any money or anything of that sort. I should be very sorry to know that the delegates of the people of India are so have no voice and no right to suggest anything they please, as regards the expenditure of money in the hands of Government. (Applause, and a voice of “*but it is not in the hands of Government yet, and you ought not to count your chickens before they are hatched.*”—laughter.)

BABU BIPIN CHANDRA PAI (Assam, No. 604 in List) said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—I did not think that it would be my unpleasant duty to oppose the amendment that has been brought forward for our consideration. I had not the least idea that I should have been called upon to speak to-day. I oppose the amendment on two distinct questions of principle. The first is that it is a question of principle, whether the money that has been offered to the Government of India for the defence of the Indian Empire by certain native princes should be accepted or not. Speaking on behalf of those whom I represent, I can assure you, gentlemen, that the native press, with hardly any exception, has asked Government not to accept this money. I condemn the policy involved in the acceptance of such offerings, (hear, hear) and, I think, the Congress would be going entirely out of its way, if we took up this question, and on a side-issue, affirmed that policy. We ought, by no means, to affirm it;

and the second question of principle involved is that, as yet, we have only taken up those questions in regard to which we have had, to some extent, a lead from Government itself—leading us to hope, that they were willing to receive our views. In regard to the reforming of the legislative councils, Government has been indirectly seeking our help and, as Lord Dufferin said, in no way disapproves our aspirations. In the matter of the Arms' Act, Government have shown indications that they are prepared to take us into their confidence and would like to place matters on a more satisfactory footing. But, in matters of their foreign policy, I think that, on principle, the Congress should not go out of its way to make suggestions of this nature.

MUNSHI DEVI PRASAD (*Ballia, No. 488 in List*) said:—GENTLEMEN,—It has been suggested that the money, which has been placed at the disposal of Government, by certain native princes, should be spent in the construction of colleges for military education. Well, the first thing to be considered is this: This money has been given for purposes of defence. It is not known when the money will be required. We, however, are to ask that the money may be expended at once on these colleges. But, even supposing that the construction of these colleges can be held to be a step in the defence of the empire coming within the scope of the donors' instructions, which, I doubt, complications on our frontier may become serious to-morrow, and we shall then not have our colleges nor our trained men to fight for us, nor shall we have our money for practical purposes of defence. It will take years to construct the colleges and to turn out officers, but, in the meantime, the money may be required at any moment for the defence of the empire. (*Applause.*) I therefore propose that this last part of the amendment be expunged. (*Applause.*)

MR. PATSHAHA said:—MR. PRESIDENT, with your permission, I will not press that portion of the amendment, as it has caused so much opposition. (*Applause.*)

BAHU NARENDRA NATH SEN (*24-Pargannas, No. 563 in List*) said:—The proposer of the original proposition said "I accept the first part of the amendment."

A DELEGATE (*speaking from his seat*) said:—GENTLEMEN,—In my opinion the Resolution, as now amended, destroys the very principle really embodied in the original Resolution. In the original Resolution, we assumed, and, I suppose, very rightly, that the higher appointments in the military department are actually open to us. This has been recognised by Act of Parliament, and also by the Queen's Proclamation. We are, therefore, bound to assume that the higher appointments in the military department are now open to us. But, in accepting the Resolution in its amended form, we are distinctly assuming that the appointments are not open to us.

THE PRESIDENT:—This is a real difficulty, but what has suggested itself to the proposer of the original proposition and the proposer of the amendment is that the Resolution should run somewhat as follows, viz.:—"That in view of the loyalty of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, this Congress considers it desirable that the Queen's Proclamation should be given effect to, whereby, among other concessions, the military service, in its higher branches, should be opened, &c." That assumes that the Queen's Proclamation should be given effect to, and that the military service, in its higher branches, should be open to us. (*Applause.*)

A DELEGATE said:—I would suggest the further slight modification "Should be practically opened to the natives of this country."

(Some consultation here took place on the platform, between the President and the delegates who had been speaking on the subject.)

THE PRESIDENT:—Gentlemen,—I am trying to see whether we cannot pour oil upon these troubled waters. (*Laughter.*)

THE PRESIDENT:—Gentlemen,—We are all agreed as to what we desire, it is only a question of what language should be employed to prevent others misunderstanding what we all so perfectly realize. This is how it is now proposed that the Resolution should run:—"That in view of the loyalty of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, this Congress considers it desirable that

the Queen's Proclamation should be given effect to, and that the military service, in its higher grades, should be practically opened to the natives of this country." (*Applause.*)

THE DELEGATE (who made the last suggestion) said:—I have nothing more to say.

THE PRESIDENT:—I am very glad that the insertion of the word "practically" has saved this gentleman the necessity of making a speech. (*Laughter.*) The Resolution goes on—"And that the Government of India should establish military colleges in this country, whereat the sons of noblemen and gentlemen of all classes, permanently resident in India, may be educated and trained for a military career, as officers of the Indian army."

A DELEGATE said:—I would propose the substitution of the words "and all classes" instead of "of all classes."

THE PRESIDENT:—As the Resolution now stands, it is "of all classes." It is now proposed, gentlemen, to alter the word "of" into "and." That is not agreed to by the proposer of the original Resolution and, therefore, I think, it will still have to be debated. The point of difference seems to be that, on the one hand, it is sought to include the sons of gentlemen of all classes, provided they are sons of gentlemen, and, on the other hand, it is intended, by the substitution of the word "and" for "of," that everybody—no matter what his position in life may be—should be allowed to become an officer in Her Majesty's service. Unless some arrangement is come to, the question will have to be discussed—but, if this alteration is to be insisted on, we must have it first formally proposed and seconded.

BAHU DWARAKANATH GANGULI (*Calcutta, No. 554 in List*) said:—Then, sir, I rise to propose formally that the word "and" be substituted for "of" and I repeat what I said before. I distinctly understood that the interests this Congress is intended to promote are not the interests of any special class of Her Majesty's subjects, but of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects.

RAJAH RAMPAL SINGH (*Allahabad, No. 485 in List*) said:—GENTLEMEN,—I am not going to speak on this point at any length. I simply rise to second the motion and to express my hearty concurrence in the proposition that this conference is a representation, not of any particular class, but it is a representation of all creeds and classes and that we should not, therefore, make any such invidious distinctions, as is implied in the amended Resolution. (*Applause.*) It is highly desirable that we should accept any candidate, if he is qualified, and if he is worthy of being a member of the military college. (*Applause.*)

BAHU SURENDRANATH BANERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 551 in List*) then rose and said:—GENTLEMEN,—I would say: strike out the words "whereat the sons of noblemen and gentlemen of all classes, permanently resident in India, may be educated and trained for a military career." The question of the future organisation of the military colleges is a question of detail, and may very well be left to the judgment of Government. All we care for is the acceptance of the principle—the establishment of the colleges. How these colleges are to be governed, and who are to be educated there, and where funds are to come from,—all these are questions of detail which ought to be left to the Government to settle. I therefore propose that those words be struck out.

MR. W. C. BOKNETT (*Calcutta, No. 547 in List*) said:—I propose that the words "natives of India" should be substituted for "the sons of noblemen and gentlemen of all classes."

MR. W. S. GANTZ (*Madrās, No. 52 in List*) said:—I suggest a very slight alteration; let it stand as "natives of India as defined by statute." (*Loud applause, and cries of 'yes, yes!'*)

THE PRESIDENT:—As now proposed to be altered, the latter part of the Resolution will stand thus:—"and that the Government should establish military colleges in this country, whereat natives of India, as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as officers of the Indian army." (*Loud applause.*)

ANOTHER DELEGATE asked that the term "*natives of India, as defined by statute*" might be clearly explained to the Congress.

THE PRESIDENT:—Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee will, perhaps, kindly explain to the assembly exactly what is meant by the term "*natives of India, as defined by statute*."

MR. W. C. BONNERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 547 in List*):—Mr. PRESIDENT,—You have imposed upon me a task of some magnitude, if I were to take your instructions, *au pied du lettre*—but, really, I thought everybody knew what the term "*native of India*" meant. I thought it was well known, that all Hindus, all Mahomedans, all Parsees, all Eurasians, all East Indians and all domiciled Europeans, and all persons born in India of domiciled parents are, in the eye of the law, "*natives of India*," and are defined to be so by statute. The words "*as defined by statute*" have to be introduced, because they will prevent misunderstanding, on the part of such of our brethren as are Eurasians, East Indians, or domiciled Europeans, or the children of these, all of whom are really included in the legal term "*native of India*." We are now perfectly agreed that these colleges should be for the benefit of the whole of India. Let it not be said that this Congress has put anything in such an uncertain way that it might hereafter be said that Eurasians and East Indians and domiciled Europeans were not included in the term "*native of India*." (*Loud applause.*)

MR. EARDLEY NORTON (*Madras, No. 43 in List*) said:—I rise merely to second formally the proposition which has been moved by my friend Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, with the addition those words which stood there originally. The distinction between "*gentlemen*" and "*noblemen*" is a distinction which I, for one, fail to perceive, as I do not see why a "*nobleman*" may not also be a "*gentleman*." (*Laughter.*) And there is another reason why I think all specification of classes should disappear, namely, because its retention will be placing in the hands of the authorities another quantum of discriminating patronage. We all know what difficulties we have had to contend with, on that very account, in regard to that amphibious creature "*the statutory civil servant*." In accepting this amendment, you at once make it so plain in its terms that no ambiguity can arise. You obviate the danger which has already arisen in other cases and which may arise in this case, of the authorities misconstruing your meaning in such a way as to exclude from the operations of your proposition all those persons to whom India is, in fact, a fatherland. I trust you will accept the amendment in the same spirit in which it was moved—the spirit of universal sympathy with all classes, whether they happen to be gentlemen by birth, or whether they are not. (*Applause, and cries of 'vote, vote.'*)

THE PRESIDENT:—It seems to me, gentlemen, that, as the result of this long discussion, we have steered clear of some shoals. (*Hear, hear.*) It certainly would have been most undesirable if the impression went forth that the delegates had the interest of any particular class at heart. (*Hear, hear.*) Nothing could have been further from the intention of the proposer and seconder of the original Resolution. It was only a question of language, and I am glad we have now, at any rate, been able to discover language that apparently meets all objections. I am, I say, glad, but, until this proposition is voted and carried, it is impossible to know whether some gentleman may not yet get up and drive a coach-and-four through it. I will, therefore, ask first, whether you are desirous that we should proceed further with the discussion. (*Voices 'no, no, no.'*) That being so, I will now put the Resolution in its latest and, I venture to hope, universally approved form.

RESOLVED.—*That, in view of the loyalty of H. M.'s Indian subjects, this Congress considers it desirable that the Queen's Proclamation should be given effect to, that the military service, in its higher grades, should be practically opened to the natives of this country, and that the Government of India should establish military colleges in this country, whereat the natives of India, as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career, as officers of the Indian army.*

The Resolution was carried unanimously, and with loud acclamations.

THE PRESIDENT:—It is now carried beyond the power of anybody to amend further. (*Laughter.*)

THE PRESIDENT:—We proceed now to the 5th proposition in our programme, which runs as follows:—

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

MR. SANTANA NAIR (*Madras, No. 73 in List*) said:—Mr. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—The President has already read out to you the Resolution which I have to submit for your acceptance and, I think, therefore, it is needless for me to read it again. There is this difference between this Resolution and the previous ones which have been carried. In this case we have, if we are correctly informed, an expression of opinion, by the Viceroy of India, which is not very favourable to our views. The Viceroy has expressed his sympathy with our aspirations for a reform and expansion of our legislative councils and also, to a certain extent, in regard to the separation of judicial from revenue functions. But in this case, I regret to say, that it is understood that the Viceroy has stated that it is impossible to meet our views, and therefore, the task of moving this Resolution to one who entertains the highest respect for Lord Dufferin, both as our gracious Empress's representative and as a statesman of European reputation, is by no means an easy or pleasant one. But, gentlemen, though the Viceroy, in the discharge of his duty, as he views it, may have felt compelled, peremptorily to negative our former prayer, this is no real reason why we, of the country, who know more of its real needs and condition than any Viceroy can know, why we, the representatives of the thinking classes throughout the empire, should not also do what we believe to be our duty, and persistently urge a prayer, the granting of which will, we know, conduce, in such a high degree, not only to our own safety, but to the stability, and glory of the throne of that great Empress, whose servant he is, and whose loyal and loving subjects we are. (*Loud cheers.*) I have not the magnificent eloquence, the persuasive powers of some of the speakers that have preceded me, and for that reason, I shall simply confine myself to a statement of some of the grounds which may be adduced in support of this Resolution. After what has passed yesterday and after what we know even of the Viceroy's views, it is impossible to doubt, that sooner or later, we are sure to have a radical reform in the constitution of the legislative councils, but neither that blessing nor the separation of the judicial and executive functions, nor any other blessing that we enjoy under the British Government, can compensate us for the state of helplessness into which, as the result of the policy pursued by the British Government in this matter, we are rapidly drifting. Not only has it made us helpless, it has had also the effect of lowering and degrading the character of our countrymen. But this has already been pointed out by Babu Narendranath Sen, and was dwelt upon so eloquently and fully by Rajah Rampal Singh last year, that I shall not take up your time, by going over the same ground again, but I shall pass on at once to the next, though kindred, ground, which I have to adduce, in support of this Resolution. Every mail that comes from England brings alarming news of the state of affairs in Europe, a state of affairs that can mean nothing but that war between mutually jealous neighbours, in which England must be involved, is sure to be proclaimed at some not distant date. Now, gentlemen, what is our state or position under these circumstances? Our ancient civilization—is that to be broken into and destroyed by Northern invaders? Of course, we have this much freedom, that we have full liberty to offer our prayers for the success of the British Government. But prayers, I fear, are not likely to be of much use to us or to them. Is the peace and tranquillity, I say, which we now enjoy to be ravished from us, without our voices being heard, our arms being raised in the settlement of the dispute? It appears to me absurd to entertain such an idea. It appears to me intolerable, the more especially as even the English themselves cannot assert what the result of the struggle here is likely to be, if India continues debarred from helping herself and them. It is impossible to foresee what will happen, if this policy of Government, of refusing our co-operation, is

persisted in. It appears to be absolutely suicidal and we only hope, equally for our own and their sakes, that the English may not some day regret that she has refused, while there was yet time, and we could have been trained into serviceable allies, those prayers which we have so repeatedly put up in regard to this matter. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) The Russians have armed their foes of yesterday to fight on their own behalf to-day and the result shows that they have been justified in their action. (*Applause.*) Have we been less loyal to the British than the Tarkomans to the Russians, whom they fought with only yesterday? (*Applause.*) They lie who say that our loyalty cannot be depended upon in the hour of danger. (*Applause.*) It is in the highest degree probable, that the fighting races of India will be required to have a voice in the settlement of that dispute, if it is to end favourably for our empire, and, therefore, it is absolutely necessary now, while there may be yet time, to train and educate them, so that they may be able to bear their share, the lion's share, in the defence of that portion of the empire which is their home and mother-land. (*Applause.*) I should have thought that no objection could reasonably be urged against this proposition as, worded both last year and this, but the Viceroy has expressed himself, it is said, unable, on account of race feelings that are alleged to exist between the various races in India, to grant our prayer to be enrolled as volunteers. He expressed that opinion, it appears, to some delegates from Madras, after this Resolution was passed last year. It appears to me that if he did so, and my friend here assures me he did, he did so without carefully reading over the Resolution. I understood from a speaker yesterday, that a journalist may review magazines without reading them and that hostile critics often criticise without knowing what they are criticising. But a man in the Viceroy's position, I take it, would surely have read over the Resolution properly, before he delivered himself of such an opinion. Now, gentlemen, under our proposals, it is in the Viceroy's power to make rules, such that only those gentlemen, whom he may consider unquestionably loyal, whom he is convinced may be entirely relied upon, should be admitted as volunteers, as soldiers who, in the hour of danger, would stand beside the British.

It is to me inconceivable that a representation thus carefully guarded, should be summarily rejected by any reasonable man. Race feelings indeed! The assertion cannot be challenged by anybody who at all understands the country, that in a corps of volunteers, composed of men drawn from the Mahomedan and Hindu communities indifferently, we shall have the best, the only possible effective safeguard against any collision between the lower classes of these races. In my own district, for instance, a part of the district has been disarmed on account of what was called the Moplah outbreak, and it is the opinion of many of us, both Hindus and Mahomedans, that a corps of volunteers, in which both of these races were represented, would be the best safeguard against the occurrence of any further ebullitions of fanaticism. (*Applause.*) Now, gentlemen, I have very little to add to what I have already stated and to what has already been stated by Rajah Rampal Singh,* when he moved this proposition last year, and it will be needless occupying your time by dilating upon the subject. Let us all be united and let us ask Government to grant our prayer, that all loyal inhabitants of the country may take their share in the defence of the country. We should be animated by a sense of the glory which will attach to us, if we take our proper share in the defence of our country, and, no doubt, many of us will be found willing in an emergency, if it is necessary, to put ourselves

*Rajah Rampal Singh's speech delivered at the Congress of 1886, a speech that has been endorsed by the entire Indian Press, ran as follows:—

"The spirit of this meeting has been so uniformly loyal and conciliatory that I hope no one will blame us if we now proceed to deal with a matter, in regard to which, we are distinctly at variance with Government. Every one knows that, for a variety of reasons, the whole country is of opinion that native Volunteer Corps ought to be organized. Every one knows that the entire country memorialized and endeavoured to move Government in this matter, and every one further knows that, to our great regret and disappointment, the Government, and that not over-graciously, distinctly refused to pay any attention to the unanimous voice of the country. None the less, however, do we now feel it our duty to reiterate these representations—representations which are based on a consideration of the highest interests of Great Britain, as well as India."

"We are deeply grateful to Government for all the good that it has done us, but we cannot be grateful to it when it is no matter with what kind of intentions, doing us a terrible and irreparable injury. (*Loud cheers.*)"

"We are grateful to it for the peace and order which it has diffused over the land (*cheers*); for the education that it has so nobly and usefully imparted to us (*cheers*); for its promise of admitting us to every post and office in the administration for which we prove our fitness (*cheers*); for the share that it has given us in the comforts and conveniences provided by the triumphs of Western science, railways, telegraphs, telephones—we are grateful to it, in a word,—for all the innumerable bounties and blessings that it has conferred on us (*cheers*); but we cannot be grateful to it for degrading our natures, for systematically crushing out of us all martial spirit, for converting a race of soldiers and heroes into a timid flock of quail-driving sheep. (*Prolonged shouts.*) Thank God, things have not yet gone quite so far as this. There are some of us yet, everywhere, who would be willing to draw sword, and if needful lay down our lives,

forward and avail ourselves of this advantage. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, subsequent to the Resolution which we passed last year, we received a Resolution from the Government of India, giving us permission to enrol ourselves as volunteers, if all the members of any existing corps accepted us. But, gentlemen, that is hardly a concession. (*Applause.*) Of course, very few can expect admission with the consent of all those who compose such corps—those corps were originated expressly for the purpose of training Europeans and East Indians alone, and they will not care to be out-numbered by natives. Further, gentlemen, I may tell you, that though I and some others were admitted to the local corps, and then removed by the orders of the local Government (this was before promulgation of that Resolution by the Government of India to which I have referred) yet, subsequent to the receipt of that Resolution, we have not been re-admitted, though we appealed for such re-admission some months ago. With these observations I propose for your acceptance the Resolution which has been read out by the President. (*Applause.*)

RAJAH RAMPAL SINGH (*Allahabad, No. 485 in List*) said:—GENTLEMEN—After hearing the speech of the mover of this Resolution, I rise with a very bad grace, and I feel almost in despair of being able to say anything further worth saying on this subject. But, gentlemen, as martial exercises, the martial calling, are so dear to me that they have become a part and parcel of my life, I may be forgiven, if I yet venture to say something on the subject and, I think, that belief in your indulgence will give me strength to bring certain facts before you here on this occasion. Gentlemen, before I speak further on the subject, I must explain to you why I have been so discouraged by what I have heard from the last speaker. In the same way, gentlemen, as my friend has heard of His Excellency the Viceroy speaking adversely to this concession, I had been, in the same manner, informed by one of my friends that he is disposed to regard it favorably. One of my friends told me, while I was at Simla, or I have heard from some other source, which I cannot name to you directly, that while discussing the question with an Indian gentleman,

for hearth and home, eye, and for the support and maintenance of that Government to which we owe so much. (*Cheers.*) But this is what we are coming to—and when we once come to that, then I think that, despite the glories of the Pax Britannica, despite the noble intentions of Great Britain, despite all the good she may have done or tried to do us, the balance will be against her, and India will have to regret rather than rejoice that she has ever had anything to do with England. (*Hear, hear.*)

"This may be strong language, but it is the truth; nothing can ever make amends to a nation for the destruction of its national spirit, and of the capacity to defend itself and the soil from which it springs. (*Loud cheers.*)"

"Nor is it only we who shall have to regret and suffer for the mistaken policy that our Government is unhappily pursuing in this matter. Look where you will around you in the world, and you will see gigantic armies and armaments. There is trouble in store for the whole civilized world, and sooner or later a tremendous military struggle will commence in which, assuredly, before it terminates, Great Britain, will be involved. Great Britain, with all her wealth, cannot put one hundred men into the field for every thousand that several Continental powers can. England herself is isolated, and by her insular position to a certain extent protected, but no friendly sea rolls between Europe and Asia, the landward path to India is known and open; India is not isolated, and it will be India, on whose possession half Great Britain's wealth and status depends, that will be the scene of any serious attack by any Continental Powers on Great Britain. (*Hear, hear.*)"

"Then will England regret that, instead of having millions of brave Indians trained to arms to fling back invaders, she has only her scanty legions to oppose to them, and from her timid subjects can only look at most for good wishes—good wishes, truly good things in their way, but poor bulwarks against her an-rides and steel ordnance! (*Hear, hear.*)"

"But on our own accounts we deprecate the existing policy. High and low we are losing all knowledge of the use of arms, and with this that spirit of self-reliance which enables a man to dare, which makes men brave, which makes them worthy of the name of men. (*Loud cheers.*) When I was only five years of age my grandfather made me begin to learn all physical exercises in vogue amongst us, and I was trained to the use of all arms, and in all martial exercises. (*Cheers.*) But what man now sends his son for such training? What young man now-a-days knows anything of these things? Fifty years ago, without desiring warfare, every young man's heart glowed within him at the thought of some day showing his prowess in a fair field. Now most young men would, I fear, contemplate any such possible contingency with very, let me say, mixed feelings. If men are to be fit for soldiers, fit to fight to any purpose when the time of trial comes, and come it must for every country, then they must be trained in the use of arms, they must from their childhood see their parents, their elders, using arms and participating in those martial exercises which, only 35 years ago, in Oudh at least, were part of every gentleman's occupation."

"And there is another very important point—India is practically being impoverished, to a great extent, by the enormous expense of her standing army. Sooner or later the crushing weight of this (for her resources) enormous expenditure will break down either the country, or the Government. Now, by a judicious encouragement of Indian Volunteers, it would be possible to reduce, very greatly, this military expenditure, and yet leave the country far stronger for defensive purposes than it now is. (*Prolonged cheering.*)"

"But I might go on for hours. I might dwell on the fact that in the way the Arms' Act is now worked in many localities, the people, their herds, their crops, are wholly at the mercy of wild beasts. I might dwell on the injustice, the violation of the most sacred and solemn pledges by England to India, that are involved in the rule, that permit Indian Christians but do not permit Indian Hindus or Mahomedans to volunteer. (*Loud cheers.*) But I have said enough, and indeed being, as we are, all of one mind, too much already. I fear, on this subject, in which I am deeply interested, I will only now add that we do not ask Government to put arms blindly into all men's hands, but only to permit, under such rules and restrictions, as it sees fit, the better and more educated classes of its loyal Indian subjects to qualify themselves to defend, when occasion may require, their homes, their country and their Government." (*Enthusiastic cheers.*)

His Excellency was asked to bestow the same boon on the North-West Provinces, as he had been kind enough to confer on the Madras Presidency, and that, in answer, he said "O ! I have not, indeed, sanctioned it only for the Madras Presidency, but, for the whole of India." Then the gentleman, who was talking to him, asked his permission to give publicity to these facts in the papers. He said that this might be done and that the recent Madras orders had been issued on the basis of Lord Canning's original Resolution. Gentlemen, I am not able to give you the purport of that Resolution, because, although we have heard a little about it, we have not been able, as yet, to obtain a copy of it. I have heard something about it, viz., that it lays down that we cannot form separate purely native corps, but, that we must be admitted into, and join, some of the existing European and Eurasian corps, and that we must conform to the rules and regulations of these existing corps. This is not much; these corps, as has been said, will, perhaps, not accept many of us, but still, it is something and we ought to show, I think, some gratification at this concession, because we were so unanimous on the former occasion in asking for this privilege. We now press this subject on the Government with the same vehemence and force, as we did on the last occasion, ought we not, at the same time, to acknowledge this step, small though it may be, towards complying with our request? Gentlemen, undoubtedly, we have received many blessings from the English Government, such as immunity from anarchy, safety of our property and of our lives, education, railways, telegraphs, admirable postal arrangements, ice and soda-water, (*laughter*) and a host of minor comforts and conveniences, but we have not yet received that highest privilege which we enjoyed under the former rulers of this country, I mean our Mahomedans friends. They, at least, trusted us—but this, the British Government seems resolved not to do. Under the Mahomedans we were not only employed in all the civil departments, and in all posts from the highest to the lowest, but we were often the leaders and generals of their army. Gentlemen, we might have many things to complain of, as regards the treatment that we all, Hindus and Mahomedans, received at the hands of our Persian rulers, but they employed and trusted us Hindus, as they did their own people. Once our people had been conquered, they were always admitted by Akbar to the highest offices of State and not only lieutenant-governorships, but also the leaderships of armies and the position of commanders-in-chief were conceded to Hindus. Maharajah Todar Mall, the famous financial minister, who was at one time the Governor of Madras, was almost the most distinguished man in the empire, under the Mahomedan rule of the time. Maharajah Madin Singh was not only the Governor of Madras, but also of Kabul. Some of the Mahomedans may not have patronised this Congress as they ought to have done, (*laughter*), still they showed, in those days, that they held us to be their countrymen, and our countrymen they irrevocably became, and are now sharing our destinies for good or evil, and, whether they are just or unjust to us, whether they aid or oppose us in these our efforts, they are still a part of ourselves, and with us they, and their children, and their property, remain in the country. Gentlemen, our present rulers, with all their good works and all their even-handed justice, are still too much of foreigners, who make of India their happy hunting grounds and treat it primarily as a place in which to make their fortune and leave with all their possessions at the earliest possible moment. I heartily endorse the remarks which fell from our worthy President the other day, when he opened the Congress, as to the extreme importance of welcoming with open arms any European gentlemen, who may be persuaded to make our country their home, but, (*question, question*) well, I think, perhaps, this is a digression (*voices of 'yes, yes'*) and I will drop it. (*Hear, hear.*) I must not say much more now, gentlemen, this is a very grave question, and we none of us wish to press this question too far. We don't say that the privilege of volunteering should be conferred on everybody in India—far from it. We only make a very reasonable demand, viz., that the Government should just allow those it knows it can trust, and those only, to volunteer. Now, gentlemen, it has been said that several gentlemen in this Presidency who were admitted as volunteers on one occasion, were dismissed from their corps by the orders of the Government of Madras; that this latter, was set right by the Government of India and directed to act on Lord Canning's Resolution already referred to, but that despite this, and their having several months ago sought re-admission, this has not yet been conceded to them. It would, therefore, seem that the existing spirit is against us. For this reason, I am ready to press a very small measure and, if you concur, ask a very little favour only in order to make, at any rate, a beginning. Gentlemen, instead of the demand made in our Resolution and which, moderate as it is, seems, from all we hear, hopeless, might we not begin by asking this. You know that under this

famous Arms' Act, although a great hue and cry is raised against it, very few of the more educated and reliable persons of our community are not exempted from its operation. I mean to say that members of district and local boards, municipal commissioners, honorary magistrates, rajahs, and most gentlemen of any position are exempted from its operation and, therefore, what I propose is that, if the Government is opposed in granting us any more general permission, we might, at least, ask it to permit these people, who are already exempted from the operation of the Arms' Act, to form themselves into volunteer corps. I think it very indiscreet on the part of the Government to give us arms and not allow us to know the proper way of using them. They should not stultify themselves so far. This, at any rate, they might, and must, concede to us. Now, might it not be wise this time to press only this minor point. (*Cries of 'no, no,' 'shut up' and 'time, time.'*) Well, I see you won't have it and I am exhausting your patience, so, although I am inclined to think that my very modest demand would be more likely to meet with a favourable reception, still, as I entirely agree in the sense of the Resolution before us, I am happy, in sitting down, to be able to say that I second it with the best possible good-will. (*Hear, hear, and loud applause.*)

MR. JOHN ADAM (*Madras, No. 88 in List*) said:—GENTLEMEN,—It has been suggested by one or two of my friends that, as I happen to be an officer of the volunteer corps, to which Rajah Rampal Singh has referred, it would be well if I corrected a small misapprehension he has fallen into, with respect to the conduct of the members of that corps and I would do so by simply stating the facts, as they occurred. Some time ago, about the time of the Russian scare, my friends, Mr. Sankara Nair, who proposed this motion, and Mr. Salem Ramasawmi Mudaliar, one of the delegates to England, and two or three other native gentlemen, applied to be admitted into our volunteer corps, and they were accepted at once. (*Applause.*) There was no difficulty at all, as to their being accepted, we were all most happy to welcome them. But, unfortunately, and through a misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the order of the Government of India—a misinterpretation on the part of the Government of Madras, or the military authorities here—these gentlemen, although we desired it, were not allowed, at that time, to be admitted into the corps. Subsequently, and, in fact, quite recently, it was discovered that a mistake had been made and that the interpretation which the Government of Madras had put upon this order of the Government of India was not applicable to the Madras Presidency, but was applicable only to Burmah, which, at the time this order of the Government of India was issued, was considered a portion of the Madras military command; but the military authorities here and the Government extended the limitation which was applicable only to Burmah and made it apply to the whole of the Madras Presidency. The mistake was afterwards discovered, when the original Government order was re-published a little time ago. But, subsequent to that, a short time ago, three of these gentlemen applied to be re-admitted into the corps, under the conditions which were laid down in that order. Immediately on their application, steps were taken to give effect to their wishes, but it was necessary, under the Government order, that the consent and approval of all the existing members of the corps should be obtained, to the admission of these gentlemen as fellow-comrades with them in the corps. This consent is in process of being, and, I believe, has been practically and unanimously, given. (*Applause.*) Speaking for myself, I may say that, in that portion of the corps specially under my charge and which I had to consult upon the matter, both officers and men, were perfectly unanimous in agreeing most cordially to welcome them, and, I believe, the same is the case in the various other detachments of the corps. I may also say that all the officers are perfectly unanimous in agreeing to receive these gentlemen into the corps. (*Applause.*) I thought you would, perhaps, pardon me for simply offering this explanation, as otherwise a mistaken impression might have been carried away, in regard to the action of the volunteer corps. Rajah Rampal Singh will also thank me, I am sure, for having given this explanation (*applause*), and having, as I hope, given him grounds for believing that, here, at any rate, there is no disposition to exclude loyal native gentlemen from our ranks.

MAJIE BHUGWAN DAS (*Dera Ismail Khan, No. 482 in List*) then spoke in Urdu and said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHERN,—I congratulate you on this, the third National Congress, on my own behalf, and on behalf of the Hindus and Mahomedans whom I represent. Brethren, I call you brethren, because we are children of the same mother-land, and co-workers in the same common cause—the good of our nation. Though we may differ in respect of dress and

religion, yet we are all none the less brothers, collected here in Madras to-day, under this vast roof, to labour for one and the same cause—the cause of India. My brethren, there is no doubt now, as to this Congress being truly representative of the entire country and, though certain Anglo-Indian papers may still make a great show of disputing this point, their position is just like that of a certain class of barristers, who well knowing that they have no case, still to please their clients, storm and bluster, as if they were sure of gaining their cause and abuse and affect to despise the other side, well knowing, that the latter are sure to win. It is not the best kind of barristers who do this, but, neither are our opponents the best kind of journalists. Of course, the barrister keeps up his bluster, until the case is decided and the opposition of certain journalists will not cease, nor their falsehoods come to an end, till the Government passes its final decision in our favour, but after that, I am doubtful if we shall ever hear more of the matter, unless, indeed, they be well fed to try and procure a review of judgment. (Laughter.) Well, gentlemen, I will read the Resolution, which I have risen to support to-day, (for though I speak in Urdu, I both read and write English), in order that our opponents may not accuse me of not understanding what I am going to support. (He then read the Resolution in English.) Now, I will bring certain facts to your notice, which should lead every honest thinker to hope that this Resolution will be accepted by the Government. Just about the year 1849, Dewan Mulraj, the Governor of Mooltan, rebelled against the Sikh Government, which was practically the British Government, as the entire administration was guided by British officers, and the Gondapurs, and afterwards the Pathans, who were well trained in the use of the arms, were collected in hundreds and thousands, to help the British officer, Mr. Edwards, Resident in the Derajat frontier, in those days. There was no railway in those days and it was a most critical time. It would have been in the utmost degree difficult, if not, as I believe, absolutely impossible, for the British officers to have put down that rebellion but for the help of the arms-trained Pathans of the country.

Again, you well know, gentlemen, that it was a very critical time for our Government during the Mutiny of the year 1857. The British empire was in a most dangerous position, and it really was, for a time, a mere toss-up, (let British historians disguise it as they please), whether India would not be lost to it for ever. But, fortunately, the Punjab, especially the frontier part of that province, had been recently conquered and there were, at that time, a great number of persons, in the frontier districts especially, who had been trained in the use of the arms and had known what a soldier's life was and liked it.

Col. Nicholson, who was then deputy commissioner of the Bannu district, (to whom the capture of Delhi was admittedly, in a great measure, due) collected thousands of such trained warriors and of the frontier Pathan tribes, and with these joined the attack on Delhi, and the success attained, if the truth be told, was in a great measure due to these Pathans. I need not give you more examples, my brethren, as these two will suffice to inculcate the lesson that, in times of the extremest danger, it is on the natives trained to arms, that the British Government and we, its loyal subjects, must, as a last resort, rely. Now, the past policy, for the last 30 years of our Government, has been such as to kill out everywhere, a knowledge and of all the blessings that we owe to them, of all we most prize and cherish, to us. (Applause.) Therefore, brethren, we have a right, the best of all rights, to claim, again and again, from Government, that our young men shall be trained to arms, and made fit to defend us and our homes, our liberties and our lands. (Loud cheers.) The Government cannot be blind, they must see the contingencies lying before them and us,

as we frontier men see them and, if so, it is cruel, it is unjust for them, to refuse us what we ask for in this Resolution, (cheers,) nay, it is a folly, a crime, for we ask it, as much in their interests, as much in the interests of our empire and our Empress, as in those of our country, our families, and ourselves. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, I support this Resolution and so does every man, on our frontier, and so does every well-wisher of the British Government throughout the empire. (Continued applause.)

MR. MIR ALI MAHOMED BHIMJEE (Indore, No. 473 in List) said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,—I appear before you to support a Resolution that has been proposed, as regards our admission into volunteer corps. Government ask us why we should be admitted into volunteer corps and why we want to be admitted. I answer "For the simple reason that this is our home and we want to defend our hearths and homes." (Applause.) It is their hearths and homes that Englishmen want to defend and it is the same that we want to defend here, in our own country. (Applause.) You have heard some speakers refer to Lord Canning's order, that natives of India may be admitted into volunteer corps, if the members of the corps consent to their admission. I say "Why make that restriction? If you are honest, grant us the privilege. Why make the restriction? If you wish us to be admitted, then, why leave it to the members of any Corps to decide whether they choose to admit us or not? Answer that question." (Applause.) I say, it is the authorities, and not the members of any corps (applause) who are competent to judge whether we are entitled or not, to defend our hearths and homes. (Applause.) Our Government is perfectly mistaken. You will excuse my warmth, I am carried away, but I will cool down. (Laughter and applause.) I say that our Government is making a terrible mistake. Some fifty or sixty years ago, by a lavish expenditure of money, they were able to raise as many German and other mercenaries as they desired, but they will never be able to do so, in these days, and if they fancy that they will be able to do so, they commit a great blunder which they will some day bitterly repent. Mercenaries are a class of people who are not to be had now. You all know that the different continental nations have not only their standing armies, but every male in their populations, between eighteen and forty-five, or even fifty years of age, registered as soldiers in one class of reserve or other, which they had not about the time of Waterloo. Not one mercenary soldier can England now draw from any continental nation. Russia has some five millions, Germany four, Austria has got two or three millions, France three or four million soldiers of the line and reserves and so on. Had they anything of all this when Waterloo was fought? Even in the Crimean war? (Voices of 'no, no'.) They had not, and, consequently, our English Government in virtue of their long purse—by their unbounded and unlimited expenditure of money—were able to procure mercenaries to help them to fight their battles. Where will they procure mercenaries now, when the odds against England are three-fold what they were? (Hear, hear.) Supposing Russia does invade India and we all know that from the time of Peter the Great, Russia's aim has been—India! India! India! It is not barren Central Asia, she has been aiming at. She has been sending large armies into Central Asia and wasting untold millions there, but she has been aiming at India. She wants an outlet for commerce and she must have it either here or on the Golden Horn, at the expense of the Turkish or the British Empire, and all those who have studied this question know this very well. Now Austria, Germany and Italy bar the way to Constantinople and it is much to be feared, that it will be at our expense, that the outlet of Russian commerce will be found. Gentlemen, if Russia realizes this desire to pounce upon India, she will first create serious complications in Europe and when our English rulers' energies are perfectly absorbed in meeting the dangers that beset them there, when they have, as in the Crimean war, denuded India of European troops and, probably, as has been her practice, even in petty wars in late years, of a strong contingent of her best native troops, then, I ask, how many men will England be able to throw into the field here, to meet the million or so, of soldiers and robbers of a hundred wild tribes that Russia will be able to tempt into making common cause with her, in plundering our towns and ravishing our women? The English Government may have millions and hundreds of millions of money, but money won't fight—it is men that will fight and where will she get them, when, by her present policy, she has (laughter and 'hear, hear') turned us all into women. (Laughter.) Are we to be forever treated as if we cannot be trusted? Are we so low and degraded that we are not able to be trusted to defend our hearths and homes. ('Hear, hear,' and applause.) Are we such fools as not to realize the difference between British and Russian rule? (Cheers.) What then?

Is it not mockery? Is it not idiotic, to say to us "You may be enrolled as volunteers with the consent of all the members of any existing corps"? And how many thousands, should I not say hundreds, will thus be able to obtain some military training? Some gentlemen here, told us "We are all unanimous in admitting native gentlemen." Yes, you are at the moment all unanimous, but will this unanimity continue—does it exist elsewhere? In one or two instances, corps may be unanimous; but, is that any guarantee that we shall be admitted, generally throughout the country, in anything like adequate numbers to defend our homes, our families? We have a perfect right to be admitted. Why make these conditions? What are you afraid of? We do not want to drive you away from the country, (*Voices of 'no, no, certainly not'*) we want to keep you, to help you, to support you. (*Tremendous cheers.*) Is there one here so false, so foolish, as to say "We want to drive the English away from this country"? (*Loud cries of 'no, no, no'*). No, we are not so base, (*applause*), we are not such fools. (*loud applause.*) Were we to drive you away from our country, what would become of us? Who should we have instead? We may go from one end of the earth to the other end, we shall not find one to come up to you. (*Loud applause.*) "England with all thy faults, we love thee still." There is not one single Power in all the world, to come up to England, that would, on the whole, have dealt so nobly and generously with a subject nation as England has done. (*Loud applause.*) Whom shall we have instead of you? We must have a head here—a body without a head cannot live. (*Applause.*) If we get our Hindu friends here, who are so well educated, and, after we have driven you away, we take them and put them into power and give them the *gadi*, (*voices of 'no, no,'*) shall we get on well? Or are we fit to rule the whole empire? Or can we, in our present state, even combined, produce a Government half as good as that of England? No. We must have the English. But they are treating us like mere children (*applause*), they are simply trifling with us. We do not want to drive you away from here, we cannot do without you; and if you give us all the liberty in the world, we shall still respect you and cling to you and keep you with us, (*a voice of 'and respect you all the more'*), yes, and respect you all the more. (*Thank you, sir, for your correction.*) I did not want to speak to-day, but, when I saw this matter brought up, I asked the President to allow me to speak. Who does not feel the degradation of not being allowed to become a volunteer, who does not feel the humiliation of being debarred from the use and practice of arms, who does not tremble for the day when unarmed, helpless, our martial spirit dead, we shall have to stand wailing like women, to see our English friends massacred by Russian hordes and ourselves, our fortunes and our families, the prey of their ruthless barbarities? (*Applause.*) I say this meeting speaks with one voice, and it is the voice of India, and no Government in the world, can turn a deaf ear to such a voice or long refuse to permit us to qualify ourselves for defending it and ourselves, our hearths and homes, and the British empire. (*Loud and prolonged applause, and cries of 'vote, vote': 'we are all agreed.'*)

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, if, as it seems, you are all of one mind and desire no further discussion, and I confess that I hardly see how there can be two opinions in regard to this present, cautiously worded, Resolution, or, for that matter, that any more speaking in regard to it can be needed, I will now put it. (*Cries of 'put it, put it' 'vote, vote.'*) The Resolution will stand thus:—

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

The Resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT.—The next proposition on the programme, gentlemen, is:—

That as the administration of the Income-Tax, especially as regards incomes below Rs. 1,000 a year, has proved extremely unsatisfactory, it is essential in the opinion of the Congress that the taxable minimum be raised to Rs. 1,000, the loss of revenue thus involved being made

good by reductions in the existing public expenditure, or, should this prove impossible, by the re-imposition of an import duty on the finer classes of cotton goods.

BADU GURU PRASAD SEN (*Behar, No. 533 in List*) said:—GENTLEMEN,—When the first Congress met, at Bombay we had to deal with the license-tax, a tax so illogical and inconsistent, that we could do nothing better than to propose that an income-tax should be substituted in its stead. We did not approve either license-tax or income-tax. We said, if more money be really wanted for military purposes and the Government will not provide this, as they ought to provide it, by retrenchment in other branches of the service, the required funds ought to be provided "firstly, by the re-imposition of the customs duties; and secondly, by the extension of the license-tax to those classes of the community, official and non-official, at present exempted from it, care being taken that, in the case of all classes, a sufficiently high taxable minimum be maintained". What we said then was, "if you will have more money, if you won't retrench, as you ought to do, if you won't re-impose the customs duties, then, rather than devise new schemes of taxation, turn your illogical license-tax into a logical income-tax, only keep your taxable minimum high enough". It was, in fact, the lesser of two evils which we chose. But we soon found that the taxable minimum had been struck too low, that the administration of the income-tax, as it was worked when the income-tax came to be introduced—we found, I say, that the practical administration of the tax was by no means so satisfactory as it ought to have been, especially with reference to the taxation of incomes below, or coming but little above, the minimum. Now, having given the matter a fair trial, we propose that the taxable minimum be raised to Rs. 1,000, and we do this, in the interest of the humbler classes of our countrymen. (*Applause.*) It is not in the interest of the distinguished delegates whom I see before me, not ten per cent. of whom, probably, have incomes of less than Rs. 1,000 a year, but in the interests of the large body of our countrymen of the middle classes, that we desire that this relief should be granted, namely, the raising of the minimum from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. (*Applause.*) Now, there are many reasons why this raising of the minimum has become a necessity. In the Act, we find the minimum Rs. 500 and that, of course, you must admit is a very low limit. It means, at the present rate of exchange, that all incomes of £34 a year and upwards are liable to taxation. Well, prices have risen during the last twenty years enormously, and they have even risen within the last two years. Sir, the minimum I submit, ought to be fixed with due regard to the necessities of life and this limit of Rs. 500 takes no account of these. Is it at all conceivable for a man, in our part of the country, a respectable householder who lives on from Rs. 500 to Rs. 800 or 900 a year, which comes to from Rs. 40 to 70, or say £2-15 to less than £5, a month, to provide the mere necessities of life and then have any margin to spare for income-tax? (*Loud applause.*) Then there are not only his own necessities and those of his family to be supplied, but, in all Indian families there are a number of dependents to be clothed and fed. It is not a question of individuals, but a question of many dozens, in every case, depending upon individuals. In fact, as you all know, a man has not only to feed, clothe, and educate his own sons, but he has to feed, clothe, and educate those of his relatives, subordinates, and so on. This, of course, is inevitable; it may be a good or bad custom, but it is one, hallowed by the traditions of thousands of years, that we must still bow to. We cannot help ourselves, if we would, and, for all its disadvantages, it is a good and kindly custom. It is not the question of the support of one individual and his family, but the support of a family and its connections and retainers. The income really belongs to half a dozen families—it is an aggregate of incomes here treated as one, but which would in other countries have stood divided. These points were not sufficiently taken into consideration, when "the necessities of life" for Indians were considered, or the taxable minimum which is supposed to be fixed above necessities, would not have been placed so low. The necessities of life for Indian families are not to be measured with reference to the single individual requirements, but with reference to the requirements of his family and household, and if you measure necessary requirements with due regard to these, you will all agree with me that the minimum of Rs. 40 a month is very much too low, (*applause*) and, therefore, under these circumstances, we now propose that the taxable minimum be raised from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. (*Applause.*) It was, I believe, originally under contemplation to fix the minimum at this figure for a certain class of people—I mean

for officials in Government employ. Government thought this was a minimum exactly suited to the necessities of that class, but it was pointed out that, if that concession was made, a concession of a similar nature would be needed on behalf of every class, and that otherwise the tax would be inconsistent and illogical and it was then, and then only, that the minimum, in their case, was reduced to Rs. 500, so that, according to the admission of Government in regard to the only class of which it knows anything, the minimum ought to be fixed at Rs. 1,000 and not at Rs. 500, and we, who know all classes, can tell them that this is equally necessary in the case of all classes. (Applause.) Well, that being so, there can be no difference of opinion, it seems to me, with respect to the raising of the minimum. But, before I leave the question, I have one word more to say. In England, the minimum is, I am told, £150 a year, which would correspond, at the present rate of exchange, to something like Rs. 2,250. (Hear, hear.) So that our present minimum is fixed at a very low figure, if you compare it with the English minimum, and especially, if you take into consideration the fact that the one is for a single family, while in India, looking to the requirements of an Indian family with its dependants, it is really the income of a group of families, and you must admit that the minimum, if it is not to be Rs. 2,000 ought at least to be raised to Rs. 1,000. (Applause.) Then, sir, we are confronted with this difficulty. If the minimum is raised from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000, how are we to meet the loss in revenue? I submit we can do it by reducing expenditure. In a household, where the expenditure is 70 millions of pounds sterling, do you not think it possible that a paltry reduction of, say, one-third of one of those millions (which, I suppose, would be the utmost loss that would be sustained), could be very well made up by the reduction of expenditure? A prudent householder, under such a contingency would, in the first place, set about and reduce his expenditure, if he had no reasonable prospect of increasing his income, and if Government could at all be made to feel that the limit of taxation has already been reached, I think it would immediately set to work to bring about a reduction in expenditure, sufficient to meet the reduction our proposals involve in the out-turn of the income-tax. Government have, no doubt, instituted a finance committee and that committee has been making enquiries and many suggestions have been made to it. Those suggestions, at least those likely to be accepted, though good only to a certain extent, would, at any rate, provide for this small reduction of thirty-five lacs in income, so that the deficit resulting from the relief we propose, would and could be properly made up by reduction of expenditure. The report, it is true, is not before the public as yet, but there were many valuable suggestions made by those with whom the finance committee took counsel, and though, I do not say, that all the suggestions were good, or, even if good, likely to be acceptable to Government, still, if only one of these be accepted, the economy effected, would make up for a loss of revenue which is simply represented by thirty-five lacs of rupees. I do not wish to name anybody, but I shall simply name the Board of Revenue of Bengal. If we simply give effect to the recommendations made from all quarters, that this Board of Revenue should be abolished, we should at once get a reduction of expenditure to the tune of six lacs in Bengal and thirty-five lacs would be half made up by similar reductions in other Provinces. It is not, however, for us to specify reductions. We simply point out the fact that such a reduction is possible, and that if the taxable minimum be raised, as we advocate and as the whole country demands, the loss of revenue thus involved can very well and ought to be made up by corresponding reductions in expenditure. But we say further, even if that is not possible, that is to say, if you persist in not seeing that it is possible, and none are so blind as those who won't see, if you insist that you cannot meet the loss by reduction of expenditure, do this; as the present low minimum is telling so heavily on the well-being of the masses of our lower middle class people, do this, re-impose the import duty which has been given up (hear, hear), an import duty, not on the poor man's clothing, but on the finer kinds of cloth, which only the comparatively rich—those really able to contribute to the necessities of the State—practically use. Well, the only thing that can be said against this measure is, that it is a measure of protection. But, it may be so low as to be practically inoperative in this direction. Even were it otherwise, I would still say it is not a protective measure at all, it is a fiscal measure adopted solely in the interests of our finances. It would not be, nay all the circumstances considered, no one can pretend that it *could* be opposed to the rules laid down by the best political economists, and, indeed, it is absurd to talk, in these days, of protection for our industries—our industries do not require protection—but, so as to leave no handle for such an argument, let there be a corresponding excise duty on our own similar finer productions. All we cry for is that, in the interest of our finances, if money

be really needed to meet the deficit, the import duties should be re-imposed and this our proposal contemplates. With these words I beg to propose for your acceptance the Resolution which the President has already read out to you. (Applause.)

BABU JOGINDER CHANDER GHOSH (Calcutta, No. 555 in List) said:—GENTLEMEN,—I, of all men here, should make some apology for speaking on this occasion; but apology takes time, and, therefore, I shall go on to my subject at once. The matter before us is one of great importance. There is, no doubt, that the administration of the income tax, especially as regards incomes below Rs. 1,000 a year has proved extremely unsatisfactory. It is well known that the income tax is a source of constant oppression and terror to the poorer people of this country. I know from my experience as a Pleader,—and you know that poor people only venture to come to men of little practice like myself,—how the poor are oppressed. People are too frequently assessed at four times their actual income by those who desire to be considered *Khairkhuah** servants of the Government. Poor people do not always keep proper accounts and are the least able to protect themselves, and then woe to the man who goes to Collectors like Mr. Goodrich, of Calcutta, the *Zubberdust*, the great, the great grinder of the poor. I know the clerk of a Pleader was assessed at more than his master; and I still remember the look of terror of the man, when he was told that his books were not regularly-kept account-books. A man who has only three or four hundred rupees a year may easily be mistaken by the honestest assessing officer, misled by subordinates, who want to make a name, for one who has five hundred rupees. But when you raise the minimum to Rs. 1,000 a year, it is different. None of the mass of folks who have two, three or four hundred a year can be assessed by mistake at Rs. 1,000,—of course, there will be men on seven, eight and nine hundred, in regard to whom such a mistake may be made; but there are ten of the former class to one of the latter; and it is not only mistakes, that have to be guarded against the hundreds of thousands of comparatively helpless ignorant persons who have between Rs. 200 and 500 a year, are made to pay, by rascals who threaten them that, if they do not bribe them, they will have them taxed, and you get rid of all this which is the cause of half the discontent, the income-tax brings about, by raising the limit to Rs. 1,000, because the 7, 8 and 9 hundred people are very, very much fewer in number, and are in a better position and know more, and are stronger and much less able to be frightened by threats.

I think, gentlemen, that our demand is very reasonable. All that we want is the exemption of the poor and the weak from the tax and its accompanying oppression. The classes that will thus be exempted will be the more poorly-paid servants of Government, and the great mass of small traders, shopkeepers and artisans.

As regards Government servants, you know, gentlemen, that they are mostly taken from the middle classes, the lower ranks of what we may call the gentry of the country. You know how, day by day, they are being reduced to poverty. Their wants are many and their means are small and we know how keen their struggle for existence is, and the accident of birth has added to their misery. Rs. 25 is a large sum for them, for they can save nothing. If possible, as a matter of humanity only, they should be let alone, but the principal reason why this tax, so far as they are concerned, should be removed, is, that it diminishes the efficiency of the public service, because it still further, and materially, reduces the salaries of the poorest-paid, and yet hardest-worked servants of the Government. In Bengal, we had the Salaries Commission for the avowed purpose of increasing the pay of our ill-paid officials, and that purely in the interests of the public service. But nothing came out of it. The income-tax, however, still remains. When the income-tax bill was first framed, these servants of the State, drawing small salaries, were exempted from its operation. But our wise legislators thought that, by this the principle of equality would be infringed; and, for once, equality was accepted to be a very important principle in the administration of the country,—indeed more important than the efficiency of the public service. But, I think, I express the opinion of the Congress when I say, that the other classes would not, certainly, have grudged these officials this poor privilege.

As for the other classes upon which the measure of this tax falls the heaviest, it is the class of small traders and shopkeepers, and those men, besides illegitimate

* i. e., well-wishing.

extortions wrung from them, by threats of getting them still more highly assessed, are always assessed, at a great deal more than their actual incomes. Most of them are illiterate, many of them entirely so, and none of them keep or can possibly keep account-books that assessors will accept, and these poor men are always the least able to defend themselves, and least able to pay competent men to protect their interests. Many small tradesmen have been thus obliged to give up their trade, and many that have not done this yet, find it most difficult to keep up their business. I know one, a man who was literally obliged to close his shop on account of the heavy income-tax imposed upon him, and for no other reason—it just absorbed his entire profits. As for the small artisans and manufacturers, English competition is daily driving them out of the market; and the income-tax has added to their difficulties, and is absolutely crushing them. There is no encouragement for them anywhere, and they are dying out, to the great detriment of the prosperity of the country. That is a bad tax which benefits the Government financially far less than it oppresses and injures the people. And that is just what this income-tax does, when imposed upon these classes. If the Government had only a conception of all the suffering caused, and all the injury inflicted on the prosperity of the country, by allowing the nominal taxable minimum to remain, at its present low level, they would not hesitate one moment, cost what it might, to accept our recommendation.

And how do we propose to make up the loss to the public revenue which will thus be caused? It is by the re-imposition of an import duty on the finer classes of cotton goods. We all know how, at the bidding of the merchants of Manchester, the cotton duties were abolished. The voice of a few English merchants was found more powerful than the voice of 250 millions of Indians. We hope that, at last, the good sense and the keen sense of justice of the great English nation will awake to the injustice of adding to the burdens of a poor and already overburdened people, for the sake of a few merchants. And we hope, also, that the great and just statesman, who is now at the head of Government, a nobleman by nature, as he is by birth, will accede to our prayers and redress this great grievance.

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, I have received notice, in due form, of an addition to the proposition before the assembly, a small, but not unimportant, amendment, and I will call upon the proposer, Mr. Khare, to submit it to you.

MR. DAJI ABAJI KHARE (*Bombay, No. 371 in List*) said :—GENTLEMEN,—I am entirely at one with the proposer and seconder of the proposition now before you, but I desire to insert a few additional words in it. Gentlemen, if the Government refuse to raise the taxable minimum as we recommend, then our recommendation about the re-imposition of the customs duties, falls as it were to the ground, whereas, gentlemen, it should be our object never to allow this to fall to the ground, but to perpetually keep before the eyes of the British public and the British Government that, though we may forgive, we can never forget the gross injustice that was done to us at the bidding of a small though powerful English mercantile clique and that we will never rest, at any rate as long as other worse and far less productive taxes have to be borne by us, until we obtain redress. I may say, gentlemen, that I am told that, now, that the true fiscal character of those duties have become known to them, now that they realize that they were, in no degree, practically protective,—that it is advantages in situation and cheap labour, and not any duties that favour our mills and that despite the abolition of these latter, our mills go on, year by year, absorbing more and more of the trade—now, I say, that they have come to realize this, I am told that the more enlightened members of the Manchester manufacturers themselves, regret having had any indirect share in inflicting on this financially struggling country, the terrible financial loss, which the abolition of these duties involved, (*cheers*), and, I believe it, gentlemen, for though manufacturers, though Manchester manufacturers, they are Englishmen, and though they may be hasty for the moment, they cannot help being just in the long run. (*Loud cheers.*) But be this as it may, it is essential, for us, at any rate, to make clear, that not only as a means of recouping any such reduction of revenue as is involved in our present recommendation, but in all and every case in which additional revenue may be required, the re-imposition of customs duties on articles mainly used by the rich is, in our opinion, in the opinion of the entire country, the only legitimate course of action. We say, the entire country says; if you, at any time, really need more money, you must not enhance the income-tax, you must not raise the salt tax, you must not go devising any new

fiscal instruments of torture, you must so re-impose the customs duties that they shall be paid by the rich and not add to the burdens of the poor. The proposition is not quite so generally put as I would have liked to see it, in this Resolution, but my main purpose will have been accomplished, if you will agree to insert between the words "*made good*" and "*by reductions*" these few words "*and further financial difficulties, if any, met.*" (*Loud cheers and cries of 'yes, yes.'*)

BAHU GURU PRASAD SEN, (*the Proposer*), said :—MR. PRESIDENT,—I gladly accept this amendment, and so, I am sure, will this assembly, for Mr. Khare has most clearly and eloquently expressed what I and, I am sure, every one here, think on this matter. (*Loud applause and cries of 'yes, yes.'*)

THE PRESIDENT :—Then, I am to understand that this addition is approved. (*'Yes, yes.'*) Does any one object to it? (*No, no.'*)

THE PRESIDENT (*continuing*) :—GENTLEMEN,—Another amendment had been sent up to me and I, therefore, call upon the proposer to expound it.

MR. CHAKRAVARTI (*Anantapur, No. 293 in List*) said :—At this late hour, I do not wish to try your patience too much. As the income-tax is now administered it is working great injustice and is utterly iniquitous, so I beg to propose that the tax be abolished. The amended proposition which I suggest would run thus :—"*That as the administration of the income-tax has involved very great hardships, it is essential in the opinion of this Congress that the tax be abolished.*" (*Voices of 'no, no, withdraw,' 'it is the only tax that reaches the rich,' 'we don't want to relieve ourselves of taxation,' 'we won't have it,' and 'withdraw, withdraw.'*) Well, gentlemen, of course, I bow to the general sense of the assembly, but I retain my own opinion, that the only thing to be done about the income-tax is to abolish it *in toto*. What is the use of half measures? (*Cries of 'sit down' and 'shut up.'*) Well, as you will have it, I withdraw my amendment. (*Loud applause.*)

THE PRESIDENT.—Gentlemen, I have to announce that I have received yet another amendment.

MR. SUBRAMANIA SASTRI (*Madras, No. 14 in List*) rose and said :—GENTLEMEN,—I am not going to adduce arguments in favour of my amendment. I shall simply state the amendment and leave it in your hands. In the sixth Resolution, after Rs 1,000, in line 5, I propose to add, "*and that of taxable amounts, Rs. 300 be exempted from taxation.*" I may pay income tax on my salary. A man who receives Rs. 500 per annum has to pay an income-tax of Rs. 11 and he has Rs. 489 nearly left for his necessary expenses. On the other hand, a man who receives Rs. 499 per annum, has the whole Rs. 499 left for his expenses, so that a man who receives Rupee 1 more is worse off by Rupees 10. In England, it is customary to exempt a certain amount of a person's income from taxation. For instance, in the case of a person whose income is £500, £120 of that sum will be exempted from taxation. What I want is not to calculate on the whole Rs. 1,000, but to subtract Rs. 300 from this and take the tax on the remainder.

RAJAH YATINDRANATH CHAUDHURI (*24 Pergamahs, No. 562 in List*) said :—I second this amendment.

BAHU GURU PRASAD SEN (*Calcutta, No. 533 in List*) said :—I have only two objections to the amendment. In the first place, in the Resolution what was sought for, was relief for the poorer middle class and, not, as is involved by the amendment, for the richer classes. In the second place, this question of rebate has been also discussed repeatedly in the Viceroy's Council and it has been definitely decided, that the principle shall not be admitted in India. Rightly or wrongly, this is so, and I am unwilling to complicate our otherwise simple Resolution by pressing Government to reverse its entire and carefully considered procedure in this matter.

(*After some consultation with other delegates, this amendment was withdrawn by the proposer.*)

THE PRESIDENT :—Gentlemen, I am happy to be able to inform you, though, perhaps, you will hardly yet credit the fact, but really, there are no farther amendments (*laughter and cheers*) and if you approve, I will now put the Resolution (*Cries of 'yes, yes,' 'vote, vote.'*) Very good, gentlemen, then the Resolution, with Mr. Khare's emendation will now stand :—

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

The Resolution was then put and carried unanimously, and the assembly adjourned until 11 o'clock the next day.

FOURTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, the 30th December, 1837.

THE Congress re-assembled at 11 A.M., and the PRESIDENT, taking the chair, said :—GENTLEMEN,—This is the last day of our session; we have still a good deal of business to dispose of, and I hope that you will all remember how precious our time is and not occupy one minute longer with your speeches, than is necessary to express clearly what you desire to say. I trust you will excuse my making this appeal, but, unless discussion be confined within the narrowest practicable limits, we shall not, I fear, do all that we desire to do before separating. The first business before us to-day is the following proposed Resolution :—

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

I call now on Sir Savalai Ramasawani Mudaliar, to move this proposition.

SIR SAVALAI RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR (*Madras, No. 4 in List*) said :—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—After having heard the brilliant speeches delivered during the last three days by gentlemen from various parts of India, I have thought it prudent, being myself no orator, to put down in writing and to read out to you what I have to say, and I beg that I may be excused for the liberty I have taken in doing so.

(*He then read the following address.*)

GENTLEMEN,—I feel extremely thankful for the honor the executive committee have done me, in placing this important Resolution in my hands. It gives me much pleasure to move it. Technical Education has been the dream of my life. It has ever been my earnest desire to do something to ameliorate the condition of the masses. And now in God's good Providence, this Congress has been organised for the good of the country. The poverty of India is becoming proverbial. Agriculture fails to satisfy the mouths of the fast-increasing population of India, while other industries, the only other sources of livelihood for the people, are fast falling into decay. The industrial classes, unable to compete with European manufacturers, are rapidly forgetting the cunning of their hands. The importance of a system of technical education cannot, therefore, be over-estimated. I look upon it as a rope of salvation let down to save our sinking population. Technical education commends itself to all classes and creeds of people. Unlike other movements which affect but certain sections of the community, the proposed movement, if once set agoing, would make its beneficial effects felt by every individual in the land. Our esteemed Mahomedan brethren are in full sympathy with us; and as a token of this, their Association in Madras has already established an Institute for technical education, in some branches, and on a small scale, of which, together with Rajah Sir Madava Rao and other gentlemen, I have the honor of being a Patron, and I am happy to add that their Institute is thriving under the indefatigable superintendence of Colonel Underwood. My long mercantile experience convinces me, that the elaboration by Government of an exhaustive system of technical education will prove an inestimable boon to the poorer millions of India. (*Applause.*) In course of conversation with many an honored Government official, with reference to the Technical Institute which is now about to be organised in this city, as an abiding result of Her Gracious Majesty's Jubilee; I have found that the Government do certainly look upon the movement with favor. His Excellency the Governor has more than once expressed his conviction of its desirability, and among others, the Hon. Mr. Hutchins, to whose superior tact and ability I need not refer here, views the idea with the greatest pleasure. We have, therefore, much reason to calculate on the sympathy and co-operation of the Government in this important undertaking. (*Applause.*) Even when looked at from a mercantile point of view, the movement commends itself to us in a high degree. We have just passed a Resolution, part of which has reference to the re-imposition of an import duty on the finer classes of cotton

goods. In my humble opinion, such an import duty would not only prove itself a source of additional revenue, but might also, by a reflex action, tend to a revival and rapid development of our slumbering local industries. (*Cries of 'no, no.'*) Any how, the development of a suitable and comprehensive scheme of technical education would effect this. Long neglected manufactures would receive a fresh lease of life, and ample scope would be afforded to native talent and native enterprise in this direction. Useful and honourable employment would be found for millions of Indians, while heads of departments, too, would then with greater facility meet local needs with local supplies. In connection with the establishment of the proposed Institute, I beg to express my firm conviction that a small technical school in every Taluk of India would be most beneficial—a school in which all classes might be taught one or more of the useful arts. And as such schools increase in number, and cover the length and breadth of the land, hundreds of available educated young men would find a fresh field of labor for their skill and talent. Now-a-days, we are becoming familiar with the saying, that industry is of far greater value than education. But I think that industry combined with, at least, a moderate degree of elementary education, would prove far more useful than industry without any education at all. Moderately educated workmen would learn to appreciate such qualities as beauty, symmetry, &c., in the different kinds of work they turn out, and constantly endeavour to improve on their workmanship; and in this way, remove from our working countrymen, the long-standing reproach, that they continue to weave, spin, and perform every other industrial work, in exactly the same way, as their fathers did, thousands of years ago. (*Applause.*) Viewed, therefore, from a mercantile, as well as a philanthropic, standpoint, the elaboration of a system of technical education becomes a great necessity, a necessity which is, I am sure, as deeply felt by Government, as by the people of India. Let us, therefore, persevere in pressing our claims in this direction, on the attention of our benign Government who, according to their light and knowledge, are doing their very best to promote the welfare of the Indian nation, and I am fully convinced that what I have already remarked has been but the dream of my life, will, at no distant future, become an accomplished fact, spreading its blessings far and wide like a mighty river and making glad the hearts of the people. With these few remarks, I beg to propose the Resolution, which has been already read out to you by our respected President.

MR. JOHN ADAM (*Madras, No. 88 in List.*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND DELEGATES,—I must commence by expressing my appreciation of the very high honor which has been conferred upon me, by asking me to second the Resolution which has just been proposed by my friend Sir Savalai Ramaswami Mudaliar. It is a great honor to address an assemblage of this description upon any subject, and I consider it a still greater honor to address it upon a subject, which is, I conceive, perhaps, the most important of all the subjects which have to be brought before a national assembly like the present. (*Applause.*) I must, at the same time, ask your kind consideration when you remember the sad restrictions of time which are placed upon speakers on the present occasion and all the more so, as this subject is, from its very nature, a most complicated subject and one which, if it were to be treated with any fullness, would necessitate my entering into many details. The subject of technical education is one which is exciting a great deal of attention, not only in this country, but also, at the present time, in England, America, and various other countries, which are holding, or endeavouring to hold, the first rank in commerce and native industries. We find that this subject, even when treated and discussed by the wisest heads in these old countries, presents an extraordinary amount of difficulty in bringing to any reasonable settlement. We must not, therefore, be surprised or ashamed when we find here that we have to face similar serious difficulties in the practical treatment of the subject. It may, however, clear the ground if I point out, in the first place, what has been very often overlooked, that there are two different branches, so to speak, which are popularly mixed up under the head of technical education. They are separate branches and they are very often confused in people's minds. The first of these branches is that description or kind of technical education which is auxiliary to, or ought to be auxiliary to, what comes under the head of general education. That is a part of the question which we may put very largely on one side; for, I think, it is fortunately in process of solution at present and does not present such extensive difficulties. The fact of the great advantage derivable from the addition of some practical education to ordinary general education, has been brought home to all persons who are engaged, like myself, in educational pursuits in this country. It has

been specially borne in upon me, because, as many of you know, I have the honor of being the head of the largest native institution in this Presidency, possessing no fewer than 1,800 pupils in its various branches. Now, my idea of a school master is not that of a man who sits in a high chair, with a book in one hand and a cane in the other, but of one who has the highest aims in teaching and who tries to teach, not simply what he himself learnt many years ago, but what he thinks most profitable to his pupils at the present day. It has consequently become a very serious question, with me, what it really would be most profitable for these very large classes of pupils, who are usually trained to no practical work, to be taught. (*Applause.*) Remember, I do not say a word against university education; I should be the last man to say anything against university education. The difficulty is to decide how we can do the best for that large class of pupils who receive education up to a certain, and not very high, standard and never hope to go farther. In this Presidency we had, a fortnight ago, not fewer than 6,700 candidates for the matriculation examination. Of these 6,700, I think, I am quite within the mark when I say that there are at least 5,000 that will never go beyond the Matriculation examination, and out of these 5,000, a very large proportion will fail even in that. Now, here we have got 5,000 boys, who are being educated up to this standard. Is it not better to educate them to some final standard and teach them something that will be directly and practically useful in their after-life, instead of educating them up to a standard which is really only the commencement of another type of education? At present, we have got these boys ending their school career with very little real education, to the disadvantage of both the parties. Now, this is a question which has struck a great many people. Amongst others, it engaged the very earnest attention of the Education Commission that sat some four years ago and they in their report, called attention to it in this Resolution,—“That in upper classes of high schools there be two divisions; one leading to the entrance examination of the universities, the other of a more practical character, intended to fit youths for commercial or non-literary pursuits.” On this recommendation, the Government of India passed the following most sympathetic order:—“The bifurcation of studies suggested is of special importance at the present time. Every variety of study should be encouraged which may serve to direct the attention of native youths to industrial and commercial pursuits. To be of any value, the bifurcation should be carried out, as the Commission advise, in the High School course.” That strong recommendation was not left there, but after having made it, the Government of India communicated with the local Governments and asked these to report what steps were being taken to carry out those recommendations. Some at least, (certainly this local Government, which, I am glad to say, in the persons of the Director of Public Instruction and of the Hon. Mr. Hutchins, a member of Council, as also of His Excellency the Governor himself, (*applause*), has shown the most hearty sympathy in the matter,) took it up and they have already sanctioned a scheme, for which, moreover, a certain sum of money has been already allotted in the educational budget, thus removing the difficulty which we previously felt. Instead of turning out a number of boys, who have been taught a number of subjects which will be of little, if any, direct practical use to them, they will be taught subjects which will be of practical benefit and importance to them. I therefore think I need go no further upon this point. Now, I come to the second part of technical education, whereby we should give an actual training in the various industries and try to promote the interests of those who are actually employed in these industries. I am bound to admit that this is a very difficult question. There are a great many schemes, but the problem is to get a feasible scheme—a workable scheme. We propose to have here an Institute called the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute as a Jubilee memorial. We have got a certain amount of money, and we have got some expectation of Government assistance, and we have also hopes of additional assistance from subscribers when we can show a working scheme. But, I am sorry to say, that we are at present very far from having a feasible scheme to put before the public. I am almost ashamed to make such a confession, but I have the mournful satisfaction of knowing from the President, that our friends in Bombay are in almost the same position. Having in hand a very large amount of subscriptions for the promotion of technical education, they are not yet in a position to bring forward any comprehensive and satisfactory working scheme. The great difficulty which I can see, the preliminary difficulty—the difficulty which is met to a very large extent by the Resolution which has been proposed—is the want of accurate, collected, and digested information upon

the subject. When our local committee made the report upon the subject, I added a minute which was circulated to the members, and in which I put the point this way:—“I have, in common with many other persons, a floating general idea that much can be done, but what enquiry I have been able to make into specific industries, for instance weaving, shows only how little we know, and the impossibility of framing, on that scanty knowledge, any practical scheme or suggestion. I think that a small committee might be appointed, either by the Technical Institute Committee or by Government, to investigate the actual condition of native industries, *in esse* and *in posse*, not from the æsthetic, but from the practical and economic point of view. The aim should not be to produce a renaissance in Indian industrial art, but to discover whether, by improved methods of working and increased technical skill, competition is possible between native manufactures and foreign imports. I cannot think of any way in which money, whether of the Institute or of Government, can be better expended than in payment of the expenses of such a preliminary enquiry.” This was the recommendation which I made some time ago. I have met the reward of having made such a complete confession of my ignorance, in having been asked by the Hon. Mr. Hutchins to assist the Director of Public Instruction in drawing up a practical scheme. We are now trying to draw up such a scheme, but, I am afraid, with very little success as yet. This proposal of a committee of enquiry to find out facts, is, I find, supported in this pamphlet, published and circulated to the members of the Congress, by Dinshaw Ardeshar Taleyarkhan, who has also published another pamphlet on the subject, which is, I think, the most suggestive publication which has yet appeared in this country. He says, “I hold it a great misfortune that, as yet, we are unable to prevail upon the Government of India to appoint a high commission to report upon an imperial scheme for introducing suitable and widespread technical education in India. In a recent pamphlet of mine, I have plainly explained the grave short-comings of our administration in this connection. This great problem, the fulfilment of which will be a sure remedy to the general poverty of India, needs a most comprehensive and masterly dealing. Any ultimately authoritative despatch on the subject, based on full and generous investigations of a royal commission, will live for centuries. The Congress ought to persevere, and bring about this result. Real patriotism may take pride in the achievement of this one work, a thousand times more than we need take in the nomination of a few natives in the councils or even in the House of Commons.” There is no doubt, this is one of the greatest and the noblest works which the Congress can undertake. Further, we find that not only local bodies, private individuals, and local Governments are trying their hand at working out something, but we find that the Government of India has been having a try in the matter. I have here a portentous-looking blue-book called a “Note upon Technical Education,” which has recently been published. It is very exhaustive, so far as it goes, for it begins with the origin of technical education. This, I find, originated in the despatch of 1854. That despatch has been responsible for a great deal, and it has now been made responsible for the origin of technical education. This “Note” goes on to give what we already possess, or what we at least ought to be able to find out for ourselves, an account of various agricultural, engineering, medical and other colleges which exist in the various Presidencies in India at the present time, and that is the main part of this long document. It then goes on to make certain recommendations, which we may take to be the plan of the Government of India. Apart from various suggestions, as to teaching, drawing in schools, &c., as far as technical education is concerned, this is the sole suggestion it makes, *viz.*, that to middle and high schools, there should be attached technical branches, wherever an enquiry brings to light the demand for technical training. This is their suggestion—that we are to establish technical schools, wherever an enquiry establishes the fact that technical schools are wanted. This enquiry is the very thing we have not got; and this is the very thing we want the Government of India to make for us, either by appointing a commission, as the motion, implicitly, suggests, or by local committees or special officers. That is the outcome of this long note, *viz.*, that we are to aid and promote technical education, by establishing technical schools in localities where they are required. It goes on, further, to state, very sympathetically, but not very practically, “Natives of all castes are increasing in number, looking to technical education as affording an honorable livelihood and career in life. It is submitted that it is desirable to assist and encourage this popular feeling; that room exists for improvement in almost every department of technical instruction in India; and that the time is ripe not only for calling on local Governments

to take the matter up in earnest, but for indicating to them some of the directions in which improvement seems possible, and from which funds can be obtained for effecting of.” Thus, sir, we see that the Government has admitted, that the main point of difficulty in connection with the subject is an enquiry, and I think, therefore, that we are justified in going forward, in the strongest and in the most emphatic terms, to ask the Government of India to make some such enquiry. And here I wish to make a suggestion which, I think, might well be carried out by this Congress, although it is not in the motion. In case the Government of India should not appoint a commission, or during the interval that may elapse in bringing the matter under public consideration, we might ourselves take the matter in hand. It is a very common course of proceeding in Congresses and Associations, such as this, in other countries, when they have a complicated and difficult subject, the principle of which is fully accepted and the details of which cannot be readily worked out, to appoint a sub-committee or a standing committee, which has to occupy itself during the year, as far as possible, in gathering information, in working out the various details and endeavouring to place itself in a position to submit to the succeeding Congress a report on the whole subject. So we might appoint a committee for the purpose of eliciting information and drawing up some working scheme in regard to technical education, with which we might go to the Government of India. This Congress might very well, I say, appoint a small sub-committee, consisting of representative members of all the various districts, who may be willing to undertake the duty, to collect information, by comparing and considering the needs of different districts in various industries, to try to evolve something like a practical scheme for general technical education, and to report results to the next Congress. We should thus be able to go up to the Government of India next year, not only, as now, with a request, but with a scheme for giving practical effect to our request.

I have, sir, carefully avoided looking at the clock. I feel sure, however, it is now “time” and, therefore, it is not possible to deal with a great many interesting questions regarding the subject. I should be only taking an unfair advantage of your generosity, if I went into them at length. As far as I have gone, I have necessarily touched upon only one part of the subject, the details of one point of those we have under consideration. Because I have not gone into the other parts of the question, you must not think that I am oblivious of the very large and important aspects of it, connected with the improvement of the industrial status of the population of this country. I mention this simply to show you that I have not overlooked it. I hope that amongst the eloquent speakers to follow, some will be found to enlarge upon this point.

Our Resolution acknowledges and recognises the poverty of the people of India, and we know that this statement has been questioned in some quarters. I need not infringe on the task that has been so ably undertaken by Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee, who has made this question his own. I merely wish to point out, that the poverty of the country is a poverty which is not irremediable, and it is simply because there is a remedy, by which it may be alleviated, if only in the long future, that we bring forward this motion at the present time. Passing over all other advantages which this country possesses, as an industrial and a trading community, I may point out that the one great main feature, is the cheapness of labour in this country. When I say “cheapness,” I do not wish you to suppose that I think labour here is sufficiently well-paid. When you take into consideration how in European countries, many thousands die yearly, simply because they are not able to purchase the heat which we get here for nothing; when you consider this, you will readily understand how wages here might be raised five-fold, aye, ten-fold—and that would be to many in this country a luxury beyond the dreams of avarice—and yet be far below the level of the wages of European labour. It is not merely that wages are actually low, but that they may, with safety, be raised to give people in this country every comfort, and even luxury, which they may desire and still remain far below the rates prevailing in Europe. I do not, for a moment, say that pure labour, however cheap, unassisted by technical education, and unassisted by machinery and all the improvements of science, will ever compete with educated labour, however dear; but I do say, that all these advantages being equal, the physical differences of the country will, and ought to, give an inestimable advantage to India in any competition which might ensue. There is only one further point to which I wish

to call your attention before I sit down, and it is in the way of caution. This is, that we are very much inclined, when we are agitating for improvements, to expect that they can all be done in a hurry, and at once. Even if we had a system of technical education, the most perfect system in the world, and even if we had it introduced at the present moment, it must be very, very many years before any practical and lasting result could be seen from the working of the system. We talk about the real spread of education in the country, but consider that the general education of this country has really only touched the *élite* of the country, that it has hardly touched the lower classes who are to be reached by technical education. If this education, which has been found to reach the intellectual *élite* only, has taken more than 50 years to reach its present standard, you may consider how long the scheme of technical education would take to reach the masses, in order to show any great or effective results. But, at the same time, we must not be disheartened by that. We are only sowing the seed which will remain for our children and grandchildren and, perhaps, future generations to water, to watch its progress, and gather the fruits of it. If we are to delay putting our hands to the work, that will only postpone the doing of it to some future generation. We ought to rejoice that we are doing something which, though we do not find the full fruition of it in our own days, will be enjoyed at least by our descendants and future generations. If it is a great, as I believe it to be a great and a laudable desire, to work and live as to gain the applause and approbation of one's fellow-citizens, it is possibly a still greater and nobler life for a man to live, so that, after he is gone, future generations shall rise up and call him blessed. If we look forward, future generations will look back to the present, and they will read the proceedings of this Congress and the history of the great intellectual activity which has characterised this present generation. I have no doubt that they will feel that, to us in the present generation, is due the honor of having sown the seed of which they are reaping the fruit. Therefore, I think, we should not be disheartened by the feeling that the good work will be prolonged to some distant future. We should be all the more gratified, and all the more honored at being enabled to work, to some extent at least, for the generations that will come after us. *(Loud and continued applause.)*

SHEIK KADIE BUKSH (*Fyzabad, No. 528 in List*) then spoke in Urdu and said :—MR. CHAIRMAN AND BROTHERS-DELEGATES,—This Resolution, which is just now before you, is far more important than the other Resolutions passed and carried by you, since it is intended for those poor people of India, whom extreme poverty has now-a-days reduced to a most miserable condition. *(Cheers.)* Before, however, I speak anything relating to the Resolution, I consider it my duty to enlighten you, gentlemen, with a description of those people, who have done me the honor of sending me as their representative to take part in this Congress. I come from the city of Fyzabad, a city which stands second in rank to Lucknow, in the Province of Oudh; the Hindus and Mahomedans of which place, are in perfect and hearty sympathy with the National Congress movement, and cherish brotherly feelings among themselves, in testimony whereof, I have been furnished with credentials, duly signed by the representatives of both the communities. *(Hear, hear.)* Gentlemen, we are perfectly in accord, that this Congress is neither a Bengali's Congress, nor the Congress of any particular nationality, nor the Congress representing the views of any particular society, as has been maliciously declared by the detractors of this institution; but it is truly and undeniably, the Indian National Congress. Whether Hindus or Mahomedans, we are all the children of the same mother India, and as such, are indissolubly bound in a fraternal tie. *(Loud cheers.)* Gentlemen, I would now request your earnest attention to the few words which I am going to speak in support of this Resolution. The greater portion of my countrymen are reduced to the lowest level of poverty, and I am grieved to say, that this poverty is daily on the increase, so much so, that even starvation has not become a very uncommon thing. This poverty, so far as I have been able to understand, is mainly attributable to the total absence of local industries and want of support to industrial arts and manufactures. All our necessities of life are supplied from foreign countries and, owing to their cheapness, insure a ready sale, displacing the native articles, manufactured by manual labor, which for obvious reasons, cannot compete in price with the machine-turned articles of foreign manufacture. Gentlemen, this influx and import of cheap foreign articles has virtually suppressed those indigenous manufactures, for which our country was once famous. As a natural consequence of this, millions of rupees are, monthly and annually, drained away. Gentlemen, if you now turn your attention towards the departments of the public

service, you will find that posts, carrying high emoluments, whether in the military or the civil line, are, so to speak, the monopoly of the Europeans, while only the poorly-paid appointments fall to the lot of even those of us, who have attained the highest educational qualifications, the consequence being that thousands of us of ordinary abilities are hopelessly in want of employment. Gentlemen, I need hardly say that an enquiry as to how this class of our countrymen manage to keep body and soul together, not to say of the thousand other requirements, would, however painful, be a fitting task for this august assembly. *(Hear, hear.)* In my opinion, the Resolution under reference, should be prominently brought to the attention of the Supreme Government, in view to the gradual amelioration of the condition of our countrymen, and in strongly supporting this Resolution, I think, I shall have fully acquitted myself of the onerous duty imposed on me by my constituents at Fyzabad. *(Loud cheers.)*

THE PRESIDENT :—Gentlemen, I have received a notice of a proposed amendment by the Hon'ble Mr. Ranade. He wants to add to the Resolution before us the words "and that the concession of a permanent settlement be extended to those parts of the empire where such does not exist." But I do not consider this to be an amendment. *(Cheers.)* It may be proposed, however, as a separate Resolution, after the business before the Congress is disposed of. There is another amendment that I have received from Mr. Chackravarti but that is not seconded, and I cannot take any notice of it. There is another amendment by Mr. Hukamchand, of Lahore. The same observation applies to that amendment also, as I have no name of any seconder. Any amendment that any gentleman desires to propose, should be sent up to me with the name of the proposer, and also of the seconder. There is another amendment, in fact, several amendments, sent up by Mr. Peter Paul Pillai, but none of these gives the name of any seconder. But I have one amendment which bears the name of the proposer and the seconder, and this is that, in line 3, after the word "country," we should insert the words "to improve Indian Agriculture." I call on the proposer of this amendment to lay it before the Congress.

MR. CHAKRAVARTI (*Anantapur, No. 293 in List*) said :—GENTLEMEN,—I do not intend to make any elaborate speech. I shall confine myself to bringing to your kind notice that if, as proposed, it is essential to have an elaborate scheme of technical education, it is still more essential to elaborate a scheme for the improvement of our agriculture, which is a far more momentous question. I would also submit for your consideration that India has, from time immemorial, been known to be, first and foremost, an agricultural country. It is also well understood that agriculture is the backbone of India. Agriculture also supplies the wants of the people. By my amendment, I submit, there is no material alteration in the proposition itself. It only seeks to bring agricultural education in, as a part of technical education. I submit, if it is necessary to encourage Indian manufactures, it is also necessary to encourage agricultural improvements, and, therefore, I submit for your consideration that the improvement of agriculture should be also included in the proposition.

MR. J. DHARMARAJA RAJU (*Chingleput, No. 154 in List*) said :—GENTLEMEN,—In heartily thanking you for the kindness with which you have greeted me, *(roars of laughter—the speaker not having been greeted at all)* I am sorry to tell you that you will be greatly disappointed in listening to what I have to say upon this subject. I am only a farmer, and being such, you cannot expect me to talk correct English. I am still a student, and that in a technical institution, namely, the college of Agriculture at Sydapet. *(Laughter and applause.)* That college consists of students from all parts of India—from Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Conjevaram, and other places, and they have selected me to come here, as their representative before this august body, *(much laughter)*, and represent their views, and this I am able to do in seconding this amendment. *(The student then began to read a paper which was not properly heard or understood, being interrupted very frequently by roars of laughter and recommendations to the reader to return to school, and, after a few minutes, he resumed his seat, again thanking the audience, now perfectly convulsed with laughter, for the kindness with which they had received him.)*

THE PRESIDENT (*order, gentlemen, please*) :—said The amendment is, that the words "and to improve Indian agriculture" be added to the proposition. I would appeal to the proposer

and seconder to consider whether, as a fact, the Resolution does not embrace the improvement of Indian agriculture. We are recommending the elaboration of a scheme of technical education and necessarily one of the branches of technical education is education in the art of agriculture. We are not now going into the details of technical education. It seems to me that we are really making a proposal to Government, that some system of technical education should be introduced in this country; and if we specifically mention one branch, we may, as well, go on to all the other branches. I would, therefore, appeal to the proposer and seconder of this amendment to reconsider their amendment.

The proposer and seconder then withdrew the amendment.—(Applause.)

MR. B. H. CHESTER, M.A. (*Mr. Dras, No. 50 in List*) then rose and said:—I have much pleasure in supporting the proposition (that has been moved by my esteemed friend, the Sheriff of Madras, and seconded by that gentleman who is associated in this Presidency with commercial education, Mr. Adam. *(Cheers.)* Before offering a few remarks on the subject, permit me to make a personal observation. I appear here as a delegate from the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association of Southern India, *(cheers)*, an Association founded by Mr. D. S. White, whose absence from Madras is due to his labours in Calcutta, in connection with the Public Service Commission, and who, had he been here, would have rejoiced to take part in this movement. *(Cheers.)* I am authorized to state that he is in full sympathy with you, and had he been here, he would have been delighted to address you. *(Cheers.)* I am happy to be able to stand here, and speak to you as one of yourselves. *(Cheers.)* Though I am proud, and justifiably so, I hope, of the English blood that flows in my veins, still I feel that by birth, by residence, by community of interests, I am as much entitled to the designation "native of India" as any delegate now present. *(Loud cheers.)* When I consider who are before me, when I recall the eloquent utterances, the noble sentiments, the loyal words that have thrilled us during these memorable days, I am more than ever convinced of the wisdom of the movement inaugurated by Mr. White, which has brought me, and other members of the community to which I belong, to meet you, on one common platform, as "natives of India." *(Prolonged cheers.)* To return to the proposition before you, I have been asked by the mover and seconder of the Resolution to say, that agricultural education is, of course, understood to be included in the general phrase "technical education" which appears in the Resolution now before you. In the present century, there have been three great periods in the educational history of this country. There was the period anterior to 1854, when the responsibility of the State for the education of the people was not acknowledged; then came the great despatch of 1854, admitting such responsibility and, as a consequence, secondary and collegiate education made great strides. In 1871, the third period commenced, for, since that year, there has been a wonderful development of elementary education. Now, in consequence of these events, we have had remarkable results. Indeed, I doubt, if it were not for the educational advantages India has enjoyed, whether such a Congress as this would have been possible. But, while we acknowledge the blessings of the present system of education, we must not shut our eyes to its defects. The great fault has been that too many men have been trained in one single groove. At considerable cost, thousands of youths have been highly educated, but only a very limited number of them are absorbed by the public service, and the liberal professions. What the country needs is a radical change in the character of the training given in our public schools, so that, while some may qualify for the Government service and the various professions, others may turn their attention to the useful and necessary branches of trade, of commerce, and of manufacture. *(Cheers.)* In 1834, the Viceroy published a Resolution, saying that "every variety of study should be encouraged, which may serve to direct the attention of native youths to industrial and commercial pursuits"; but how far has that laudable desire been realized? You will be able to judge from the following figures: 2,665,000 children are receiving elementary instruction; 430,000 pupils are being taught in Colleges and High Schools, making a total of 3,095,000 scholars. But only 6,287 are in technical institutions. In this Presidency of Madras, out of a school-going population of 45,000 scholars, only 1,000 are students in technical schools. These figures, taken from recent official papers, are eloquent in themselves, and sufficient to prove the need for reform. I would suggest that the very high theoretical training given in our engineering colleges be supplemented by a thorough practical training in the great workshops of the country—the railway workshops, for instance. *(Cheers.)* We want drawing taught in

all our schools, and with the remarkable advance that scientific education has recently been making in our midst, there ought to be no difficulty in filling to the utmost capacity institutions, where the arts of glass manufacture, sugar refining, dyeing, pottery and wood-work, for instance, may be practically and, therefore, successfully taught. *(Cheers.)* Much has been done during this year in getting up schemes for technical institutes to celebrate the Jubilee of our august and revered Sovereign, the Queen-Empress of India, to whom we all bow *(cheers)*; but unless all these bodies co-operate with each other and acknowledge some central guiding authority their efforts will, I fear, be productive of very meagre results. Let us move Government, therefore, to establish a department of science and art, which will take the lead in this matter. *(Cheers.)* I have trespassed on your patience too long already, but I must make one more remark before I sit down. When the young men of India know that this Congress views with favor the encouragement of industrial and technical pursuits, they will be more likely to shake off that false pride and shame which keeps so many of them from earning an honest livelihood by following trade. And is it idle to say, that just as the present educational system has produced brilliant scholars, thinkers, and writers, and speakers such as we have heard during the past few days, so, in the near future, by the new scheme of education which, we hope, will soon be inaugurated, we shall have distinguished inventors and brilliant discoverers who will sow the seeds of gigantic manufacturing and commercial enterprises originated and worked by India's sons, with India's money, and for India's good. *(Loud cheers.)*

MR. KASHINATH TRIMBUCK KHARE (*Bombay, No. 374 in List*) then spoke in Hindustani as follows:—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER-DELEGATES,—Is India impoverished? and if so, what measures should be taken to better its position? These are the main points to be attended to, in connection with this subject. The poverty of India is a patent fact. In my part of the country, the Government of India found it necessary to have an Act passed, namely, Act XVII of 1879, in aid of the agriculturists of four districts—Poona, Sholapore, Sattara and Ahmednagar, and now it has been proposed to extend this Act, to other districts. With the blessings of civilisation conferred by the British Government, population is increasing by leaps and bounds. But, unfortunately, the doors of wealth have not been correspondingly opened by the establishment of productive manufactures. Agriculture and technical arts are the sources of wealth. Agriculture is not at all improved, notwithstanding considerable expenditure by Government in its agricultural department and this source of the country's wealth will not be improved, unless the aid of competent trained natives in adequate numbers, be secured.

Our Arts also are on the decline. No systematic attempts are being made to utilise the raw material which is produced in abundance in India itself. India is still suffering, so far as regards its commerce, from the evil effects arising from a multitude of causes, among which the change of Government may be mentioned. Two hundred years ago, the state of India was quite different. It used to export manufactured articles to the value of many millions, to the various countries of Europe. But, at present, the position is exactly the reverse. Notwithstanding its comparative barrenness in raw materials, European countries have struggled hard for the improvement of their manufactures on scientific principles. The same zeal has not been shown by our countrymen. India has been materially declining. Ignorance and poverty are the two great drawbacks to all the undertakings of the Indians. By the help of their improved arts and sciences, Europeans turn imported raw materials into finished articles of convenience and beauty, and undersell us even in our own markets. We need not go far to realise the fact. If we look around us in this stupendous hall, we shall be surprised to find that almost everybody in it is clothed in garments of European make. The same is the case with other things, for which we are obliged to depend on foreign countries.

It is, therefore, necessary to establish in this country factories of many and various kinds and importance, and Government may well be requested to devise a good scheme for technical education in all its branches. His Excellency Lord Roay, the Governor of Bombay, is earnestly trying his utmost in this direction, but nothing of importance has yet come out of it, partly because the demand for Indian-made articles is small. The Government should be, therefore, requested to enforce the order already existing, in regard to the purchase of articles of indigenous production. The educated amongst us also must move in the matter. They should collect subscriptions and circulate small pamphlets among the people for their information. There are

many small hand-machines in Europe, by the aid of which people there work with profit. Such machines should be imported here for the purpose of starting new industries. There should also be a small museum of such machines. The various tracts and books on this subject, published in Europe and America, should be kept within the reach of everybody. If people begin in this unostentatious way, many labourers will find work and things like stockings, nightcaps, pins, pens, and other articles of daily use, will be produced here and new modes of subsistence will be opened to the poor people.

MR. MOOKKASARI (*Tanjore, No. 212 in List*), who spoke in Tamil, said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—In the last two Congresses held at Calcutta and Bombay, there was at least one very noteworthy defect to be found in its constitution. That was that of the four important classes forming the population of India,—namely, the official, the industrial, the trading, and the agricultural classes,—the industrial class did not sufficiently bestir themselves for the occasion, and send in some representatives of their own to attend the Congress. But, it is a fact, gentlemen, which you all know, that that defect has been made up in the present Congress, which, fortunately for us, has met together in this city of Madras. Gentlemen, I am myself a direct representative of that class and am one of the three delegates from Kumbakonam, who have come here as the duly elected representatives of the whole industrial class in the Tanjore district.

The question of Technical Education, which is now before this Assembly, is one of such vital importance to the country and capable of being productive of such immense beneficial results to the class I directly represent, that, being present here, as their delegate, I cannot forbear saying a few words on the subject.

There is no doubt, that the Congress has deeply at heart, and is strongly impelled by the desire to promote, the welfare of this our common country. Gentlemen, though we may see thousands of our countrymen holding high and responsible positions in the State, and all of them distinguishing themselves, like our Rajah Sir T. Madava Rao, and the Hon'ble Mr. Muthusamy Aiyar as enlightened statesmen and impartial administrators of justice, it is impossible for us to expect that this alone will lead to our country's prosperity. Nor will trade and agriculture alone in a country, devoid of any industries, lead to a nation's prosperity. For, it is industry alone that primarily gives an impulse to trade and agriculture; and who on earth will dare deny the fact that industry alone, over all others, is the prime cause of a nation's prosperity? It is to this cause, the nations of Europe owe the prosperity which they, at present, so justly enjoy. It is, therefore, gentlemen, of the utmost importance for us to see that our arts and industries which, as we have seen, form such a prime cause of national prosperity, are not allowed to die a languishing death; we should see that they are carefully cultivated in all the different parts of our country; and it is urgently necessary that our benign and gracious Government should, with a view to the industrial development of the country, lose no time in making a systematic effort at introducing and extending a suitable system of technical education among the masses of people. Our country now, gentlemen, is indeed in a critical state. Taxation has increased, the resources are scanty, for want of proper development, and the wealth of the people is being continuously drained away from the country. If the Government persist in being still cold and indifferent to the state of the country, if they will not even now boldly grapple with the situation and come to the rescue of the country, then, there need be no doubt that what little of wealth yet remains in the country, will soon find its way to other and distant lands, leaving the country in a state of complete destitution. To prevent this deadly end towards which the country is now drifting we should pray, gentlemen, to the Government to establish and maintain throughout the country technical institutes, where the manufacture, by machinery, of all articles of Indian consumption should be carried on and all facilities afforded to those who wish to learn and study the principles and modes of such manufactures. Should this, however, be found impossible, we should ask them to establish, experimentally, at least, model factories in every one of the Presidency cities in India, the capital for which will be found either by Government, exclusively from its own funds, or by the raising of a private capital under Government guarantee and supported by Government aid. The management of these institutions should not be exclusively in the hands of Government like the Madras School of Arts, but should be left in the hands of

a company formed of native capitalists, subject to the control and supervision of Government. Such institutions, if they prove to be flourishing, may be established again at important mofussil centres, and the Government should encourage such institutions, by purchasing from them all their supplies of such articles, as are locally manufactured in this country. Besides, the Government should stimulate a desire for improvement and progress among the native artisans and the industrial classes, by the holding of periodical exhibitions in various local centres, of all local manufactures and industries, whereat the best design and the most excellent workmanship will be selected and encouraged, by the granting of prizes and certificates. All the Local and Municipal Boards should be made to contribute for a prize-fund, which will be necessary for this purpose. By the Congress working towards the achievement of this end, not only the dying industries of the country will be revived and receive a stimulus for improvement, but also, new industries will spring up everywhere, tending to the growth of material improvement in the country and to our independence of support, as a nation, which will ultimately regain for us our lost place among the nations of the world. These factories and workshops, gentlemen, when they spring up, will be a source of gaining an honest livelihood to thousands of our countrymen who now, destitute of any means, are driven to despair how to keep body and soul together. And, gentlemen, how welcome will be the day for India when, by the immense and growing development of her arts and industries, she will be able to find, at least a wholesome morsel of food for her 45 millions of completely destitute children, who are now, by official admission, going without even one single full meal a day! And now, gentlemen, I have only to ask your excuse for having thus presumed to take up so much of your most precious time, and, trusting you will view with indulgence whatever trifling things I may have said in speaking before you, I beg to conclude.

THE PRESIDENT:—The sense of the assembly seems to be that we have had discussion enough on this subject, in regard to which, there is no substantial difference of opinion, and, therefore although, perhaps, the second clause of the Resolution might with advantage have received some attention, and the failure to utilise to the fullest possible extent existing indigenous products and manufactures for State purposes, might, had time permitted, have been more explicitly dealt with, I shall proceed to put the Resolution, which will run as follows:—

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

The Resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT:—The next proposed Resolution is worded as follows:—

"That in view of the loyalty of the people, the hardships which it causes, and the unmerited slur which it casts upon the people of this country, the Congress is of opinion that the present Arms' Act should be repealed."

I call upon Rao Bahadur Sabapathy Mudaliar to open the discussion.

RAO BAHADUR SABAPATHY MUDALIAR (*Bellary No. 272 in List*) rose and said:—In proposing the resolution which has just been read to you by the President, I have to say that, under the previous and present Acts, no man can carry arms, whatever his position may be, without obtaining a license from the Magistrate of the district, except indeed, certain persons who are exempted on account of their high position. I mean the Magistrates and members of the municipal council and local board, and some few gentlemen, specially exempted. But this exemption is not of any great value. I mean, that the exempting of such people means practically nothing where the country is concerned. It is no concession at all to the people, as a whole. On the other hand, I consider the provisions of the Act degrading. Although I personally am exempted, in virtue of my official position, still, I consider it a degradation (*hear, hear*), that so many of my worthy and loyal countrymen should be deprived of this privilege. (*Applause*.) Of course, the official view is that persons

who want to get arms can apply to the Magistrate and get them by payment of a license fee. But the slur which it casts upon us and upon our loyalty is the thing that has been preying upon my mind. (*Hear.*) To the farmer, to which class I belong, to protect his crops and stores from the attacks of wild beasts, as well as from the attacks of robbers, the possession of arms is a necessity; so much so, that in consequence of being deprived of them, the poor ryot has everywhere been a loser of much of his hard-earned produce. I may also say, that before the Mutiny of 1857, people enjoyed the privilege of carrying arms wherever and whenever they liked, and even after the mutiny, even after, I say, that calamitous event, the Government never thought of imposing any restrictions as to the possession of arms, but recent events have induced the Government to frame this Act, to the great detriment of the people in general. Up to the mutiny, during the mutiny and for years after the mutiny, we possessed arms; what have we done since to deserve their forfeiture? If the Government find it necessary to keep any part or any parts of India, for political reasons, under the operation of this Act, it may be so enacted that the Governor-General may have the power of proclaiming that such districts shall not have the use of arms for a while. Beyond which, I do not think it is necessary for the Government to possess any power in this matter and, I do not think it is right that there should be an Act of the present nature, entailing as it does, the greatest hardships on the people, and involving, as it does, a slur on the entire nation. With these few remarks, I beg to submit for your consideration the proposition which has been read to you, and, I hope, you will give your hearty approval to the same. (*Applause.*)

BABU BIPIN CHANDRA PAL (*Assam, No. 604 in List*) being called upon to second the Resolution, said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER-DELEGATES,—I thank you, sir, for the very great honor you have done me, by calling upon me to second this Resolution and I do so with very great pleasure. I know, sir, that I have not the ability, the experience and the weight of authority with which the seconders and supporters of the previous Resolutions have spoken, but if unselfish motives go for anything, then, I do claim that I am the fittest person to second this Resolution. (*Laughter and applause.*) When my friends, Babu Surendranath Bannerjee (*applause*) and Mr. Norton, (*applause*) proposed the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils, evil-minded persons might impute some selfish motives to them. (*Applause and laughter.*) Because, I am sure, that if, during our lifetime and Mr. Bannerjee's, our dreams of a reformed and representative Legislature be ever realised, he will be about the first man that will be elected into it. (*Laughter, and applause.*) And Mr. Norton has done so much for Madras and the Madrasese, and he is so very popular here, (*applause*), that I am sure that if our Madras friends have a representative Legislature of their own, Mr. Norton will be as much welcome to a seat there, as any native gentleman of equal qualifications. (*Laughter.*) When Rajah Rampal Singh proposed the Resolution regarding the volunteer question, I will not undertake to say that he could completely shut his eyes to the fact that if ever we had a corps, we would vote him our Captain. (*Laughter, and applause*), and when Mr. Subramaniam and Mr. Kali Charan Bannerjee proposed the divorce of the Judicial and Executive functions of Magistrates, I am not sure that they were not aware of the fact that if they succeeded in that Resolution, their professional duties would be made much easier and simpler than now. (*Applause.*) But, gentlemen, I do not think that even my rankest enemies could attribute such motives to me. (*Cheers.*) The Resolution which I now press for your acceptance, if accepted, not only by you all, but by the Government also, will bring me no especial good; for, I am sure, gentlemen, that I shall never have the unpleasant necessity of using any arms in my life, (*laughter and applause*), except my steel pen and my sharp tongue, (*Laughter*) which, I believe, are not included in the schedule of the Arms' Act. Allow me to say, sir, that the admirable tact and judgment, with which you have been conducting this meeting, (*applause*) under very difficult and trying circumstances, have been thrust entirely in the shade, by the wonderful sagacity you have just displayed in calling upon me, a puny, a weak Bengalee, to second the prayer of the Congress for the repeal of an Act which does not stand in the way of my personal ambition or enjoyment, (*applause*), and which, if repealed, will serve me no personal ends. But there may be ladies and gentlemen present here, who may not see my fitness to second this Resolution as clearly as the President does, and they may, therefore, like to know what right have I to second this Resolution? My right consists in my sincere loyalty to the British Government. (*Applause.*) My motives for

seconding this Resolution are to be found in my earnest, ardent, and sincere desire for the welfare of the Government, under which I live. I am one of those who believe in the workings of a benign Providence in human history; but never did I so plainly recognise the hand of the Divine Mother in the present history of my beloved country, as when I entered this vast and sacred assembly and took my seat there, as an humble delegate of this Congress. As I stand upon this platform, and looking around me, see this immense crowd of men—the Mah-ratta, the Punjabi, the North-westerner, the Parsi and the Bengalee—sitting in the midst of hospitable Madrasese,—the beaming faces, the deafening cheers, the flow of brotherly love, the exchange of friendly greeting, the eloquent smile, the hearty hand-shake, the maddening enthusiasm, and the earnest patriotism of this vast assembly,—all combine to inspire me with a feeling of gratefulness, the like of which I could never experience elsewhere, and, when standing on this platform, and even while sitting there, in the midst of this vast assembly, many a time has my heart gone out to my God to offer Him its humble tribute of gratefulness for all the blessings which He has in store for my beloved fatherland, and the faintest indications of which are to be seen here in this Hall. (*Applause.*) And I thank Him for having brought the English Government to this country to work out our salvation. (*Applause.*) Such being my feelings, and, I have not the slightest doubt, that such are also the feelings of each and all of my brother-delegates here, (*applause*) is it anything strange that I should be loyal to the British Government? I utter the barest truth when I say that I am loyal to the British Government. It is not the language of dissimulation. I hate dissimulation. It is not the language of false diplomacy. I hate that diplomacy which is not based on truth. (*Applause.*) I am loyal to the British Government, because, with me, loyalty to the British Government is identical with loyalty to my own people and my own country. I am loyal to the British Government because I believe the British Government to be an instrument in the hand of God for the salvation of my people. (*Applause.*) I am loyal to the British Government, because I love Self-Government. (*Applause.*) I am loyal to the British Government, because I love this Congress. I confess, sir, that I am a radical and a democrat, but, strange to say, my radicalism and my democracy have both combined to make me a sincere well-wisher of the British Government. (*Applause.*) And, gentlemen, the love that I bear to the British Government compels me to condemn strongly the suicidal policy enunciated in the Arms' Act, and to call for its repeal. The Resolution which I am here to second, seems, sir, to be slightly different from those that have gone before it. The supporters of those Resolutions appealed on behalf of the people to the Government, but I appeal on behalf of the Government to itself. It is not for me to say, sir, that this Act does not operate to the injury of the people. When I remember that, year after year, ravages of wild beasts are increasing with alarming rapidity; when I remember that thousands of my countrymen and countrywomen are every year killed by tigers and leopards; when I find poor cultivators, everywhere, appealing to Government to protect their crops from the ravages of wild animals—for the Arms' Act has deprived them of the means by which they could protect their crops themselves,—when, I say, I look to all these facts, how can I say that this Act does not operate against the life and property of the people? But excuse me, gentlemen, for saying that the direct injury which this Law does to the people, simply dwindles into insignificance before the immense harm that it is doing to the Government itself. We are very frequently told, sir, that the Government must maintain its prestige. But I can never fully understand the meaning of the prestige of the British Government in the face of this obnoxious Act. If you have really any prestige, why, then, that ought, in itself, to be a tower of strength to you which needed no Arms' Act, and the consequent disarming of a whole nation, to keep up. It appears to me, gentlemen, that like some low caste-men suddenly grown rich and placed in honourable position, who are ever anxious to keep up their position—because they ever suspect that they have really no solid basis for that position,—our Government also, in their extreme anxiety to preserve their prestige, betray their weakness only. (*Applause and laughter.*) I am not destined to be a military man, and it is not for me to say what injurious effect the disarming of the nation is exercising upon the people of the country by demoralising them. I am a peace-loving Bengalee who is living in comfortable security, under the protection of the British Government, and to my mind the most injurious effect of the Arms' Act consists in the temptation that it is holding out to Russia to come and invade India. I am not a Russophobic, gentlemen, God save me from that dire disease. I do not believe that Russia's

advance has been actuated by a policy which has the invasion and conquest of India as its ultimate aim. But if ever Russia comes and puts in her appearance at our North-Western frontier, she will be brought there by the Arms' Act. What, I ask, are all our professions of loyalty worth in the face of the Arms' Act? The Nizam may offer sixty crores, instead of sixty lacs, for the defence of the empire, ten thousand Jubilee demonstrations may be organised, the Government may publicly acknowledge the sincerity of these loyal demonstrations, British newspapers may trumpet them forth to the whole world; but the question is, will foreigners believe, will Russia believe in the truth and sincerity of these demonstrations in the face of the Arms' Act? Would she not put the unpleasant question: if the people of India are loyal, and if you believe them to be so, why do you require the disarming of the entire population by an Arms' Act to maintain your position there? So long as this Arms' Act exists, nothing will convince outside people that the British Government feel themselves strong in the loyalty of their subjects. You know, sir, that the Russian war party set considerable store by the supposed disaffection and disloyalty of the Indian people, and, if ever Russia makes bold to invade India, the Arms' Act, I repeat, will be her chief temptation. Her Majesty has most solemnly declared that in our contentment she shall find her principal strength, why then do her Indian Government ignore our loyalty and our contentment, and set up the flimsy bulwark of a disarming law for the safety of her Indian Empire? The policy of the Arms' Act, sir, is wrong in principle, injurious in its effect and, is, simply, suicidal to the Government and, as such, in the interest of that very Government, whose safety it seeks to secure, it should at once be repealed. (*Long and prolonged cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT:—There is a notice of an amendment sent up to me. It is an amendment which requires your careful consideration. The amendment is this:—Omit the last clause of the proposition now before you and substitute the following—“*this Congress do move Government to administer the Arms' Act in a liberal spirit and so arrange that all persons whom the Local or Municipal Boards, within whose jurisdiction they reside, certify to be fit and proper persons to wear arms shall thereupon be authorised, once for all, by the proper authorities to wear arms until they, by some act or omission, in contravention of the criminal law of the country, prove themselves unfit to continue to enjoy that privilege.*” I call upon Dr. Trailokyanath Mitra to move the amendment.

DR. TRAILOKYANATH MITRA. (*Calcutta, No. 550 in List*) then said:—I have a very disagreeable duty to perform and that is, to move an amendment. If I thought that the Resolution, as it stands, was one which we could in its entirety accept, I certainly would not have inflicted the few words upon you that I now intend to do. I must tell you, gentlemen, that I yield to none, as to the sentiments that have been expressed by my friend, Rai Bahadur Sabapathy Mudaliar and my friend Babu Bipin Chandra Pal. These sentiments, I fully approve of. But we must, —I say must, because, I think, it is our positive duty, assembled here as a National Congress,—we must, I say, recommend to Government only things which we know to be practicable and which we feel to be wise. We must not forget that Government, having to administer, and maintain peace in this country, has certain responsibilities. Supposing the government of the country were handed over to us, which, I think, is a very remote contingency, we ought to think for ourselves, whether an Arms' Act, not necessarily the precise one in the statute book now, but an Arms' Act of some shape, embodying certain limitations, would not necessarily find a place in the statute book. I do put it to you as a practical suggestion. It is a matter open to discussion, but I put it to you, knowing well enough that there are many persons, into whose hands to put arms promiscuously would be to endanger the peace of the country. For instance, one could not like to put arms in the hands of the criminal classes? There are many dangerous persons. (*Voices, of 'no, no.'*) Well, we shall have to take the sense of the meeting upon that question. I am simply stating my own views. I do not wish to force them upon anybody. (*A voice of 'quite welcome.'*) The amendment is in these words. Remember, I am entirely at one with the sentiments expressed by the mover and seconder of the proposition “*that this Congress do move Government to administer the Arms' Act in a liberal spirit and so arrange that persons whom the local or municipal boards*” (I do not wish to have anything to do with the executive), “*within whose jurisdiction they reside*” (and, I think, it is well known that these boards are representative institutions) “*shall certify to be fit and proper persons to be allowed to possess and to wear arms shall, thereupon, once for all, be authorised by the proper authority to bear arms.*” One of the griev-

ances I have heard, was the impossibility, or rather the difficulty of always renewing the pass or license every year, or every six months, as is now required of those persons who are entitled to keep arms. Well, that I wish to provide for. The amendment says that if municipal or local boards within whose jurisdiction the man is residing shall certify that he is a fit and proper person to wear arms, he shall be, thereupon, entitled to wear and possess arms and the executive shall give him a license for the same, once for all, until the end of his life, without his having to renew the license or anything of the kind, “*until such time as he shall by some act or omission in contravention of the criminal law of the country prove himself unfit to continue to enjoy the privilege.*” I do think you will all agree with me that persons convicted of breaches of the criminal law of the country are not fit persons to be entrusted with arms. That is the only ground on which a man is to forfeit the privilege of carrying arms of which his respectable fellow-countrymen have declared him worthy, and when a man has once been convicted before the criminal authorities of any offence against the peace of the country, or any other breach of the criminal law, he ought, I submit, to forfeit that privilege. But all other respectable and peaceful citizens may enjoy the privilege to the end of their lives. I do think that if we go before Government, in whose hands the responsibility of administering and preserving the peace of the country is centred, with a proposal of this kind—not that the present Arms' Act, stock and block, should be struck out of the statute book, but that it should be worked liberally and only those limitations that I have suggested imposed on the possession of arms—then, I do think that as wise and practical people putting forward a reasonable prayer, we may be entitled to hope that our prayer may be accepted by Government. But if we go before Government with one of those utopian Resolutions, with a demand to wipe out the Arms' Act *in toto*, then, I think, you will have little very chance of getting anything that you pray for. I do not want to inflict upon you anything like a speech. I am putting it before you as practical and wise men. Remember, I am quite at one as to the sentiments expressed by the mover and seconder of the original proposition. I agree that the way in which the Arms' Act is now worked involves a grave slur, an unmerited slur on our loyalty. I agree, the whole country agrees, that the people are suffering cruelly under the existing system. I am as eager as any of you for its immediate reform. It is only a question of methods that is at issue between us, and I venture to submit to you that, by the method I propose, you will practically obtain all you want, and that my method has a fair chance of meeting the acceptance of our rulers, whereas, your method—forgive me for saying so, but it is true, for, if I was Viceroy myself, I would not accept it—has no earthly chance of being accepted. Well, I have said my say and I only now ask you to exercise your own common sense as to whether we should not amend the Resolution in the way I have suggested.

MR. GOVIND BUNESH AVASTHY (*Sindh, No. 450 in List*) said:—GENTLEMEN,—I do not at all feel equal to the task of addressing such an audience as this, with many arguments and reasons, but as I have been called upon to second the amendment in which I entirely concur, I will do my best to discharge the duty imposed upon me. After what we have heard from many able speakers during this session of the Congress, I am compelled to admit that even if we demand what may be called too much, *viz.*, the total repeal of the Arms' Act, we should not, perhaps, be wrong in principle, because Mr. Norton, amongst others, himself an Englishman, has assured us, and many others have already assured us, that the idea of the best and wisest Englishmen has always been that we should be made capable to govern, and if to govern, necessarily to defend our own country; and, therefore, it might not, in principle, be too much to ask our English rulers, amongst other things, for the abolition of the Arms' Act, so that we might qualify ourselves, so that the whole nation might qualify itself, to defend the country. But, at the same time, when we remember that we have already asked for representative councils, which are the foundation of all reforms, and through which we shall ultimately be put in a position to secure, if it then be deemed necessary, all that we ask for in this Resolution, I confess that I am in favour of the more moderate prayer, embodied in the amendment. Again, it will be remembered that we have asked for the establishment of military colleges. Will not these military colleges entitle our young men to carry arms, when they are admitted as military students? In military colleges, they would, necessarily be taught to use arms, and by the institution of military colleges for our own youth, the slur involved in the

present Act would be, to a certain extent, removed. Then, we have asked the Government to permit us to enrol ourselves as volunteers. If we are enrolled as volunteers, shall we not carry arms? (*Hear, hear.*) Now, if these two Resolutions that you have already carried are accepted by the Government, certainly, the slur involved by the Arms' Act will almost disappear, and we shall be placed in a better, far better, position than we should be, by the abolition of the Act, and the consequent permission to all men to carry arms, without a license. To give that permission to the whole of India would not be a wise policy at the present time. There are many provinces where it should be the standing order that no one should carry arms, without a license. It is only a wise and sensible amendment on the proposal to abolish the Act altogether, that, while throwing open the possession of arms to all respectable persons whom their neighbours can trust, you should yet require to have a license to exercise the privilege.

The question, is one to be dealt with with some moderation. We have heard many speeches exhorting us to proceed with moderation and only put forward a reasonable request, and this is the course we have pursued throughout the sittings of the Congress, and now you want to put all this good sense, as it were, in a bag, and ask the Government straight off to abolish the Arms' Act altogether, though we well know that some provisions about carrying arms are necessary. This may well be seized by hostile critics, as a ground to show that we are demanding extravagant things, all in all. Although we may be deserving of every confidence as a people, and I am sure you will all join with me, with one voice, in confessing that we are true to Government and true to our Queen, though we may be entitled, without a shadow of doubt, to any, and all, privileges, yet the fact, that being entitled to these privileges, and deserving of all these privileges, so long as we are loyal, we still ask for only an instalment of these, will, if any⁴ thing can, shut the mouths of hostile critics. It would be wise, then, to be moderate in this, as we have been in all other matters. Then, it being framed in that spirit of moderation, this amendment may be considered one that would not only shut the mouths of critics, hostile critics, but would obviate all those objections that may fairly be raised against some classes, at any rate, being authorized to carry arms, without a license. Now, by this amendment, which is proposed, you are not at all put in a worse position than you would obtain, by the abolition of the Act. On the contrary, the amendment gives you a double power. The amendment entitles you to a double privilege. In the first place, it entitles you to give arms to whomsoever you deem fit. It will be your own boards, and your own representatives, not a foreign executive, that will have to exercise the power. It will not then happen that the poor peasants who often most need them to protect their crops, will be prevented from carrying arms. This right will be simply restricted to a certain extent, *viz.*, to those whom their neighbours consider fit to exercise it, and the decision of this point will be within the jurisdiction of their own representatives. It is not, therefore, that any one, fit to be trusted with arms, will be deprived, under our amendment, of the use of arms. So you will get both things under this amendment; you will, all of you whom your fellow-countrymen think fit to be trusted with arms, have arms, and also, as you know the Act provides, this permission will cover your servants, subordinates, and dependants, of all kinds, and even the poor peasantry, as I have explained, will have the arms they need; and then you will have the further privilege of being yourselves the authorities who decide who should, and who should not, enjoy this privilege, or right—and all this by a measure, the moderation of which, no one can question. (*Cries of 'Time, time,' and 'we want the Act repealed.'*)

MR. N. G. CHANDAVARKAR (*Bombay, No. 372 in List*) said :—GENTLEMEN,—You have so ably, wisely, and so sagaciously assisted the President in conducting the business of this Congress in a truly practical spirit, that, I hope, you will all show a practical harmony on the question that is before you. I entreat you to give your most careful consideration to the question that is placed before you, to judge it, and decide it, and to give your votes upon it, in a truly practical spirit, as men of business and as sensible men, and not in a spirit of sentimental bias. Gentlemen, I am no advocate of the Act, nor am I an advocate of the policy that led to its passing, nor am I an advocate of the *regimé* under which it was passed. At the same time, let me tell you that it would be entirely impracticable, it would be simply utopian on our part to ask the Government to repeal the Arms' Act. If you ask for a repeal, you might as well ask for the repeal of the Penal Code. It is true there are many objectionable features in the Arms' Act. If you go up at all to the Government, you must ask the Government, to take

the sting out of the Act, to deprive it of all its really objectionable features and 'make it acceptable to public feeling and to public opinion, but you must not ask it to repeal an Act, many portions of which are necessary to the good government of the country. It is in this spirit that this amendment has been brought before you. The Resolution that is put before you, has been proposed by Mr. Sabapathy, and seconded by Bipin Chandra Pal, the rising orator. So far as the spirit that actuated those gentlemen is concerned, I admire it. But, if you go to the Government with this Resolution, it is sure to be rejected, and it would be simply said that you have not carefully thought out the question. Ask, I entreat you, for something tangible, and something practical, and do not go up to the Government like school boys asking for something that cannot be granted, that ought not to be granted. (*Mingled cheers and cries of disapprobation and of 'we want the Act repealed.'*)

MR. SUNDARAM SASTRI, (*Madras, No. 77 in List*) said :—GENTLEMEN,—Though what I may say now may not be palatable to some, still I hope you will extend to me that courtesy for five minutes, that you have accorded to all previous speakers. We have been asking Government to give us concessions of a political character—concessions which, if given, will enable us not only to improve our status, but also to be true helpers of Government. We have carried these Resolutions with perfect unanimity; but now you want to pass a Resolution which many of us cannot agree to, and the passing of which would, in my opinion, (I hope, no one will be offended) show Government that we are mixing up good and bad things, without being endowed with the power of discriminating what is good, and what is bad. Nothing less than the total repeal of the Arms' Act? Do you want, gentlemen, that the Arms' Act should be repealed, and the country inundated with guns and pistols of every capacity and calibre? Every one having it in his power when fired by drink or maddened by rage or jealousy to shoot his neighbour down! Gentlemen, I say, no Government in a country like this, can afford to put arms in the hands of people without any consideration as to their antecedents, or, as to their character or their fitness to be trusted to wear and possess weapons. I hope, gentlemen, you will save yourselves from the reproach—you, who are the educated *élite* of the three or four Presidencies here—of going up to Government and asking the Government to put weapons into the hands of every *badmash* in the land. The steel-pen is my only weapon, though I write very little, and therefore, do not carry even a steel-pen about me. I am only a *vakil* and what am I to do, gentlemen, if I am attacked? I am very shortsighted and probably some evening as I am quietly going home from office some black-guard will be amusing himself by having a pop at me, and then I shall have to thank some of my countrymen for arming, as you want to do, the criminal classes, if the shots hit me, and I am shot down like a mad dog. There is another thing to be mentioned. There is perfect accord between the educated Mahomedans and educated Hindus—we are brethren owning one God. I was discussing religious questions the other day with a Mahomedan friend and he said to me: "You are a Mahomedan?" I said that I was, so far as the essential of believing in one Supreme Being is concerned. Gentlemen, most of us, educated persons, be we Hindus or Mahomedans, will, if they see a man honorable, moral and a believer in one God, extend to him the hand of friendship without considering the particular creed he professes. But, gentlemen, there are times when religious fanaticism will set half the lower classes of a district into a blaze and you should not shut your eyes to that, I think. We should come to some agreement about modifying this Resolution, and not let it go forth to the world, that we are pressing Government to do a thing so impossible as repealing the Arms' Act. We can so modify the Resolution, I am sure, under the judicious guidance of our President, as will make it satisfactory to all and will put arms into the hands of every Hindu and Mahomedan, every British subject, who can show credentials that he is a fit person to wear arms. It is the duty of Government to allow arms to all persons to whom it can safely give the privilege, but not necessarily to every one, who pretends that he will clear the jungles of tigers and keep away dacoits; nor to every one who wants to go about on horseback with a brace of revolvers in his pocket. It will be a true test of loyalty, if those who consider it a glory to wear arms qualify themselves for doing so, and prove that they are people fit to be trusted with arms and capable of bearing arms properly for the safety of the country and for the safety of the public and for their own safety. I will tell you a little story. When first I was enrolled as an attorney and took the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty the Queen, I had to go to

sentiment, that we are not mere theorists, but that we are practical statesmen, practical politicians. Every individual gentleman amongst us must learn to be practical and let us give whatever advice we have to offer to Government like practical men. (*Applause.*)

BABU SURENDRANATH BANNERJEE, (*Calcutta, No. 551 in List*) said:—GENTLEMEN AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—I come upon the platform as one of my friend Mr. Chandavarkar's school-boys, (*laughter*), I come here with the object of strongly protesting against the amendment, and supporting the original proposition and adding a small rider to it which, I trust, will be generally accepted, by this great assembly of my countrymen. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) Gentlemen, the Arms' Act casts an unmerited slur upon the loyalty of my countrymen. (*Hear, hear, and a voice of 'no, no'.*) It does, sir. (*Voices of 'it does.'*) To the Englishmen, to Eurasians we are quite willing to extend the right hand of friendship, and we are quite willing to accept from them the substantial tokens of their sympathy, which have added lustre to this Congress. The European, the Eurasian, the American, the West-Indian, the Negro, all races, all creeds, and all nationalities may bear arms unrestricted, but not the loyal Indian subjects of our Queen-Empress. (*Hear, hear, and loud and continued applause.*) They; and they alone must obtain a license from the constituted authority before they are in a position even to wear a dagger or a poniard. Gentlemen, is this a position of self-respect? Is this the position which we can contemplate with complaisance? I have been told that we should be practical. Ah! Yes. We ought to be practical politicians, and the greatest of practical politicians, is Mr. Gladstone. (*Applause.*) What did he say in his Midlothian speech about the Arms' Act? I am not prepared with the quotation, but I know he thought that it was a disgrace to the statute book that such an Arms' Act should be made a part of the law of the land. (*Applause.*) Then, sir, we have passed the Resolution relating to the re-imposition of the import duties. Does any one of its most ardent supporters, dream for a moment that the Resolution will be given effect to immediately, and at once. (*Hear, hear, and a voice of 'may be'.*) It may be and so also this may be given effect to. (*Applause, and a voice 'at any rate, it is a dream'.*) At any rate, it is a dream, but our dreams at times become realities. Dreams become pregnant realities. Who would have dreamt, 20 years ago, that the question of representative Government could have come within the range of practical politics in this country. Who would have dreamt 20 years ago that the *élite* of our community should have been honored with seats in the highest courts in the land? (*Applause.*) Who would have dreamt, 10 years ago, that a native of India would be made the Chief Justice of Bengal? (*Applause.*) These are dreams, utopian to the unthinking, and to the unimaginative (*hear, hear, and applause*) but dreams that, like prophecies, often realize themselves. Who are those who, with the instinct of a prophet, see deep into the things of the future, and exulting in what they feel must come, carry on their patriotic work, and endow with life and reality their visions. Yes, it may be a dream, but it is none the less a duty to cling to and strive to make it a reality. We should go on protesting and protesting against this Act, until we have got rid of it from the statute book, and I think that this Congress will have been wanting in its duty if it does not, by an overwhelming majority, throw out the amendment which has been proposed. (*Hear, hear.*) I am also surprised at the logical inconsequence of that amendment. These gentlemen, who support the amendment,—and I desire to speak of them with the utmost possible respect—these gentlemen, I say, seize hold of our premises and quietly depart from our conclusions. (*Voices of 'shame, shame'.*) *That in view of the unmerited slur which it casts, local boards are to certify, and the magistrates are to give passes.* Does that remove the unmerited slur? (*'Yes, yes; 'no, no.'*) It does not do so, unless, as Mr. Khare contends, we are to include Europeans in that amendment. We know perfectly well that Europeans will never be included. I protest against the degradation to the country. I protest against the humiliation which is proposed to cast upon us. If we cannot rise to their heights, are they to be pulled down to our depths? Against that policy, and against that principle, let this Congress raise its voice and protest. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) Therefore, gentlemen, you will see at once that accepting the premises, this conclusion set forth in the amendment, cannot follow at all, and that neither the slur, nor the hardship which is set forth in those premises can be removed, if we accept that conclusion. For, how, pray, to turn now to these, are the hardships to be removed? Local boards and municipalities will certify. There has been some little straining of legal technicalities here, and I am not a lawyer, but I am guided by my common sense and I say that Municipality means the chairman of the Municipality. Local Board, means the chairman of the

local board. Now, pray who are the chairmen? Why just these magistrates and sub-divisional magistrates in whom are now vested the powers of granting or refusing passes; I think it is flying from the frying-pan into the fire, only the agony is both intensified and prolonged. Instead of one appeal to the magistrate you will have to appeal to him twice—first, as chairman of the board; second, as the head of the district or the sub-division. Now, gentlemen, let me put these questions. Upon what ground of common sense, upon what ground of logic, upon what ground of sentiment, are we to accept the amendment? I say, with all the earnestness I can command, that it would be really unworthy of the national gathering if it did not, from year to year, protest, in the most emphatic terms, against an enactment which disgraces the statute book, and which involves a national humiliation which is inconsistent with the Queen's proclamation. I trust, therefore, that with one voice, you will reject the amendment. You may like to know what remedy I suggest. The remedy is this, that the Act of 1857 should be substituted in place of the present Act. Mark you, this was passed in the time of the Mutiny, when the Empire was trembling in the balance. We surely do not want a more stringent Act when peace and benevolence shine brightly over the land. Lord Canning's terms are substantially just. Suppose, there are budmashes; and suppose there are rebellions in one district, to those budmashes and to that district the Act was applied, and to none other. So far as that one district even was concerned, good and true men were allowed to be supplied with arms. That legislation is singularly short-sighted which punishes good men for the faults of bad men, millions for the misdeeds of hundreds. Upon the highest grounds of common sense, upon the highest grounds of statesmanship, upon the highest grounds of patriotism, I appeal to this great Congress to reject the amendment and support the motion that I have laid before you, *viz.*, that the original proposition be retained, with the addition of the words, "and Lord Canning's Arms' Act be re-enacted in place thereof." (*Loud and tumultuous applause.*)

BABU KALI CHARAN BANNERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 559 in List*) said:—GENTLEMEN,—I feel it my duty to second the amendment, which has been moved by my esteemed friend, Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee. In doing so, I would add a few remarks to those which he has submitted for your consideration. It seems to me that certain words in the original Resolution have been overlooked by those who considered it their duty to propose the amendment. The concluding words of the original Resolution are:—"The Congress is of opinion that the present Arms' Act should be repealed." In the remarks already submitted for your consideration, the existence of the word "*present*" has been altogether overlooked. (*Hear, hear.*) In fact, the first amendment concedes that the present Arms' Act is filled with stings and that it must be divested of its stings. Those who have introduced the first amendment before you, have conceded that the original Resolution does not contemplate, as my esteemed leader, the mover, of the amendment, suggested, that we contemplate the abolition of the Arms' Act in its totality, and that we contemplate not having the Arms' Act at all. That is not what is contemplated in the original Resolution. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) It does not say that we are not to have the Arms' Act at all; but it says that the present Arms' Act should be repealed. Is there any one in this august assembly that is prepared to stand up for the present Arms' Act in its entirety? (*Applause.*) So far, we see that the original Resolution carries with it the mind of the whole assembly. The present Arms' Act must be repealed. Then, your attention has been drawn to the fact that the present Arms' Act must be divested of its sting. What is the sting, pray. (*Applause.*) Does not the sting consist in this: that the possession of arms, without a license, is declared to be an offence? Is not that the sting? Are you not going to substitute one form of the sting for another? Is the amendment a stingless amendment? (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) Will the amendment secure an Arms' Act which has no sting about it? No such thing. They have only put before you another sting, to express which, it has been necessary to place before you, I believe, what would be some five lines of printed matter. (*Laughter and applause.*) You have the sting in five lines of printed matter. (*Laughter.*) Then again, the great argument that has been adduced before you in support of the amendment is "If the present Arms' Act is repealed, what are we to do with our budmashes?" Are there not budmashes in Europe? Then, we are told? "Are we to bring about a condition of affairs under which these budmashes might, with impunity, carry on their trade." Well, I say, I am sorry to say, are we going to proclaim, as a National Congress, that India is the monopoly

of budmashes? Are there no budmashes outside India? Are there no budmashes in England? Is there an Arms' Act in England? (*Cries of 'yes,' and 'you can't carry arms, without a license.'*) Well then, is there an Arms' Act in England, such as that which you pray Government to repeal? Is there such an Arms' Act among the English nation? Would there not be a rising in the English nation from one end of the country to the other, if the English Parliament sought to impose such an Arms' Act on the people of England? (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) I am much mistaken if there would not be a general rising of the nation. Gentlemen, we speak from the national point of view, and when we go up to Government, affirming that we, as a country, are prepared to receive those liberal institutions, which are enjoyed by the people of England. Are we side by side with this to go up to the Government with a declaration that as far as the Arms' Act is concerned, we are not yet ripe for such a liberal treatment of the question, as is pursued in England? That, I say, is a suicidal position to take up. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) Gentlemen, if you would not stultify yourselves, if you would not give a lie to all your declarations, concerning the readiness of the Indian people to receive and enjoy, as a blessing, every institution which characterizes the present state of things in England; if you would not go before the Government, and before the world with the declaration, that India needs special legislation in view of the superabundance of budmashes in the various Presidencies of India; if you would not go up to Government, and ask the Government to substitute one form of sting for another, and if you are all of one opinion as to the sting that lurks in the present Arms' Act, then, I say, you will agree with the original Resolution, so far, as to pray Government to repeal the present Arms' Act. (*Loud and continued applause.*) Contingencies, there may be, contingencies are certainly to be provided for. The proposer of the proposition, which I have the honor to second, has met the contingency, i.e., by substituting Lord Canning's Act for the existing one. (*Loud and continued Applause.*)

MR. A. O. HUME (*Madras, No. 11 in List*) said:—GENTLEMEN,—I am not come to support the original Resolution, which, as it stands, is an impossible one, nor to oppose my friend Babu Surendranath's amendment, because I do not know its exact value; what I come here for is, to ascertain from him,—and from all of you, who are apparently ready to support him—exactly what the terms of that Act are which he and you propose to re-enact. Have you a copy of the Act? (*Cries of 'no.'*) Can any one repeat the sections? (*No!*) I confess I am quite ignorant of the terms of the Act, but I do know that, as a magistrate, many years ago, I worked Lord Canning's Arms' Act and my recollection of its operation is—of course, this was in the North-Western Provinces, where all the districts were proclaimed—that it was a great deal more stringent than the present Arms' Act. Whatever we do, let us not fall from the frying-pan into the fire. Let us, at any rate, act like sensible and business-men. I strongly recommend this assembly to see the Act before it comes to any conclusion, as to asking for its re-enactment.

BABU TRAIHOKYANATH MITRA, (*Calcutta, No. 550 in List*) turning to the proposer, said: Have you got a copy of the Act?

BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 551 in List*) said:—No; but I have got something better than a copy of the Act. I have it here! (*Touches his forehead.*)

MR. A. O. HUME:—I insist on the necessity of our seeing the Act before we come to any conclusion, at least, before we decide to ask Government to re-enact it.

MR. SALEM RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR, (*Madras, No. 61 in List*) one of the delegates formerly sent to England, then rose and said, amidst loud cheers:—MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,—It is with very great regret that I appear before you on this occasion. I say it is with great regret, that having hastened to the utmost of my powers to leave Calcutta, the moment my duties in connection with the Public Service Commission were over, so that I might take part in the proceedings of this Congress, I arrive here to-day only to find that, on an important question like this before us, which involves the safety and happiness of the country, there exists an apparently serious split amongst you. But, if you consider for a moment, both parties are agreed, as to the principle. One party looks at the subject from one point of view, the other party looks at it from

another point of view, but with all, I say both parties are agreed in the conviction that this present Act has been worked in such a way as to create universal dissatisfaction. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) If any body told me, on the one hand, that I was in favor of the present Arms' Act, or, on the other, wanted me to agree that it would not be for the interest of India that we should have some rules, by which to regulate the possession of arms, I should reply that I am the last man to assent to either proposition. You must look at the Act, as it is, and, as it was, and you must realize clearly what the defects of the present Act are and in what way they can be remedied. Gentlemen, in an assembly like this, where we are met, all of a sudden, as people drawn from all parts of India to take part in the proceedings, there must very often be a want of accurate knowledge and due consideration of details. If we do not possess accurate information as to details, we can arrive at no conclusions, satisfactory either to ourselves or to the Government. There is a feeling, I believe, existing in the minds of all, in the minds, most certainly, of those who proposed this amendment, and who proposed the original proposition, that this Act has been so worked, as to give rise to nothing but dissatisfaction, and great hardship. Now, I would put this feeling aside, and consider the question solely in the light of principle, and the principle I would accept in dealing with the question is this; if it be found that any man is, by his misconduct, rendered unworthy to exercise the important right of carrying arms, that right should be taken away from him. It may be that times will come, when whole districts, and even whole provinces, will have to be disarmed. I do not, for a moment, deny the right which every Government ought to possess, the right of disarming any of its subjects, or all its subjects, for a time, if it finds that it is necessary to do so in the general interests of the country. But, it is one thing to use extreme remedies like these in emergencies, and it is another thing to be always applying them, when the state of things is normal. That a man should be debarred from carrying arms, unless he takes out a license, simply because he happens to be a native of India,—and that not one individual, as a temporary measure, but the whole nation, for all time,—is an insult to every Indian subject and is equivalent to saying, that he is either disloyal or a bad character. I say, I am a British subject, and, unless you can show that I have been guilty of some misconduct, or am disloyal, you have no justification for taking away the right which is inherent in me. They tell me "unless you get the authority of a magistrate and pay a fee, and do this, year by year, you shall not wear, or possess arms." There must be a limit to such things as these, no doubt; but I do not know whether, in framing the original Resolution which proposes to sweep away the Act altogether, all the conditions of the case, all the details of the matter were fully considered. I fear not. Unquestionably there is an universal feeling of dissatisfaction with the Act, and we are agreed on that point, viz., that the Act has produced universal dissatisfaction and is worked in a most unsatisfactory way; but would it not be sufficient to say this? If you persist in asking, what is the remedy? I candidly say I am not prepared to suggest exactly what the remedy should be, and, therefore, I, for one, would only assert what I know, and not go on to tell Government what it ought to do in the matter. It seems to me that it is for the Government to suggest a remedy. We tell Government what a curse the thing is, as it now stands, we pray Government to take this matter into their consideration and see—this Act being so unsatisfactory, as it is,—whether they cannot devise a better Act.

I cannot agree to, and I cannot accept, the proposal, that we should fall back upon the original Act. There are serious defects in that Act, and it might prove, in practice, even a worse Act than the one we have. We must not run the risk, as Mr. Hume has said, of falling from the frying-pan into the fire. I do not think we, as reasonable men, as men possessing common sense, should commit ourselves to a demand for the re-enactment of an Act, having no accurate knowledge of it. I cannot support either the first or the second amendment, or the original Resolution. We feel that the way we are dealt with, in the matter of arms, is a grievance, and we know it is a grievance, but we are not in a position, I submit, after listening to the whole discussion, to suggest, exactly, what remedy can be most advantageously applied. All that we should ask the Government to do is, to collect the opinions of officials—both European and Native—as to how the Act has worked, and in what way it has been felt to be a grievance, and take also the evidence of people all over the country. When such an enquiry is going on, each one of us will give his best attention to the matter, and if we take the present Act of this country and compare it with past Acts,

and with those in force in other countries and thoroughly work up the question, we shall be able amongst us to suggest what form of enactment will both give satisfaction to the people, and secure the peace and safety of the country. I admit that I every moment feel myself to be a degraded citizen, so long as this Act, or its working, is not so modified, as to remove the stigma now cast on every loyal Indian subject of Her Majesty. I say that the wearing of arms is a right which every man, in every province, should enjoy, unless he is debarred from its exercise, by some personal misconduct, or unless it can be shown that there are special grounds for believing that it is not safe that the people of some particular province of which he is an inhabitant should exercise that right; it is on these, and these grounds alone, I say, that this inherent right can be justly held in abeyance; but if this Act be not repealed, or modified, if the existing system be continued, it takes away the right unjustly from the many, and it concedes it, as a privilege, to the few. That is in itself a great hardship. Europeans have been permitted to carry arms, and Eurasians are permitted to do so, as a body; but we, native subjects of Her Majesty, are not allowed to wear arms, unless we possess a license, or unless we are, as a special favour, exempted from the operation of the Act. Till two years ago, I was a District Munsiff, and then I was exempted. But when I came to Madras, I was told that I must obtain a license, and I had to apply to the Police Commissioner for one. Of course, there was no difficulty in getting it. But, is it not a slur upon a man, who was exempted two years ago when he was a District Munsiff, and who is now exempted, because he is a municipal commissioner, to be called upon to produce a certificate of loyalty? I think it is a shame; (*hear, hear, and applause.*) but feeling all this as strongly as any one, I, yet, do not want to go up to Government, with any specific advice, as to how they should remedy this great national grievance, but I would tell them,—and here I am expressing the feelings of every one present, aye, and every native of India, not present, likewise,—that this Act has been worked in such a way as to give dissatisfaction to all men, (*applause*), and that we look confidently to them to remove, in such manner, as may seem best to them, the grounds for that just dissatisfaction. (*Loud cheers, and cries of 'they'll do nothing then.'*)

MR. ANNASAMI Aiyar (*Madras, No. 204 in List*) then rose and said :—GENTLEMEN,—In the amendment, proposed by Dr. Mitra, the presumption seems to be, that unless a person can obtain a certificate from the municipal or local boards, as to his fitness to carry arms, he cannot be fit to carry them. That presumption is alike degrading and derogatory to our national dignity, and to our national interest. Every true native will, therefore, scout that presumption with scorn. But there is no doubt there are practical difficulties, involved in the original proposition, which ought to be looked into. In every nation, however highly cultured it may be, there must be certain classes whose wicked propensities ought to be curbed. How is that to be done in India? A very easy solution suggests itself to me. A slight alteration in the amendment, proposed by Dr. Mitra, will do it—leave the original Resolution as it stands, and add the words “provided that it be open to Government on the recommendation of municipal or local boards to restrict the use of arms to any such individuals or classes, as they may deem necessary, for reasons to be stated in writing”.

MR. SURENDRANATH BANNERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 551 in List*) then said :—I would accept that amendment.

MR. ANNASAMI (*continuing*) said :—Here there is an assembly of 600 or 700 persons from all parts of India, and it is our duty both to put things in a form that may be palatable to Government, and to look into our rights, and find out what they are. These rights we shall obtain. Let me not lead you to suppose that, while insisting upon our rights, on one side, I am blind and deaf to the practical difficulties in conferring those rights upon us. We should be really unworthy of the name of politicians, if we did that. Let not any restriction you may impose for the purpose of keeping order in society, involve a stigma on any respectable member of society. This appears to be the only solution of the difficulty. (*Applause.*)

THE PRESIDENT :—GENTLEMEN,—It has always been my desire that any proposition which may be carried in this Congress, should not only be carried by the votes of a very large majority, but should, as far as practicable, be carried with the unanimous consent of all. (*Applause.*) If you find, for instance, in one particular part of India, that there is opposition to a particular proposition, it will not do, I think, for this Congress of all parts of India, to force upon that particular part of India, a particular Resolution and, therefore, I,

as your President, am desirous of trying, as I have been always doing, (*hear, hear*) to see whether it is not possible to throw oil on the troubled waters. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) If you will allow me five minutes to consult with the proposers of the Resolution, the first amendment and the second amendment, and other leading delegates, I think, I shall be able to get some such Resolution framed, as shall meet with your unanimous approval. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*)

(*A consultation was then held on the platform for about five minutes.*)

THE PRESIDENT (*continuing*) said :—GENTLEMEN, I am extremely happy to announce to you that my prophesy has been fulfilled. (*Applause.*) The result of this conference of, I may say, the representative members of this Congress, has resulted in the production of a Resolution, which, I feel sure, will commend itself to every one present here. This new Resolution, like all other similar Resolutions, involves a compromise and retains the best features of the original Resolution and the best features of the amendment. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) You will remember that the original Resolution was that the Arms' Act should be repealed *in toto*. I am perfectly sure that the Arms' Act cannot have been carefully read by the gentleman who proposed it. There are many provisions to which that gentleman has in no way done justice. There are useful provisions also. The essence of this debate, I take it, has been the proposer of the original Resolution, fixing his attention mainly on the point, that the Act presumes that everybody in the country, not specially authorized to wear arms, is unfit to be trusted with them and feeling the slur thus implied on the loyalty of the nation keenly, proposed the abolition of the Act. He did not stop to consider that the Act embodied numerous necessary provisions, he saw what was galling to the national self-respect in the Act, and desired to get rid of it *in toto*. On the other hand, the proposer of the amendment, fully realizing the necessity of an Arms' Act, and the beneficial character of many portions of the existing Act, only thought to provide for such a liberal administration of the Act as should enable all persons, considered by their neighbours to be fit to have arms, to possess and wear them. He probably did not quite realize how strong the sentimental objection to the presumption involved in being required to take out licenses, is, throughout the country. The amendment, it is true, assumed that all people who were certified to be fit to wear arms, by their neighbours, were thus fit, but what the proposer of the original Resolution, and, as it would seem from the course of the debate, a very large number of other delegates desired, was that all persons should be presumed to be fit, to be trusted with arms who were not certified to be unfit. In practice, probably, the result would be much the same, but, under the latter scheme, the presumption of disloyalty or unworthiness to be trusted with arms, which even the first amendment, though to a limited extent, involves, would disappear. So, now, we have prepared a new Resolution, which gives full weight, both to the objections of those who supported the amendment, and of those who objected to it, and this Resolution will run as follows :—

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

The result will be this—whereas, now, no one can be allowed to wear arms, unless he is expressly authorized to do so, under our present Resolution every man will be allowed to wear arms, unless he is expressly debarred from so doing. I think it is not necessary to discuss the point any further, unless you wish to do so. (*Cries of 'no, no' and 'vote, vote'.*)

The proposition was then put to the vote, and was carried unanimously, with acclamation.

THE PRESIDENT :—We will now pass on to the consideration of a Resolution, which is not on the printed programme, and which will be moved by my friend, Mr. Hume.

MR. A. O. HUME (*Madras, No. 11 in List*) said :—GENTLEMEN,—You will remember that on the first day of the Congress, a committee was appointed to consider what rules, if any, could be at this present time, advantageously framed for the guidance and governance of this Congress, in future. Well, gentlemen, that committee, as directed in the order constituting it, made its report, which I here present to you.

It includes a long series of tentative rules and, perhaps, you will expect me to read it out to you. I hope, however, that you will take it as read, because it is not proposed to pass these rules, or make them binding upon you on the present occasion. These rules must, we think, stand over for the consideration of the next Congress; but, in the meantime, they ought to be circulated to all the standing committees to re-consider, at their leisure, and see how far they are workable. Next year, they will be brought up again for final consideration, together with all such emendations and additions, as may have, in the meantime, suggested themselves to the several standing committees. They stand, practically, embody existing practice, if not the experience will show that practice should be accepted, and how far it may advance this explanation, I shall venture, with your permission, to read the Resolution which I have been called on to propose. It runs thus :—

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

DR. TRAILOKYANATH MITRA, said :—I second the proposition.

THE PRESIDENT :—Gentlemen, does any one object to this Resolution being put to the vote? (*Cries of 'no, no, put it'.*) Then, without troubling you by reading it over again, I put it. The Resolution was then carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT :—I must now call upon Mr. Hume to move another Resolution that stands in his name.

MR. A. O. HUME thereupon again rose and said :—GENTLEMEN,—I am ashamed to address you again immediately, but there is one Resolution that I have to propose, which will not detain you long, and that is :—“*That the fourth Indian National Congress assemble at Allahabad (Applause), on the 26th December 1888.*” (*Tumultuous applause.*)—I say the 26th, because we should have a clear day before the Congress begins its public sittings, in which to thresh out more thoroughly the subjects and Resolutions, which are to be dealt with by the Congress, at these sittings. (*Loud cheers.*) We were all practically agreed, the whole country was agreed, before we ever came here, about the Arms question, but see how much time we lost to-day, simply because we had not had time to thresh out, in the Subject Committee, beforehand, a Resolution so worded as to meet exactly all objections and embody all our views. (*Hear, hear.*)

RAJAH RAMPAL SINGH (*Allahabad, No. 483 in List*) said :—GENTLEMEN,—I rise, with the greatest pleasure, to second this Resolution. It has been our earnest desire that this Congress should be held next year at Allahabad, and we are very pleased to find from the kind manner in which you received my friend, Mr. Hume's proposition, that you have been good enough to accept our invitation. (*Applause.*) I am afraid, I cannot express in equally eloquent words, the sentiments of gratification and gratitude at our being so honoured, which were expressed by the Hon. S. Subramania Aiyar, on the last occasion at Calcutta, when Madras was chosen as the next meeting-place, nor can I even do my duty in thanking the Madras committee, in detail, for the admirable work which they have done, as he thanked the Calcutta

committee, because, he was furnished with the details of the working of that committee, and he was able to tender to every member those special thanks that were his due. Unfortunately, I am not acquainted with the detailed working and arrangements of the committee here, and so I cannot do as he did, but can only thank you all for being willing to allow Allahabad the honor of welcoming the next Congress, and the Madras Committee, en masse, for all they have so kindly, so generously done for all of us, and I do not think that there will be one dissenting voice when I ask you all to express heartily, the deep and perfect satisfaction we have all experienced in the loving and brotherly reception all have met with from our brethren of Madras. (*Loud and continued applause and tumultuous cheers for "our Madras brethren".*)

THE PRESIDENT :—We are all agreed? (*Cries of 'yes, yes, carried, carried.'*)

Then the proposition was carried by acclamation.

THE PRESIDENT :—There is only one more Resolution, and that I will now ask you, sir, to propose.

RAJAH YATINDRANATH CHAUDHURI (*24 Pergamnahs, No. 562 in List*) then rose and said :—The Resolution that I have to propose needs no comments from me—good wine, it is said, needs no bush; and this Resolution calls for no explanation or justification—it is this :

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

BAHU JOTENDRANATH TAGORE (*Calcutta, No. 549 in List*) said :—I second the proposition. (*Cheers and cries of 'put it, put it'.*)

THE PRESIDENT :—I now put this Resolution.

The Resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT then rose and said :—GENTLEMEN, I am very glad to say that the business which brought us all together has now been completed. (*Applause.*) There is no proposition, and I am glad to say, no amendment to be laid before you. (*Laughter.*) We have carried all the Resolutions, and I am happy to say that we did so with perfect unanimity. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, I may say, before I dissolve this Congress, that this is really the spirit in which I should desire to see all the future Congresses conduct themselves. (*Applause.*) If we are really to do the work of our nation, and if we are ready to do good to India, we must learn, not only to demand, but, when necessary, to concede. (*Applause.*) If we ask that a certain proposition be accepted, and if there is an opposition to it from the delegates of any part of India, I think, it would always be a wise policy for the gentleman who proposed the Resolution so to modify his proposal as to meet, if possible, the objection that is raised. For some time, indeed, we cannot expect to see every Resolution carried, with perfect unanimity, but I do say that, with a little patience and mutual forbearance, practical unanimity may be arrived at in almost every case, which it is essential to proceed with. For, I feel perfectly sure that you will all agree with me that, on any future occasion, if the delegates from Bombay, for instance, desire to press a particular Resolution, which is not acceptable to the delegates from Bengal or Madras, our Bombay friends will need to drop the Resolution, when they cannot win over the Madras delegates, or the Bengal delegates to their side.

Gentlemen, I thank you most sincerely for the very great honor you have done me, by electing me as President of this Congress. (*Applause.*) I have already expressed to you my thanks for that honor you have done me, and I can only say that I am now thankful that our proceedings—(*Mr. Rangiah Naidu, here interrupting, said, "I propose three cheers for the Empress."* This suggestion from Mr. Rangiah Naidu resulted in some cheering.) That will be done before we part, with higher echoes and in far, far larger volumes than have yet reached my ears. (*Laughter.*) Well, gentlemen, it has been

decided to hold our next National Congress at Allahabad. No doubt this step has been taken after great consideration, and it is certainly desirable that all the different capitals of India should have the honor of seeing the Congress assembled, and this honor should not be confined to presidency towns. I am extremely happy that we have resolved to assemble at Allahabad, next year, and I trust that we shall go on assembling year after year in all the great centres of India. I have no doubt that this will be one of the means by which we can reach the feelings of those interested in the national welfare and which we must reach before we can make our voices reach the ears of the Government of India. Gentlemen, before I sit down, I would say that, on my own part, I desire to thank not only the Reception Committee of the Madras Presidency, but also all the people of Madras for their kind hospitality, not only to myself personally, but to all the delegates who have come from distant parts of India. (*Loud applause.*) Gentlemen, if this Congress does no other good, it will still have achieved a very great good, if it brings the members of different provinces, and the members of different communities into contact with each other. I have not the smallest doubt that you, gentlemen of the Madras Presidency, have now far kindlier feelings for the defects of your brethren of Bengal and Bombay than you had before you had that intimate knowledge of us, which you have now obtained by coming in almost hourly contact with us during this past week. I say that this is a great good in itself. I trust we shall be able to obtain great political reforms in the administration of our own country, if we carry on a perfectly legitimate and constant agitation. At the same time, I do think, that the social improvement we are introducing among ourselves by contact, is in itself a very great good. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, one of the best features of the Congress in Madras has been the hearty co-operation that we have received from the European members. (*Hear, hear, and loud and continued applause.*) It has, gentlemen, been alleged that the Europeans keep aloof from the natives, and that there is always a great deal of misunderstanding between the two communities. I took the liberty of addressing a few observations to you on that question. You will remember that I absolutely denied the universal application of that assertion. (*Hear, hear.*) Gentlemen, at that time, my knowledge of the Madras Presidency was very limited, and I was not aware that my assertion would be completely borne out by what I have seen of the conduct of our European friends. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, I, for one, am absolutely at a loss to understand why our European friends should not co-operate with us in the business that we have undertaken. As I have said, the limits and scope of our agitation and action are the good of the whole of India, not the good of any particular part of India, and not the good of any particular community, but, gentlemen, the good of the whole of India, and are not our European friends included? (*Cheers.*) The good of the one, must necessarily react upon the good of the other. Therefore, I do heartily wish that the co-operation of all our European friends should go on increasing from year to year, till we find that the delegates are composed, not of 600 natives and 5 or 10 Europeans, but of a very large portion of Europeans, who should assist us by the experience,—by the true political experience,—which they have inherited for centuries from their forefathers. (*Applause.*) Gentlemen, I must ask our European friends, such of them as have honored us with their presence, or such of them as may read the proceedings in the newspapers, if they find any expression or sentiment which may, perhaps, have been uttered in the heat of the discussion, to which, they think, objection may be justly taken, to remember that this Congress is only in its third year, and that no political association can achieve any great success, till it has acquired a great deal of experience, which must take a very, very long time for us to get, who are entirely new to the art of self-government. (*Applause.*) I do trust that any defects which may have been found in the proceedings of this Congress will be pointed out to us, not in the spirit of cavil, not in the spirit of hostility, not in the spirit of antagonism, but in that spirit of consideration, conciliation, and assistance, which, I think, our European friends are in a position to accord us. (*Applause.*) One word, gentlemen, about a Resolution that has been carried in regard to the constitutional working of the Congress. It is very wise, on our part, not to have absolutely bound ourselves, hand and foot, by any hard and fast rules that may be framed here. It will take months, I may say even years, before we understand what the various requirements of the different Provinces are, and what the real elements which should be represented in this Congress are. Therefore, I am happy to find that our rules have been left in a somewhat indefinite form, so that they may be worked so far, as this

may be considered desirable and possible. That some rules are absolutely necessary, my little experience of the last three days has convinced me. Remember the responsibilities of any President. Resolutions of the most important character are thrust into his hands for discussion—Resolutions of which no notice has been given to any of the delegates, Resolutions which the President has not even had the time carefully to read over. Resolutions which are to be put forward before the Congress, should be considered long before the Congress meets, and should be circulated among the delegates, in order that they may fully and carefully consider them. Again, gentlemen, look at the amendments proposed. The amendments were actually put into my hands during the debate, and some even after the Resolutions were carried. I am afraid that I may appear to some of my friends a tyrannical despot, (*voices of 'no, no,'*) most unwilling to allow the discussion to proceed, (*voices of 'no, no,'*) but I assure you that I acted on the one principle that no Resolution should be carried in this Congress, unless it was a Resolution that would command itself to the judgment of all reasonable and thinking men. (*Hear, hear.*) I would rather that the Resolution, even if it was desirable, and even if it was pressed, stood over for the next year to be fully discussed than that it should be moved and passed in five minutes. (*Applause.*) by gentlemen holding up their hands before they knew what the full merits of the Resolution were. I would certainly suggest to the consideration of the standing committee, which may have the framing of these rules, that the Resolutions and amendments should reach the delegates before, at all events, the Congress assembles. Gentlemen, I fear, I have already trespassed too long upon your patience. (*Voices 'no, no.'*) It is time now, gentlemen, that I should declare that this Congress is dissolved. Before I do that, however, my attention has been drawn to a subject, which I have not the smallest doubt, when the proper occasion arises, will meet with the approval, not only of every one of the delegates assembled here, or any delegate who may be present on the occasion of any future Congress, but will approve itself to the judgment of every one of the 250 millions of Her Majesty's subjects in India. Gentlemen, it has been suggested that in case of any complication arising on our North-Western frontier, in order that our loyalty should be placed beyond the reach of cavil, we, the members of the National Congress, should undertake, for the purpose of enabling the Government of India to make a full and complete defence, to collect taxes, and that we should constitute ourselves tax-collectors, levying voluntary contributions (*loud and continued applause*) from our countrymen—not large sums of money like 1,000 or 100 or even one rupee, but four annas per head, (*applause*) which, if contributed, will yield about a crore and a half (*hear, hear*); I trust that there will be no occasion for any member of the Congress to convert himself into a collector of this voluntary contribution. But I feel perfectly certain that, if ever such an occasion arises, there will not be one who will not voluntarily and willingly undertake the otherwise unpleasant task. (*Loud applause.*) Now, gentlemen, I must thank you for the very great patience and courtesy with which you have heard me, and I trust I may be able to be present at the next Congress at Allahabad. I will then, if I am enabled to take part in the debates, at all events, do my best to show, that it is possible to make a speech of five minutes, and yet, that the speech should contain a considerable amount of matter. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

MR. SALEM RAMASAWMI MUDALIAR (*Madras, No. 64 in List*), said:—GENTLEMEN,—The high privilege of proposing a vote of thanks to our worthy President has devolved upon me, (*hear, hear, and applause*), and there is no task which could have been entrusted to me, which could give me greater pleasure and greater satisfaction to fulfil. (*Applause.*) I thank him from the very bottom of my heart on my own behalf, and on behalf of all the gentlemen assembled here. (*Loud applause.*) Not only in my own Presidency, but throughout India, our countrymen have been watching our proceedings with keen interest. The feelings that prompt all of us at this moment, is one of deep gratitude for the able way in which our worthy President has fulfilled the duties entrusted to him. (*Loud applause.*) Gentlemen, if you simply look at it as a question of patience,—if you look at the way in which he has listened to speech after speech, sitting here from morning to evening from day to day, I say, as a question of patience, he deserves our best thanks. (*Loud applause.*) But that was the least difficult portion of the task that he had to fulfil. Considering the great divergence of views that was to be expected in a body of men, assembled from all parts of India, whose faces were more or less strange to each other at the time they came here, (*loud*

applause), I say considering the difficulties that one had to anticipate and which, as a matter of fact, were felt every moment, whilst the work was proceeding, the way in which the whole thing has been brought to a satisfactory conclusion, is quite a crown of glory to our President (*Loud cheers.*) For, the success we have achieved has been mainly due to the ability, tact, good judgment, and—above all,—good temper with which our President has shown in discharging his duties. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*) Gentlemen, when he leaves this *pandal*, he will leave it with the proud consciousness of having discharged a great duty, (*loud applause*), he will leave it carrying with him the respect, the regard, the sincerest good-wishes of all here assembled. (*Loud cheers.*) Gentlemen, he has taken a most important part in this great national movement. (*Applause.*) High honors may be in store for him. He may be rewarded as he deserves. His merits may be recognized by Government, but, I am sure, there is one feeling which he will cherish above all these honors, and that feeling will be one of satisfaction and gratification at the spontaneous outburst of gratitude and admiration with which you have greeted him. (*Great applause.*) I do not think I need add anything more, but I may, as well, take this opportunity of thanking many of the gentlemen who have rendered us valuable assistance in making this Congress a success. I do not refer to those who took part in our proceedings but to others and I thank them for the zeal with which they worked, and the way in which they placed their services at our disposal, and these deserve recognition at the hands of this assembly. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*) You will permit me to thank all those gentlemen, on your behalf, for the hearty way in which they placed their services at our disposal. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

MR. KUMAR RAMESWAR MAHAJAN (*Hugli, No. 568 in List*) said:—I second the proposal of the previous speaker.

BABU TRAILOKYANATH MITRA (*Calcutta, No. 550 in List*) said:—GENTLEMEN,—As our illustrious President refuses to put this Resolution to the vote, I, acting as his faithful lieutenant, do put it to the vote, and I am sure, gentlemen, you will carry it with acclamation. (*The vote of thanks was then carried by acclamation.*) (*Cries of 'order, order.'*)

THE PRESIDENT:—Surely those gentlemen who cry 'order, order' do not want any more speeches. I thought they would have been quite satisfied and that their appetite would have been fully satiated by this time. I can only say that I thank you extremely from the very bottom of my heart for the manner in which the vote of thanks has been carried by the delegates. (*Applause.*) It is certainly true that I shall carry with me, beyond all other feelings, the feeling of the deepest satisfaction at the position I have been allowed to occupy here, and I shall remember it to the end of my days, (*loud applause*), as the highest honor that it is possible on the part of my countrymen to bestow upon any one. I shall always prize, gentlemen, the honor of having presided over your deliberations, as the very greatest honor that has ever been, or, that is ever likely to be, conferred on me in any future time. (*Applause.*) I must take care not to tax your patience any longer. I must dissolve this Congress and I must once more thank you for the very great honor you have done me. I trust we shall meet again, not in the capacities of president and delegates, but in the capacity of brother-delegates. (*Loud and continued cheers.*)

MR. RANGIAH NAIDU (*Madras, No. 7 in List*) then again called for cheers for the Queen-Empress, and the call was responded to by vociferous and prolonged cheering. Then other cheers were given for the President and others, and, at last, the assembly broke up.

List of Abbreviations used in Appendix I.

Agri. Col. Socy.	...	...	Agricultural College Society.
Agt.	...	...	Agent.
Asst.	...	...	Assistant.
Assn.	...	...	Association.
B. N. L.	...	...	Bengal National League.
B. P. Assn.	...	...	Bombay Presidency Association.
B. & M.	...	...	Banker and Merchant.
Cir.	...	...	Circulation.
C. M. A.	...	...	Central Mahomedan Association.
Dist. Bd.	...	...	District Board.
F. C. M.	...	...	Free Church Mission.
F. Uni.	...	...	Fellow of the University.
Genl.	...	...	General.
H. B. A.	...	...	Hindu Brethren Association.
Hd.	...	...	Head.
H. C.	...	...	High Court.
Hony.	...	...	Honorary.
Inst. of S.	...	...	Inspector of Schools.
L. F. Bd.	...	...	Local Fund Board.
L. A.	...	...	Literary Association.
L. Propr.	...	...	Landed Proprietor.
L. C.	...	...	Legislative Council.
Magte.	...	...	Magistrate.
M. & G. A.	...	...	Madras and Graduates' Association.
M. J. S.	...	...	Maha Jana Sabha.
M. T. C.	...	...	Metal Trading Company.
Memb.	...	...	Member.
Mercht.	...	...	Merchant.
Mir.	...	...	Mirasidar.
M. Cr.	...	...	Municipal Commissioner.
N. M. A.	...	...	National Mahomedan Association.
Presdt.	...	...	President.
Prof.	...	...	Professor.
Pl. Dist. Ct.	...	...	Pleader District Court.
Pub. Meetg.	...	...	Public Meeting.
P. A.	...	...	People's Association.
R. P. Assn.	...	...	Rate-payers' Association.
R. Room.	...	...	Reading Room.
S. J. S.	...	...	Sarva Jana (or Janik) Sabha.
Secy.	...	...	Secretary.
Tal.	...	...	Taluk.
Tah.	...	...	Tahsildar.
Un.	...	...	Union.
V. P.	...	...	Vice-President.
V. & A.	...	...	Vakil and Agriculturist.
1st Grd.	...	...	First Grade.
Zem.	...	...	Zemindar.

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

THIRD INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT MADRAS, DECEMBER, 1887.

Number.	Presidency.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary titles, Religious titles, Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places of Association, &c. which they represent.	How and when elected.
1	Madras	Madras City.	Hon'ble Sir T. Madava Rao, B.A., &c.	Hindu Brahman.	Retired Downan of Travancore, Indore and Baroda, F. Uni., Madras, Mylapore.	Madras and Graduates' Association.	Public meeting on the 18th Dec. at Mylapore, (Div. 8), and by the Committee of the Graduates' Association.
2	"	"	Hon'ble Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, C.I.E.	Muslim.	Landholder, President, Central Mohammedan Association, Member, Legislative Council, Municipal Council, and F. Uni. Madras, Adyar.	Madras.	Public meetings on the 18th Dec. at Mylapore, (Div. 8), and at Triplicane on the same date, (Div. 7).
3	"	"	Hon'ble P. Chentel Rao, C.I.E.	Hindu Brahman.	Retired Government Servant, Member, Legislative Council, and F. Uni. Madras, Tenampet.	Madras and Graduates' Association.	Public meeting on the 18th Dec. at Mylapore (Div. 8) and by the Committee of the Graduates' Association.
4	"	"	Sir Sayalaj Bamaswami Mudaliar, K.L., C.I.E.	Hindu.	Merchant, Sheriff Municipal Council, & Vice-President, Mahajana Sabha, Poonamallee Road.	do	Public meeting on the 5th Dec. at Fudupet, (Div. 6), and at a general meeting of the Mahajana Sabha, on the 26th Dec.
5	"	"	Rai Bahadur Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer, A.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, Member, Legislative Council, Vice-President, Mahajana Sabha, and F. Uni. Madras, The Law.	Madras, Graduates' Association and Mahajana Sabha.	Public meeting on the 18th Dec. at Mylapore (Div. 8) by the Committee of the Graduates' Association, and at a general meeting of the Mahajana Sabha, on the 26th Dec.
6	"	"	Mr. P. Sivasubramanian Chettiar.	Hindu.	Merchant, Vice-President, Mahajana Sabha, Pondicherry.	Madras Mahajana Sabha.	At a general meeting of the Mahajana Sabha, on the 26th Dec., by the Madras Hindu Union Bank, and also at a public meeting at Black Town, (Div. 5).
7	"	"	Rao Sahib P. Rangia Naidu Gora.	do.	Zemindar, Vakil, Municipal Councillor, L.F. & Td. Bd. Memb. & President, Mahajana Sabha, Poonamallee Road.	Madras Mahajana Sabha.	At a general meeting of the Mahajana Sabha, on the 26th Dec.
8	"	"	Khan Bahadur Hajee Mahomed Abdulla Badshaw Subh.	Muslim.	Merchant, Vice-President, Central Mohammedan Association, Member, Ajumani Meed-i-Islam, and Mahajana Sabha, Triplicane.	Madras Mahajana Sabha.	Public meeting held on the 18th Dec. at Triplicane, (Div. 7), and at a general meeting of the Mahajana Sabha, on the 26th December.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full with Honorary titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
9	Madras.	Carnatic	Madras City.	Rao Sahib N. Subramaniam, B.A., B.L.	Native Christian.	Barrister-at-law, and Municipal Councillor, The Luz.	Madras, & Mahajana Sabha.	Public meeting on the 18th Dec. at Mylapore, (Div. 8), and at a general meeting of the Mahajana Sabha on the 26th December.
10	"	"	"	Mahomed Nizamuddin Khan Bahadar.	Muslim.	Secy., Anjuman-i-Muadd-i-Islam and Landholder, Hydrabad.	Madras, and Anjuman-i-Muadd-i-Islam.	Public meeting on the 18th Dec. at Mylapore, (Div. 8), and at a meeting of Anjuman-i-Muadd-i-Islam, on 28th Dec.
11	"	"	"	Mr. A. O. Hume.	Christian European.	Retired Civil Servant, Simla.	U. N. L. B. P. Assn. and M. J. S. Madras.	General meetings on the 8th 15th, and 26th Dec.
12	"	"	"	Mr. S. Appasami Chettiar.	Hindu.	Retired Public Servant, Tondiarpet.	Madras.	Pub. meetg. on the 26th Dec. at Tondiarpet, (Div. 1).
13	"	"	"	Mr. P. Tiruvengadasawmy Pillai.	do	Attorney-at-law, Tondiarpet.	do	do
14	"	"	"	Mr. C. V. Subramania Sastri.	Hindu Brahman.	do	do	do
15	"	"	"	Mr. P. Thiagaraya Chettiar.	Hindu.	Mercht., Tondiarpet.	do	do
16	"	"	"	Mr. Jaga Rao Pillai, B.A., B.L.	Native Christian.	Vakil, High Court, Vice President, Mahajana Sabha, Tondiarpet.	Madras, & Mahajana Sabha.	By Mahajana Sabha, on the 26th Dec., by "the Progressive Union", 26th Dec., and at a Pub. meetg., Tondiarpet, (Div. 1).
17	"	"	"	Mr. P. V. Krishnaswami Chettiar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Tondiarpet.	do.	By Mahajana Sabha, on the 26th Dec., and at a Pub. meetg., Tondiarpet (Div. 1).
18	"	"	"	Rao Sahib R. Balakrishna Chettiar.	do	Merchant and M. Cr., Tondiarpet.	do.	do
19	"	"	"	Mr. Mulla Jaferjee Sahib.	Muslim.	Merchant.	do	do
20	"	"	"	Mr. Ramakrishnaiah.	Hindu Brahman.	Banker and Merchant, Black Town.	Madras.	Pub. meetg. on the 12th Dec., Black Town, (Div. 2).
21	"	"	"	Mr. K. Krishna nana Chariar, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court, Black Town.	do	do
22	"	"	"	Mr. R. Sivasankara Pandiya, B.A., F.R.S.	do	Lecturer in English, Pachappa's College, Guzeratipett.	do	Pub. meetg. on the 23rd Dec., (Divs. 2 and 3).
23	"	"	"	Mr. V. J. Manickavelu Mudaliar.	Hindu.	Printer, Publisher, & Propr., "Irish Press," Broadway.	do	do
24	"	"	"	Mr. K. Subramanya Iyer, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Lecturer in History, Pachappa's College.	do	Pub. meetg. at Black Town on the 23rd Dec., (Div. 3).
25	"	"	"	Mr. C. Nammiah Chettiar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Black Town.	do	do
26	"	"	"	Mr. E. Balasandra Mudaliar, B.A.	do	Secretary to Pach's Trustees, Black Town.	do	do
27	"	"	"	Mr. Arunagiri Nayudu, B.A.	do	Science Asst., Scot. Mission College.	do	do
28	"	"	"	Mr. Waljee Laljee Saif.	Muslim.	Merchant, Black Town.	Madras, & Metal Trading Company.	By the Metal Trading Co. and Pub. meetg., Black Town, 23rd Dec., and the 3rd Divn., 1st Dec.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full with Honorary titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
29	Madras.	Carnatic	Madras City.	Mr. N. Lakshmanasami Mudaliar, B.A.	Hindu.	Merchant, Black Town.	Madras.	Pub. meetg. at Nanganbakkam, 23rd Dec., (Div. 5).
30	"	"	"	Mr. Elayalwar Nayudu.	do	Memb., Dist. Board & Municipal Contractor, Poonamallee Road.	do	do
31	"	"	"	Mir Ansuruddin Sahib Khan Bahadar.	Muslim.	Retired Presidency Magistrate, Sydapet.	do	do
32	"	"	"	Mr. Hajee Kadir Moidin Sahib.	do	Land-holder and Merchant, Kodampakkam.	do	do
33	"	"	"	Mr. Desikachariar.	Hindu Brahman.	Retired Tahsildar.	do	do
34	"	"	"	Mr. Narasimhachariar.	do	Schoolmaster, Nungambakkam.	do	do
35	"	"	"	Mr. C. Iyasawmy Pillai.	Hindu.	Landed Proprietor, Komeleswarapetta.	do	Public meeting at Padupett, 5th Dec., (Div. 6).
36	"	"	"	Mr. Rajee Pathur.	Native Christian.	Typo-founder, &c., and Agent to Messrs. Figgini & Co., Lond., Padupett.	do	do
37	"	"	"	Dr. S. Palay Andy, M.D., M.B.C.S.	do	Medical Practitioner, Editor, "Eastern Star," Figueira.	do	Pub. meetg. at Padupett, 5th Dec., (Div. 6), and Mahajana Sabha, 23rd Dec.
38	"	"	"	Mr. R. Gadagopachariar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Triplicane.	do	Public meeting at Triplicane, 18th Dec., (Div. 7).
39	"	"	"	Rajah Tewaradas Dayaswami Bahadur.	Hindu Khatraya.	Landed Proprietor, Triplicane.	do	do
40	"	"	"	Mr. V. Raghava Chariar.	Hindu Brahman.	Land-holder and Dharmakarta, Sri-Parthasaradhi Swami's temple, Triplicane.	do	do
41	"	"	"	Mohamed Abdul Kuddus Hadehaw Sahib.	Muslim.	Merchant, Triplicane.	do	do
42	"	"	"	Hajee Abdul Azeez Sahib.	do	do	do	do
43	"	"	"	Mr. Eardley Norton.	Christian European.	Barrister-at-law, and Coroner, The Luz.	do	Pub. meetg., 18th Dec. at Triplicane and Tiruvateswarapetta, (Div. 7).
44	"	"	"	Mr. A. C. Parthasaradhi Nayudu Garu.	Hindu.	Editor, "Andraprakashika," Tel. Weekly, (Cir. 800) Tiruvateswarapetta.	do	Pub. meetg. at Tiruvateswarapetta and Padupakkam; also at Triplicane, 18th Dec., (Div. 7).
45	"	"	"	Mr. G. Subramanya Iyer, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Editor, "The Hindu" (English Tri-Weekly, Cir. 1,400) & "Swadesamitran," (Tamil Bi-Weekly, Cir. 1,000) Triplicane.	Madras & Mahajana Sabha.	Mahajana Sabha, on the 26th Dec., and at a Public meeting at Triplicane, (Div. 7), 18th Dec.
46	"	"	"	Mr. M. Viraraghavachariar, B.A.	do	Joint-Editor, "The Hindu," & "Swadesamitran," and Secy., Mahajana Sabha, Triplicane.	do	do
47	"	"	"	Mr. T. R. Ramaswami Iyer, B.A.	do	Master, Pachappa's High School, Mylapore.	Madras.	Public meeting, 18th Dec. at Mylapore, (Div. 8).
48	"	"	"	Mr. T. Swaminadha Mudaliar.	Hindu.	Land-holder, Mylapore.	do	do

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full with Honorary titles, Scholaristic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
49	Madras.	Carnatic.	Madras City.	Mahomed Anvarudeen Khan Bahadur.	Muslim.	Land-holder & Memb. Anjuman-Mud-i-Islam, Mylapore.	Madras.	Public meeting, 18th Dec at Mylapore, (Div. 8.)
50	"	"	"	Mr. Benjamin Henry Chester, M.A.	Christian Eurasian.	Professor of Mathematics and Physics, Department of Protestant College, Vepery.	do.	At a meeting of the Eurasian and A.I. Assn. of Southern India 7th Dec.
51	"	"	"	Mr. Geo. Madden, B.A.	do	Lecturer, do. Vepery.	do	do
52	"	"	"	Mr. W. S. Ganta.	do	Barrister-at-Law, Vepery.	do	do
53	"	"	"	Mr. E. Lavery.	do	Retired Sheriff, F. Univ., and M. Cr., Kilpauk.	do	do
54	"	"	"	Mr. N. Bazely.	do	Public Accountant, Police Commissioner's Office Road, Egmore.	do	do
55	"	"	"	Rao Sahab R. Balaji Rao, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, and Vice-President, Mahajana Sabha, and M. Cr., Mylapore.	Mahajana Sabha, Madras.	General meeting of Mahajana Sabha, and by the Members of the Janapakra Nidhi, Mylapore
56	"	"	"	Mr. C. Ramchandra Rao Sahab, B.L.	do	Zemindar, Vakil, High Court, and Vice-President, Mahajana Sabha, The Luz.	do	At a General Meeting of the Mahajana Sabha, on the 26th Dec.
57	"	"	"	Rao Sahab C. V. Gouniah Chetti Garu.	Hindu.	Land-holder, Merchant, and M. Cr., Black Town.	do	do
58	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, M. Cr., and Secy., Mahajana Sabha, Egmore.	do	do
59	"	"	"	Mr. G. Mahadeva Chettiar.	Hindu.	Merch., Dist. Board, Merchant, & Zemindar, Black Town.	do	do
60	"	"	"	Rao Sahab T. Tengaraya Chetti Garu, B.A.	do	Zemindar, Merchant, & M. Cr., Tondiarpett.	do	do
61	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur A. Danakoti Mudalliar.	do	do	do	do
62	"	"	"	Rao Sahab W. S. Venkatarajulu Nayudu Garu.	do	Membr., Dist. and Tal. Bds., Sheriff of Uthakadu, & M. Cr., Komaleswarampettah.	do	do
63	"	"	"	Rao Sahab C. Yetirajulu Nayudu Garu.	do	Merchant, Secy., Metal Trading Company, and M. Cr., Tondiarpett.	do	do
64	"	"	"	Rao Sahab S. Ramaswami Mudalliar, M.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court, F. Univ., and M. Cr., Poomalallee Road.	do	do
65	"	"	"	Mr. T. Namburam Chetti Garu, B.A.	do	Merchant, Black Town.	do	do
66	"	"	"	Mr. A. Balakrishna Mudalliar.	do	Do. Chulai.	do	do
67	"	"	"	Mr. M. Ramaswami Nayudu Garu.	do	Do. Black Town.	do	do
68	"	"	"	Mr. M. Alboi Nayudu Garu	do	Do. Tondiarpett.	do	do

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Serial	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full with Honorary titles, Scholaristic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places, or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
69	Madras	Carnatic	Madras City.	Mr. P. Murgosa Mudaliar.	Hindu.	Merchant, Poonaallee Road.	MJS Madras.	At a General Meeting of the Mahajana Sabha, on the 25th Dec.
70	"	"	"	Mr. V. Sabramaniam Chettiar.	do	Do. Black Town.	do	
71	"	"	"	Rao Sahib C. Singaravelu Mudaliar.	do	Merchant, and M. Cr. Chulai.	do	At a general meeting M. J. S., 25th Dec.
72	"	"	"	Rao Sahib G. Kuppasami Nayudu Garu.	do.	Do. Black Town.	do	do
73	"	"	"	Mr. C. Sankara Nair, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court, Egmore.	do	do
74	"	"	"	Mr. K. P. Sankara Menon, B.A., B.L.	do	Do. Myslapore.	do. & Cochin Reform Association.	do
75	"	"	"	Mr. Venkatarama Chettiar, B.L.	do	Do. Black Town.	do	do
76	"	"	"	Mr. K. Narayana Row, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Do. Myslapore.	do	do
77	"	"	"	Mr. C. V. Sundaram Sastri, B.A., B.L.,	do	Do. Tondiarpett.	do	do
78	"	"	"	Mr. K. Subba Rao.	do.	Asst. Editor, "The Hindu," Triplicane.	do	do
79	"	"	"	Gulam Dastaghir Sahib.	Musulman.	Secy., National Mamelukedan Assn., Triplicane.	do	do
80	"	"	"	Abdul Razak Hajee Raba Mennee.	do	Merchant.	do	do
81	"	"	"	Hajee Abdus Salam Bodeba Sahib.	do	Do. Triplicane.	do	do
82	"	"	"	Mohamed Ghouse Sahib.	do	do	do	do
83	"	"	"	Hajee Mahmood Abdul Shabeer Badshaw Sahib.	do	do	Arjunani Muffid-i-Lahar.	A meeting of the Executive Committee of Arjunani Muffid-i-Lahar, 3rd Dec.
84	"	"	"	Abdul Rahman Hajee Alla Rakka Rajen Sahib.	do	Do. Black Town.	do	do
85	"	"	"	Mr. S. Rangiah Chettiar, B.A.	Hindu.	Prof., Chr. College, Memb. of the Committee of Education, & P. Cai., Black Town.	Graduates' Assn.	By the committee of the Graduates' Association.
86	"	"	"	Mr. T.V. Seshagiri Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Triplicane.	Lit. Society, Triplicane.	General meeting of Lit. Soc. Triplicane, by ballot.
87	"	"	"	Mr. M. Y. Sri Ranga-Chariar, B.A., B.L.	do	do	do	do
88	"	"	"	Mr. John Adam, M. A.	Christian European.	Principal, Pachappa's College and P. Univ. Black Town.	Metal Trading Company.	Meeting of the Directors of the Metal Trading Company, 17th Dec.
89	"	"	"	Mr. Hajee Ibrahim Sait.	Musulman.	Merchant, Black Town.	do	do
90	"	"	"	Mr. C. Satcha Men Sahib.	do	do	do	do
91	"	"	"	Mr. Krishna Doss, Bala Moorkunda Doss.	Hindu	Banker and Landholder, Seckarpot, Black Town.	do	do
92	"	"	"	Mr. P. Rajam Chetti Garu.	do	Merchant, Black Town.	do	do

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full with Honorary titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
93	Madras.	Caruvatic	Madras City	Mr. O. Mukundu Nayudu Garu.	Hindu.	Merchant, Black Town.	Metal Trading Co.	Meeting of the Directors of the Metal Trading Company.
94	"	"	"	Mr. T. V. Appa Rao Pillai.	do	Merchant.	S. India Merch. Co.	South India Merchants' Co. (Ld.) 22nd Dec.
95	"	"	"	Mr. T. Pattabhi Ramiah Nayudu Garu.	do	Secy. S. I. Merchants' Company.	do	do
96	"	"	"	Mr. C. Rangachariar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu. Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Triplicane.	Mutual Impt. Society.	A meeting of the Mutual Improvement Society Triplicane, 22nd Dec.
97	"	"	"	Mr. M. O. Parthasaradhu Aiyangar, M.A., M.L.	do	Advocate, High Court, Triplicane.	do	do
98	"	"	"	Mr. M. N. Srirangaraja Charya, Pandit, Sathavadhani, Abhinav Kallidasa.	do	Pandit, Editor, Lokananda Samaj Patrika, Triplicane.	Lokananda Samaj.	By the members of Lokananda Samaj, Triplicane, 16th Dec.
99	"	"	"	Mr. C. Ramachandra Rao, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court, Triplicane.	Madhya Sabha.	Meeting of the Madhya Sidhantamabini, 23rd Dec.
100	"	"	"	Mr. T. Venkata Subba Aiyar.	do	No. 231, Tambu Chetti Street, Black Town.	Deva. Sabha.	At a meeting of Desabhimanna Sabha, 20th Dec.
101	"	"	"	Mr. P. Singaravelu Mudaliar, B.A.	Hindu.	do	do	do
102	"	"	"	Mr. V. A. Rajaratna Mudaliar.	do	Attorney-at-Law High Court, Pusewalkam.	Hindu Nidhi.	The members of the Pusewalkam Hindu S. S. Nidhi, Dec.
103	"	"	"	Mr. Syed Murtaza Sahib Khadri.	Mussulman.	Proprietor and Editor of "Jaridai Rozyar" (Hindustan Weekly cir. 800), Royapettah.	do	Meeting at Triplicane.
104	"	"	"	Mr. G. J. Solomon Nadar, B.A.	Native Christian.	Black Town.	The Sangam.	Meetg. of the Assn. for promoting the political and moral welfare of the Santor race, 17th Dec.
105	"	"	"	Mr. Joseph Satya Nadar, B.A.	do	do	do	do
106	"	"	"	Mr. M. Tangavelu Chetti, B.A.	Hindu.	Tambu Chetti Street, Mattiyalpet.	V. Vridhi Sabha.	By the members of Viveka Vridhi Sabha.
107	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Venkatarama Pantulu.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader Chairman Municipality.	Berhampore.	Public meeting.
108	"	North-ern Circars.	Ganjam.	Rao Sahab P. Venkanna Pantulu.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Dist. Court, Berhampore, and Ml. Commissioner.	Aska.	Public meeting, Aska.
109	"	"	"	Rao Sahab N. Ramamurti Pantulu, B.A.	do	Pleader, Dist. Court, Ml. Cr. Memb. Local and Tal. Bds. Berhampore.	Berhampore Assn. and the Public.	Meeting of the Assn. and of the merchants, traders, and artisans of Berhampore.
110	"	"	"	Mr. M. Venkatarayana Rao Pantulu.	do	Retd. Govt. servant, Berhampore.	Russelcondab.	At a public meeting.
111	"	"	Vizagapatam.	Mr. G. Venkappa Rao, B.A.	do	Asst. Master Maharajah's College, Editor "Prakasika" (Telugu Fortnightly cir. 300).	Towns and taluks of Gajapati Nagaram, Chipurupally, Palacanda, Farvatipali.	At meetings held at the places stated.
112	"	"	"	Mr. O. Simhachalapati Rao, B.A.	do	Asst. Master, Maharajah's College, Vizianagaram.	Bimlipatam & Hindu Deb. Union.	Public meeting, 12th Dec.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full with Honorary titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
113	Madras	North-ern Circars	Vizagapatam	Rao Sahab Venkatarajaganadha Sastri.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Dist. Court, Vizagapatam, and Ml. Cr.	The M. J. S. Vizagapatam.	Special meeting of the Sabha, 1st Nov.
114	"	"	"	Mr. B. Narasimheswaru Sarma, B.A.	do	Asst. Master St. Aloysius School, Vizagapatam.	Do, and Annakpalli Club	Do do and 1st Dec.
115	"	"	"	Mr. N. V. Chelapati Sastri.	do	Assistant Master, Maharajah's College, and Secy., M. J. S. Vizianagaram.	M. J. S. Vizianagaram.	At a special meeting, 29th Nov.
116	"	"	"	Mr. V. Madhava Rao Nayudu, M.A.	Hindu.	Vice-Principal, Maharajah's College, Vizianagaram & Joint Editor "Telugu Vardhani Harp." (English Weekly, cir. 400.)	Vizianagaram and Vidyabharvadhani Sabha.	By the people of Vizianagaram.
117	"	"	Godavery.	Mir Nalife Ali Khan.	Mussulman.	Mirasidar, Rajamundry.	Godavery Dist.	Public meeting at Rajamundry, 3rd Dec.
118	"	"	"	Mr. V. V. Avadhani Garu, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	1st Gd. Pleader, Rajamundry.	do	do
119	"	"	"	Sahabji Bhat, Vengalada Nayudu Bahadur.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Devarakota, or Chellapalli.	Masulipatam.	Public meeting, 11th Dec.
120	"	"	"	Mr. K. Krishnama Chariar, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	High School, Masulipatam.	do	do
121	"	"	"	Rao Sahab M. B. Venkata Reddi Nayudu Garu.	Hindu.	Ml. Cr., and Propr., Carpet Agency.	do	do
122	"	"	"	Mirza Jamadudin Khan, (Nabob's family, Masulipatam.)	Mussulman.	Pensioner and Agent to the present Nabob of Masulipatam.	do	do
123	"	Carnatic	Nellore.	Mahomed Abdul Hussain Sahib.	do	Land-holder.	Nellore.	Public meeting, 20th Nov.
124	"	"	"	Mr. D. N. Venkataramayah, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	1st Asst., F. O. M. School, Nellore.	do	do
125	"	"	"	Mr. M. Ramachandrayah.	Native Christian.	Asst. Teacher, Mission College, Guntur.	M. J. S. Guntur.	Public meeting, Guntur 12th December.
126	"	"	"	Mr. C. Corish Chettiar.	Hindu.	Pensioned Deputy Inspector of Schools.	R. P. An. Nellore.	A special meeting, Nellore 20th Nov., and by members of the Assn., on the 30th Nov.
127	"	"	"	Rao Sahab N. Suryanarayana Rao.	Hindu Brahman.	2nd Gd. Pleader, Ongole, Ml. Chairman, Hony. Magte.	Br. M. J. S. Ongole.	At a meeting of the Sabha, 28th Nov.
128	"	"	"	Rao Sahab D. Markandaya Sastri.	do	Banker, Hony. Magte.	do	do
129	"	"	"	Mr. S. Narayanaswami Chetti Garu, B.A.	Hindu.	Dewan to H. H. the Rajah of Venkataragiri.	Venkatagiri.	At a meeting of the Town Hall Committee, 11th Dec. by unanimous vote.
130	"	"	"	Mr. N. Desikachariar.	Hindu Brahman.	Secy. to H. H. the Rajah of Venkataragiri.	do	do
131	"	"	Chingleput	Mr. N. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.	Hindu Brahman.	Zemindar, Siranjeri.	Chingleput.	Public meeting, 21st Dec.
132	"	"	"	Mr. N. Venkata Rao, B.A.	do	Jd. Master, F. O. M. High School.	do	do

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133	Madras	Carnatic	Chingleput	Rao Sahab V. Srinivasa Raghavachariar.	Hindu Brahman.	Mirasidar, Memb. L.F. Board.	Chingleput	Public meeting, 21st Dec.
134	"	"	"	Rao Sahab T. N. Krishnamachariar.	do	Pleader and Memb. Dist. Bd.	do	do
135	"	"	"	Mr. M. Y. Ramannujachariar.	do	Pleader, Dist. Court.	do	do
136	"	"	"	Mr. M. Kurpusami Nayudu.	Hindu.	do	do	do
137	"	"	"	Mr. Bauganadam.	do	Shrotriendar	do	do
138	"	"	"	Mr. S. Tengaraja Mudaliar.	do	Head Master, Native High School.	do	do
139	"	"	"	Mr. N. Shanmugasaya Mudaliar.	do	Zemindar, Nallathur.	do	do
140	"	"	"	Mr. T. E. Kumara Venkatachariar.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Conjevaram.	Conjevaram.	Public meeting, 12th Dec.
141	"	"	"	Mr. V. Seshiah, B.A.	do	do	do	do
142	"	"	"	Mr. Srinivasachariar.	do	Mirasidar Conjevaram.	do	do
143	"	"	"	Rao Sahab S. Srinivasa Aiyar.	do	M. Cr. & H. Master, Pachappah School.	do	do
144	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Sadasivayyar.	do	M. Cr. and Head Master, F. C. M. High School.	do	do
145	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Muttu Babu Reddiar.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Kayapakam, Memb. L. F. Bd.	Maduran-takam.	Public meeting, Dec.
146	"	"	"	Mr. Mutturama Reddiar.	do	Zemindar, Perambakam.	do	do
147	"	"	"	Mr. Nerasingha Chariar.	Hindu Brahman.	Land-holder.	do	Public meeting of the Union Club.
148	"	"	"	Mr. Bashyacarla Nayudu.	Hindu.	Zemindar of Vengul.	do	Public meeting, 21st Dec.
149	"	"	"	Mr. T. Lakshmana Chetti.	do	Merchant.	do	do
150	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Ramanuja Chariar.	Hindu Brahman.	Mirasidar, Darnal, and Member, Taluk Bd.	Darnal.	do
151	"	"	"	Rao Sahab V. Srinivasa Raghava Chariar.	do	Mirasidar & Memb. L. F. Bd.	L. Conjevaram.	do
152	"	"	"	Mr. A. Desikachariar.	do	H. Master, F. C. M. High School.	Trivellore.	By Native Association & Trivellore, 21st Dec.
153	"	"	"	Mr. V. Swami Sastri.	do	Pleader and L-holder.	do	do
154	"	"	"	M. J. Damaranga Raju.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Agricultural College Society.	Saidapet.	Meeting of the Society at the College.
155	"	"	"	Mr. V. Ramanujachariar.	Hindu Brahman.	Mirasidar, Kannivakatu.	Guduvanjeri.	Public meeting.
156	"	"	N. Arcot.	Sriman Seshanna Nayani Varu.	Hindu.	Zemindar.	Chittore & Native Assn.	Public meeting at Chittore, 15th Dec.
157	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Subramania Reddiar.	do	Land-holder, Vakil, & Member, L. F. Bd.	do	do
158	"	"	"	Mr. Arunachella Mudaliar, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil.	do	do
159	"	"	"	Mr. C. Srinivasa Chariar, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	do	do	do
160	"	"	"	Mr. V. Viraraghava Chariar, B.A.	do	Pleader, Dist. Court.	do	do

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161	Madras	Carnatic	North Arcot.	Rao Sahab K. Abdul Rahman Bahadar.	Musulman.	Merchant, & M. Cr.	Vellore public.	Public meeting, 14th Dec.
162	"	"	"	Mr. T. A. Arunachala Pillai.	Hindu.	Vice-President, Hindu Medical Union.	do	Elected at Madras, by the Hindu Vydiyanugam.
163	"	"	"	Mr. R. M. Thanthoni Pillai.	do	Mirasidar, Merchant, and Secy., Akila Jama Maneranya Sabha.	Kavayipak Kooda-puram, & Ramapuram.	General meetings of the people and Sabha.
164	"	"	"	Mr. V. Subba Rao.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Panchayotdar.	Arni.	Public meeting, Nov.
165	"	"	"	Rao Sahab M. G. Viswanatha Sastri.	do	2nd Gd. Pleader, Memb. Dist. Bd., & Vice-Presdt., Tal. Bd.	Arni and Polur, and 16 villages.	At several Public meetings, held in Nov. and Dec.
166	"	"	"	Mr. K. Abdul Razak.	Musulman.	Merchant, trading at Madras.	Kaana-mangalam.	Public meeting in Dec.
167	"	"	"	Mr. Chengammah Chettiar.	Hindu.	Vakil, Dasabardhar, Lokanathapuram.	Wallaja-nagar, & Hindu Brethren Assn. Wallaja.	Public meeting on 12th Dec.
168	"	"	"	Mr. A. B. Chikkannah Chettiar.	do	Abkari Contractor.	do	do
169	"	"	"	Mr. M. Viswanatha Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	Tutor to Dewan's son, Kalahasti.	Kalahasti.	Public meeting, 11th Dec.
170	"	"	"	Mr. Arunachala Aiyar.	do	Landed Proprietor.	Polur Taluq.	Public meetings, 6th and 7th Dec.
171	"	"	"	Mr. A. Kodandapani Mudaliar.	Hindu.	2nd Grade Pleader, Arni.	do	do
172	"	"	S. Arcot.	Mr. V. Sankariah Nayudu.	do	Zemindar, Chinappasickana Palliam.	M. J. S. Tirupattur.	Public meeting, 21st Dec.
173	"	"	"	Mr. A. Subbarayulu Reddiar, B.A., B.L.	do	Mirasidar & Vakil, H. O., Cuddalore.	do	do
174	"	"	"	Mr. M. B. Sany Pillai, M.A.	Native Christian.	Principal, St. Joseph's College.	do	do
175	"	"	"	Mr. S. Sann Rao.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Dist. Court.	do	do
176	"	"	"	Rao Sahab B. Krishnayya, B.A.	do	do	do	do
177	"	"	"	Mr. Desikachariar.	do	Vakil and Agrical-turist.	Chidambaram.	Congress Committee.
178	"	"	"	Mr. G. Appasami Aiyar.	do	do	do	do
179	"	"	"	Mr. R. Srinivasa Pillai.	Hindu.	Mirasidar.	do	Tillavadi and villagers.
180	"	"	"	Mr. V. Arunachala Mudaliar.	do	do	do	do
181	"	"	"	Mr. Omarakhan Sahab.	Musulman.	do	Villu-puram.	Public meeting, 23rd Dec., about 1,000 Mahomedans.
182	"	"	"	Mr. V. Kuppusami Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	do	Tindivanam.	By the ryots.
183	"	"	"	Mr. Subramanya Aiyar.	do	Vakil.	Vridha-chalam.	do
184	"	"	Tanjore.	Rai Bahadur S. A. Saminada Iyer.	do	Public Prosecutor, Memb., Dist. Bd., Chairman, Tanjore M. Council, Presdt., People's Assn.	Tanjore People's Assn.	At a general meeting of the Assn. on the 4th Dec.

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185	Madras	Carnatic	Tanjore	Mr. Krishnasami Aiyar, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Hd. Master Town High School, Kumbakonam.	Tanjore People's Assn.	At a Genl. meeting of the Assn. on the 4th Dec.
186	"	"	"	Mr. K. R. Kodandarama Aiyar.	do	Mirasidar, & 2nd Gd. Pleader, Tiruvahur.	B. Room and Vic. Jubilee Library.	Public meeting Dec.
187	"	"	"	Mr. R. Ramasami Pillai.	Hindu.	Mirasidar and Tanul Pandit.	Tanjore B. P. Assn.	do
188	"	"	"	Mr. T. V. Kappasami Sastri, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Prof. of Mathematics, St. Joseph's College, Cuddalore.	Jubilee B. Room, Tiravadi.	Members of the B. Room, 17th Dec.
189	"	"	"	Mr. T. Rajagopalai Aiyangar, B.A.	do	Hd. Master, Ml. High School.	Mayavaram.	Public meeting, 16th Dec.
190	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur T. A. Alaya Pillai.	Hindu.	Holder and Chairman, Ml. Council.	do	do
191	"	"	"	Mr. Ibrahim Sahib Rautther.	Muslim.	Mirasidar and Village Magte, Kurnad.	do	do
192	"	"	"	Mr. A. V. Subramanya Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	Mirasidar.	do	do
193	"	"	"	Mr. N. Rajappier.	do	Pleader and Secy., B. Room, Tiravadamardur.	do	do
194	"	"	"	Mr. K. Lakshmana Aiyar.	do	1st Grade Pleader, Mayavaram.	Mayavaram & Dharmapuram.	Sent as delegates by the Dharmapuram Mutt.
195	"	"	"	Mr. Sankaralinga Tambiran.	Hindu.	Kherbar, Dharmapuram Mutt.	Dharmapuram.	
196	"	"	"	Khan Sahib Chinna Marickayar Malumiyar.	Muslim.	Merchant, Trustee of Nagore Thurgas, and Ml. Cr.	Nagore, & Naganpatam.	General meeting of the Tanjore People's Assn. 4th Dec., and by the Mahomedan community, Nagore.
197	"	"	"	Khan Sahib Meera Chinatambi Marickayar.	do	Merchant and Ml. Cr.	do	do
198	"	"	"	Khan Sahib Jannulabudin Mya.	do	Merchant, and Hony Magte, Ml. Cr., Thurga Trustees.	do	do
199	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur S. Ratnasabapathi Pillai, B.A.	Hindu.	Mirasidar, 1st Grade Pleader, and Chairman, Naganpatam.	do	do
200	"	"	"	Mr. K. Mohammed Imum Marickayar.	Muslim.	Merona Street, Nagore.	do	do
201	"	"	"	Mr. Meera Meand Marickayar.	do	Merchant, Hony Magte, Ship Captain, and Secy., Anjuman Islam.	do	do
202	"	"	"	Mr. Vignakundoo Marickayar.	do	Merchant, & Mirasidar.	Naganpatam.	General meeting at Naganpatam, on the 18th Dec.
203	"	"	"	Mr. Meera Lehey Malumiyar.	do	Mirasidar, Honorary Magte, Merchant, and Ship Captain.	do	do
204	"	"	"	Mr. T. K. Annasami Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	1st Grade Pleader.	do	do
205	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnasami Aiyar.	do	Shopkeeper.	Merchant, Naganpatam.	do

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206	Madras	Carnatic	Tanjore.	Mr. Natukotai Ramasathan Chettiar.	Hindu.	Merchant.	Merchant Assn., Naganpatam.	General meeting at Naganpatam, on the 18th Dec.
207	"	"	"	Mr. M. Andapillai Chettiar.	do	Merchant, & Mirasidar.	do	do
208	"	"	"	Mr. Kalifa Syed Meera Mohamed Sahib.	Muslim.	Burga Kalia.	Nagore.	do
209	"	"	"	Rao Sahib Nilam Sa Aiyangar.	Hindu Brahman.	Mirasidar, & Ml. Cr.	Mannargudi.	At a public meeting, 12th Dec.
210	"	"	"	Mr. K. Ramachandra Rao B.A.	do	Hd. Master, Native School, Secy. B. Room.	do	do
211	"	"	"	Mr. S. V. Naganatha Sastri, B.A.	do	Teacher, Town High School, Kumbakonam, and Mirasidar.	M. J. S. Tiravadi-masadar.	Meeting of the 11th Dec.
212	"	"	"	Rao Sahib T. M. Mookhasahib.	Hindu.	Iron Merchant, & Ml. Cr.	Trichinopoly, & Kumbakonam.	The Artisans of the Tanjore Club, 12th Dec.
213	"	"	"	Mr. M. V. Jayasamy Pathar.	do	Adisan & Merchant.	do	do
214	"	"	"	Mr. N. Vythilinga Pathar.	do	do	do	do
215	"	"	"	Mr. S. Appa Sastri, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Master & Propy. and Hd. Master, Native High School.	Kumbakonam, and by the Vignakundoo Sahib, and by the Vignakundoo Sahib.	By the Club, 12th Dec. and by the Vignakundoo Sahib, Kumbakonam.
216	"	"	"	Mr. V. Nilakanta Chari.	do	Master, "Kudanda Maran," Kumbakonam.	Kumbakonam.	By the Vignakundoo Sahib.
217	"	"	"	Mr. Vachanasami Rao.	Hindu.	Merchant.	Kumbakonam.	By the Vignakundoo Sahib, 12th Dec.
218	"	"	"	Rao Sahib T. A. Sivasami Aiyar.	do	Mirasidar.	do	Public meeting, 23rd Nov.
219	"	"	"	Rao Sahib A. L. Vignakundoo Pillai.	do	do	do	do
220	"	"	"	Rao Sahib V. Krishna Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, H. O., Kumbakonam.	do	do
221	"	"	"	Mr. T. A. Rivasankrishna Sastri, B.A.	do	1st Grade Pleader, Kumbakonam.	Tao Mutt.	Sent by His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya Swami to represent the Mutt at Kumbakonam, 23rd Dec.
222	"	"	Trichinopoly.	Mr. B. S. Venkataraoanna Sarma, B.A.	do	Teacher, Native High School.	Trichinopoly Town.	Public meeting, 16th Dec.
223	"	"	"	Srinath S. V. Gurusami Sarma.	do	Secy., Siva Sannaj, Trichy, and Teacher, Native High School, Satyamangalam.	do	do
224	"	"	"	Mr. Ulagappa Pillai.	Hindu.	Mirasidar, and Propy. "Southern Star" Press.	do	do
225	"	"	"	Rao Sahib B. Nilakanta Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	1st Gd. Pleader, and Vice-President, Tal. Bd., Kullitalai.	Trichy, and Kullitalai Public.	Public meetings at Trichy, and Kullitalai, on the 23rd Dec.
226	"	"	"	Rao Sahib S. Krishnasantharai, B.A.	do	Govt. Pleader, Dist. Court, Memt., Dist. Btl. and Ml. Cr.	Trichy.	Public meeting, 23rd Dec.
227	"	"	"	Khan Sahib Mahomed Suraiddin.	Muslim.	Vakil and Ml. Cr.	Trichinopoly.	do

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228	Madras.	Canastio.	Trichinopoly.	Mr. S. Lakshminarasiah Nayudu, B.A.	Hindu.	Prof., S. P. G. College Trichinopoly.	Trichinopoly.	Public meeting, 20th Dec.
229	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Srimantha Prasanna Ragoonatha Dorai.	do	L. holder and Vice-President, R. Room.	Ariyalur.	Public meeting, Ariyalur.
230	"	"	"	Mr. J. N. Ramachandra Nayudu.	do	Mirasidar and Presdt. S. J. S. Paripalana Sabha.	Tiravannai.	Meeting of Mirasidars of the place and 6 adjacent villages, on the 15th Dec.
231	"	"	"	Mr. K. H. Vasudeva Row.	Hindu Brahman.	Secy. S. J. S. Sabha, and Mirasidar, Kondiempetta.	do	do
232	"	"	"	Rao Sahab S. Subramanya Sastri, B.A.	do	Prof., S. P. G. College, Trichy., and M. Cr.	E. Room.	Meeting, 21st Dec.
233	"	"	"	Mr. N. M. Raghava Aiyangar.	do	1st Gd. Pleader, and Secy. Patriotic Assn. Srirangam.	The Assn. Srirangam, Tiruvannai and Kondiempetta.	Public meeting, 18th Dec.
234	"	"	"	Mr. S. S. Anantaratnam Aiyar.	do	Mirasidar, Maantattai.	do	do
235	"	Southern Dist.	Madura.	Rao Sahab R. Ramasubha Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, H. C. Madura, Presdt. of the Madura Un. Club, M. Cr. and Memb. Dist. Bd.	Madura Union Club.	Public meeting 27th Nov.
236	"	"	"	Rao Sahab G. Subbarayudu Nayudu.	Hindu.	Municipal Councillor.	Madura City.	Public meeting, 23rd Dec.
237	"	"	"	Mr. T. M. Nallasami Pillai, B.A., B.L.	do	High Court Vakil, Madura.	do	do
238	"	"	"	Rao Sahab V. Alagirisami Nayudu.	do	Memb. Dist. & L. Bds., Memb. Devasthanam Committee, & Agent to Shivaganga Zemindar.	do	do
239	"	"	"	Mr. P. Narayana Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, High Court, Madura.	Do. & Peramankudi.	Do. & at a Public meeting of Peramankudi.
240	"	"	"	Rao Sahab S. M. Sundararam Aiyar, B.A.	do	L. Propr. and Propr. "Madura Mail" (Eng. Weekly, Cir. 256), & M. Cr.	do	do
241	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Sri Seshadri Aiyangar.	do	L. Propr. and Memb. Dist. Bd, Madura.	do	do
242	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Geo. Sidney Hickey.	Protestant-Eurasian.	Pleader, Hony. Magts. and M. Cr.	Dindigul.	Public meeting, 11th Dec.
243	"	"	"	Mr. A. Atmanatha Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Dindigul.	S. J. S., Dindigul.	Do & surrounding villages, 11th Dec.
244	"	"	"	Mr. K. Annasami Aiyar.	do	Pleader, Shivaganga.	The people of Shivaganga Zemindari.	Public meeting, Dec.
245	"	"	Tinnevely.	Khan Sahab, Mahomed Azimuddin Sahib.	Mussulman.	Pleader, M. Cr. and Memb. Tal. Bd.	Tinnevely.	Public meeting on the 12th Dec.
246	"	"	"	Mr. Peter Paul Pillai.	Protestant-Christian (Vellala).	Hd. Master and Manager, C. M. S. School, Srivalliputtur, and Hony. Magts.	S. J. S. & Tinnevely.	Meeting, 18th Dec.
247	"	"	"	Rao Sahab T. Muthier.	Hindu Brahman.	L. Holder, M. Cr. and Merch. Tinnevely.	Tinnevely District.	At a Public meeting, held 12th Dec.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full with Honorary titles, Scholarly Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places of Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
248	Madras.	Southern Dist.	Tinnevely.	Rao Sahab S. Appasami Pillai.	Native Christian (Vellala.)	L. Holder, Vakil, D. Court and M. Cr., Palamcottah.	Tinnevely District.	At a public meeting held 12th Dec.
249	"	"	"	Rao Sahab M. R. Ramakrishna Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu-Brahman.	L. Holder, Vakil H. C., Tinnevely, Memb. Dist. Bd. & Memb. of the Siva Devasthanam Committee.	do	do
250	"	"	"	Khan Sahab Mohamed Aji Maidin Sahib.	Mussulman.	L. Holder and M. Cr., Tinnevely.	do	do
251	"	"	"	Khan Sahab V. M. Mahomed Kanni Rowthar.	do	L. Holder, Merchant, Memb. Tal. Bd.	Tatticorin Town.	At a public meeting held in Tatticorin.
252	"	"	"	Mr. N. Padmanabha Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	L. Holder, Kalakad village.	Kalakad village.	By the ryots, on the 15th Dec.
253	"	Ceded Districts.	Cuddapah.	Rai Bahadur C. Jamburunga Mudaliar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	H. C. Vakil, Vice-Presdt., Dist. Bd., M. Cr. and Secy., Literary Assn.	Koddagah Town and Lit. Assn.	Public meeting, Oct., & General meeting.
254	"	"	"	Mr. Venkatasabha Rao.	Hindu Brahman.	Land-holder.	M. J. S. Piler.	At a meeting of the Sabha, 23rd Oct.
255	"	"	"	Mr. Padiki Bara Sahib.	Mussulman.	Agent to Messrs. A. Subbapati Mudr. & Co., Cotton Agent.	Prodattur.	At a meeting of the Prodattur public, 19th Dec.
256	"	"	"	Mr. Y. Nagish Gara.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader.	do	do
257	"	"	"	Mr. T. Narayana Sastri.	do	1st Grade Pleader.	Madanapalli.	At a public meeting, 27th Nov.
258	"	"	Kurnul.	Mr. Hussain Baig.	Mussulman.	Merchant.	Kurnul.	Public meeting 27th Nov.
259	"	"	"	Mr. Hussain Khan.	do	do	do	do
260	"	"	"	Mirza Hussain Baig.	do	Contractor.	do	do
261	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Subbannah Chettiar.	Hindu.	Banker, Memb. Dist. Bd. and M. Cr.	do	do
262	"	"	"	Rao Sahab C. Ramasingh.	do	Contr., Memb. Dist. Bd. and M. Cr.	do	do
263	"	"	"	Rao Sahab T. Chidambaram Rao, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	1st Gd. Pleader, and M. Cr. and Joint Secy., Hindu and Mahomedan Assn.	do	do
264	"	"	"	Mr. Divopand Syad Sahib.	Mussulman.	Land-holder.	do	do
265	"	"	"	Rao Sahab, V. Sankireddi Gara.	Hindu.	Do and Memb. Dist. Bd.	do	do
266	"	"	"	Mr. U. Sanjeeva Reddi Gara.	do	Memb. Dist. Bd.	Gudur.	Public meeting, 1st Dec.
267	"	"	"	Mr. S. Pulla Reddi Gara.	do	do	do	do
268	"	"	"	Mr. Khasir Khan.	Mussulman.	do	do	do
269	"	"	"	Mr. M. Balasubrahmanyam.	Hindu.	Memb. Dist. Bd. and Abkari Contr.	Nandyal.	Public meeting, 19th Dec.
270	"	"	"	Mr. Khasim Miah Sahib.	Mussulman.	Do and Hd. Master, Mahomedan School.	do	do
271	"	"	"	Mr. C. Vijaya Raghavachariar.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader.	do	do

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272	Madras.	Ceded Districts	Bellary.	Rai Bahadur A. Sabapathy Mudaliar.	Hindu.	Chairman, Municipality & Merchant.	Bellary Town.	At a public meeting, 19th Dec.
273	"	"	"	Rao Sahib K. Venkata Rao.	do	Merchant.	do	do
274	"	"	"	Mr. S. Venkatasubbarao, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Hd. Master, Wardlaw Institution.	do	do
275	"	"	"	Khan Sahib Ibrahim Sahib.	Mussulman.	Hon. Magte, M. Cr. & Merchant.	do	do
276	"	"	"	Khan Sahib Anzumi Kadir Bache Sahib.	do	Merchant.	do	do
277	"	"	"	Rao Sahib G. Kristappah.	Hindu.	do	do	do
278	"	"	"	Rao Sahib S. Nilakanthappah.	do	do	do	do
279	"	"	"	Mr. P. Balish.	do	do	do	do
280	"	"	"	Mr. S. Seenappah.	do	do	do	do
281	"	"	"	Mr. G. Chikka Veerappah.	do	do	do	do
282	"	"	"	Mr. A. Veerabadrappah.	do	do	do	do
283	"	"	"	Mr. T. Humpappaya.	do	do	do	do
284	"	"	"	Rao Sahib C. Hanumantha Goud Gara.	Hindu Brahman.	Mirasidar, Memb. Dist. Bd., Hon. Magte.	Agrioul, Assn., Hospet.	Meeting of the Assn., Dec
285	"	"	"	Mr. S. Dado Sahib.	Mussulman.	Merchant.	People's Assn.	Pub. meetg, 18th Dec and at a meeting, on 19th Dec
286	"	"	"	Rao Sahib S. Marisiddappah.	Hindu.	Do and M. Cr.	do	do
287	"	"	"	Mr. D. Krishnamachari.	Hindu Brahman.	1st Gd. Pleader.	S.V. Sabha, Bellary.	Meeting of the Sabha 10th and also at a Pub. meeting on the 19th Dec.
288	"	"	"	Mr. G. Lakshman Rao.	do	School Master, R. F. M. School.	do	do
289	"	"	Anantapur.	Khan Bahadur Abbas Ali Sahib.	Mussulman.	Mercht. & Memb. Tal. Bd., Gooty.	Gooty, People's Assn.	By the People's Assn. 19th Nov., and at a Public meeting.
290	"	"	"	Rao Sahib P. Kesava Pillai.	Hindu.	Pleader and Memb. Dist. Bd.	do	do
291	"	"	"	Mr. J. Venkatarama Chetti.	do	Mercht. and Memb. Gooty Union.	do	do
292	"	"	"	Rao Sahib J. Srinivasan Rao.	Hindu Brahman.	Presdt, People's Assn. and Vice-Presdt., Tal. Bd.	do	do
293	"	"	"	Mr. V. R. Chakravarti Aiyangar.	do	Pleader, Tenkonda.	Tenkonda Taluq.	By the ryots of Bukkappa, and 40 Villages.
294	"	"	"	Mr. P. Sadasiva Reddi Gara.	Hindu.	Reddi of Pandurthi.	do	do
295	"	"	"	Mr. A. Chappah.	do	Ryot.	20 Villages adjoining Buchakuralli.	By the ryots.
296	"	"	"	Mr. T. Sitaranappah.	do	do	do	do
297	"	Inland Districts.	Coimbatore.	Mr. Khaja Mohamed Sahib.	Mussulman.	Zemindar.	Gobichethi-palayam.	Public meeting, 14th Dec.

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298	Madras.	Inland Districts.	Coimbatore.	Mr. Syed Abdul Razack Sahib.	Mussulman.	Zemindar.	Satyamangalam.	Public meeting, 21st Dec.
299	"	"	"	Rao Sahib S. P. Narasimulu Nayudu Gara.	Hindu.	Editor, "The Crescent," Hon. Magte & Memb. Dist. Bd.	Coimbatore and S. D. R. Sabha.	Public meeting, 7th Dec.
300	"	"	"	Rao Sahib B. Bujanga Rao.	Hindu Brahman.	Asst. Master, Coimbatore College, Memb. Dist. Bd.; Director, Mercantile Bank.	Coimbatore.	do
301	"	"	"	Mr. Sheik Mohamed Marickayar.	Mussulman.	Merchant.	do	do
302	"	"	"	Mr. N. Rangiah Gownder.	Hindu.	Manager, "Kala-aidhi" Newspaper.	do	do
303	"	"	"	Mr. R. Subbrayar.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader and Landed Proprietor.	M. J. S. Satyamangalam.	Public meeting, 22nd Dec.
304	"	"	"	Rao Sahib S. Rangiah Nayudu.	Hindu.	Member, Tal. Bd.	Coimbatore & Satyamangalam Taluq.	do
305	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur T. Padmanabha Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader & Chairman, Karur Municipality.	Karur.	At a public meeting, 22nd Dec.
306	"	"	"	Mr. K. Lakshman Chetti.	Hindu.	Merchant.	do	do
307	"	"	"	Mr. T. R. Ramachandra Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	1st Grade Pleader.	do	do
308	"	"	"	Mr. D. Alagirisami Nayudu.	Hindu.	Merchant and Mirasidar.	Dharampuram.	At a public meeting, 14th Dec.
309	"	"	"	Mr. Kandappa Chetti.	do	do	do	do
310	"	"	"	Mr. Syed Murtuza Sahib.	Mussulman.	do	do	do
311	"	"	"	Mr. Kanfar Yegya Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	Mirasidar.	Komaraingam and other Villages.	Meeting of the ryots, 6th Dec.
312	"	"	"	Mr. C. S. Sivaramakrishna Sarma, B.A.	do	Landed Proprietor.	Udumalpet.	do
313	"	"	"	Mr. K. Narayana Sastri, B.A.	do	do	do	do
314	"	"	"	Mr. C. A. Sabbarama Aiyar.	do	do	do	do
315	"	"	"	Mr. S. Kuppasami Sarma, B.A.	do	Teacher, Native High School.	do.	Public meeting, 27th Nov.
316	"	"	"	Mr. M. Venkatasami Aiyar.	do	Hd. Master, Hindu School.	do	do
317	"	"	"	Mr. V. Dasappaiah.	do	Mirasidar.	do	do
318	"	"	"	Mr. C. V. Seshagiri Aiyar.	do	do	Dharampuram Taluq.	Public meeting, 19th Dec.
319	"	"	Salem.	S. Krishna Swami Mudaliar.	Hindu.	Zemindar and Hon. Magistrate.	Salem.	Public meeting, 16th Dec.
320	"	"	"	Rao Sahib G. Bhargava Raja Chetti.	do	Mercht. and Hon. Magte, Memb. Tal. Bd. and M. Cr.	do	do

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321	Madras	Inland Districts	Salem	Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Chariar, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil.	Salem	Public meeting, 16th Dec.
322	"	"	"	Mr. Krishna Das Sait.	Hindu.	Banker.	do	do
323	"	"	"	Rao Sahab M. Venkatachalapati Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	Merchant and Ml. Cr.	do	do
324	"	"	"	Rao Sahab P. T. Subramania Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	do	Member, Tal. Bd.	do	do
325	"	"	"	Rao Sahab P. Narasinga Rao.	do	Shooters Pensioner, and Ml. Cr.	do	do
326	"	"	"	Rao Sahab T. Krishna Chettiar.	Hindu.	Merchant and Ml. Cr.	do	do
327	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Ponnusami Chettiar.	do	do	do	do
328	"	"	"	Mr. V. Vythi Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	Public Prosecutor.	do	do
329	"	"	"	Rao Sahab M. Virasami Aiyar.	do	Pleader and Ml. Cr.	do	do
330	"	"	"	Mr. D. A. Balakrishna Aiyar.	do	Pleader.	do	do
331	"	"	"	Khan Sahab Sheik Moideen Sahib.	Mussulman.	Mercht., Ml. Cr., Member, Dist. Bd., Hony. Magte., Presdt. of Anjuman-Islam, & Proprietor, "Salem Patriotic Press."	do	do
332	"	"	"	Mr. Syed Abdul Latiff Sahib.	do	Pleader & Under-Secy., Anjuman-Islam.	do	do
333	"	"	"	Saokar Adam Sahib.	do	Merchant.	do	do
334	"	"	"	Mr. Amcenudin Sahib.	do	do	do	do
335	"	"	"	Mr. S. Sundaram Chettiar.	Hindu.	do	do	do
336	"	"	"	Rev. M. M. M.	Christian.	London Mission.	do	do
337	"	"	"	Mr. Chinna Baba Reddhar.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Pottanum.	do	do
338	"	"	"	Mr. Rameswami Chettiar.	do	Zemindar, Sendaman-gulam.	do	do
339	"	"	Namakkal.	Mr. T. Subbrama Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader.	Namakkal.	Public meeting, 1st Dec.
340	"	"	"	Mr. Venkatarama Reddhar.	Hindu.	Zemindar of Erumapatti.	do	do
341	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Y. Sesha-chalapa Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	Membr., Tal. Bd.	Trichengode.	do
342	"	Western Coast.	Malabar.	Mr. T. Manavikraman.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Elaya Tirumalpad of Nilambur.	Calicut.	At a public meeting a Calicut, 4th Dec.
343	"	"	"	Rao Sahab C. Kunhi Ramon Menon, B.A.	do	Editor and Proprietor "Kerala Patrika," and Ml. Cr.	do	Do and also by the people of Velayanad, at a meeting, 10th Dec.
344	"	"	"	Jahangier D. Mugasett.	Parai.	Merchant, Messrs. D. Maneckjee & Co.	do	do
345	"	"	"	Rao Sahab C. M. Rarichhan Muppan.	Hindu.	Landed-Proprietor and Ml. Cr.	do	do
346	"	"	"	Mr. P. A. Krishna Menon.	do	1st Grade Pleader.	do	do

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347	Madras	Western Coast.	Malabar.	Mr. Ananta Narayana Pattar.	Hindu.	1st Grade Pleader.	Calicut.	At a pub. meetg. at Calicut & also by the people of Velayanad, at a Meeting 10th Dec.
348	"	"	"	Mr. S. Varadaraja Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	do	do	do
349	"	"	"	Rao Sahab K. P. Achutha Menon.	Hindu.	do	S. J. S., Palghat.	At a meeting of the Sabha, Kerala Sabha, 12th Dec.
350	"	"	"	Mr. V. Vengu Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	do	do	do
351	"	"	"	Rao Sahab P. S. Chinna-sami Pillai.	Hindu.	Landed-Proprietor.	Palghat.	By the townsmen and representative of the Tamil community, 21st Dec.
352	"	"	"	Pandit Parameswara Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Dist. Court, S. Canara.	Mangalore Union.	At a general meeting, 21st Dec.
353	"	"	"	Mr. T. C. Narayana Kurup, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	High Court Vakil, Tellichery.	U. K. Sabha.	At a meeting of the Uttara Kerala, 27th Nov.
354	"	"	"	Mr. J. L. D'Rosario, B.A., B.L.	Christian Eurasian.	do	do	do
355	"	"	"	Mr. V. Rya Nambiar.	Hindu.	1st Grade Pleader.	do	do
356	"	"	"	Mir Jaffer Ali Sahib.	Mussulman.	Mercht. and Landed-Proprietor.	do	do
357	"	Mysore.	Bangalore (C. & M. Cantonment.)	Raj Bahadur B. Krishna Singu.	Hindu.	Municipal Chairman.	R. P. Assn. and Mahomedan Assn.	Meetings of the Assn., 24th Nov.
358	"	"	Mysore	Rao Sahab Y. Raghava Chariar.	Hindu Brahman.	Advocate, Ml. Cr., Jaghirdar, & Memb. Mysore Representative Assembly.	R. P. Assn. (104) & the citizens of Mysore.	Public meeting.
359	"	"	Chittal-drug.	Mr. Venkataramiah.	do	Pleader.	Chittal-drug.	Public meeting.
360	"	"	"	Mr. Kadappa.	Hindu.	Banker.	do	do
361	"	Deccan.	Secunderabad (British Cantonment.)	Mr. Hajee Sajjan Lal.	Mussulman.	Merchant.	The community of Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, and Maboob College.	At a General meeting by votes, Dec.
362	Bombay.	Konkan.	Bombay.	Mr. Badrudin Tyabji.	Mussulman.	Barrister-at-Law, High Court & late Member, Legislative Council.	Bombay, Anjuman, Bombay.	At a General meeting of the Anjuman, President of the Third National Congress.
363	"	"	"	Mr. Veerachand Raghavjee, B.A.	Jain.	Hony. Secy. to the Jain Assn. of India, Articled Clerk to the Govt. Solicitor.	The Jain Assn. India, Bombay.	By the Jain Assn. 15th Dec.
364	"	"	"	Mr. Dayabhai Jaduram.	Hindu.	Solicitor, High Court.	Bombay.	By the Bombay Presidency Association.
365	"	"	"	Mr. V. Atmarama.	do	Merchant.	do	do
366	"	"	"	Mr. V. Purnashottamadas.	do	do	do	do
367	"	"	"	Mr. Mathuradas Lilladar.	do	Mill-owner.	do	do
368	"	"	"	Mr. Dharamshjee Sunderdas.	do	do	do	do

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369	Bombay	Konkan	Bombay	Mr. J. A. Wadia.	Parsi.	Mill-owner.	Bombay.	By the B. P. Assn.
370	"	"	"	Mr. Chinnilal Lalubhai Parekh.	Hindu.	Mercht. & Vice-President. Arya Vardhak Gyan Sabha.	Arya Vardhak Sabha and Samaj Bombay.	By 1st Sabha public meeting, 15th Nov. & the 2nd Sabha public meeting, 18th Dec.
371	"	"	"	Mr. Daji Alaji Klare, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, High Court, Bombay & Proprietor, "Native Opinion" of Bombay.	(1) S. J. S. Nasik; (2) Ratnagiri, Ijatpuri; (3) Bombay Pres. Assn.	At public meetings of all the places stated.
372	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Ganesh Chandravarkar, B.A., LL.B.	Shonawi.	Vakil, H. C. Bombay & Editor "Indu Prakash."	Bombay.	Bombay Presidency Assn.
373	"	"	"	Dr. Sadashiva Waman Kane, L.M.S.	Hindu Brahman.	Medical Practr. Thakurwar, Bombay.	do	do
374	"	"	"	Mr. Kashinath Trimback Khare.	do	Merchant.	do	Unanimously, by all the Anglo-Vernacular papers of Bombay, 21st Dec.
375	"	"	"	Mr. Kalidas Sankal Chand	Jain.	Editor and Propr., "Rajya Bakti" Gujarati (Bi-weekly Cir. 500), & "Ahmedabad Times" (Guzerati Weekly, Cir. 400).	do	do
376	"	"	"	Shamrao M. Relo.	do	High Court Pleader.	do	By the Presidency Assn.
377	"	"	Thana.	Mr. Vasudev Gopal Chitale	Hindu Brahman.	Mukhtar Dahanu.	Bassein Prant Association.	Public meeting, 11th Dec.
378	"	"	"	Mr. Laxman B. Joglekar.	do	Pleader, Thana.	do	do
379	"	"	"	Rao Sahab G. K. Vartak.	do	Pleader, Bassein.	do	do
380	"	Deccan.	Ratnagiri.	Rao Sahab Laxman Dhomdeo Katre.	do	Pleader, Dist. Court.	Ratnagiri Dist. Assn.	Public meeting, 18th Nov.
381	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Y. N. Adarkar.	do	Vakil, Vengurla; and Ml. Cr.	Local Sabha.	do
382	"	"	Nasik.	Mr. R. Sadashiva Lale, B.A.	do	Money-lender.	S. J. S. Nasik.	Public meeting, 30th Oct.
383	"	"	"	Rao Sahab J. Raghunath Nankar.	do	Vakil, Dist. Court and Ml. Cr.	S. J. S. and Nasik City.	do
384	"	"	(Ycola Talag).	Mr. P. Damodar Barre.	do	Sticherhmukha Inamdar and L. Propr.	Local Assn.	Public meeting, 12th Dec.
385	"	"	"	Khan Sahab Soobharjee Khamat.	Mussulman.	Moulvi and Merchant.	do	do
386	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Abbas Sahlan.	do	Merchant.	Nasik.	do
387	"	"	Khandeish.	Mr. V. Daji Mathe.	Hindu Brahman.	Mercht. and Banker.	Dhule and Khandeish.	Public meeting, 1st Dec.
388	"	"	Ahmednagar.	Mr. Mohitlal Hirshah.	Hindu.	Vakil, Dist. Court, and Merchant.	Ahmednagar.	Public meeting.
389	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Haridas Damodaradas.	do	Mercht. and Ml. Cr.	do	do
390	"	"	Poona.	Rao Sahab Raghunath Daji Nagarkar.	do	Pleader, Ml. Cr. Memb. Sarvajank Sabha.	Poona.	Public meeting, by Poona S. J. S., 18th Dec.

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391	Bombay	Deccan	Poona.	Rao Sahab M. B. Ner-Pooni	Hindu.	Schoolmaster, and contractor, an electd Ml. Cr. representing a mercantile Ward of Poona.	Poona.	Public meeting, by Poona S. J. S., 18th Dec.
392	"	"	"	Mr. N. B. Kamtekar.	do	Pleader, Dist. Court.	do	do
393	"	"	"	Mr. V. L. Athawale.	do	Propr. Banking Estate.	do	do
394	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Vinayak Joshee.	do	do	do	do
395	"	"	"	Mr. Harshadram Ganesh Mundle, B.A., LL.B.	do	Pleader, High Court, Bombay.	Committee of Arbitration, Poona.	By the Committee, 22nd Dec.
396	"	"	"	Mr. Y. B. Kanade.	do	Editor, "Drama Chakshu" (Marathi weekly, Cir. 1,500), & Editor of "Hindu Prachin."	Poona and Thana.	do
397	"	"	"	Mr. Naro Shashkar Desai.	do	Late Asst. Deputy Inspector of Schools.	Poona Mercantile Assn.	By the Assn., 17th Dec.
398	"	"	Sholapur.	Rao Sahab Sakharan R. Kirloskar, B.A.	do	Pleader and Ml. Cr.	Sholapur & Madha.	Public meeting, 11th Dec.
399	"	"	"	Mr. M. R. Kanade.	do	Medical Practr.	Sholapur.	do
400	"	"	"	Mr. Kashinath V. Nattu.	do	Money-lender.	do	do
401	"	"	"	Mr. P. L. Nagarkar.	do	Pleader.	do	do
402	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Ganesh.	do	Haji Fakar, Pleader, Dist. Court.	do	do
403	"	"	"	Mr. G. N. Kharde	do	Editor and Propr., "Kalyan" (Marathi Weekly, Cir. 225).	Sholapur.	do
404	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchander Morreshwar Saun.	do	Editor, "Dnyanesh" (Marathi Bi-weekly, Cir. 1,500), & Editor of "A. V. Newspaper."	Do. & Pimpri.	General meeting, 22nd Dec.
405	"	"	"	Mr. Yeshwant Nagarkar Kanade, B.A.	do	Editor, "English Opinion on India."	Pimpri.	Public meeting.
406	"	"	Satara.	Rao Sahab Ganesh Pandurang Apte.	do	Pleader, Vice-President, Tal. Bd., and Memb. Dist. Bd., Honr. Magistrate, Vice-Presid. S. J. S. Sabha.	Satara.	Public meeting, 13th Nov.
407	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Govind Vilas Kanade.	do	Pleader, Dist. Court, and Ml. Cr.	do	do
408	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Laxman Balwantrao Patil.	do	Inamdar, Ml. Cr., Tal. Bd., and District Bd., Commissioner, & Honr. Magistrate.	do	do
409	"	"	"	Rao Sahab L. S. Sahasra Sahasra.	do	Pleader, Ml. Cr., Secy. Sarvagat Sabha.	Do and Karad.	Public meetings, 18th and 19th Nov.
410	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Pandurang Laxman.	do	Vakil, H. C. Satara, and Secy. S. J. S.	do	do
411	"	"	"	Mr. Waman Anant Bhide.	Hindu Brahman.	Genl. Merchant.	Satara.	Council Assn. Satara, 12th Dec.
412	"	"	"	Mr. Ganapadas Harichand Dev.	Hindu Brahman.	Contractor.	do	do
413	"	"	"	Mr. G. H. Gadgil.	Hindu Brahman.	Jeweller.	do	do

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full with Honorary titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
414	Bombay.	Deccan	Satara.	Rao Sahab Govind Dhan-dav Limaye.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, Court, Asst. Vice-Presdt., Municipality & Memb. L. Bd.	Satara.	Public meeting, 13th Nov.
415	"	Kanarese Division.	Belgaum.	Mr. Syed Haider Sahab Valad Mohidin Sahib.	Mussul-man.	Pirjale, Inamdar, Sulgi.	Belgaum.	Public meeting, 10th Dec.
416	"	"	"	Mr. Syed Sattar Sahab Valad Mahomed Sahib.	do	Pirjale, Inamdar, Honge.	do	Do 16th Dec.
417	"	"	"	Mr. Mohamed Ibrahim Sahib Valad Hasan Min Sahib Khatib.	do	Inamdar of Kanur-hatte.	do	do
418	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Annajee Yajna-nath Bhaskhande.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader Dist. Court.	do	Public meeting, 10th Dec.
419	"	"	"	Mr. V. R. Natu, B.A., LL.B.	do	do	do	Public meeting, 16th Dec.
420	"	"	"	Mr. M. Laxman Gadgil	do	Do and Public Prose-cutor.	do	do
421	"	"	"	Mr. B. Gangadhar Desh-pande.	do	Do and L.-Propr.	do	do
422	"	"	"	Mr. N. Vinayak Velankar.	do	do	do	do
423	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Hoochrao Achut.	do	Do and Vice-Presdt. Municipality, and Hon'y. Magis.	Do and Khanipur.	do & meeting Khanipur.
424	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Raojee Gangadhar Khote.	do	Do and Ml. Cr.	B. P. Assn. (Belgaum Branch) Kanipur	do do
425	"	"	"	Mr. Anant Mangesh Bidi-kar.	do	Do and Secy. B. P. Assn.	Do and Nandgad.	do & meeting Nandgad.
426	"	"	"	Mr. D. Jeonappa Sottil.	Jain.	Vakil, Dist. Court	do	do do
427	"	"	"	Rao Sahab S. Balakrishna Bhate, F. S. A.	Hindu Brahman.	Do and Secy. B. P. Assn. and Ml. Cr.	Do and B. P. Assn.	do & Pres. Assn.
428	"	"	"	Mr. V. Gopal Behere.	do	Pleader, Dist. Court.	do	do do
429	"	"	"	Rao Sahab R. Ganesh, Manjraykar.	do	Merchant and Memb. Tal. Bd.	Do and (Chauda-gad) Mer-chants.	do & merchants meeting.
430	"	"	"	Mr. Syed Gous Sahab Valad Makhtoom Sahib.	Mussul-man.	Mercht. and Contr.	Belgaum merchants.	do do
431	"	"	Dharwar.	Mr. A. Ramachandra Joglekar.	Hindu Brahman.	Editor, "Dharwar Vrit" (Mahanttiland Kanarese Weekly, Cir. 890).	Dharwar.	Public meeting, 29th Nov.
432	"	"	"	Rao Sahab K. Hanmant.	Hindu.	Inamdar, Vice-Presdt. Dist. Bd. and Ml. Cr.	do	do
433	"	"	"	Rao Sahab A. V. Panen-dhikar.	do	Memb. Dist. and L. Bds. and Honorary Magistrate.	do	do
434	"	"	"	Mr. G. B. Phatak.	do	Pleader, Dist. Court.	do	do
435	"	"	Bijapur.	Khan Sahab Hajee Ibrahim Sahib.	Mussul-man.	Jahagirdar and Mut-tuals of Jiganibidri and Ml. Cr. & Memb. L. Bd.	Bijapur.	Public meeting, 12th Dec.
436	"	"	"	Mr. Hanuman Rao Ragha-vendra Hachekole.	Hindu.	Jahagirdar of Bal-kundli.	do	do
437	"	"	"	Mr. Shrinivas Krishna Kemihavikar.	do	Pleader and Landed Propr. Akalkot State.	do	do

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438	Bombay.	Kanarese Div.	Bijapur	Rao Sahab Bhagavendra Kristna.	Hindu.	Vakil, Dist. Court, Vice-Presdt. L. Bd.	Bijapur	Public meeting 12th Dec.
439	"	"	"	Mr. Seshagiri Rao Rayajee.	do	Pleader, Dist. Court.	do	do
440	"	"	"	Mr. Sitaram Hanmant Ningachar.	do	Editor, "Ramdoss", (Marathi and Kanarese Weekly Cir. 400.)	do	do
441	"	N. Canara.	Karwar.	Khan Sahab Syed Jaffar Sahib Southagar.	Mussul-man.	Merchant and Ml. Cr. & Memb. L. P. Bd.	Sirsi Taluk	Public meeting, (739 Mahomedans), Dec.
442	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Pundalek Narayan.	Hindu.	Vakil and Vice Presdt. Ml. Cr. and Memb. K. F. Assn.	do	do
443	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Ananta Purya Nadig.	do	Mercht. and Memb. L. Bd. & Secy., K.F.A.	do	do
444	"	"	"	Mr. A. Venkappa Hegadi.	do	Merchant.	do	do
445	"	"	"	Mr. Venkabhut G. Karkli.	do	do	do	do
446	"	Sindh.	Karachi.	Rao Sahab Seth Vishin-das Nehalchand.	Hindu.	Zemindar and Ml. Cr.	Sindh Sabha, Kara-chi.	Public meeting, 23rd Nov.
447	"	"	"	Mr. Kosandas Jethmal.	do	Zemindar.	do	do
448	"	"	"	Rao Sahab L. N. Joshi.	Hindu Brahman.	Pensioner.	do	do
449	"	"	"	Devan Parmat Jawaki-ran Samth.	do	Vakil, Court, Chikar-pur.	Shikarpur.	Public meeting 16th Dec. and also by the Sindh Sabha.
450	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Govind Buksh Avatray.	do	do	do	Do. and also by the Sindh Sabha.
451	"	Gujarat.	Almora-bad.	Prof. P. J. Patshala.	Parsi.	Professor, Almora-bad College.	Almora-bad.	Public meeting Dec.
452	"	"	Kaira.	Mr. R. B. Harilal Harash-drya Dhruva, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	H. C. Vakil & Ml. Cr.	Kaira.	do
453	"	"	Surat.	Mr. Ratiram Durgaram Dave, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Assisted clerk to Messrs. P. Gilbert & Sonant, Solicitors.	Praja Hit Vardhak Sabha.	By the Sabha, Oct.
454	"	"	Broach.	Mr. Manohashankar Jiva-naram, B.A., LL.B.	do	Vakil, High Court.	Broach.	Public meeting & also by the Praja Vardhak Sabha, Surat.
455	"	Native States.	Sargol.	Rao Sahab Bulvantrao Sakhanra Mone.	do	Pensioner.	Sargol.	By the Praja Vardhak Sabha, Surat
456	"	"	Baroda.	Mr. Dinshaw Dadabhai.	Parsi.	Public Prosecutor.	Nawasari.	Public meeting, 11th Dec.
457	"	"	"	Mr. Manchorji Barjorji.	do	Zemindar, & Merab. Ml. Managing Committee.	do	do
458	"	"	"	Mr. S. B. Hejib.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, Nawasari.	Do & "Go-rakshaka Sabha."	do
459	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Babajee Joshi.	do	Public Lecturer, Baroda State.	Baroda.	Public meeting, 14th Dec.
460	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Gulabadas Basidasa.	do	Pleader.	Do. & B. P. Assn.	do
461	"	"	Kolapur.	Mr. R.R. Shrivonkar, B.A., LL.B.	do	do	Kolapur.	Public meeting, 1st. Oct.
462	Bengal.	Central Provs.	Nagpur.	Mr. K. G. Deshpande, M.A.	do	Prof. Morris College, Nagpur, & Muigazur.	Loka Sabha Nagpur.	Public meeting, 22nd Dec.

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463	Bengal	Cuttee Prov.	Nagpur	Mr. S. Jairam, B.A.	Hindu Brahman	Prof. Sanskrit Bhoj College, Nagpur.	Lok Sabha Nagpur	Public meeting 22nd Dec.
464	"	"	"	Mr. S. Abdul Aziz.	Musli-man.	Pleader, Memb. L. Bd.	Nagpur.	do
465	"	"	Khandwa.	Babu Haridas Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Pleader and M.L. Cr.	Khandwa People's Assn. & Barham-pur.	do
466	"	"	Nimar.	Mr. K. Narayan Karwarikar	Hindu Brahman.	Landed Proprietor.	S. J. S. Barham-pur.	By the Sabha, 1st Dec.
467	"	"	Raipur.	Mr. Taradas Bannejee, B.A., B.L.	do	Pleader, Secy. Dist. Council.	Raipur.	By a General meeting, 23rd Oct.
468	"	"	"	Mr. Gorind Prasad Dube.	do	Vakil.	do	do
469	"	"	Wardha.	Mr. W. Krishna Abhankar	do	Malguzar.	Asvi Tahsil	Public meeting, Dec.
470	"	"	"	Mr. M. B. Kulkarni.	do	do	Hingnan Chaut.	Public meeting, 7th Dec
471	"	"	"	Mr. L. G. Desai.	do	Pleader and Secy. N. C. Library, Arvi.	Wardha.	Public meeting, Arvi, 22nd Dec
472	"	"	Jubbulpore.	Mr. Behari Lal, B.A.	Hindu Rajput.	1st Asst. C. M. H. School.	(1) Hit Sabha; (2) Gorakshan Sabha; (3) Arya Samaj; (4) Arya K. N. Sabha.	Public meeting, 19th Dec.
473	"	Central India Agency.	Indore.	Mir. Ali Mahomed Bhimjee	Musli-man.	Manager, Cotton Press, Indore City.	Central India Assn.	Public meeting, 22nd Dec.
474	"	"	Mhow.	Mr. Mohendranath Chatterjee.	Hindu.	Pleader, Hony. Secy. Central India Assn.	do	do
475	Bengal	Panjab.	Lahore.	Brahmahadi Satyananda Agnihotri.	Deva Dharmi.	Deva Dharma Mission, Editor, "Dharm Jivan" (Urdu Weekly).	Lahore & The India Assn.	Public meeting held under auspices of the India Assn., 26th Nov.
476	"	"	"	Pandit Deepnath.	Hindu Brahman.	Joint-Editor (1) "Akshar-Dan" (Urdu Tri-Weekly Cir. 2,560.) (2) "Himra Vilas" (Hindi Weekly Cir. 350.) (3) "People's Journal" (English Weekly Cir. 500.)	do	do
477	"	"	"	Sirdar Uttam Singh.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Banker, Reis. & Political Pensioner of one of the Darbaris of H. E. the Viceroy.	Do & the Indian Association.	do
478	"	"	"	Lala Hakim Chaud.	do	Pleader, Memb. Indian Assn. & of Anjuman, Panjab and Propr. "Public Advocate Press."	do	do
479	"	"	"	Mr. Syed Muhomed Shah.	Musli-man.	Pleader.	do	do

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480	Bengal	Punjab.	Amballa.	Lal Murliidhar.	Hindu.	Pleader, President, Rifa-i-Am Assn. and Hindu Sabha, Amballa	Rifa-i-Am Assn. & Hindu Sabha.	By the meetings of the Association & Sabha.
481	"	"	Bannu.	Lala Tansakh Rai.	do	Pleader.	Sukhchak Sabha and Bannu.	By the Sabha on 19th Oct. People of Bannu, on the 27th Nov.
482	"	"	Deva Ismail Khan.	Mr. Malik Bhugwan Das	Hindu.	Pleader and Preside. Bhatrie Sabha.	Bhatrie Assn Sabha D. I. Khan.	Public meeting.
483	"	"	Kongra.	Mr. Bakshi Jamshi Ram.	do	Pleader, Vice-Preside. Social Progressive Association.	Kongra & the Assn.	Public meeting, 13th Dec.
484	"	N.W.P.	Allahabad.	Pandit Beni Madhava Bhattacharya.	Hindu Brahman.	Govt. Pensioner, M.L. Cr. & Hony. Magte. Allahabad.	Madhya Hindu Samaj and Allahabad.	Public meetings, 15th Dec.
485	"	"	"	H. J. Rajah Rampal Singh.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Talagdar Rampur.	Do and Hindu Samaj, Allahabad.	do
486	"	"	"	Pandit M. M. Mahapatra.	Hindu Brahman.	Editor, "Hindustan" (Daily Newspaper), 2500.	Allahabad Madhya Hindu Samaj.	Public meeting, 15th Dec
487	"	"	"	Pandit Bhikshandan Singh.	do	Propr. "Pragya Samaj" and Manager, Vidya Dharma Vaidiki Hindi Sabha.	Vidya Dharma Vaidiki Sabha.	Meeting of the Sabha, 20th Dec.
488	"	"	Balka.	Maharaj Duni Prasad.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, M.L. Cr. Secy. Balka Institution, Agent to H.E. the Maharajah of Oudh.	Balka Inst. & Aryadesh Oudh Sahba.	Public meeting, 21st Dec.
489	"	"	Agra.	Mr. Mirza Mahomed Ali.	Musli-man.	Vakil, High Court, N.W.P., Agre.	Agre.	Public meeting Agre, Dec.
490	"	"	"	Mr. Shankar Dyal, B.A.	Hindu Kayastha.	do	do	do
491	"	"	"	Mr. Gurnudas Biswas.	do	Pleader and Editor, "Nesam Agre" Urdu Weekly.	1. Agre. 2. Arya Samaj.	do
492	"	"	Meerut.	Clooney Damsi Lal, u.s.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil.	Meerut.	General meeting.
493	"	"	Benares.	Babu Ramkishan.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Editor and Propr. "Bharat Jivan", a Hindi Newspaper.	Benares.	Kashi Sarvajanic Sabha, Dec. General meeting.
494	"	"	"	Babu Bishesar Pande.	Hindu Brahman.	Hd. Master, Jainarain's College.	do	do
495	"	"	"	Babu Ram Kabi Chaudhuri.	do	Hony. Magte. and M.L. Cr.	do	do
496	"	"	"	Babu Jagendranath Ghosh B.A.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Dist. Judge's Court.	do	do
497	"	"	Kanpur.	Pandit Jwala Dutta Joshi.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Nairi Tal.	Nairi Tal. & Almorah	Public meeting, Nairi Tal. 6th Dec. and Almorah 2nd Dec.
498	"	"	Mirzapur.	Babu Sri Das.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Zemindar, M.L. Cr. & Secy. Arya Samaj.	Mirzapur.	Public meeting, 11th Dec.
499	"	"	"	Manshi Uinath Chandra Prasad.	Hindu.	Pleader, L. Propr. M.L. Cr. & Memb. Dist. Bd.	do	do

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500	Bengal.	N.-W. P.	Meerut.	Babu Prashad Singh, B.A.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court N.W.P. Secy. Ind. Assn.	Meerut City and Doherpaini Sabha, and Devanagri Sabha.	Meeting held 12th Dec.
501	"	"	"	Choudhuri Durga Singh.	do	Zamindar, Asosah Tahsil.	Harpur.	do
502	"	"	"	Lala Bhawani Prasad.	Hindu.	Banker.	do	do
503	"	"	Cawnpur.	Pandit Pratap Narayan Mishra.	Brahman.	Editor "Dehshon" Hindu monthly.	Teinbalaung of Bovenpur.	Public meeting held 21st Dec.
504	"	"	Alighur.	Syed Mahomed Maki.	Mussulman.	Zamindar, in Dt. Jaunpur.	Alighur Committee	Public meeting, 2nd Dec.
505	"	"	"	Babu Tota Ram Varma.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zamindar, Vakil, H. Court, M. Cr. Editor and Propr. "Bharat Bandha" (Anglo-Hindi Weekly).	Alighur & Bharat Varshiya National Assn.	do
506	"	"	"	Babu Ashutosh Bhatta Charya, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleaser, Dist. Court.	do	do
507	"	"	"	Babu Kedarnath Chatterjee, B.A.	do	do	do	do
508	"	"	"	Hafiz Mohamed Abdulrahim.	Mussulman.	do and Maulvie	Alighur.	do
509	"	"	Azimgarh.	Pandit Indira Datta Upadhyaya, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Zamindar and Asst. Hd. Master, G. M. S. High School.	Azimgarh	Public meeting, 12th Dec.
510	"	"	"	Mr. Maumoud Hussain Ali, B.L.	Mussulman.	Zamindar, Ahmedpur Asna Pargana Ghosi.	do	do
511	"	"	Basti.	Mr. Bipin Behari Bannerjee.	Hindu Brahman.	2nd Master, G. M. S. H. School.	Jaisa Tahsil.	By the members of the Assn., 10th Dec.
512	"	(Rehilkhand.)	Moradabad.	Pandit Benwar Lal Misra.	do	Merchant and Propr. "Sitarat-Hind".	Bharat Prakash Club.	Public meeting, 15th Dec.
513	"	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Rao Sahab Babu Ganguprasad Varma.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Editor and Propr. "Hindustan" Urdu Weekly, Managing Proprietor of "The Advocate, M. Cr. and Secy. Lucknow Standing Congress Committee.	1. Jaisa Tahsil. 2. Rifa-i-am Assn. 3. B. I. Assn. 4. Anjuman Rishk Gonda. 5. British Ind. Assn. Moradabad. 6. Kheri Institute.	Public meeting, 7th Dec. &c. &c.
514	"	"	"	Babu Biswazath Ray.	Brahmo.	Government Pensioner, President, Brahmo Samaj.	Rifa-i-am Assn.	do
515	"	"	"	Mr. B. M. Ray.	do	Merchant, Proprietor of Messrs. H. C. Ray and Co., Secy. Brahmo Samaj, and Director, Tea, Flour, and Oil mills Co.	do	do

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516	Bengal.	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Pandit Shyama Narayan.	Hindu Brahman.	Rate and Editor. "Mirat-ul-Hind and Muntasila."	Rifa-i-am Assn. & Kashan National Club.	Public meeting, 7th Dec. &c.
517	"	"	"	Pandit Bishan Narayan Bar.	do	Barrister-at-law, Editor, "The Advocate" and Secy. Kashan National Club.	1. Jaisa Tahsil. 2. Rifa-i-am Assn. 3. Kashan National Club.	do
518	"	"	"	Babu Sri Ram, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil, H. Cr., Public Prosecutor, J. C. Court, Secy. Rifa-i-am Assn. and M. Cr.	(1) Rifa-i-am Assn. (2) Jaisa Tahsil.	do
519	"	"	"	Munshi Hargovind Dayal, M.A.	do	Govt. Pleaser, and Vakil, J. C. Court Lucknow & Sitapur.	do	do
520	"	"	"	Babu Bansil Lal Singh.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Vakil, H. Court, N.-W. P. and Zamindar Chairman, Board of Directors, Upper India, Copper Mills Co.	do	do
521	"	"	"	Mr. Hamid Ali Khan, F.R.A.S., M.R.A.S., (London).	Mussulman.	Barrister-at-law, & Meeatdar of Amroha Zila and Vice-President, Rifa-i-am Assn.	do and Bareilly.	Do & meeting at the Bareilly Institute, 18th Dec.
522	"	"	"	Pandit Suraj Narayan Bahadur, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Joint-Secy., also-i. Tahsil.	do	Geol. Meeting.
523	"	"	Nadwa & Lucknow.	Babu Ramgopal Vidyaratna.	Hindu.	Asst. Engineer Oudh and Rehtikund Railway, Lucknow, and Director, Upper India, Copper Mills Co.	Santipore & Rifa-i-am Assn.	do
524	"	"	Hardoi.	Swami Shagun Chand.	Hindu Kayastha.	Kayasth Upadestak, Lucknow & Director, Upper India, Copper Mills Co.	Hardoi.	Public meeting, 21st Dec.
525	"	"	Sitapur.	Babu Pitam Roy.	do	Zamindar, Vakil, J. C. Court, Hony Magre, and Vice-Chairman, M. Bd.	Sitapur.	Public meeting, 16th Dec.
526	"	"	Purtabgarh.	Khan Bahadur Sheikh Ahmed Hussain Khan (Muzaq.)	Mussulman.	Talagdar, Pargawan, and Hony. Magre.	do	do
527	"	"	Fyzabad.	Babu Gokul Chand.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Zamindar, Pleader, Hony. Magre, and Vice-Chairman of M. Bd.	Anjuman Tahsil and Fyzabad.	Public meeting, 8th Dec.
528	"	"	"	Khan Sahab Sheikh Kadir Buksh.	Mussulman.	Mercht, Hony. Magre, and memb. M. Bd.	Anj. Tah. and Mahomedan Assn.	do
529	"	Lower Provinces.	Patna.	Babu Bisweswar Singh.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Zamindar, Pleader, and Joint-Propr. "Behar Herald and Indian Chronicle" (English Weekly), Bankipore.	(1) Patna; (2) Behar People's Assn.; (3) Behar L. Propria Assn.; (4) Gaya.	(a) Public meetings of the two Associations. (b) Authorised by Resolution of Gaya delegates' meeting, to represent them.

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530	Bengal.	Lower Provs.	Patna.	Babu Gajadhar Prasad.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, M. Cr. and Memb. Dist. Bd.	Patna and Behar P. Assn.	Public meeting of the Assn., 18th Nov.
531	"	"	"	Babu Govind Charan, M.A., B.L.	"	Pleader, and Secy. "Behar People's Assn.", Bankipore.	Patna and Behar P. Assn.	Public meeting, 18th Nov.
532	"	"	"	Babu Kuldip Sahai.	"	Pleader, Bankipore.	do	do
533	"	"	"	Babu Guru Prasad Sen, M.A., B.L.	Vaidya Hindu.	Vakil, H.C., Calcutta, practising at Patna, Secy. Behar L. H. Assn., and Editor, "Benar Herald."	Behar L. Holders' Assn. and People's Assn.	Do, and Behar Assn. 9th Dec.
534	"	"	Shahabad.	Babu Baijaath Singh.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Zemindar of Kulharia, via Kockoor.	East Shahabad.	General meeting of the People.
535	"	"	"	Babu Saligram Singh, M.A., B.L.	"	Vakil, High Court, Hony. Magte. Calcutta, and Zemindar, Shahabad.	(1) Patna P. Assn. (2) Behar P. Assn. (3) Behar L. H. Assn. (4) B. L. Assn. (5) Indian Assn. Calcutta.	By meetings, held under the auspices of each of the Assns., & at Patna.
536	"	"	"	Babu Kandaji Sahay, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zemindar, and Pleader, Arrah, and Vice-Chairman, Arrah Municipality.	Shahabad.	Meeting at Shahabad, 18th Dec.
537	"	"	"	Babu Syamlananda.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zemindar, Pleader, M. Cr. & Memb. Dist. & B. L. H. and L. Bds., Shahabad.	Shahabad Assn.	Meeting, Shahabad, 1st Dec. and Behar Land Holders' Assn. 9th Dec.
538	"	"	Saran.	Babu Bhagwan Sahay, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Zemindar and Vakil, District of High Court, Calcutta.	Saran.	Public meeting, 20th Nov.
539	"	"	"	Babu Tarasprasad Mukerjee.	do	Zemindar, Pleader, Dist. Court, Saran, Chairman, Revilganga Municipality, Hony. Bench Magte, Chairman L. Bd. Chupra, and Memb. Dist. Bd. Saran.	do	do
540	"	"	"	Babu Bindu Lal.	Hindu Kayastha.	Zemindar, Hony. Magte, Revilganga, and Pleader, Dist. Court, Saran.	do	do
541	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Bamsidhar Gupta.	Hindu.	Pleader, Dist. Court, Hony. Magte, M. Cr. and Memb. Dist. and L. Bds.	do	do
542	"	"	Bhagalpore.	Babu Sakhi Chandjee.	Hindu Vaishya.	Zemindar and Banker.	Bhagalpore Dist.	Public meeting, Bhagalpore, 18th Dec.
543	"	"	"	Babu Pauch Kari Bannerjee.	Hindu Brahman.	Hd. Master, U. M. S. School.	do	do
544	"	"	"	Babu Sarada Prasad Mukerjee, M.A., B.L.	do	Pleader, Judge's Court.	do	do

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545	Bengal	Lower Provs.	Calcutta, Midnapore, 24 Pargannas, Myensing, and Chittagong.	Maharaj Kumar Noel Krishna Deb Bahadur J. P.	Sammon-lik Kayastha (Gostipati)	Zemindar, Sabha Bazar, M. Cr., Pros. Magte, Presid. Sabha Bazar, Benavolent Soc., Vice-Presid. P. Tandk Br. C.A. Soc., Memb. Ind. Assn. for the cultivation of Science, and Memb. Bethune Society.	(1) Ind. Assn., Calcutta. (2) B.N.L. Soc. (3) B. N. L. Br. (4) Agri. parish Assn. (5) Natta, Panch-gon, Moulvypore, Nagra. (6) Myensing Assn. (7) Chittagong Assn.	Special Committee meeting, 25th Nov., &c., &c.
546	"	"	Calcutta & Midnapore.	Maharaj Kumar Binaya Krishna Deb Bahadur.	Sammon-lik Kayastha (Gostipati)	Zemindar, Sabha Bazar, Hony. Magte, Scaldah Calcutta, and Hony. Secy. Benavolent Society, Sabha Bazar.	(1) I. Assn. Calcutta. (2) Chital Ind. Assn. (3) B. N. L. Cal. Br. (4) B. N. L. Tandk Br.	Special Committee meeting, 25th Nov., and general meeting, 20th Nov.
547	"	"	Calcutta.	Mr. W. C. Bonserjee.	Hindu Brahman.	Barriester-at-law, High Court, Standing Committee Govt. of India, and F. Uni. Calcutta.	B. N. League and Calcutta.	Public meeting, 20th Nov.
548	"	"	"	Mr. J. Ghosal.	do	Zemindar.	Br. Indian Assn. Ind. Union. B. N. L. Secopore (Howrah). B. P. Assn.	Public meeting, Dec. and 20th Nov.
549	"	"	"	Babu Jetendranath Tagore.	do	Zemindar.	B. N. L.	General meeting, 25th Nov.
550	"	"	"	Babu Trailokvanath Mitra, M.A., B.L.	do	Pleader, High Court.	Indian Union.	do
551	"	"	"	Babu Surendranath Banerjee, M.A.	do	Propri., and Editor, "The Bengalee," an English Weekly, M. Councillor, Hony. Magte, Principal College.	Ind. Assn. Calcutta, Banachant Ind. Assn. Rangoon Chinsura.	Public meetings, Jorharpore, 7th Dec. and 20th Nov.
552	"	"	"	Babu Jay Govind Shome, M.A., B.L.	Christian.	Vakil, High Court, P. Uni. Calcutta, and Editor "Christian Herald."	(1) B.N.L. and Calcutta. (2) Shil-loug.	Public meetings, B. N. League, 20th Nov. and 22nd Dec.
553	"	"	"	Babu Gopal Chandra Mukhopadhyaya.	Hindu Brahman.	Editor, "Sungbad Prakash" a Bengali Daily, of 57 years standing, & author of many books.	(1) B. N. L. Cal. Br. (2) Agri. parish Assn., 24 Pargannas.	20th Nov. do.

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554	Bengal	Lower Provs.	Calcutta.	Babu Dwaraknath Ganguli.	Hindu Brahman.	Asst. Secy., Indian Assn. Calcutta, and Journalist.	(1) I. Assn. (2) Nephramari H. S. Sabha, Rungpore. (3) Ryots' meeting, Haraich, Rungpore. Indian Assn.	By the Assn., 16th Dec. By the meeting.
555	"	"	"	Babu Joginder Chander Ghose, M.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Vakil High Court.	do	do
556	"	"	"	Babu Sitanath Roy, B.L.	Hindu.	Mercht. and Secy., National Chamber of Commerce.	(1) Br. Indian A. (2) B. N. L. Ch. of Comce. (3) Bt. Beng. Assn.	20th Nov. 11th Dec.
557	"	"	Calcutta & Naddea.	Jesoda Nandan Pramanick, M.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta, Chairman Santipore Municipality.	(1) B. N. L. Cal. Br. (2) Santipore.	General meeting, 20th Nov.
558	"	"	Calcutta.	Dr. Ras Behary Ghose, M.A., B.L.	do	Vakil H. C. Calcutta, Fellow of the Univ.	Indian Union.	General meeting of the Union.
559	"	"	"	Babu Kali Charan Bannerjee, M.A., B.L.	Christian.	do	(1) B. N. L. (2) I. Assn. (3) Christian Conference.	Genl. meeting, 20th Nov. &c.
560	"	"	"	Babu Protap Chunder Moozumdar, L.M.S.	Brahmo.	Independent. Practr.	Ind. Assn. Tumli Br.	By the Assn., 19th Dec.
561	"	"	"	Babu Bolanath Dhur.	Hindu.	Mercht. and L. Propr.	B. N. Ch. of Comce.	By the Chamber 20th Dec.
562	"	"	24 Parganahs.	Rajah Yatindranath Chatterji, M.A.	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar, Baranagar.	1. Takli Assn. 2. Tripura Hilla Sabha. 3. Baranagar Cultivators' meeting. 4. Indian Assn. Calcutta.	Public meetings, and committee meetings.
563	"	"	"	Babu Narendranath Saha.	Hindu.	Editor, "Indian Mirror."	24 Parganahs and Nadda.	By the Central Bengal Union, &c.
564	"	"	"	Babu Sri Chandra Chaudhuri, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Vakil, H. Court.	(1) B. N. L. S. S. Br. (2) Indian Assn. Midnapur.	General meetings, 30th Nov. and 14th Dec.
565	"	"	Midnapur.	Babu Krishna Lal Muzumdar.	Hindu.	Zemindar, M. Cr. and Pleader.	Midnapur Town and Indian Assn. Midnapur Br.	Public meeting, 15th Nov. and meeting, 10th Dec.
566	"	"	"	Babu Eshan Chander Bose.	Hindu Kayestha.	Author and Publisher.	Indian Assn. Midnapur Br.	do
567	"	"	Hugli.	Babu Nando Lal Gossain.	Hindu Brahman.	Zemindar, Serampur.	(1) B. I. Assn. and (2) B. P. An.	Public meeting, 20th Nov.

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568	Bengal	Lower Provs.	Hugli.	Kumar Rameswar Mallick Bahadur.	Hindu.	Zemindar & Mercht.	(1) Bengal Congress Committee (2) People's Assn. Ranigunge (3) B. J. S. Majda & Kuma.	Public meetings, 4th Dec. and 12th Dec. and general meetings of the several Assns. &c.
569	"	"	"	Babu Iswar Lal Sircar.	Hindu Brahman.	Zemindar, Serampore and Vakil, H. Court.	B. N. League.	do
570	"	"	"	Babu B. M. Ghose.	Brahmo.	Propr. Vict. Press.	Indian Assn., Howrah Br.	do
571	"	"	"	Mr. Syed Mahomed Hoshain Ghouse.	Mussulman.	Health officer, Turkish Govt., Bagdad, and Medical Practr.	Chinsurah & Hugli.	do
572	"	"	Hugli and Balasore.	Babu Romesh Chandra Mandal.	Hindu.	Zemindar & Mercht.	Do and Balasore National Soc.	do
573	"	"	Howrah.	Babu Narasing Chandra Dutt, B.L.	do	Vakil, H. Court, Hony. Magte, M. Cr. & Govt. Pleader.	People's Assn., Howrah.	By the Assn., Dec.
574	"	"	Furreedpore.	Babu Ambika Charan Muzumdar, M.A., B.L.	do	L. Propr., Chairman, Municipality, Memb. Dist. Bd., Hony. Magte, and Secy. People's Assn.	People's Assn., Furreedpore.	Pub. meetings at— (1) Furreedpore. (2) Madaripore. (3) Angram. (4) Khalla. (5) Gopalgunge. (6) Manikdaha.
575	"	"	Rungpore.	Babu Janaki Ballav Sen.	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar, Mahi-gunge.	Rungpore.	Meeting of the Ind. Assn. Rungpore Br., 6th Dec. and public meeting of 13th Nov.
576	"	"	"	Babu Pores Chandra Banerjee, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader.	do	do
577	"	"	"	Babu Purna Chandra Chatterji, B.A., B.L.	do	do	Dist. Indian Assn., Rungpore Br.	do
578	"	"	Meorshahabad (Berhampore.)	Babu Bijay Krishna Maltra, B.A., B.L.	do	Pleader, Berhampore.	Meorshahabad Assn., representing the whole Dist.	By the Assn., Oct.
579	"	"	"	Rev. Chandra Nath Banerjee, B.A.	Christian.	L. M. S. Missionary, Berhampore.	do	do
580	"	"	Jessore.	Babu Kalinath Mukerjee, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, Jessore P. O.	Indian Assn., Jessore.	By the Assn., Nov.
581	"	"	"	Babu Umesh Chandra Ghosh, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, M. Cr. Magte, Dist. Bd., & Vakil, Chairman, Local Bd.	do	do
582	"	"	"	Babu Ambika Charan Sircar.	Hindu.	L. Propr., Memb. I. Bd. Magurah and Dist. Bd., Jessore, Hony. Magte.	do	Public meeting, 17th Dec.
583	"	"	Jessore (Narail).	Babu Jogendranath Sen, B.A.	do	Principal Vic. C. and Vice-Principal, Indian Assn.	Indian Assn. (Br.) and the people of Narail.	Public meeting, 17th Dec.

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584	Bengal.	Lower Provs.	Bankergunge.	Babu A. K. Dutt.	Hindu.	M. O., Chairman, L. Ed., Memb. U. Ed., & Secy. People's Assn.	People's Assn. Marshal.	Public meeting, 17th Dec.
585	"	"	Rajshahy.	Rajah Kumar Ghoshal Khosravur Roy.	Hindu Brahman.	Secundary, T. D. and Editor "Paisack Intima" and "Sita Krishna Patrika," both Bangor.	(1) Nat. Soc. Dist. Assn. (2) Nat. Soc. Assn. (3) Ry. Assn. Ryots' Assn.	Public meeting, 9th Dec. and 17th Dec.
586	"	"	"	Babu Kati Prasanna Acharya, B.A., B.L.	do	Former Judge's Court, Rajshahy.	do	Meeting of the Assn., 17th Dec.
587	"	"	"	Babu Syam Chandra Roy, B.A., B.L.	do	Pleader Judge's Court, Rajshahy, Baranagar.	do	do
588	"	"	"	Babu Akshay Kumar Ghoshavati.	do	Honb. Agriculturist Society.	Agri. Soc. Tahsilp. & Modish.	By a meeting, Dec. 14th.
589	"	"	"	Parnalaguna, G. d. a. Garamada-T. P. K. swami.	do	Monk, Garamada-T. P. K. Uda.	Garamada-T. P. K. Tahsilp.	do
590	"	"	Rajshahy and Maldah.	Mr. Mathesh Chandra Roy.	Hindu.	Editor "Hindu Rajshahi," Bengali Weekly.	(1) Nat. Soc. Dist. Assn. (2) Agri. Soc. Tahsilp. Assn.	Meetings of the Assn. Dec. 14th.
591	"	"	Mymensing.	Babu G. C. Acharya Chowdry.	Hindu Brahman.	Zemindar, Mukta-gochi, and M. O.	Mymensing Assn. & Mymensing Assn.	Public meetings, 4th Dec. and 10th Dec.
592	"	"	"	Babu Kalinath Ghoshal.	do	Merchant, Mukta-gochi.	do	do
593	"	"	"	Babu Srinath Roy, B.A.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader, Judge's Court.	Mymensing Assn.	Public meeting, 4th Dec.
594	"	"	Nadua.	Babu Nanda Gopal Ghaduri.	Hindu.	Merchant.	M. N. K. Majumdar & Eisen-gungo.	Special meeting of the Sabha, 3rd Dec.
595	"	"	"	Babu Dasanta Kumar Chattopadhyaya, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader & Memb. Dist. Bd.	(1) Krish. Gangung. (2) Indian Assn. Koda Br. (3) Indian Assn. Joy-rampore Br. (4) Sachu-pati Assn.	By public meetings at the places, 7th Dec., 9th Dec. &c.
596	"	"	"	Babu Palin Vikari Lahiri.	do	Pleader.	Krishna-ki.	Public meeting, Dec. 14th.
597	"	"	Nadua and Bardwan.	Babu Jagadis Chandra Lahiri.	do	Medical. Pross.	(1) M. J. S. Majumdar. (2) Kula. (3) Indian Assn. Cuttack.	By the Sabha, 4th Dec. and 12th Dec.

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598	Bengal.	Lower provinces.	Nadua and Bardwan.	Babu Annada Prosad Bannerjee, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Zemindar, Kumirola.	Koma. Hita Kumirola Nadua Kumirola Ryots' Bardwan.	By the Sabha at a general meeting & at public meeting of Ryots.
599	"	"	"	Babu Mohendram, Sen.	Hindu Kayastha.	Land-holder.	Rasapag-lah Improvement Assn.	At a general meeting of the Assn.
600	"	Chota Nagpore.	Hazari-bagh.	Rai Jodanath Mukerjee, B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Hon. Magt. Secy. Dist. Com-mittee of Public In-struction. Vice-chairman of Hazari Municipality Presdt. Hazari-bagh Assn. & Memb. Dist. Com-mittee.	Hazari-bagh Assn. and Ranchi Assn.	By the Assn., 6th Nov. and 4th Dec.
601	"	"	Marbhun.	Pandit Prannath Saras-wati, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, H. Court, Calcutta, Vakil, Indi. Court's Court, Luck-nou, Hon. Magt. for the suburbs of Calcutta, and M. O. S. Calcutta.	1. Ind. Union. Calcutta. 2. B. N. for the suburbs of Calcutta, and M. O. S. Calcutta.	Committee meetings and public meeting, 15th Dec.
602	"	Orissa.	Cuttack.	Mr. M. S. Das, B.A., B.L.	Christian.	Vakil, Cuttack.	Orissa Assn.	Special meeting of the Assn., 14th Nov.
603	"	"	"	Babu Gouda Kumar Roy.	Hindu Kayastha.	Editor of an Urdu weekly, (C.L. 1900), & Translator, Judge's Court.	do	do
604	"	Assam.	Sylhet.	Babu Apin Chandra Pal.	Hindu Brahman.	Journalist, "Tollano," Editor, English Bi-weekly.	Sylhet.	Public meeting, 23rd Dec.
605	"	"	Dibrugarh and Jorhat.	Babu Radhanku Chang-saboti.	do	Pres. "Radhanku" Printing Press. Secy. Upper Assam Assn. Secy. Assam Conference, M. O. & Member L. J. Dibrugarh.	(1) Assn. Conference. (2) Assam Assn. Conference. (3) U. Assam Assn. (4) Authorised to represent Shillong.	Public meetings of the Conference and Assn. & by wire from Shillong.
606	"	"	Tezpur.	Babu Lakshmi Kant Bar-kakoti.	do	Supt. Tezpur Mills and Memb. Tezpur Ryots' Association.	Assam.	By Assam Conference.
607	Madras.	Native State Cochin.	Cochin.	V. K. Sankar Menon, B.A.	Nair.	Land-holder.	Cochin.	Public meeting, Cochin Re-form Association on 20th November.

Besides these delegates, there were present on the platform several distinguished visitors from several parts of India. Also there were some ladies, Englishmen, and high native officials, numbering a few hundreds from several remote parts of this Presidency. There came also several officials from the Bombay and Bengal Presidencies to attend the proceedings, among whom the names of Mr. and Mrs. Wadia Dr. and Mrs. Bose may be mentioned. Among the visitors there were present, His Highness the Maharajah of Vizianagaram, K.C.I.E., His Highness the Rajah of Sirohi, the Rajah of Bikaner, the Rajah of Bobbili, the Zemindar of Ramnad, and Rajah G. N. Gajapati Roy. Besides Mr. and Mrs. A. G. Cardew, Mr. and Mrs. H. Stuart, there were Sir Charles Lawson, Messrs. A. T. Arundel, J. C. A. Sim, H. A. Stuart, C. Cardew, J. H. A. Tremont, Mr. Mayer, T. Mill, C. M. Harrow, C. G. Underwood, Wilson, Revs. G. M. Rao, J. R. Ellis, W. Ross, Doctors Cook, Quinn, C. J. T. B. B. Tenant, Col. G. M. Moore, Col. T. Welden, and several others. There were present, among others, the following:—Babu Bahadur K. Ragoomath Rao (Indore), the Honorable G. M. Ranade (Poona), Justice A. Harachandra Aiyar (Bangalore), Justice S. Thiruvankatschari (Cochin), Mr. C. Nagam Aiyar, Dewan Peshkar (Travandrum), Professor B. Bahadur P. Ranganatha Mudaliar, Rsi Bahadur P. Ranganatha Mudaliar, Rajah T. Rama Roy, Rai Bahadur V. Baskara Iyengar, Professors S. Seshiah, N. Vythianatha Iyer, Messrs. S. Sreenivasa Raghava Aiyengar, K. V. Sreenivasa Aiyar, and T. Ganapathy Aiyar.]

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APPENDIX II.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE TAMIL CATECHISM

OF THE

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

BY

M. VIRARAGHAVA CHARIAR, B.A.

Q.—Which country is India?

A.—India is only another name for the country that is known to many people as Bharta Varsha. It extends over a wide area, from the Himalayas on the north to Cape Comorin which lies 135 miles S.-W. from Rameswaram. The Bay of Bengal and the country of Burmah constitute its eastern boundary. On the west it is bounded by the Arabian Sea and Afghanistan. Its length from north to south is about 1,600 miles and its breadth from east to west is nearly the same. Its total area is 15 lakhs of square miles. It has a population of about 25 crores and 60 lakhs.

Q.—To whose rule is that country now subject?

A.—This extensive empire of India is now subject to the sovereignty of Englishmen, the natives of a small island to the north-west of Europe. Its area is only about a lakh and a quarter of square miles and its population only some 3½ crores.

Q.—What enables the people of such a small country to govern this vast empire? What wonder is this?

A.—That they govern India is no wonder at all. It is the many superior qualities that they possess that make them the most prominent of nations. Though they are only about one-eighth of our number, it is these qualities and above all their *Union* which enables them to hold dominion over India. The Kings of England are not, like the sovereigns of the East, invested with despotic authority. The people of England firmly believe that the sole end and aim of Government ought to be the good of the people, and, accordingly they have constituted a National Assembly known as the *Parliament*, and this Parliament consists of members chosen by the people as their representatives, and it is the united body of representatives thus elected that conduct the government of the country. The inhabitants of towns and cities in England elect the members in due course in accordance with the established rules. A fresh election *must* take place every 7 years, but in practice, Parliaments very rarely last so long and new elections take place every 3 or 4 years, and often at shorter intervals. The members chosen by the people necessarily, as a rule, guide their action, mainly, in all affairs of State by the views of those who elect them, their *Constituents* as it is called, for if they did not they would not be re-elected. If you

ask how the members of Parliament learn the opinions of the people, the reply is that they are constantly in communication with the leading men amongst their supporters; often go down and hold public meetings of their constituents and, of course, study carefully the published resolutions of the meetings held amongst their constituents and of the various associations which exist amongst those, and the articles that appear in the newspapers, which their constituents chiefly read. You see, these members of Parliament are only the representatives of certain districts, towns, or groups of towns, or mohallahs or parishes of very large towns, and they must make themselves acquainted with the views and wishes of the majority of the inhabitants of those places, and they must, as a rule, vote in Parliament in accordance with those, as otherwise at the next election that majority would elect some one else who would do this. In England no law can be passed except by Parliament; no tax can under any circumstances be imposed on the people except by Parliament, that is by the representatives of that people. The Ministers of Her Majesty the Queen are strictly responsible to the Parliament for all their actions. In the government of that country, the Ministers are answerable to the members of the Parliament and the members of Parliament to the people. And it is under the control of such a mighty nation that we are prospering.

Q.—If so, why do not they attend to our grievances?

A.—The members of that grand assembly are no doubt inclined to consider the affairs of our country and promote our happiness; but then firstly they cannot command enough of leisure to study Indian questions. Secondly, even if they had time, they are not aware of our wants. The disabilities under which we labor are never fully realized by them. If our many grievances could only be made clear to their view in their true colors, you may rest assured that they would be gradually redressed. The English nation do not at all understand the real state of affairs here: the two countries are so unlike each other: the climate, customs, habits, food, everything in short, is so different, that to understand matters here, an Englishman, who has never lived in India, must make a regular study of the subject. So the English nation, as a body, has no concep-

tion of all the hardships and disadvantages under which we labor under the existing administration here. Nor do the English officials in India ever report to the members of Parliament what we know to be the true state of this country. In the first place they are not natives of the country and never have that intimate knowledge of its affairs that we possess. In the second place they necessarily believe that all they do is right, and that it is done in the best possible manner, and lastly, they not unnaturally do not desire either a reduction of their salaries or their powers, and this would certainly follow if the English public came really to understand how matters at this present time really stand. So that great English nation never gets to know truly how things go on here, and we the people of India have not yet been sensible enough as to establish permanently a great Union amongst ourselves and adopt the most effective methods of acquainting the English nation with all our wants and grievances. So how can we expect any material change for the better, and how can we hope for the redress of those grievances?

Q.—What then should we do to inform the English people of our wants and wishes, and obtain justice at their hands?

A.—If I am to answer your question fully, it would take me longer than a year. But I shall be brief. Listen to me. Our countrymen should make it a rule to study carefully all public questions and communicate to Government their opinions of them through associations and newspapers. Our countrymen should do their best to establish in India a representative Council similar to the Parliament of Great Britain to consider the questions that relate to our well-being. We should get the permission of the British Parliament to elect the members of that Council. Her Majesty the Queen-Empress should make the resolutions of that Council binding upon the Governors-General and Governors. If we succeed in thus establishing one grand representative Council for the whole of India, and five, or six, other smaller Councils, one for each of the more important provinces of the Empire, and if it is enacted that no law be passed or tax imposed except with the express permission of such Councils, we should then have arrived at the commencement of the Political regeneration of India. We should constantly press on the British people the paramount necessity there is for carrying into effect the above reforms through telegraph associations, newspapers, and delegates. It is only by persisting in the agitation that we can make our grievances heard in England. If the English nation begin to evince interest in the affairs of this country, the opposition of the Anglo-Indian officials, who wish to keep matters as they are, will soon cease to be effective.

Q.—Are there any assemblies in India like the Parliament of Great Britain?

A.—The Councils in India resemble the Parliament of England only in name. They are

called the Legislative Councils. As at present constituted, the Councils are mere shams and have no independent power. Their members are entirely powerless to regulate the expenditure of Government, even to the extent of a single pie, nor could they alter or cancel the laws which the Government resolve to enforce. The Government offer some native gentlemen seats in the Council merely, it would seem, to lead the people of England into the belief that in the government of this country Native opinion receives due weight.

Q.—But why are these Councils such shams; if there are several of our people on them, why don't they fight for us? Why do they not see that justice is done to us?

A.—In the first place, the natives who sit in these Councils are not chosen by us, but by Government. If they displease us, we can't turn them out; but if they displease Government, it takes care not to re-appoint them after the lapse of the two years for which such gentlemen are appointed. Now men so appointed are entitled to have Honorable put before their names, and it is considered a great honor to be on them, and if they do just what Government likes, they are given K.C.S.I.'s, or K.C.I.E.'s, or C.S.I.'s, or C.I.E.'s, all empty titles of no good, but which vain and foolish people set great store by. Then, too, Government mostly chooses not people who will fight for our rights, but more or less foolish big men, who will do just what they are told by Government. So it follows that very few of the natives who have hitherto sat in Council have tried to do good for us. Some, however, have; but the system is such that even if every one of them were clever men and did their very best, they could yet do nothing. For the way is this, they constitute only a small minority in the Council, and the only questions that come before them are new laws. They are not allowed to ask a question even or learn anything about anything else connected with the administration of the country: only when a new law has to be passed, they must hear it and may say what they think of it. But no law comes before these Legislative Councils until the Viceroy or Governors have already settled in their Executive Councils, on which there are no natives, what the law is to be; and when they bring it into the Legislative Councils it has been already settled: a few words or clauses may be altered (if such alterations commend themselves to the Viceroy and the members of the Executive Council), but that is all. The poor native members may express their opinion—they may say the law is a very bad one, but they are in a minority and no one minds them. So you see even if our people tried, which only a few ever have done, to fight our battles, they could do nothing, for these Councils are a mere sham.

Q.—How could we, the people of India, ever hope for any redress with the aid of such sham Councils?

A.—Of course we can't hope for anything of the kind. Progress and reform are equally

impossible. But if we had the privilege of electing the members, and we had enough members on the Council, it would be very different; for then they would look to please us, by whose favor they are elected and might be re-elected. The members who owe their seats in Council to the good-will of government will naturally, as a rule, vote in their favour. And they dare not fight for the people's cause on pain of never being re-appointed; therefore, our countrymen should endeavour to reform the Councils. If we all persevere in insisting on this and make our case clear, the English nation will certainly accede to our wishes and improve the constitution of the Legislative Councils, and if these Councils are re-constructed on a representative basis, some of our most serious grievances will begin to disappear one after another.

Q.—If so, why do not all our countrymen unite in endeavouring to reform our Legislative Councils?

A.—It is no doubt true that all our people do not interest themselves in the movement. Till lately our ryots, merchants and the ordinary run of people entirely neglected public affairs, but their eyes are beginning to be opened now. Many of them now make known their wants through newspapers and public meetings. For the last three years many of the zemindars, merchants, landlords, and men of other professions living in different parts of India have made it a point to meet once in a year in some Presidency town and discuss public questions of the most vital importance. In 1885 nearly 100 gentlemen assembled together at Bombay from all parts of India and recorded their opinions on some of the most vital matters of public interest. In 1886 some 440 gentlemen elected for the purpose by various Associations met together in Calcutta for the same purpose. In December 1887, no less than 604 gentlemen, representing all classes and creeds, and elected by almost all the large towns and Associations in the empire, met together at Madras in the same way, and now in December 1888 there is to be another and larger gathering at Allahabad. They have given this grand assembly the English appellation of "the Congress." The word Congress means assemblage.

Q.—Will these Congresses be of any help to India?

A.—Yes. The people of this country will at last obtain a hearing. Now, the people of this country have no voice in the government of the country. If our countrymen master strongly in the Annual Congress and meet year after year, and tell the English Government what they want, that Government will gradually remodel the administration in accordance with the clearly expressed wishes of the whole country. But then if we are to succeed, at all quickly, everybody must join; everybody must interest themselves in the matter, and take part in the election of the delegates, and help the work in every way they can; and if some of the local officials be dis-

pleased with them, they must not be angry with or frightened at this. It is only natural that those amongst the officials who are not high-minded should feel annoyed at a movement which will tend to curtail their arbitrary power, and generally to compel them to consult the wishes and feelings of their people a great deal more than they do now. So it is no use being vexed, while it would be foolish to be frightened. Every man should just join and go on with the work good humouredly, not troubling himself what officials or any one else think or say about the matter. They will all come round in a year or two when we have won the day, and will then say it is an excellent thing.

Q.—Then you think the Congress will really be of great use.

A.—Yes, most certainly; for one of the best means of promoting the welfare of India is the establishment of a grand Council on the lines of the English Parliament, and if persevered in and wisely guided and supported by the whole country, the Congress will gradually, when India is fit for this, be converted into an Indian Parliament, which will take the place of the sham Councils of the present day.

Q.—Will the Government recognise the Congress?

A.—Why not? They will, certainly, recognize it; not this year or perhaps the next; not till they are satisfied that it is really national and has the whole country at its back; but once you prove this to them, they certainly will recognise and utilize it, and in so doing pave the way for the redress of all our more serious grievances. The English Government is superior to all other Governments in the world, for its fundamental principle is to shape its policy according to the wishes of the people. If the Congress goes on meeting regularly once a year, and working throughout the year, and the whole nation join in electing their delegates to it, and in making plain that they approve and ratify its resolutions, the Government will very soon be obliged by public opinion in England to consider carefully the decisions that the Congress arrives at. The present English Parliament in its infant stage resembled in many respects our present Congress, and just as a grand tree grows out of a small seed, so the small temporary gatherings of a former day have now attained the dimensions of the glorious English Parliament.

Q.—When did the first Congress meet, and what is its history?

A.—The first National Congress met in December 1885 in the city of Bombay. To partake in that Congress many gentlemen had arrived from the Presidency of Madras, the Presidency of Bengal, the Punjab, North-West Provinces and other parts of India. All the gentlemen, delegates as they were called, were lodged in one place and discussed together the most important matters connected with the government of the country for three days, and then publicly recorded their opinions, or, as it is termed,

passed resolutions in regard to these matters. During the sittings of that Congress each of the delegates learned the views of the others and all proved to be of one mind, although they had come from parts of the country thousands of miles apart and belonged to different races and castes and creeds. It was one primary object of this Congress to demonstrate, or, if needful, by joint consultation to bring about, this oneness of mind or unanimity of opinion, for unanimity of opinion will produce union among us.

Q.—What are the resolutions passed at the first Congress?

A.—They are as follows:—(1) Her Majesty the Queen-Empress should send a commission to this country, and that commission should enquire into our grievances. (2) The India Council should be abolished, and a Standing Committee of some of the members of Parliament should be formed for the consideration of Indian questions. (3) The Legislative Councils should be enlarged by the admission of a considerable number of members elected by ourselves, and should be empowered to regulate and control the expenditure, to make laws and to exercise other powers. (4) The Civil Service Examination should be conducted not only in England but also in India; the age limit should be raised to 23. (5) That it was unjust for the Government of India to increase the army and consequently the expenditure. (6) The people of this country are already very heavily taxed, and Government should find means to reduce the burden of taxation. (7) As, if Burma is placed under the control of the Government of India, the latter may not have time at their disposal to attend to Indian affairs, and our money will be wasted in reducing it to order, Her Majesty the Queen should not place the Government of Burma in the hands of the Indian Government.

Q.—Did the Government pay any attention to any of the above resolutions?

A.—Yes, to a certain extent. Lord Dufferin, our Governor-General, highly endorsed the 6th resolution. He appointed two Commissions to enquire and report in regard to the matters set forth in that and in the 4th resolution. They were known by the names of the Finance Committee and the Public Service Commission. Not only did the Government in India attend to the resolutions, but some of the newspapers in England approved of the work of the first Congress. The then members of the English Ministry, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain, are understood to have spoken favorably of the movement. It is necessary to add that Lord Ripon and Mr. Slagg, and other avowed friends of India, warmly welcomed the Congress?

Q.—When did the second Congress meet?

A.—It met in December 1886 at Calcutta.

Q.—Sir, please clearly inform me of the difference between the first and the second Congress.

A.—If I enter into a detailed description of the second Congress, it will occupy a long

time. However, I shall give you a brief account of it. Only 78 delegates attended the first Congress at Bombay, while 484 delegates attended the second Congress at Calcutta. The gentlemen that attended the first Congress were not appointed by the people of this country to appear on their behalf. But for the second Congress numbers of the people, at public meetings and through public Associations, elected their representatives. In December 1886 various meetings were held in all parts of India to elect delegates.

While only two Mahomedans attended the first Congress, no less than 23 Mahomedan gentlemen partook in the deliberations of the second Congress. The people generally interested themselves in the second Congress more than they had done in the first. Thirdly, it was not until the second assemblage that the name Congress became familiar to all the people in all parts of the country.

Q.—What are the resolutions of the second Congress?

A.—(1.) A resolution was passed congratulating Her Majesty the Empress on the occasion of the Jubilee and praying for Her Majesty's long life and prosperity.

(2.) It was resolved that in view of the growing poverty of the people of India, representative institutions ought to be established in India, as this would place it within our power to effect those reforms in the administration which we believe to be necessary to relieve that poverty.

(3.) The third resolution of the first Congress about the re-constitution of Legislative Councils was re-affirmed.

(4.) It was further pointed out that it was necessary (a) to increase the numerical strength of the Legislative Councils; (b) to allow the people to elect half of the total number of members; (c) and to give the members with the right of interpellation.

(5.) That all the Associations and public bodies in India should unanimously pray the Viceroy to recommend the Secretary of State to cause the necessary steps to be taken for the establishment of representative Councils.

(6.) That as regards the matters under the enquiry of the Public Service Commission, a simultaneous examination should be held in India and England for the Civil Service, that the age limit should be raised to 23, and that no distinction should be made between Europeans and Natives in the Civil Service, but that all should be treated alike.

(7.) That the system of trial by jury should be extended, and that the decision of the jury in cases of acquittal should be final.

(8.) That the judicial functions should be separated from the executive.

(9.) That the people of this country should be permitted to enrol themselves as Volunteers, in order that they may be able to defend the British Empire in times of war.

Q.—Why should the resolutions passed in the first Congress be re-affirmed in the second?

A.—We re-affirm the resolutions principally to acquaint all the people with our wants and to make our grievances heard in England. It is only when the child cries often that the mother gives it milk. Even so it is only by repeatedly telling the British nation what we are in need of that we can hope for any redress. The Anglo-Indian officials have been for many decades enjoying exceptional rights and privileges, and if these are now to be curtailed, will they not oppose us with all their might? If we persevere in our efforts, then our hopes will be realised.

Q.—Did the Viceroy take any notice of the Congress?

A.—Yes, he did. The Viceroy and Governor-General invited many of the members of the Congress to his Palace, and had some conversation with them about public affairs. He also honored the members of the Congress by inviting them to a Garden Party.

Q.—Was any notice taken in England of the Congress?

A.—Not much as yet, nor can we expect it. The proceedings of the Congress were published in a book, and 5,000 copies of this were distributed in England by Mr. Dadabhai Naorojee, a sincere friend of India, who presided over the second Congress, but what are 5,000 copies, and we had not funds for more, amongst a great nation? Still a few of the newspapers noticed it, and the report was referred to twice in the House of Commons and several of the leaders of the Liberal Party expressed their approbation of, and seem to have been much pleased with, the proceedings of the second Congress. It is impossible at the present time to obtain a hearing for Indian affairs in the English House of Parliament, as its whole time is absorbed by the Irish controversy. But their advice is that we should continue holding our annual Congress year after year till they are in a position to attend to our call. They are further of opinion that we should do our best to make the great mass of the people take an intelligent interest in the subject.

Q.—But to make so many delegates assemble in one place, to allow them a fitting reception, to print and publish a sufficient number of copies of the report must cost a great deal. Pray, what have the Congresses cost?

A.—Well, the first Congress at Bombay cost only about Rs. 3,000, but the second at Calcutta cost something like Rs. 16,000. In each case the people of the place and some of the nobility and the gentry of the province and other friends of the cause subscribed what was needful.

But you have only told us about the two first Congresses, and you mentioned that there had been a third at Madras; tell us please about that.

A.—Well, that was even grander than the second; at that 604 delegates assembled,

and they met in a vast temporary hall specially erected for the purpose. All these delegates had been duly elected either at public meetings in towns, or by associations or other public bodies. Indeed, some 700 were elected, but owing to sickness, domestic calamities, and the great distances to be travelled (some had fully 2,000 miles to come), only 604 actually arrived.

Q.—But what kind of people were the delegates?

A.—All kinds of people came as delegates—great men like Rajah Sir T. Madava Row, and little men like artisans and petty tradesmen. There were a few Europeans, for they are beginning to understand that they are just as much interested as we are in good government, and a number of Eurasians who took an active part, and will, year by year, take a more and more active part in the Congress; Parsees, Native Christians, Hindus, Mahomedans and Jains.

Q.—What, Mahomedans? Why, somebody said that the Mahomedans had not joined the Congress. I did not know what the Congress was, and so I did not trouble myself about it, but certainly I heard this.

A.—Well, 83 Mahomedans came as delegates, and amongst them were men like the Hon'ble Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, the head of the great Mysore family and a member of the Madras Council, and Mr. Badrudin Tyabji, till recently a member of the Bombay Council, who was the President of the third Congress, and many other distinguished and learned Mussalmen. The fact is that one eminent Mahomedan, Sir Syed Ahmed, did not choose to join, for reasons known to himself, and he and his immediate following having been foolish enough to abuse the Congress, have tried to set it about that the Mahomedans generally did not join, whereas the bulk of the intelligent Mahomedans all over the country did join and join heartily.

Q.—I am glad of that; for whatever our religion, we ought all to unite in this work, which I now see is clearly for the good of all. But I should like to know more about these delegates. Were there Zemindars, were there ryots, were there Municipal Councillors?

A.—Yes, there were all these, and as you want to know, I will tell you about it. Out of the 604, there were 61 Zemindars, jagirdars, taluqdars, and there were 95 ryots and other small landholders. Then there were 144 merchants, traders and shopkeepers, 55 schoolmasters, 206 members of the legal profession, retired judges, barristers, advocates, pleaders, solicitors, &c., 43 editors of newspapers, 19 artisans, 8 doctors, &c.

Then I may tell you that out of these, 3 were members of Council, 31 were honorary magistrates, 10 were fellows of one or other University, 103 had seats on Municipal boards, and 56 on local fund boards, so that it is difficult to imagine a more truly representative gathering than was this last Congress.

Q.—And what resolutions did this Congress pass?

A.—Well, it first insisted once more on the necessity of two primary reforms that it had advocated at previous sittings, viz., the reconstitution of the Councils on a representative basis and the complete separation of the judicial and executive functions. Then in view of the universal loyalty of the people, it recorded its opinion that the highest or commissioned ranks in the army should be practically opened to all classes of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, and colleges established whereat our youths may be trained for this career; it advocated the concession to the people of the right to volunteer under such restrictions and conditions as Government might deem necessary, and demanded the material modification of the existing Arms' Act.

Further, considering the unsatisfactory working of the income tax, it prayed that the taxable minimum should be raised to Rs. 1,000. And lastly, reverting to the growing poverty of the country, it pressed upon Government the necessity of elaborating a practical system of technical education, and of spending more money in buying Indian articles and paying Indian labor, and less in buying English articles and paying English labor.

Q.—All this is very good, and if this were all done India would be a different place; but how can we get the Government to mind what the Congress even says?

A.—No doubt it is difficult, for the bulk of the officials here are prejudiced and think that the system they work under is perfection, and are angry at our saying that it is very defective and at our proposing these changes. But there is no such prejudice amongst the people of England, who are their masters as well as our masters. And if we persevere with these Congresses, and get more and more of the people everywhere to understand them, and take interest in them, and support them, we shall, and that before many years are over, have so strong a voice that even the people of England will hear us, and once they do this as a body, [not merely two or three thousands here and there, whom alone, as yet, we have reached,] all our reasonable demands will soon be granted.

Q.—But in the meantime it costs a great deal of money, does it not? What may this third Congress have cost?

A.—Well, we do not exactly know yet, but probably including the sending home of 10,000 copies of the report, not less than Rs. 30,000, and this, of course, is exclusive of the very large sum, more than double this amount, which had to be expended by the delegates themselves in journeying to and from the Congress.

Q.—And you said that there was to be yet a fourth Congress at Allahabad; and where is the money for that to come from?

A.—Well just as the people of Madras, high and low, and sympathizers elsewhere, subscribed and got together Rs. 30,000 for the Congress,—for the erection of the meeting hall, the reception and entertainment of

the delegates, and the printing and distribution of the report, here and in England,—so must the people of the North-West Provinces subscribe and collect what may be necessary for the Allahabad Congress. And it need not be very difficult, if only the people learn the rights of the matter and they all begin to take an interest in the matter. One anna from every house would go a long way. But the fact is that this is not all, because it is not sufficient to hold the Congress. We must send to England much larger numbers of the report than we have yet been able to do, from want of funds, and we must send home our own delegates to hold public meetings in England, and there explain fully the nature of the demands that the Congress makes here, and create a knowledge of the circumstances of this country, and all this ought to be paid for, not by the one province where the Congress is held, but by the entire country.

We must have a large permanent Congress fund, the interest from which must be devoted to this work, and while in that province where the Congress is to be held, subscriptions must, of course, be collected for the current expenses of that particular Congress; in all other provinces subscriptions ought to be collected steadily for the permanent fund. It is not large sums that are so much wanted—though we hope to get some such from Rajahs and great people, who sympathize with the work, as a very great number do,—but a multitude of small subscriptions from 4 annas, such as you can all give if you chose and can persuade numbers of your fellows to give.

Q.—But to whom are we to give these subscriptions?

A.—In every province there is a Standing Congress Committee, and you are to pay your own subscription, and any subscriptions you can get from others, to that committee and get a receipt for the same. If every one who reads this only tries, we shall very soon have all the money that is required for the work.

Q.—Well I see it is a good work, and I wish to help and I will do what little I can in the way of getting subscriptions; but is there no other way in which I can help?

A.—Certainly there is, you have read and, now, understand this: read it to all your friends and see that they understand it; read it to every one in your village and make every one understand the whole question. When every one in your own village understands, make every one in the neighbouring villages understand, and try and persuade every one whom you make understand, that it is their duty to go and teach others, and so in a year or two there will be no one left who does not know all about it and is not ready to help and is not anxious for its success. Let your cry be "Congress ji ke jai," and God will help those who thus prove that they are anxious to help themselves.

APPENDIX III.

A CONVERSATION BETWEEN MOLVI FARIDUDDIN, M.A., B.L., VAKIL OF THE HIGH COURT, PRACTISING IN THE ZILLAH COURT OF HAKIKATABAD, AND RAMBAKSH, ONE OF THE MUKADDAMS OF KAMBAKHTPUR.

(Scene: The CHOPAL,* in Kambakhtpur, Zillah of Hakikatabad.)

Rambaksh.—*Molvi Sahib*, there is a great talk, now-a-days, of "Re-PRE-SEN-TATION" and "RE-PRE-SEN-TA-TIVE INS-TI-TU-TION," but what does it all mean? Last week a Bengali gentleman was staying for the night at the Serai, and, as many of us were sitting, talking round the fire, in the gateway, he came and began to talk to us. We told him how bad the times were, and how the police bullied us, and how hard the zemindar and the money-lender were, and how everything seemed going wrong. Then he said it was all our own fault, that if we chose to undergo all this, and all the trouble that pervaded the country that was our look-out; *no one could help us if we did not help ourselves*. But we said: "How can we help ourselves? Who can oppose the *Sirkar* (Government), and does not the *Sirkar* keep up the police, and do not the Civil Courts of the *Sirkar* support the zemindar and the sahokar (banker) in all their oppression?" He said: "That is true, and obedience to the Government of the time is the duty of all good subjects, but you could, if you chose so alter the system (*dastur*) of the Government that it would do the things that are pleasing and beneficial to you, instead of, as now, often doing what you dislike, and what is harmful to you." And we said: "We alter the *Sirkar*; are we Rustams? Are we Devas? This is foolish talk, what can we poor people do?" He said: "By yourselves, you are very weak, and can do nothing; you are very ignorant, and can hardly see beyond the ends of your fields, but, for all that, if all you rights all over the country would join those of your countrymen who are better off, and better educated, in calling upon the Government to concede to us "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS," then the good people in England would insist on these being given to us, and then, soon, many things would be altered for the better, and many of your causes for complaint would be removed." Now there was a *Sahib* also putting up in the Serai. A *Chota Sahib*, an overseer on the canal, but a good man, and just then he came out and said:

"That is all nonsense Baboo, these poor fellows are mere cattle; what can they understand of such matters, and what good do you think 'REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS' would do to such as these?" And then the Baboo and he began to argue in English, and we heard nothing more. And, indeed, I think the *Sahib* was right, and that it was all nonsense. Still we want to know what does "RE-PRE-SEN-TATION" mean? What is it?

Molvi Fariduddin.—Well Rambaksh, I do not know that it is all nonsense. As for "REPRESENTATION," don't you remember last year, when you and Matadin and Rampershad, and some thirty others of you, had cases against Rajah Harbansrai, just about sowing time, and as it was a bad time to be away from the village, and all the cases were quite alike, and you knew all about the matter, and had the best head of the lot they all chose you out and sent you in, to me, to the *Sudder* to explain all their cases, and get me to put in petitions for them as well as for yourself? Well that was "REPRESENTATION," and you were their "REPRESENTATIVE." The words may be new to you, but the thing is as old as the soil. Has it not ever been our custom, alike under Emperors or Kings, when any village or city, or *perganah*, or district, had any favour to ask, or any grievance to complain of, for all the respectable men of the place to have *punchayats*,§ and as these to pick out the wisest and longest-headed men, and the best speakers, and send these to the authority, or *Sirkar*, to make known our prayers? Well, this again was "REPRESENTATION," and the men so sent, to plead the cause of those who deputed them, were "REPRESENTATIVES."

Rambaksh.—Well, I understand that; as you say, the words are new, and very long, but the thing is old and simple. But what has that to do with Government, and what do "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTION" mean?

Molvi Fariduddin.—There are Governments in all countries; without Government there would be no peace, no security of life

* The raised earthen platform, where the villagers congregate to discuss village politics in particular, and all things in general. A substitute for a Town Hall.

† The head-quarters of the District.

‡ A Revenue Sub-division.

§ Councils for consultation—originally consisting of five members only—any body of men selected to consider over and decide any question.

or property. Governments are necessary and, if good, a great blessing. But some Governments are better than others; of course, one ruler is a good man and another a bad man; one clever and another a fool, or a madman. But I do not mean *that*, I mean that there are two chief kinds of Government, one of which is better than the other. Now you know Shamshpur, and the good old *Lumberdar* (or senior proprietor) Kour Dharam Sing. There are nearly 200 sharers in that village, but in the five years that I have been a *vakil* here, I do not remember a single case coming up from that village, and we all know that there is no more prosperous place in the district.

Rambaksh.—That is true, and that is because the *Lumberdar*, though he is ten times as rich, and as clever, as any of the *hissadars* (co-sharers), never does anything without consulting them. There is not a pie* of village expenses (*gaon khurch*), but what every shareholder has had his say about it; and whatever is to be done, it is all talked over on the *chopal*, and if there is any quarrel, it is all settled there. Of course, there are Jivan Singh and Rajaram and one or two others whom the *Lumberdar* laughingly calls his counsellors (*durbarees*), who have most to say, but that is because they are the leaders of the several *pottis* (main sub-divisions of the village), and all their *hissadars* look up to them as the best and wisest men. Ah! that's the way to manage a village. If only ours were like it!

Molvi Fariduddin.—Well, I see you understand more than I thought. Now the management of Shamshpur is an example, in a small way, of what we call "CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT." If a ruler acts like that good *Lumberdar*, and in all he does and orders first consults his subjects and so manages that the best and wisest of them, on whom the rest rely as their leaders, approve and agree to what is done, then we call that a "CONSTITUTIONAL" king of Government. And this, of course, is the only permanently safe kind of Government, for as the saying goes "*pinch panco mil, kijoij kaj—Harjit awai nahin laj.*" (Do your work in association with five others, so that come victory or defeat, you will not stand alone.)

Rambaksh.—And what kind of Government do you call that of our Rajah Harbansrai? He lives away in the *sudder*, and he never comes near us, and he never reads any of our petitions, and never consults any of us; indeed he won't see us, but sends out an order for us to speak to the *Naib*† or the *Gomashtah* (factor) who lives in the Rajah's house here, and as for the *Gomashtah*, he never knows

any thing about us or the village, for one comes for six months and then goes, and the other comes for a couple of years and then he goes, and then another comes, and so on. And except dear old Rai Sacharam, there has never been a *Naib* or *Gomashtah* here who didn't think he knew more about every thing than any of us, or all of us, put together. They are all alike these *Gomashtahs*. *Jau Ohupraho*;" (go away! hold your tongue! "do this; don't do that; pay this; pay that!")

Molvi Fariduddin.—Well, when a Government behaves as Rajah Harbansrai does, we call it a "Despotic" Government. But how does your village thrive?

Rambaksh.—How does it thrive? Why, *Molvi Sahib*, you know that there is never a day but what there is some case from Kambakhtpur in court; that we are growing poorer and poorer, that land is going out of cultivation, that we have scarcely oxen enough to plough what we still till. Look down the street, why the houses are half of them nearly in ruins, and the two *abkari*‡ shops, that the *Sirkar* has set up here, are always full. Even this *chopal*, built by our forefathers and so much needed for our meetings and our guests, is now in ruins. Look at Shamshpur; it is twice as populous as this *Bustee* (village), and yet there is no *abkari* shop there, and the *Lumberdar* says there never shall be, and so say they all. Thrive indeed! Of all the miserable places in this whole *Sillah*§, Kambakhtpur is nearly one of the worst.

Molvi Fariduddin.—I am afraid that is too true. But why is this? Rajah Harbansrai is not a bad man. I live in the *Sudder* and see much of him. He is rather a kind good man, though so occupied with his great big house there, and his troops of servants, that he has no time to look after his affairs in the *Mofussil*||.

Rambaksh.—That's just it. I don't say he is a bad man, but we never see him. We send him petitions, but he takes no notice of them. So far as any good to us is concerned he might be dead,—but, for all that, he must have his money, and, almost every year, more money and more money, till we poor people are almost skin and bone. Ah! if we were only cattle, as the *Sahib* said, we might perhaps make a rupee or two out of our skins; it is about all we have left.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Ah! Rambaksh, I am afraid you say that because you haven't paid me what you owe me, for that enhancement case!

Rambaksh.—No, *Molvi Sahib*. You have always been my friend, and I have the money for you safe; have I ever been dishonest? But what I say is too true; we are all very poor now.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Well, but how is it? The Rajah no doubt doesn't look after you, but he always keeps his *Naib* or a *Gomashtah* here, and he does seem to me to try to employ good men. I have had many cases for you people against them, but I have found most for them respectable men, far better than the *Naibs* many other Rajahs employ to look after their *Mofussil* villages.

Rambaksh.—That is true enough. They do not take bribes, they do not meddle with our women, they don't drink, but they are city people; they know nothing of the *Mofussil*, they don't understand our village ways; they press in a hurry for rent, and force us to sell our crops below their value, when they ought to wait and leave us time to make good bargains; they don't know the difference between a 6-anna and a 16-anna crop,* and press in bad times for rent, so that we have to sell our cattle; they don't know who is reliable (*Matbir*), and they make advances, when none ought to be given, to ne'er-do-weells and lose their money, and then say we are all *budmashes* (bad characters, rogues), and won't even give seed grain to the best of us, when times are such that we really need it. And then they are fussy and self-conceited, and won't hear a word from any of us. There was the old tank there, the Soorujkund, that from generation to generation used to irrigate half the village; that burst when I was a boy fifty years ago. Well, we wanted the Rajah to repair this. It wouldn't have cost many hundred rupees, and the whole village knew from their forefathers how well it worked. But, no! The *Naib Sahib* knew better, he wouldn't listen to us. "What do you cattle know? Hold your tongues!" He was all for new-fangled plans; he would bring a *kul* (channel) of the *Sirkari* canal to irrigate the village. We told him that canal water is cold, that our land lay low, that it would not do. But what was the use? "What you cattle folk know? Hold your tongues," and so the *kul* was brought, and the first year it overflowed and damped half the crops, and then when the water dried up, the canal people came and measured up all the land, and made us pay tax for "one watering." A fine thing seeing it had ruined our crops. But we had to pay and now it is bringing the *reh*, (a saline efflorescence) all over our best lands. There is the five-bigah field that my ancestors have cultivated for centuries; such a good field; it never gave me less than Rs. 50 a year net profits, and now—now it is all white, and it won't pay the rent even. I don't like to give it up; for ages have my forefathers tilled it, but what can I do? I asked the *Gomashtah*

to get the rent reduced, and all he said was "reduce the rent? you must be a fool or think me one; hold your tongue." And so it is in every thing. The Rajah pays no heed to us; his *Naibs* understand nothing of our affairs. They order this and order that, press us for money in season and out of season, they know nothing of village matters themselves, and they won't hear a word from us, because they think they are all-wise and we utter fools—and under such a system (*dastur*), how can a village be otherwise than ruined? What does it matter that the Rajah is not a bad man, or that his *Naibs* don't purposely injure us; nay at times some of them, after their own fashion, try to help us—it is the bad *dastur* that is ruining us.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Ah! Rambaksh, the *Chota Sahib* may think you cattle, but you are wiser than he was. For this evil *dastur* which is ruining you and your neighbours and village is the "Despotic" (*khud mukhtiar dastur*). And when rulers govern their subjects in this same way, we call theirs a "Despotic" Government, and "Despotic" governments always ruin the countries in which they are carried on for long. They may be necessary in the infancy of a nation; they become crimes when it grows up. Now, you have a practical knowledge of both systems; you see how Shamshpur is prospering under a "CONSTITUTIONAL" system, and you know only too thoroughly what Kambakhtpur is coming to under the "Despotic" system, and pray have you any doubts as to which of these two are best.

Rambaksh.—Am I an idiot? Who can doubt that the *Lumberdar's* *handohast* (administration) which you call the "CONSTITUTIONAL" system is the best?

Molvi Fariduddin.—Well now, you are only a villager; but you are a thoughtful man, and how would you call our present *Sirkar*? May its shadow never be less, (*dam ikbalahool*)! Do you think our Government is a "CONSTITUTIONAL" one, or do you think it is a "Despotic" one? Don't be in a hurry; think before you reply.

Rambaksh.—Oh! you must not ask me. What do I know of Governments? I am only a poor ryot!

Molvi Fariduddin.—You are only a poor ryot, but you nevertheless are not a fool; on the contrary you are, (and you know it and are proud of it), the wisest man in this village. Take the trouble to think it out; compare the management of this country by our present rulers with the management of Shamshpur by Kour Dharam Singh, and with that of Kambakhtpur by Rajah Harbansrai and his *Naibs* and say which does it most resemble.

* Sixteen annas go to a Rupee. A sixteen-anna crop therefore is a full crop, while a six-anna crop is one which only yields six-sixteenths or three-eighths of what a full crop would.

* The smallest copper coin, value at the present time about one-third of a farthing.

† His deputy or head manager, or agent.

‡ Liquor shops. Public houses.

§ District.

|| The rural portion of the country, as contrasted with the urban portion, is called the *Mofussil*; so again provincial districts, as contrasted with the capital, are also so designated.

Rambaksh (after some consideration).—Well, there is our good Queen-Empress, she never comes here, certainly; and we never see her, and I hear the people in Hakikatabad sent her a petition last year, and they do say nearly a lakh of people signed it, but she never took any notice of it. But they say she is so busy there, over in *Vallayat* (England), and has so many countries elsewhere belonging to her that she has no time to attend to us Indians. And when I come to think of it, may God long preserve her, but I don't know that it *does* signify much, to us, who sit upon the Gaddi* over there in *Vallayat*. I must say that this is all rather like Rajah Harbansrai's *dastur*. Certainly, I never heard that she consulted any of us Indians on any point, and as to *goon khurch* (village expenses)—well, I have heard in Hakikatabad what krores and krores of money are every year spent by the *Sahib lag* (Europeans), and without consulting any one! No! this is not at all like the Shamshpur *dastur*.

Molvi Fariduddin.—And then look at all the *Naiibs* and *Gomasthas* she sends. Are they not like Rajah Harbansrai's? Very respectable men, no doubt; they don't take bribes, they don't, certainly, try to injure us, but what do they know of us and our real wants? Don't they pooh-pooh our old customs and, *har ke amad*† (each who comes) insist on introducing some new-fangled device for improving the condition of the country which, not unfrequently, ends in doing it harm? Do they consult us? Do they ever really talk over any thing with us? Do they take care to see that we approve, and agree to every thing, nay to any thing they see fit to do? It is not with them as with your Kambakhtpur *Naiibs*? "What do you know, you cattle folk? Hold your tongues." "Do this." "Don't do this." Is this like the CONSTITUTIONAL management of Shamshpur, or like the "DESPOtic" management of Kambakhtpur?

Rambaksh.—Ah! Molvi Sahib, you are a learned man, but I see now what you mean, and I suppose our Government is what you call a "DESPOtic" one, and that, perhaps, is why the whole country now is discontented (it never was so when I was a boy), and why every thing seems, from all I hear, to be going wrong, and why the Government jumma is always being raised, and with it our rents, and new taxes are imposed and...

Molvi Fariduddin.—Yes, certainly, our Government is a "DESPOtic" one, and a "DESPOtic" Government is always, when long continued, bad for every country, and we and our country are suffering in a hundred ways on this very account. But

don't think I am speaking evil of our Government, for I know many of them personally, and know that, as a rule, they are good and well-meaning men—men, in many matters, far more highly educated than the best of us. It is not the officers, it is not the members of Government, or the Lieutenant-Governors or Viceroy, that I find fault with. I hate the foolish fault-finding spirit, in which some of our newspapers abuse, and wrongly attribute bad motives to, many of these whom I know to be good men. What I condemn and protest against is the system; it is against the system (*dastur*) of the Government, not against the gentlemen who carry on that Government (and who are as much tied down by that system (*dastur*), as (ourselves), that I complain.

Rambaksh.—That is very true, no doubt Molvi Sahib, and our Collector Sahib is a good man, and in the bad fever here, a year ago, he came out himself and with his own hands gave quinine to many, and his lady herself helped to nurse my little girl, (the one I married this year to Kanarutton's son you know), and he stopped a whole week here, though it was the rains, and he spoke kindly to all. Yes! he is a good man. But what has all this to do with "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS"?

Molvi Fariduddin.—Certainly, Mr. Sidher is a good man, and besides all you know of him, though he does not care to talk much of such things, as the officials generally are not favourable to the idea, he in his heart agrees very much with the views we educated natives hold as to those "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS" about which you ask. What are these? Well, you have yourself understood that our present form of Government is "DESPOtic," that it resembles the form of management of Kambakhtpur, and that it is a form of Government that entails necessarily much suffering on those subject to it. On the other hand, in Shamshpur, you have had an example of "CONSTITUTIONAL" Government, and you have seen how the people have prospered under it, and what we desired is gradually to transform our present "DESPOtic" into a "CONSTITUTIONAL" form of Government.

Rambaksh.—But how can you do that?

Molvi Fariduddin.—By "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS," that is to say, by having "REPRESENTATIVES" of the country, and a considerable number of them, in all the councils and thus allowing the country a real share in the administration.

Rambaksh.—By "REPRESENTATIVES" you mean then men picked out of each town and district who would say to the Government

what we want, and how we want it done, and what we don't want, and all that?

Molvi Fariduddin.—Yes, but not precisely that; rather the men whom such "REPRESENTATIVES" would pick out from amongst themselves, the wisest and best men, (just as your fellow-villagers picked you out to "REPRESENT" them in those enhancement cases) who would sit in the councils, and vote upon Government measures, and would have a right to ask the Government questions, and, if any thing was being done that they considered wrong, would be entitled to insist on the Government explaining how the matter stood, or enquiring into it.

Rambaksh.—But I have heard that there were Ranceses and Rajahs in the council. Why did they not do something good for us?

Molvi Fariduddin.—A very proper question. But as a rule, the gentlemen selected by the Government as Councillors, under the present DESPOtic system, are not of the class of men who could do any good to the country. They are, too, generally men of moderate capacity, selected mainly because they are wealthy, and always make themselves agreeable to European officials. Some really good men are thus selected, no doubt; but these are a minority. However, even if all very good men, they could still, under the present "DESPOtic" system, do nothing, because they are too few in number, and all they are allowed to do is to speak and vote in regard to particular new Acts, which the Government has already decided to pass. They may say what they please, they may vote as they like, but the Act never comes before them until the Government has decided to pass it, and pass it the Government does. No doubt they may, and do at times, get a clause altered here, and a clause altered there, but as to any real power to influence the action of Government to any useful extent, their appointment is a pure farce. What we want is a much larger number of Indian members, and these not mere nominees of Government ready to say "Bhot Acha!" (very good) or *jo hookura* (as you order) to whatever any official suggests, but the ablest and most independent men in the country, who shall be selected by the people themselves, and who will speak their minds, and do what any one likes. And this is only a small part of business. At present, the Indian members, as I have already said, have only a vote upon new laws which the Government have decided to pass. But we want our "REPRESENTATIVES" to be consulted as to all public expenditure, and to have what is called the right of "INTERPELLATION," that is the right to ask Government questions, and to receive full answers thereon, on all subjects connected with the administration. "Why is this done? Why was that not done? Why is this officer allowed to abuse his authority?" and so on. You surely remember Mr. Zabardast; he was long

before my time. But I have heard all about his manner of working the district.

Rambaksh.—Remember him, Ram Ram, *ska nam mat lo* (don't mention him), I hear his marks now (where I can't show them to you Molvi Sahib) though it is twenty years ago. You see his *Lashkur* (camp) came to our village. That old villain Murtezar Slah (whom you, praise be to God, got transported four years ago in that torture case) was *Tahsildar* (or revenue head of the Sub-division.) When the *Sahib* rode in, about ten o'clock, his people complained that there was no grass for the horses. I was standing near. He shouted out "where is the *Tahsildar*?" The *Tahsildar* came trembling. "Protector of the poor," he said, "it is no fault of mine; it is those *badmashes* (bad characters) here, whom I instructed to have every requisite and who assured my people (I was in attendance on your honour's stirrup), that all was ready." "Who did you make answerable for the grass," said the Collector. "This man," said the *Tahsildar*, seizing me by the arm; "he is the *mukaddam*" (or head rycot) "Oh," said the *Sahib* striking me with his whip "you are the son of a pig, the misbegotten (*sar ka bacha*, *haranizado*). I'll teach you how to attend to orders. Here *khlassi* (tent-pitcher) tie him up, and give him thirty *beats* (blows with a cane) on his bottom, and lay it well in." Now the *Tahsildar* had never spoken a word to me about the matter; it was the year of the drought, and there was not a particle of grass in the place; many of our cattle had died, the rest had been driven away to the *dhak* jungle beyond Saianabad, where Lajik Singh allowed them to be grazed. I tried to explain this, but the *Sahib* hit me over the mouth and face with his whip, shouting out "Hold your tongue. I'll teach you, tie him up, tie him up, flog his life out," and I was dragged away and flogged till I became insensible. It was a month before I could walk. Yes, he was a bad one; many Collectors have I known—some good, some indifferent, but this was the only real devil.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Yes, and I have heard worse things of him than this; far worse. Now do you suppose that if we had real REPRESENTATIVES in the local Council, that such a Bahadur would have been allowed to retain office for a single month? No! his misdeeds would have been authoritatively forced upon the notice of Government, and his career of oppression and violence cut short. At it was, some years later, Government came to know of some of his misdeeds, and he was forced to retire; the Lieutenant-Governor indeed, I have heard, wanted to dismiss him from the service, (for whatever their faults, not one in one hundred of our higher officials would tolerate such conduct), but he was highly connected, and the Governor-General thought his forced retirement a sufficient punishment. There are no men quite so bad as Mr. Zabardast, I believe, in the

* Gaddi, lit. cushion; equivalent to Throne.

† Referring to Saadi's well-known lines "*Har ke amad imarat-i-nauh saht, Rafto manzil ba digri perdakht*," &c.

service, any where now-a-days. But still there are in every province many officers who do abuse their official powers, and who are guilty of most unjustifiable acts of high-handedness and nothing of this kind would be possible under that form of "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS" that we advocate. This is only one single branch of the question. In all matters, and in all directions the Government would be improved, and the country benefited. The great drawback to our present form of Government is that our Rulers never know the facts, never really understand the wishes or the wants of the people; our "REPRESENTATIVES" would supply all this, while we should still retain the superior knowledge of methods which the Europeans' greater experience in administration has given them. Don't think I am against Europeans; I have no greater friend than Mr. Sidhor; what I want is such a change of system, as shall prevent the incompetent and ill-disposed amongst them from doing harm, shall give the good ones a fairer field for the exercise of their talents and their virtues, shall utilize for the service of the country the abilities and local knowledge of our own people, and gradually train these up in that work of administration, which at present few of them, owing to want of experience, would be competent to carry on without some aid from Europeans.

Rambaksh.—Well, *Molvi Sahib*, it seems all right, but when you talk of picking out the best and wisest men, I don't seem to see my way. For the life of me, I shouldn't know who to vote for. Of course, if there was anything to get by it, *Rajah Harbansrai* would want to be elected and we should all be ordered to vote for him. Not that I would; but I am sure I don't know whom we in this *Tahsil* (revenue sub-division) could select.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Now what do you think the people of this whole *Tahsil* would say to *Kour Dharam Singh*?

Rambaksh.—I forgot. Certainly, every man would say he is a wise and good man. Yes, I would vote for him—so would the whole *parganah*. Every body wants him for *Serpunch* (President of the Board of Arbitrators) whenever there is any arbitration matter.

Molvi Fariduddin.—And what would you say to my *Mamun*, (maternal uncle), *Molvi Amanat Ali*? Do not the people of *Hakikatabad* all trust him and go to him for advice? For 39 years he was a leading pleader in this province—has any one a bad word to say of him?

Rambaksh.—I do not myself know him, *Molvi Sahib*, but I have heard only good of him. Yes, he would be just the man; how he holds his own as elected Chairman of the Municipality! I have heard much good of him.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Well, and do you not think that if *Kour Dharam Singh* and *Molvi Amanat Ali* and half-a-dozen others equally good men, equally well known and trusted in the neighbourhoods in which they reside, and almost equally certain to be chosen, were all to meet at the *Sudder*, (head-quarters of the District), that they would be able to pick out one man willing and thoroughly fit to speak up for the people of this district, and for all of us Indians in this part of the country? Able and willing to tell Government the truth (which it now never gets) about every thing that goes on, about every officer's conduct, about all our troubles and grievances, all our wants and wishes?

Rambaksh.—No doubt, no doubt, and the same would be the case in other districts. But if every district sent only one man, there would be quite an army; the Government would never allow so many; they would be too many for them.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Very likely, at first, the Government would not allow so many, though we hope to see the day when every district shall send at least two men to our local "PARLIAMENT" as they call such Councils in England; but, to begin with, our fifty odd district "REPRESENTATIVES" might meet and select from amongst themselves twelve good men to "REPRESENT" them all. And Government, if it allows the thing at all, must allow at least twelve such members in each local council, as without at least this number, it would be impossible to have any adequate "REPRESENTATION," such as is required in a local council, of all the many interests involved. Then, there is the great council, the Viceroy's Council and for this the "REPRESENTATIVES" in the several Provincial Councils would select 2, 3 or 4 of their number, as the Government might settle, to "REPRESENT" them and their Province with the Government of India.

Rambaksh.—This would be all very nice, *Molvi Sahib*, if we could only be sure of getting your *Mamun Sahib*, and *Kour Dharam Singh*, and the other best men chosen. But people would consider it an honor to be so chosen, and some would fancy to make some profit out of it, and those men like *Rajah Harbansrai*, and worse still *Sheikh Zalim*, have many villages and tens of thousands of ryots, and they would be sure to order all to vote for them, and though I would not, nor would *Mutadin*, the most of them are poor men, and they would be obliged to do so.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Very true, and that is why (although we look forward to a time, when every honest ryot shall have a vote for the REPRESENTATIVE, of his *Parganah* or *Tahsil* or *Taluk*), we do not propose in the beginning to give the "FRANCHISE," that means the right to vote for REPRESENTATIVES,

to any of those classes of people who are unable to understand what a serious business this election is, or are liable to be driven to vote differently to what they think right. No! at first we should give votes to all the educated and well-to-do persons, to members of all local Boards, and all Municipal Committees, to the leading men or *punchs* of any leading *castes*, or predominant castes, and so on. In every Province the arrangements will very likely have to be somewhat different, and in each district probably some minor special rules will be found necessary, but these are details which can only be worked out when the Government agrees to accept the "CONSTITUTIONAL" in lieu of the "DESPOTIC" system.

Rambaksh.—But I don't think much of several of the members of local Board; and look at the *Choongicullahs* (literally, Octroi people, i.e., Municipal Commissioners) of *Mutteenugger* where *Ramrattan* lies. Why two of them are perfect fools, and as for well-to-do people, why some of them like *Lalla Subkhata Ram*, are worse than the Police?

Molvi Fariduddin.—Certainly, in every pod of cotton there are black seeds, and every collection of men there some rogues, and a good many fools. All five fingers are not equal *Panchon wigalyam barabar nehin*. But take the upper and middle, fairly educated classes, and they contain, you well know, a majority of fairly sensible and reasonably honest men. And though even in our district some one or two bad men and some two or three stupid might get selected, the majority would be men whom all their neighbours look up to, like *Kour Dharam Singh*, and so the one man chosen by these to represent the district would be almost sure to be a good man. And, again, if by chance one or two, say even six, of the districts (though this could never really happen) sent up unworthy men, what would these be amongst fifty and what chance would one of these have of being selected by the majority for the Council? No! even at first starting there would be not serious difficulty, and after a very few years, every really suitable man would be known not only in his own district, but throughout the Province, and his private life and public acts would be patent to all.

Rambaksh.—Yes! I see it is not so difficult as I thought, and I suppose with such councils that, as time went on, the condition of the country would improve, and things would be done more as we like, and we should be more comfortable. But please tell me what good this would do us poor men in *Karabhatpur*? And this not quite the worst of the *Rajah Sahib's* villages. Look at those miserable folks at *Satynas Khehra*! What could the Council do there? What could they do for *Sheikh Zalim's* poor folk?

Molvi Fariduddin.—Surely you do not suppose that such disgraceful mismanage-

ment, such shameless oppression and roguery, as characterize the dealings of these two persons could go on long unchecked under our new system? No! one or more of the Representatives would get up in Council, and call the attention of Government to the lamentable state of affairs existing in nearly 100 villages in this district. They would state a series of cases, they would give all the facts, and they would demand an enquiry. All this would be reported in the *akhbars* (Press), public opinion would be roused against the incapacity in the one case, the wickedness in the other, that was blighting the lives of tens of thousands of poor honest souls. Their own kith and kin would fight shy of them, they would be made by social pressure to turn over a new leaf, and besides this, with full facts authoritatively laid before them, the Government would enquire, and indirectly add their pressure to that of the community, even if they did not find that they could take legal action, which in the *Sheikh's* case I am pretty sure they could. And mind you, that the Government wants to prevent evils of this kind—it really does wish you all to be as happy and comfortable as possible; it is its misfortune that under its existing "Despotic" system, it never knows what is going on, or what ought to be done to attain what it wishes, but ignorant alike of us and our customs and ways, blunders on trying to do us good, but, not unfrequently, doing us harm instead.

But don't you run away with the idea that when we get "REPRESENTATION" all injustice and oppression, all poverty and distress, are to cease. This it can never do, unless and until all men are good and kind and wise, and that won't be in our time. *Mukkadami*. All we can promise is that the amount of these afflictions will be greatly diminished, and a very great check imposed on the evil omissions or deeds of men like the *Rajah Sahib* and the *Sheikh*.

Rambaksh.—Oh, I understand that. I know that some will be in trouble as long as the world lasts, but there is too much trouble now, and I can quite perceive that with a *bandobast* (arrangement) such as you propose, the state of affairs would become a good deal pleasanter. But ah! *Molvi Sahib*, there is one thing worse than the *Rajah Sahib*, one thing as bad as the *Sheikh*, as bad as death, and that is the Police, and what can your new *bandobast* do where that is concerned? No! *Panneshar*, the Divinity in heaven, has created the tigers to prey upon the deer, and our Government, on earth, has created the Police to prey upon us.

Molvi Fariduddin.—What can our new system do with the Police? Why reform it; change it from a curse into a blessing. Truly, *Rambaksh*, you have hit upon one of those national curses, for the reform of which, above all things, "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS" are essential. You hear much talk about this

matter of police; people talk of it as if it were a great difficulty, but really it is the simplest matter in the world; no doubt the police are a curse, but there are just two simple reasons for this. The first is that the police are much more numerous than is necessary, and are not nearly well enough paid. And the second grows partly out of this, and partly out of the ignorance of European officers. The police work as enemies of the whole community, instead of as friends; and why? First, because being so ill-paid, they are driven to extort money and take bribes, and to assume a bullying attitude towards every one to frighten them into giving, and this naturally makes the whole community dislike and fear them. And, secondly, because these European officers, men, as a rule, of very moderate capacities, dealing, practically, only with the dregs of the population, think we are all thieves and scoundrels, and deal with us accordingly, and either hate or despise us. I have known many Superintendents of Police, but only one who had not an unreasonably bad opinion of the Indian community. They, as a rule, look at us as criminals not yet caught, as enemies to be fought with, as beasts to be kept under, and the only persons they show the least favour to are miserable toadies who poison their minds with lies about all their neighbours. It is not these poor Superintendents' fault so much, it is their misfortune. Very hard: many of them work, but it is all in the wrong way, and generally does more harm than good. Mighty careful are they about accoutrements and arms and drill, and all kinds of outside polish (*mumai*) but does one of them try to raise the moral tone of his men, to persuade them to be good, true, and just in all their dealings, to lead them to be kind and conciliatory to all people, to impress upon them that the only chance for real success lies in their having the whole of the non-criminal classes, the great bulk of the population in fact, with them as friends? No, not one that I have ever seen or heard of; on the contrary, so far as their teachings go, whether by precept or example, they lead the police, already hated by all respectable people for their misdeeds, to look on the whole community as their natural antagonists. The whole question of police reform lies in these two simple matters. The Government don't understand it, nor will it be possible to make them realize it until every council chamber contains a large admixture of independent "REPRESENTATIVE" Indians, but believe me that within five-years of our securing this, the police force of the country would have been entirely reformed, and would have begun to be regarded by the country as their natural protectors and champions.

Rambaksh.—Ah! *Molvi Sahib*, what a thing is learning; rightly do folks say, *vidya bari chiz hai*; all this, now you explain it, is

simple and certain, but it would never have occurred to me. Now I know something about it, I am all for "REPRESENTATION." "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTION" *kejay** I say. But Oh! *Molvi Sahib*, you are like one who holds aloft, out of reach, a cup of delicious water to one parched with thirst, and fainting for a draught. I see how good a thing it would be. I think if we could get it, that the country might, in time, almost be happy again, as in the old days when I was a boy. But how is it possible to bring about this good thing? Alas! we are poor men, and we cannot help, but you are so clever and so wise, perhaps you and others like you can manage it. Oh! pray try and we will all bless you, and pray for.

Molvi Fariduddin.—No, *Rambaksh*, I and other educated men are doing our best, but with very little results. It is your support, and that of others like you, that is necessary, if we are to succeed.

Rambaksh.—Our help. What can we feeble beings do? Who cares for us? Don't you remember the saying, *Ghure paisa wen, mahalonke subne dekhen*? (They sleep on drug hills and dream of palaces.)

Molvi Fariduddin.—That is a large bundle of *Urher stalks* that you have here tied up; it must be very heavy and strong; do you think you could break it over your knee?

Rambaksh.—Break it over my knee? No! nor could the *Rajah Sahib's hathi*, (elephant); let him try ever so! But what do you mean?

Molvi Fariduddin.—But I can; see! I pull out one stem, and thus I break it easily over my knee; and now another, and now a third and a fourth. See! in about ten minutes, though I don't want to spoil your bundle, I could break the whole. Nothing can be weaker or feebler than each single stem, yet see how very strong they become when banded together, each supporting and strengthening the other! Let that teach you, that weak and feeble as you and your fellows are, if once you all unite in good earnest in a good cause, you will be so powerful that no *Rajah Sahib's hathi* can break you. (*Sat pinch ki lakri, ek jani ka bojh.*)

Rambaksh.—But surely you don't want to join together and fight with Sirkar. If we killed all the Europeans how should we get along? All would be anarchy (*ghader*), as I remember when I was young. You cannot mean this.

Molvi Fariduddin.—God for bid! This would be a sin. Why should we kill the poor Europeans? Many of them are really good men, most of them mean at any rate to do right. They are ignorant no doubt of the rights of most matters concerning you; they blunder, they

sense as misery, but they do it from ignorance—from an ignorance unavoidable under the system which they work on, and which, even did they wish it, they could not change without our help. Besides, though we of the new generation are growing up able to assist them and do much for the country, the whole of us put together have not yet sufficient experience and self-reliance to manage the administration entirely without their help. Kill the Europeans? No, *Rambaksh*, let us say, rather, God bless all of them (and there are many such), who feel kindly towards us in their hearts, and according to their lights mean well towards us, and God forgive those amongst them (and let us hope they are not many) who dislike and despise us, and care nothing what becomes of us.

Rambaksh.—That is very good *Molvi Sahib*; you are a true *Rishi* but what then do you mean?

Molvi Fariduddin.—It is growing late, and I must be going; but I will try, briefly, to explain this. Although the Government of our country is DESPOTIC, the Government of England CONSTITUTIONAL, and there every respectable man, even the cultivators and artisans, have the FRANCHISE (power to vote for REPRESENTATIVES, you remember); and the people dislike DESPOTISM, and they only allow it to continue here, because they do not understand how this country has changed during the last 25 years (owing mainly to the education, and railroads, and post offices, and the like that they have given us), and believe us still to be children who must be managed, as a father manages young children, by orders, or in other words "DESPOTICALLY." But if we could once make the English Nation at home (who have none of the prejudices on these matters that Europeans who have lived long out here so often insensibly contract) that we are no longer all of us children; that, thanks to their education, numbers of us now are quite fitted by our superior local knowledge, not only to fill a great majority of the posts now held by Europeans, and discharge the duties thereof far more satisfactorily than these by reason of being foreigners possibly can, but even to instruct and advise in most matters of domestic administration, they would at once through their "REPRESENTATIVES" insist upon our association in the work of governing the country on a much larger scale than at present and on the concession to us of some form of "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS." To many of the best and highest of them the fact that the Government of India is still what they so greatly dislike, viz., "DESPOTIC," is a source of real regret, and they would gladly accept any reasonable evidence that the continuance of such a system was no longer necessary. Besides this, even those who are less liberal and less-high minded are sensible. Practical common sense is the leading characteristic of the British nation, they know perfectly well that it is better to rule a contented, than

discontented people, and one of their own holy texts says that a dinner of herbs where peace is, is better than the grandest banquet where there is strife; and if once they saw us all, high and low, banded together and determined to obtain these REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS, then they have too much common sense not to allow us to have them. Now, perhaps you understand what I meant by that bundle of *Urher stalks*, viz., that UNION IS STRENGTH.

Rambaksh.—Well, *Molvi Sahib*, I am with you altogether, but what must we do, and what are you learned gentlemen doing?

Molvi Fariduddin.—The first thing to be done is to make all the more intelligent of your fellows understand all I have explained to you to-day. Let these again teach it to all their friends, and these again to others, till there is not a sensible man in the whole district who does not understand the rights of the case, and does not really, from conviction, desire "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS." Other friends are telling the ryots, the shop-keepers, the artisans, these same things in other districts, and if you all bear in mind that this is a matter in which you all, high and low, rich and poor, are in one way or another, personally interested, it will not be long before the country, as one man, is united in real truth, in their desire for this great reform.

Rambaksh.—I see this, and I will do what I can. I will explain it every night on the *chopal* till every one who has any head and the headless people will do what we tell them knows it as well as I do, and if some one will put it into a little book, I will make the children read it in the school. Do not fear that in this neighbourhood we shall not be all crying very soon for "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS." But what then, and what are you doing.

Molvi Fariduddin.—I am founding at *Hakikatabad* a political association, and later you and other head ryots, who have brains and honesty, and are not what that *Chota Sahib* thought you mere cattle, must join it. This Association will be a branch of the large Association at the capital, and will work with it. Then in this district in any place where there are many intelligent ryots like yourself, or clever shop-keepers or artisans, these smaller branches must be formed to work in concert with our *Hakikatabad* Association.

Now the object of this system of associations which will soon have spread into every *Parganah Tahsil*, will be two-fold. First, to teach the people what I have this day been teaching you, and give them rational ideas of their duties as free citizens; and, secondly, having brought about a national agreement on these matters, to make it clear, both to the Government here and the English Nation,

what that agreement and determination is, to which we have come. For both purposes a good deal of money is required. We have to print, publish, and distribute books and papers. You want some one to write a little book about these matters I have been talking about? Well, if such a book be written, we should want at least five thousand copies for this district only; for there must be at least one copy for every village and hamlet, and in the larger places, there should be 2, 3, 5, 10, 20 copies, according to the size of the place, and that costs money; and this is only one thing and constantly matters arise about which it is necessary to circulate information. And then we must keep up communication with each other—you in the *Majussil* branches with us at the *Sudder* Station, and we with other district associations and the head-quarters, and the books and pamphlets and papers I have referred to have to be sent about, and to a great extent by post, and this costs a great deal in postage. And then in connection with other associations, we have to prepare memorials setting forth our views and wishes, and to send people to considerable distances to present these to the Viceroy or to the Lieutenant-Governor, and speak on our behalf. And again, we have the National Congress, which meets yearly, and to which every district ought to send at least one "REPRESENTATIVE," and it sometimes happens that the very man we know to be specially fitted for either task cannot, unaided, bear the expense of the long journey. And then, if the truths I have been trying to impress upon your mind are to be imprinted, within any reasonable period on the minds of the entire population, merely distributing the books will not do. We must have earnest and clever men to go round from village to village, and expound to them and though some of us, whenever they have leisure, do this, such work is intermittent and we want men who will do nothing else but keep at it every day and all day, and though such men may do it for the love of their country, still they must live, and it is not amongst the rich and happy that we can usually look for such, but rather amongst those who are poor, and have suffered, and can therefore feel for all the suffering so rife amongst us; and for such, of course, we have to provide the necessary funds. And then were the work of association develops, it becomes necessary to have a paid Secretary to manage the clerical business. None of these are large sums, but still in the aggregate a good deal of money is indispensable to successful work, even of that kind of work which may be called purely provincial. But then again in conjunction with other Associations and Leagues, we have national work. We have to get some of our appeals printed and largely circulated in England, circulated not by the hundred, but by the hundred thousand. And again it is absolutely essential that we should select able and earnest men, like the Delegates we sent not long ago to England, and sent them to Eng-

land not for a week or two, but for a year at a time at least, to go round the country to all the large towns and cities, and attend Public Meetings and speak to them, explaining our grievances, and the remedies we desire to see applied and generally to educate Public Opinion there as to the true state of affairs here, and gradually force home upon the minds of the people the conviction that we here have now really made up our minds as a nation that we do want "REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS." Moreover it is equally necessary that some of our countrymen should obtain seats in "PARLIAMENT," so as to be in a position to advocate authoritatively our country's cause, and to insist on a hearing for our complaints and memorials. And all these things will cost a very great deal of money, and though other Associations will pay most of this, we too ought to give our share. So you see the old saying that "money is the sinews of war" is true even of this blood-less campaign against "Despotism." That we are undertaking, and money and a good deal of money, we must have.

Rambaksh.—And how is it to be got? Of course, there are plenty of rich men who think nothing of giving Rs. 10,000 to repair some old tank that nobody wants, or even to build a Racket Court for the *Sahib* *loy*, so as to carry favour with these, and perhaps get their names published in the *Gazette*. But we shan't get any thing from them, for, say what you like, *Molvi Sahib*, the officials won't like all this. I don't say Mr. Sidher, but where is there another like him? But what will the *Jiit Sahib*, Mr. Oonchanak say, and what will Mr. Bahadar, the Judge *Sahib*, think of it all? No, you won't get much from the rich, and the poor have next to nothing to give, and so, I fear, you will not get that good deal of money you say you must have.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Well as to some of the wealthy, the mean selfish time-servers, whose only thought is for themselves, and who care nothing for their country and countrymen, a base herd, but, thank Heaven, not a large one, we shall, of course, get nothing from them. But there are, despite these miserable exceptions, a great many good men, amongst the well-to-do and wealthy who have helped us and who will help us. No doubt, not a few of these consider it inexpedient to join us openly; some think they can do better for us and the country by maintaining friendly relations with the officials however prejudiced and narrow-minded these may be, by humouring their prejudices and affecting to take no great interest in our movement; some again are really afraid of giving offence or of the consequences of this. Well, they give privately; they wish to aid the cause and do so, and we take care that no one knows it at present, and that they get into no trouble about it. But the time will come when the battle has been won, when they will

be proud enough to have their names published as early benefactors of the scheme.

Rambaksh.—But will these private donations suffice for your needs? I can hardly think so.

Molvi Fariduddin.—Certainly not, and our main dependence is on you and your fellows; on the masses. There are twelve lakhs of people in this district, and if only two lakhs out of these gave us each four annas, on an average, during the year, that would yield us Rs. 50,000 a year, for more than we could, now-a-days, require. And you see, what we think is this; that wherever there are good men like yourself who have got the people interested in the matter, they might at the Dusehra, and the Hollee, collect a pice or two from each villager for the Association. And then at marriages, the man who is going to spend Rs. 20 might resolve to spend only 19 and send in one rupee to the Association. And the tradespeople and the money-dealers, when they make up their accounts yearly, might resolve to set aside a cowrie in the rupee for this work, just as they now set aside a great deal more for other public and sacred purposes. After all, what purpose can be more of a public one, what more sacred, than this which promises to bring about relief and comfort to all classes throughout the Empire? Every ryot may give only a pais, but as we say *phui, phui karke, talao bharta hei*. (Many a mickle make a muckle).

Rambaksh.—That is a capital plan, and I promise you that you shall have something even from Kambakht-pur at the next Dusehra, and from this day forward, be sure that all the little in my power shall be done to advance this good object. And now you are going, *Molvi Sahib*, please take this Rs. 4-12

I owe you for stamps and fees in that case you won for me. It ought to be far more for all the trouble you took, but that was what you said in your *Booqua* (note).

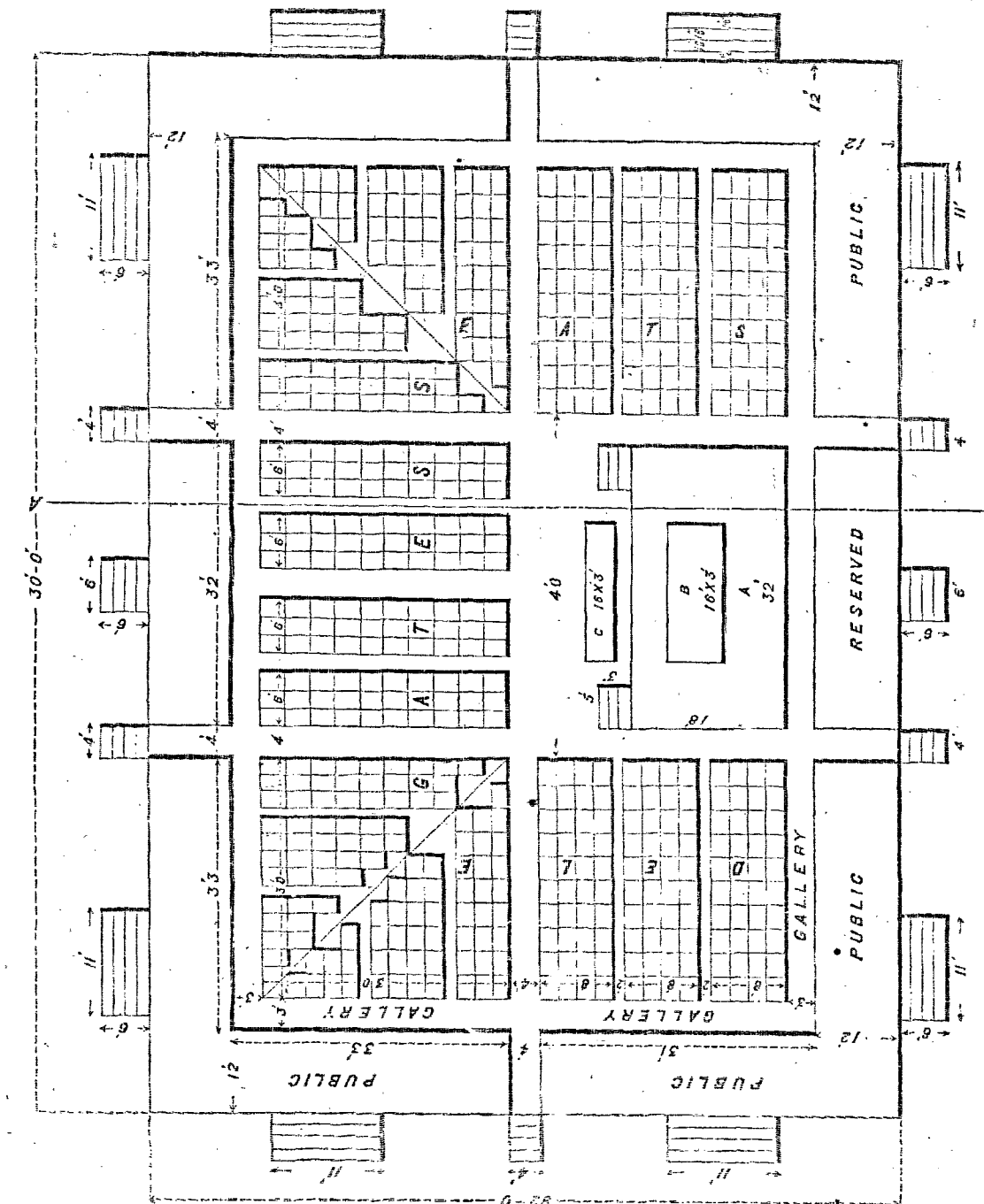
Molvi Fariduddin.—Oh! I make those who can afford it pay; we've all got to live. Thanks! Now you owe me nothing, and now I shall enrol you as a Member of our Association and pay in this money in your name to our slender treasury. One word more, old friend. You said I was a true Rishi. I hope, a good Mahomedan, I am in no way behind a true Brahmin or a true Christian in my love of all that is good, and my desire to be of service to my fellow-men. Trouble yourself little about what men call themselves, whether Hindu, Moslem or Christian. Look to what they are, and if good, remember that though they may wear different liveries, they are all humble servants of the one lord. And may I say this more—"REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS" we shall get, but if we are to get all the good that is possible out of these, we must not only induce others to do justice to us, but we must do justice to ourselves. It is not merely by political enfranchisement that a people rises; they must grow in goodness as they grow in power, or evil will come of it, and while we band together to struggle against "Despotic Institutions," we must each and all in our inmost hearts resolve, and keep that resolve, to live henceforth better lives, to love our fellow-men more, and gradually sink the all-absorbing interest in our own selfish cares, in a wider and nobler interest, in the welfare and the progress of our country and our fellow-countrymen. SUPHAL KAMAL SUDH KIJO LAGE HUE KE HET. (Blessed are the earnings of the virtuous which go to the service of God).

APPENDIX IV.

Plan of the Temporary Hall where the Congress was held

SCALE 8' = 1 INCH.

A.—Platform. B.—President's Table. C.—Reporters' Table.

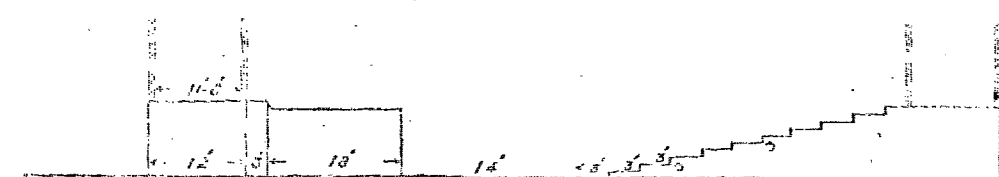


CROSS SECTION ON AA.

Vertical scale 4 Times Horizontal.

Railing.

Railing.



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Y.—Proposed by Mr. Rahmatulla Sayani, (*Dombay*) ; seconded by Lala Murlidhar, (*Ambala*) ; supported by Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, (*Madras*) ; and carried by acclamation : " That this Congress of Delegates from all parts of India do humbly offer its dutiful and loyal congratulations to Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen-Empress, on the approaching completion of the first half century of her memorable, beneficent and glorious reign, and heartily wish her many, many more, and happy, years of rule, over the great British Empire."

II.—Proposed by Mr. Dineshaw Edulji Watscha, (*Dombay*), seconded by the Hon'ble S. Subramannia Iyer, (*Madras*), supported by Pandi Parakkal, (*Lucknow*), and carried by a very large majority: "That this Congress regards with the deepest sympathy, and views with grave apprehension, the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India, and (although aware that the Government is not overlooking this matter and is contemplating certain palliatives) desires to record its fixed conviction that the introduction of Representative Institutions will prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people."

III.—Proposed by Rai Kumbh Lall Basarjee Bahadur, (*Celestia*); seconded by Mr. P. Rangiah Nayudu, (*Madras*); supported by Mr. Ghanawan Nankani, (*Bombay*); and carried unanimously: "That this Congress do, emphatically re-affirm the 3rd Resolution of the Congress of 1885, and distinctly declare its belief that the reform and expansion of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and of the Provincial Legislative Councils, therein suggested, have now become essential alike in the interests of India and England."

IV.—Proposed by Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, (*Calcutta*); seconded by Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar, (*Bombay*); supported by Mr. Sharfuddin, (*Delwar*) and carried without a dissentient voice: “That this Congress is of opinion that, in giving practical effect to this essential reform, regard should be had (subject to such modifications as, on a more detailed examination of the question, may commend themselves to the Government) to the principles embodied in the following tentative suggestions:—

(1.)—The number of persons composing the Legislative Councils, both Provincial and of the Governor-General, to be materially increased. Not less than one-half the Members of such enlarged Councils to be elected. Not more than one-fourth to be officials, having seats *ex-officio* in such Councils, and not more than one-fourth to be Members, official, or non-official, nominated by Government.

(2.)—The right to elect members to the Provincial Councils to be conferred only on those classes and members of the community, *prima facie* *capable* of exercising it wisely and independently. In Bengal and Bombay the Councillors may be elected by the members of Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce and the Universities, or an electorate may be constituted of all persons possessing such qualifications, educational and pecuniary, as may be deemed necessary. In Madras, the Councillors may be elected either by the District Boards, Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce and the Universities, or an electorate may be constituted of members partly elected by these bodies and partly nominated by Government. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh and in the Punjab, Councillors may be elected by an Electoral College, composed of members elected by Municipal and District Boards and nominated, to an extent not exceeding one-sixth of the total number, by Government, it being understood that the same elective system now in force, where Municipal Boards are concerned will be applied to District Boards, and the right of electing members to these latter bodies may be extended to the same extent as in the case of Municipalities. In the Andhra must be worked out (not strictly for each province) care must be taken that all sections of the community, and all great interests, are adequately represented.

(3).—The elected Members of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws, to be elected by the elected Members of the several Provincial Councils.

(4).—No elected or nominated Member of any Council, to receive any salary or remuneration in virtue of such membership, but any such Member, already in receipt of any Government salary or allowance, to continue to draw the same unchanged during membership, and all Members to be entitled to be reimbursed any expenses incurred in travelling in connection with their membership.

(5.)—All persons, resident in India, to be eligible for seats in Council, whether as electees or nominees without distinction of race, creed, caste or colour.

(9).—All legislative measures and all financial questions, including all Budgets, whether those involve new or enhanced taxation or not, to be necessarily submitted to, and dealt with, by these Councils. In the case of all other branches of the administration, any Member to be at liberty, after due notice, to put any question he sees fit to the *ex-officio* Members (or such one of these as may be specially charged with the supervision of the particular branch concerned) and to be entitled (except as hereinafter provided) to receive a reply to his question, together with copies of any papers requisite for the thorough comprehension of the subject; and on this reply, the Council to be at liberty to consider and discuss the question and record thereon such resolution, as may appear fitting to the majority. Provided that, if the subject, in regard to which the inquiry is made, involves matters of Foreign policy, Military dispositions or strategy, or is otherwise of such a nature that, in the opinion of the Executive, the Public interests would be materially imperilled by the communication of the information asked for, it shall be competent for them to instruct the *ex-officio* Members, or one of them, to reply accordingly and decline to furnish the information asked for.

(7).—The Executive Government shall possess the power of overruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council, in every case in which, in its opinion, the public interests would suffer by the acceptance of such decision; but whenever this power is exercised, a full exposition of the grounds on which this has been considered necessary, shall be published within one month, and, in the case of local Governments, they shall report the circumstances and explain their action to the Government of India, and in the case of the Government of India, to the Secretary of State; and in any such case on a representation made to the Government of India, and the Secretary of State, the Committee of the House of Commons (recommended in the 8th Resolution of last year's Congress, which this present Congress has affirmed) to consider the matter, and call for any, and all, papers or information, and hear any persons on behalf of such majority or otherwise, and thereafter, if desired, report thereon to the full House.

Y.—Proposed by Mr. N. N. Gupta, (Awarachi); seconded by Mr. M. B. Namjoshi, (Pooni); supported by Kumar Binay Krishna, (Calcutta); and carried unanimously: “That this Congress do invite all Public Bodies and all Associations throughout the Country to send delegates to meet the Congress at Awarachi, in the month of January, 1907, and do earnestly request the Government of India to sanction the appointment of a Commission, to enquire exhaustively into the best method of introducing such a tentative form of Representative Institutions into India, as has been indicated in Resolutions III of the past, and IV of the present year's Congress.”

[illegible]

VII.—Proposed by Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee, (Calcutta); seconded by the Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer, (Madras); and carried unanimously: "That this Congress approves and adopts the report,* submitted by the Committee appointed by Resolution VI."

VIII.—Proposed by Mr. S. A. Srinivasa Iyer, (Tanjore); seconded by Mr. H. K. Dhruva, (Sera); supported by Dr. Trailokyanath Mitra, (Calcutta), and carried unanimously: "That, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now arrived when the system of trial by jury may be safely extended into many parts of the Country, where it is not at present in force."

IX.—Proposed by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, (Calcutta); seconded by the Hon'ble Perry Mohan Mookerjee, (Calcutta); supported by Munshi Sadho Lal, (Benares); and carried by a very large majority: "That in the opinion of this Congress, the innovation made in 1872, in the system of trial by jury, depriving the verdicts of juries of all finality, has proved injurious to the Country, and that the powers ther, for the first time, vested in Session Judges and High Courts, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal, should be at once withdrawn."

X.—Proposed by Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose, (Calcutta); seconded by Mr. T. Chidambaram Row, (Bellary); supported by Khajeh Abdul Aleem, (Dacca), and carried unanimously: "That, in the opinion of this Congress, a provision, similar to that contained in the Summary Jurisdiction Act of England (under which accused persons in serious cases have the option of demanding a commitment to the Sessions Court), should be introduced into the Indian Code of Criminal Procedure, enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that, instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions."

XI.—Proposed by Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, (Bombay); seconded by Munshi Kashipershad, (Allahabad); supported by Mr. Sri Hanu, (Lucknow), and carried unanimously: "That this Congress do place on record an expression of the universal conviction, that a complete separation of executive and judicial functions (such that in no case the two functions shall be combined in the same officer) has become an urgent necessity, and that, in its opinion, it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should, in some Provinces, involve some extra expenditure."

XII.—Proposed by Rajah Ramprasad Sinha, (Oudh); seconded by Mr. R. D. Mehta, (Calcutta); and carried by acclamation: "That in view to the unsettled state of public affairs in Europe, and the immense assistance that the people of this country, if duly prepared therefor, is capable of rendering to Great Britain, in the event of any serious complications arising, this Congress do earnestly appeal to the Government to authorize (under such rules and restrictions, as may to it seem fitting) a system of Volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country, such as may qualify them to support the Government, effectively, in any crisis."

XIII.—Proposed by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, (Calcutta); seconded by Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar, (Bombay); and carried unanimously: "That Standing Congress Committees be constituted at all important centres."

XIV.—Proposed by Mr. A. O. Hume, (Punjab); seconded by the Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer, (Madras); and carried by acclamation: "That the third Indian National Congress be held at Madras, on the 27th of December, 1887."

XV.—Proposed by Mr. Rangiah Naidu, (Madras); and seconded by Mr. Srinivaso Pranjee Patel, (Bombay); and carried unanimously: "That copies of these Resolutions be forwarded to His Excellency the Viceroy-in-Council, with the humble request, that he will cause the 1st Resolution to be submitted in due course to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, that he will cause all the Resolutions to be laid before Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and that he himself will be graciously pleased, in consultation with his colleagues, to accord them his best consideration."

(Signed) DADABHAI NAOROJI,
President of the Second Indian National Congress.

These Resolutions of the Second Congress were very fully considered and discussed during the year 1886, and were unanimously approved and ratified by almost every Political Association (more than one hundred in number) in the Empire, and by Public Meetings at nearly every town in India, so that it is not unreasonable to assume now, that they faithfully represent the views of the great bulk of the intelligent classes in British India).

*REPORT.

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

- 1.—That the open Competitive Examination be held simultaneously, both in India and in England.
- 2.—That the simultaneous examinations thus held be equally open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects.
- 3.—That the classified list be prepared according to merit.
- 4.—That the Congress express the hope that the Civil Service Commissioners will give fair consideration to Sanskrit and Arabic among the subjects of examination.
- 5.—That the age of Candidates eligible for admission to the open Competitive Examination be not less than 19, or, as recommended by Sir C. Aitchison, more than 23 years.
- 6.—That simultaneous examinations being granted, the Statutory Civil Service be closed for first appointments.
- 7.—That the appointments in the Statutory Civil Service, under the existing rules, be still left open to the Members of the Uncovenanted Service, and to professional men of proved merit and ability.
- 8.—That all appointments requiring educational qualifications, other than covenanted first appointments, be filled by Competitive Examinations, held in the different Provinces, and open in each Province to such natural-born subjects of Her Majesty only, as are residents thereof.

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

(Signed) DADABHAI NAOROJI,
President of the Committee.

26th December, 1886.

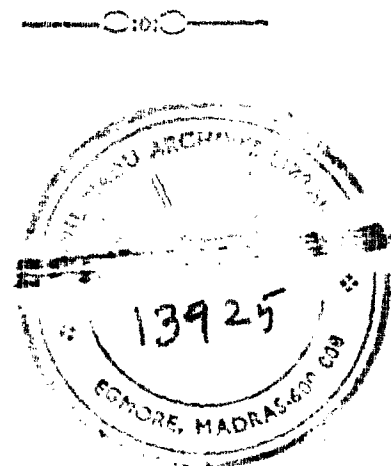
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