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Report
of The
Fourth
Indian
National Congress
Held at
Allahabad
on the 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th of
December.

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THE FOURTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

"If you go on making your appeal with fairness, courage and moderation to the great English nation, they will assuredly respond to your prayers, for as the harp responds to the harper's touch so does the great deep heart of England respond to every reasonable prayer for justice and freedom."

(Speech of Pandit Bishen Narayan Dhar.)*



ISUNDERSTOOD, misrepresented and maligned—but ever growing in strength and determination amid the vivifying storms of opposition and abuse—that vast body of Her Majesty's subjects in India, who now support the Congress movement, might well accept the words above quoted as a synthesis of their settled policy.

In the British nation's love of freedom and justice their faith is firm and abiding. They will press their claims by fair and loyal means only, relying solely for success on moral† force. Those claims will always be, not only moderate, but far within the limits of what justice would endorse; no opposition and no persecution will daunt them, but they will go on and on, insisting and insisting, with an ever-growing volume of voice that will and *must, some* day, prevail.

The Fourth Indian National Congress was heralded by a tumultuous outbreak of opposition. Ill-informed or prejudiced writers stormed, reviled, and, alike in Indian and English Journals and other publications, distorted every fact and speech. The secret enemies of British rule (too acute not to perceive that the success of the movement means the perpetuation of this rule), and large sections of the official community (too blinded by class bias to catch the faintest glimpse of this cardinal fact), together with their entire train of obsequious followers, laboured ceaselessly to strangle the movement. A Lieutenant-Governor came forward to denounce its methods and ridicule its measures, while a Viceroy—misled, let us hope, by the misrepresentations of adversaries—stood up to condemn its aims and objects in a public speech, characterised by a misconception of facts, unparalleled in any public utterance, of any similarly exalted representative of India's beloved Sovereign.

Yet, despite—or shall we say *in consequence* ‡—of all this frantic opposition, the development of the Congress movement during the year 1888 was simply marvellous, and the Congress which closed the year was not only in every respect greater and grander than any previous one, but was so thoroughly representative of every part of the Empire, and of every class, caste, creed,

* Page 21 of the Detailed Report.

† "Not by violence or noise have the great things of the earth been achieved; not by ambition or self-seeking can a nation's life be regenerated; but by calm indomitable reliance on that moral force which is the supreme reason, and by implanting in all with whom you may come in contact the conviction that you look for eventual triumph to these means, and these only; and that the moral power which has made the English nation glorious throughout an Empire, on which it has been well and truly said that the sun never sets, is the power to which you trust for the triumph of those great principles of justice and freedom which you are all here assembled to vindicate and uphold." (*Cheers.*) (Mr. Howard's speech on the Separation of the Executive and Judicial functions—*vide* p. 40 of Detailed Report.)

‡ It is a fact that in many parts of the country elderly men, who had almost withdrawn from worldly affairs, and who had never before taken any share in politics, roused by the malignant slanders of the opposition on those whom they knew to be labouring heart and soul, for the good of the country, for the first time in their lives became politicians and came forward to support, openly and energetically, the Congress.

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community and interest indigenous in that Empire, that further advance in this direction seems, now, to be almost impossible.

During the year the greater part of the country was regularly divided into electoral divisions, and the minimum* number of delegates to be elected by each was settled. These divisions, for the double purpose of the education of the people and the convenience of voters, were re-divided into sub-divisions, and divisional and sub-divisional committees were created in all these, composed either of the delegates to previous Congresses with others whom they co-opted, or, as in Berar for instance, of men specially elected, *ad hoc*, by the people. Hundreds of thousands of tracts, pamphlets, speeches and leaflets were put into circulation in all the languages of India. Thousands of public and semi-public meetings and gatherings were held, not in one province, but in almost every district in the Empire. Hundreds of missionaries of the cause travelled from town to town and village to village, expounding the good tidings of the Congress, and the fiercer the opposition raged and the more persistent the efforts of the adversaries of the movement, the more strenuous became the efforts of its supporters. It resulted that, whereas at the close of 1887 we were unable to assert that more than ten per cent. of the population knew anything of the Congress movement, we can, at the present moment, safely affirm that fully one-third of the population know more or less about, and are distinctly favourable to, the movement. When we say population we refer of course to the adult males thereof, for, except in specially advanced localities,† the women know, as yet, practically, little of the matter, or, if they do, we have no means of ascertaining this. But of the 50 millions of adult males inhabiting British territory, at least one-third are now more or less earnestly on the side of the Congress; and if we exclude from the 50 millions the 10 or 12 millions of adult males, who, utterly poverty-stricken and absolutely without education, can care for nothing beyond that daily food which they so often fail to compass, not very far short of half the remaining 38 millions, the *real* population of the Empire, are this day cognizant of the Congress movement, and, so far as they understand it, its supporters and well-wishers. There are still millions on millions who know nothing about it, but in the entire Empire, including even the Anglo-Indians, there is not half a million even of people in any way opposed to it.

Fully three millions of men (more men than voted at the elections for the present Imperial House of Commons) took a direct‡ part in the elections for the delegates to the 1888 Congress, either at the final meetings at the divisional headquarters, or at the minor local meetings, to select representatives to attend these. And this three millions of active supporters, representing fully five times this number of favourers of the movement, and constituting with their women, children and dependents fully 75 millions of the population, is the "microscopic minority" of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava.

* The education in political work, that a personal participation in these Congresses affords, is so valuable that it was considered inexpedient in 1888 to limit the number of delegates that each division might elect. But some 1,500 (of whom 1,248, at least, actually took their seats at the Congress) were elected in 1888, and there is little doubt that in 1889, if no limits be fixed, 3,000 will be elected. It is felt that these huge numbers are unsuited to a deliberative assembly, and hence it is in contemplation to limit the number to 1,000, which, allowing for death, sickness and other unavoidable causes of absence, would reduce the number of actual sitting members, in future Congresses, to between 800 and 900.

† In Calcutta on the river banks, where tens of thousands of women proceed every morning to bathe, many of them Hindu ladies of the highest families, the *Kangress*, as they call it, was for months the one staple subject of feminine discussion. In Allahabad, native ladies were found to have had serious differences with some few of their old friends, because, as they told their husbands, these old friends were *anti*. But as a rule the women are only now *just* beginning to accept *Kangress* as a household word, and here and there institute a "poojah" or religious observance in its honour.

‡ Vide note A, p. lviii.

It may be useful now to compare the constitution, territorially regarded, of the fourth Congress with that of the second and third :—

PRESIDENCY OR PROVINCE.	NUMBER OF DELEGATES.		
	In 1886 in Calcutta.	In 1887 in Madras.	In 1888 in Allahabad.
Madras	47	362	95
Bombay and Sindh	47	99	163
Punjab	17	9	80
North-Western Provinces and Oudh	74	45	583
Central Provinces and Berar	8	13	73
Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Assam	238	79	254
TOTAL	431	607	1,248

Thus, whilst all the divisions of the country were well represented, the North-West Provinces and Oudh were, so to speak, over represented. This was, to a certain extent, due to the fact that the Congress was held at Allahabad. The expense of the journey and the time occupied in coming and going being much less, the province, in which the Congress is held, always sends the largest number of delegates. It was so at both the second and third Congresses; but a more important reason for the very large attendance from Oudh (and the same cause operated in the North-West Provinces) was well explained by Moulvi Mohamed Hidayut Rasul. He said* :—

"Now, can you say how so many able and distinguished delegates have come to be returned from Oudh and specially from Lucknow? Gentlemen, I will whisper it in your ears. The truth of it is, that all this good result is due to the kindness of our brethren in the Alighurh Camp—the opponents of the Congress. (*Loud cheers.*) I assure you that, if our hostile brethren had not made such a grand show of opposition, the Congress would certainly not have been the success that it has been to-day. (*Cheers.*) To my mind, the National Congress is like the vine, which, the more it is pruned, the more it flourishes. (*Cheers.*) There is no doubt that our kind opponents have spared no pains to prune it out of existence; but still the numerous branches which delight the eyes of spectators in this vast hall to-day are, to no small extent, the outcome of their persistent pruning." (*Cheers.*)

Unquestionably, in the North-West Provinces, the vehement opposition of the officials, and their allies, Sir Syed Ahmed and others of less importance, and their persistent misstatements as to the character and *volume* of the movement, very largely increased the number of the delegates who attended from these provinces. Then came Sir Auckland Colvin's letter, again ludicrously underrating the strength of the party, which not only acted as a stimulant to the people of the provinces over which he rules, but probably doubled the number of delegates from Madras, to the people of which presidency attendance at Allahabad, involving journeys of from three to four thousand miles, was a serious business. Lastly came Lord Dufferin's speech, and this put the finishing touch to the general enthusiasm. Nearly half a vast nation like ours, opposed to adversaries less than one-fiftieth of their number, naturally resented the careless disregard of facts which designated them a microscopic minority; and when in addition to this the highest personage in the land took advantage of a convivial meeting on the eve of his departure—a meeting at which none of them could be present—to ridicule them, and misrepresent in the most grievous manner their aims and aspirations, it is not difficult to

understand how a strong practical protest, in the shape of personal attendance at the much maligned Congress, came to be widely resolved upon. Scores of gentlemen for instance—many of them occupying high positions—candidly avowed that it was Lord Dufferin's speech alone that, almost at the last moment, had decided them to face the sacrifices that attendance at the Congress, in their cases, involved. How powerful was the stimulus afforded may be judged from the very large size of the gathering, notwithstanding the introduction of a new rule (requiring each delegate to pay a fixed fee towards the expenses of the Congress before taking his seat), which was expected materially to reduce the number. But "the fiercer the blast the intenser grows the heat," and, despite this new rule, the raging blasts of calumny and persecution only resulted in 1,248 delegates taking the place, at Allahabad, of the 607 who were present at Madras.

Looking now to the constitution of this very large body of delegates, nothing, as we shall see, could well be more thoroughly representative. If we turn first to creeds and races, we find that there were 965 Hindus,* 221 Mahomedans, 22 Native and 16 European Christians, 11 Jains, 7 Parsees and 6 Sikhs; the comparative paucity of these latter being due, solely, to the fact of there being, as yet, very few Sikhs sufficiently educated to serve advantageously as delegates. If we consider next the positions occupied by these gentlemen, whether hereditary or as public men, we find that there were amongst them 6 Princes, 4 Rajahs, 17 Nawabs, 3 Sardars and 54 members of noble families; again, there were 3 members of Council, 73 Honorary Magistrates, 12 Chairmen, 19 Vice-Chairmen, and 127 Commissioners of Municipalities, 10 Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen and 69 Members of Local and District Boards, 27 Fellows of Universities, 3 Public Prosecutors, 1 Coroner, &c. Lastly, if we consider their occupations and professions, we notice 455 in one branch or other of the legal profession, 42 in the medical profession, 5 engineers, 127 merchants and traders, 85 bankers, 73 editors and journalists, 297 landed proprietors, 102 inferior landholders, 17 ryots or cultivators, 2 artisans, 7 shopkeepers, 31 clergymen, missionaries, priests and religious teachers, 59 educationalists, principals and professors of colleges, masters of schools, and public lecturers, 6 printers, 18 contractors, &c. The numbers of cultivators, artisans and petty shopkeepers are very small, but this was not because these classes did not widely interest themselves in the elections, for they constituted the majority of the electors, but because as a rule these classes elected men better educated than themselves; often their landlords, where they were on good terms with these; their favourite lawyers, where they were not; or again men known to every one as upholders of the national cause.

Allahabad, the capital of the United Provinces (*i.e.*, the North-Western Provinces and Oudh) was the place at which it was settled, at Madras, that the next Congress should be held. But here it seemed, for a long time, as if it would be impossible to find any suitable site. The authorities, Civil and Military, threw every obstacle in the way of the local Congressmen; whose duty it was

* Including members of the Arya and Brahma Samajes, &c.
† "Whenever any *real* system of representation is introduced into India, the bulk of the representatives here, as in England, will always be drawn from the more highly educated classes. The Empire of Mind is indestructible, and though clouds may at times, here or there, obstruct their rays, sooner shall the sun cease to give light by day and the moon by night than the more highly educated cease to be chosen as leaders and representatives by their less enlightened brethren." (*Hume's letter to Colvin*, s. 52.)

to prepare for the gathering, and unconstitutionally stretched the large powers vested in them to obstruct, and, if practicable, render impossible the assemblage. As the Hon'ble Pandit Ajoodhia Nath, President of the Reception Committee, remarked* in his opening speech:—

"We were first of all led to believe—I may say distinctly informed—that we should be permitted to occupy the Khuroo Bagh for our encampment. But a little later, to our great disappointment, we were told that the requisite permission could not be accorded (*Cries of 'Shame!'*); and no satisfactory reason was assigned for this change of front. In April, after much negotiation, permission was granted to us to pitch our camp on a large plot of waste ground lying between the fort railway station and the fort, on payment of rent. This rent we paid in advance, and we were assured that there would be no further difficulty in the way of our occupying that piece of land. But, Gentlemen, in the month of August—four months later—we were informed that on sanitary grounds we could not be allowed to occupy that place, and the rent money, which we had paid in advance, was returned to us. Then we managed to secure a group of houses belonging to members of the Reception Committee and other friends, not very far away from the office of the *Pioneer*. This was too much for our opponents, and as some of the houses were unfortunately situated within the Cantonment limits, the Military authorities arbitrarily prohibited our utilizing those houses for Congress purposes. (*'Shame!'*) No inquiry was made as to the sanitary arrangements we were going to make. It was apparently taken for granted that the Congress Camp—and you have seen what a beautiful and perfectly managed camp ours is—would be the filthiest and most insanitary of all gatherings. (*'Shame!'*) It is not too much to say that no other gathering for any other purpose would have been thus barred. Hundreds of thousands of men, poor, ill-clothed, ill-fed, and, I fear, not a few of them far from clean, are allowed to occupy land no further from the fort at the yearly fair—hundreds of thousands who every twelfth year swell to millions—but no authorities, Civil or Military, interfere with them. But our gathering of less than 1,500 gentlemen, all well-fed and well-clothed, could not be permitted on sanitary grounds."

At last by a *tour de force* a site was secured. Just seven weeks before the Congress was to be held, without previous notice to any one, a representative of the Reception Committee was quietly despatched to Lucknow, where resided the owner (a Nawab, a Mahomedan gentleman of high rank) of one of the largest houses (surrounded by spacious grounds) in the station—a house which chanced to be then vacant. He took with him a formal lease and adequate funds, and the same night the lease was signed, the rent paid in advance, and on the next day the Reception Committee had taken possession of Lowther Castle, in the very centre of the Civil Station, overlooking the Alfred Park and alongside Government House, and had commenced their preparations there, before the authorities obtained any inkling of the affair.

It was too late to put official pressure on the Nawab; the legal measures had been taken under the guidance of one of the ablest lawyers in the province. The house was not in cantonments, and the arbitrary power of the Military authorities, so unconstitutionally exerted on the previous occasion, could not this time be brought into play, while as to the Municipality, within whose jurisdiction Lowther Castle lay, its members were, themselves, elected representatives of the people.

Thus, at last, the Congress Dove found rest for the soles of her feet, and, after all, "all's well that ends well," but the incident has been dwelt upon, as happily illustrative of the spirit in which one section of the local Bureaucracy ever seeks to deal with the Indian subjects of Her Majesty,

* Detailed Report, pp. 1, 2. † Pandit Bishamber Nath.

committed to their tender mercies. Well said* Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee :—

"I must say that it is with a sense of pain that I listened to the statement made by the Hon'ble Pandit Ajoodhia Nath regarding the petty official opposition which the efforts of the Reception Committee encountered at each stage. When the story of this spiteful and unworthy persecution is published in this country, and when it is repeated in England, I am sure there will be one universal feeling of indignation throughout the country, which I hope will teach the local officials a lesson which they have yet to learn." (Cheers.)

Amen, and so might it be ; but we must say no more, since, in India, as was justly remarked in his memorable speech at Poona by Mr. Caine, M.P., to differ from the authorities, or expose their shortcomings, is held to be rank sedition.†

A site once obtained, the grounds of Lowther Castle were rapidly levelled and studded with long rows of tents, divided off into blocks by broad roads, such as to preclude the possibility of any accidental fires spreading. Dining and meeting halls for each block were created, a splendid hall beautifully decorated interiorly, 150 x 100 feet in length and breadth, capable of accommodating with its galleries 5,000 persons, was erected for the sittings of the Congress, and midway between this and Lowther Castle, where the President, Secretaries and some of the leading delegates and the offices were located, a magnificent *shamianah*, some 100 feet square, kindly lent by His Highness the Maharajah of Durbhungah, was pitched and furnished as a drawing-room, to serve as a general reception room for all delegates and visitors.

Another beautiful *shamianah*, lent by a Mahomedan nobleman, was fitted up as a reading room, and for some days before, during, and some days after the Congress, the tables were supplied with copies of almost every newspaper published in India (except, of course, of some eight or ten Anglo-Indian journals), furnished gratuitously, in token of their good will and sympathy, by their editors and managers.

In one part of the grounds rows of shops were constructed, constituting a bazar, in which the delegates could obtain every article they could possibly require, from jewellery to fruit, and from kin-khabs to flour and lentils; only spirituous liquors and intoxicants of all kinds were rigidly excluded from the premises—the Congress, though primarily a political body, having also strong temperance and social reform proclivities. Indeed the Congress gatherings were taken advantage of, to hold in the evenings, and, again, on the day immediately following the close of the Congress, large meetings, at which numerous questions of social and moral reform were discussed, and plans of

* Detailed Report, p. 18.

† English readers may have heard a good deal of the seditious character of the writings of some of the Congressmen; may even have heard of the proposal by some of the leading Anglo-Indian papers that some of the Europeans of the Congress Party should be summarily deported, and may have, possibly, fancied that there was really something in all this bluster; but they will perhaps appreciate better what weight should be given to Anglo-Indian utterances, when they learn that one of these same organs of the Bureaucracy denounced Mr. Caine as seditious, and insisted on his summary deportation, because he ventured to find fault with official arrangements (which are demoralizing the whole country) in regard to intoxicants. The attitude of this section of the Anglo-Indian community was well hit off in one of the Indian comic papers: "B. B. (Blatant Bureaucrat) *loqr.*—Do you consider that we are the sublimest rulers in the universe, that our administration is perfect, and that all we say and do is necessarily right? I. E. (Intelligent Englishman).—Well, no; not exactly—rather the contrary, I fear. B. B. (*Angrily*).—Then you're a—d rebel, and must be summarily deported." Of course there are *many* officials who are *not* B. B.'s, but they are we fear, in the minority.

operation during the coming year in each of the innumerable sections into which, in social matters, the community is divided by creed, caste, and race, were considered and, in many cases, settled.

Of course all this, and the provision of furniture, lights and food for the delegates during their stay, sanitary arrangements, watch and ward, and fire protection, involved considerable expenditure, and probably when all is settled the Reception Committee's* account will not fall far short of Rs. 45,000. Of this the fees of the delegates furnished about one-fourth, and the rest was raised by subscriptions throughout the Allahabad circle,† supplemented by liberal contributions from the Benares and Oudh circles. The one curious point about the subscriptions was the extreme anxiety felt by a large proportion of the subscribers that the fact of their thus aiding the movement should be kept secret. After dark, men found their way silently into the Congress treasury (in Lowther Castle), and produced bags of money, sent with verbal messages from this or that gentleman, breathing the strongest sympathy with the Congress, but imploring that no hint should be given to any one of their co-operation. Not only did money thus come from nobles and chiefs, supposed to be indifferent to the question, but actually from several gentlemen whose names appear amongst the leaders of the two or three professedly Anti-Congress Associations, got up by the officials.

Whether there is any wisdom in a system of persecution, that, while it stimulates to greater activity in secret, keeps nearly ‡ three-fourths of a movement like the Congress out of sight, we must leave it to others to decide. But this much is certain: The Congress idea has now obtained such a hold upon the mind of the country that no earthly power can extinguish it. If ten thousand of the most prominent Congressmen were deported to-morrow, the idea would still creep on, spreading from mind to mind, till it had seized every man, woman and child amongst the Indian population, ever growing stronger and stronger in every mind which had received the seed. It is essentially beneficent in its character and, in its open growth, instinct with peace and good will to men. Official opposition and persecution will

* The Reception Committee consists of all delegates to previous Congresses belonging to the circle in which the Congress is held, together with all the more influential and important residents of the neighbourhood co-opted by these delegates. The Committee, always very large, as soon as constituted, elects office-bearers and a moderate-sized executive council who carry out all the work.

† The Allahabad circle includes the whole of the United Provinces, except Oudh and the Rohilkund and Benares Divisions.

‡ The people are not unnaturally much afraid of the local authorities; they have no hope of being justly dealt with in any such matter by many of these; they fully believe that if they displease the local authorities, by overtly joining a movement which these are pleased to denounce, they will speedily find themselves in trouble. Speaking of the police, Munshi Sajjad Hussain remarked (Detailed Report, p. 45): "Let a man displease them in the slightest, and see the beneficence of our kind police; he may know nothing about it, but there will be a criminal case filed against him, and arrangements made for requiring him to give security for good behaviour, before he can reach his home." (*Loud laughter.*) And the native public, generally, in Upper India, believe that this is equally true in regard to a great many of the district officials. The powers of requiring security to keep the peace and for good behaviour are capable of the most terrible abuse. A native gentleman, of high position, attended the Madras Congress, in defiance of his district officer, a most rabid Anti-Congressman. Shortly after his return he found himself called upon to give Rs. 20,000 security to keep the peace. There was not the smallest real foundation for this demand, but he thought it wisest to comply with the demand and leave his home. He might doubtless have appealed and got the order reversed, but his firm belief was—and, whether well founded or otherwise, it is shared by tens of thousands of other gentlemen—that, had he done so, he would before long have found himself involved hopelessly in some more serious case—an utterly false case, but so got up by the police as to leave him scarcely a chance of escape. (*The discussions on a Reform of the existing Police Systems, Detailed Report, pp. 46-54, should be read.*) In one district of the Punjab, in one year, security for good behaviour, &c., was demanded from between 5,000 and 6,000 people. Free English citizens should realise something of all this before they condemn our poor people too strongly for not having the courage of their convictions.

not only add to its growth, but will operate to convert an open, above-board, constitutional movement, into a secret, underground, and, therefore, unconstitutional one. There was towards the close of Lord Lytton's administration a great deal of secret organization for unavowed, and, probably, even to its originators scarcely understood, purposes : though none who have studied history can doubt in what this would have eventuated. It has been the chief glory of the Congress movement that, aided by the enthusiasm elicited by good Lord Ripon's sympathetic rule, it has swept away all this fungoid undergrowth, and sweetened all political agitation by working it out into the wholesome light of the open day. It will be the fault of the Bureaucracy—and the Bureaucracy alone—if, by the unconstitutional abuse of their authority and powers, they drive a portion of the national energy back into the old, disused and illegitimate channels.

Alike for England and India, whose fortunes are now inextricably interwoven, no more gravely significant question exists at the present day for consideration. If England only invites and welcomes the confidence of India, and receives, with kindly consideration, the loyal suggestions (not necessarily adopting all, but treating them with the respect to which they are entitled) of the Congress which, year by year, more and more thoroughly represents the views of the whole thinking portion of the nation, all will be well for both countries. As a great Indian Prince recently said, after hearing the resolutions passed at the several Congresses: "If only these things be conceded, the rule of the British in India will last for ever." But if Viceroys and other high functionaries are to be permitted to sneer at and misrepresent the aspirations of a great nation, if subordinate officials are to be allowed unconstitutionally to oppose loyal political movements and persecute honest and earnest men for temperately and candidly setting forth what they hold to be their grievances and the best methods of redressing these—if England fancies, in a word, that she can maintain by fear a rule that only love can immortalize, then serious troubles only too probably await both countries.

It is well, however, that it should be clearly said and fully understood that, despite the dislike and distrust with which they regard a section of their present local Anglo-Indian rulers, no nation was ever more loyal to their Sovereign than the Indians now are to our beloved Empress, and no country ever more trustingly and affectionately relied on the justice and good will of another, than does India of the present day on that of Great Britain. But "hope deferred maketh the heart sick," and our best friends may in time, if too long exasperated by our neglect and discourtesy, forget all friendly feelings, and all statesmen should realize that the political concessions that India's altered condition now loudly calls for, should neither be needlessly postponed, nor grudgingly, nor ungraciously yielded.

The first sitting of the fourth Congress took place on the afternoon of the 26th December, 1888, in the grand hall already referred to, when the chair was taken at 2 P.M. by the Hon'ble Pandit Ajoodhia Nath, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, whose duty it was, *ex-officio*, to welcome the delegates.

Over 1,200 delegates and some 5,000 visitors were present. Of these latter, however, a good many were compelled to listen from the outside. It may be noted that, unlike other Congresses, the visitors to which were much reduced in number after the first day, at this one, every available seat continued to be occupied throughout the session.

The Hon'ble Pandit commenced his opening speech* by referring to the local opposition with which we have already dealt. He then, alluding to the reckless manner in which accusations of sedition and other equally unfounded charges have been brought against the Congress party by Anglo-Indian journalists and others, who should have known better, went on to say—

"The next reason which induces me to refer to this opposition is the speech of Lord Dufferin, who speaks of the seditious nature of some of our writings and speeches. Some few thoughtless non-official opponents had already, it is true, adopted similar means to discredit us. But I am surprised—I am astonished—to find any sensible man, let alone a gentleman occupying the position of a Viceroy, bringing a charge of disloyalty against us. (*Cheers.*) It is impossible—and I say it with great confidence—to find on the face of this earth a people more loyal than my countrymen. (*Loud cheers.*) We claim the more perfect union of India and England, and yet we are called disloyal. Are we disloyal? (*Loud cries of 'No, no.'*) Some people have gone the length of talking such nonsense as to say that we want the Russians to come into the country. (*Laughter.*) Now, Gentlemen, I ask you, is it not absurd to suppose that the educated natives of India, who have such an admiration for the free and representative institutions of England, could ever wish to be under Russian rule, or become Russian serfs? (*Laughter and cheers.*) History we have read, English education we have received, with Englishmen we have mixed and mixed freely, but we are not credited, it would seem, with even sense enough to realize that the English Government is far better than the Russian or than that of any other European power. The existence of the Congress, the very meetings which we hold annually, are the best proofs of the excellence of the British Government. (*Cheers.*) Where will you find any Government which would allow a foreign country, which it has pleased Providence to place under its charge, to have the same constitutional freedom of speech as the British Government has been pleased to grant to us? (*Cheers.*)

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"If occasion arises, we will prove to our opponents that it is we who are loyal, and not they; it is we who will support the Government and not they; it is we who will be ready with our purses, and not they. (*Cheers.*) We fully acknowledge the inestimable blessings conferred upon us by Government. We most gratefully admit the numberless benefits derived by India from the British rule, and all that we now say is this, *viz.*, that there is yet room for improvement; that England can confer still further blessings upon us; and that, therefore, we may properly approach our Most Gracious Empress—approach her most respectfully and loyally—with the prayer that she will cause all those gracious pledges given on her behalf to be now more fully redeemed. (*Cheers.*)

* * * * *

"Two years ago I gave the subject of the Congress my best consideration, and, after mature deliberation, I arrived at the conclusion that, so far from being dangerous to Government, it embodies the essential germ of the permanency of the British Government. (*Cheers.*) I have since then, in consequence of Sir Auckland Colvin's letter and Lord Dufferin's speech, as a loyal subject of Her Majesty, reconsidered the matter, and believe me, Gentlemen, I have been unable to discover in any of our speeches, publications or proceedings anything which is at all seditious, or which in any way approaches to sedition. You know the multifarious duties of a Viceroy, and you know the heavy work of a Lieutenant-Governor, and I believe that these exalted officials have not had the time to study carefully our pamphlets, but have received their information as to their general purport and bearing at second hand, and you know what the value of that kind of second-hand information is. (*Laughter.*) But this being so, it is the duty of every loyal subject of the Queen to prove, by his firmness in the cause, and by his moderation, that the charges brought against us by our kind opponents have no foundation in fact.

"These criticisms and this opposition have given rise to certain misapprehensions, the most prominent among these being the idea that the Government means to do injury to those who join the Congress,

* Detailed Report, pp. 2, 3.

Nothing could be more absurd than such a rumour. The great nation on whose possessions the sun never sets—the most advanced of nations, the first to introduce free institutions into this country, and teach us that rulers were created for the good of subjects, not subjects for the pleasure of rulers—the noble nation that has united justice with freedom, will never allow its officers to resort to such unjustifiable and unconstitutional measures. (*Cheers.*) Englishmen, as a nation, are not capable of suppressing any loyal constitutional organization by any arbitrary or unfair means. (*Cheers.*)

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"Then there is an idea that the Congress party is only a microscopic minority. (*Laughter.*) But it is not only natives who have received an English education, and even these may now be numbered by hundreds of thousands, who take part in this movement. I see before me, even in this Congress, numbers of gentlemen, who, though very highly educated and cultured, have not received any so-called English education. I have been to several places in these provinces in connection with the Congress, and wherever I went I found great enthusiasm prevailing amongst all classes of people, and what you will be still more pleased to hear is that we have received contributions from all classes, even from those who profess to be against the Congress. (*Laughter and cheers.*) Nay, from some of those whose names figure high on the list of so-called Anti-Congress Associations. (*Cheers, and cries of 'Name, name.'*) I cannot, of course, disclose their names, for they accompanied their donations with special requests that their names should never be disclosed. I have also received large subscriptions from native noblemen on condition that their names should not be disclosed, because they are afraid of the officials. (*Laughter.*)

"A question was recently put in the House of Commons by a member, in which it was stated that the Native Princes and the Mahomedans as a body were against the Congress. (*'No, no.'*) You have here seated on the platform Sirdar Dayal Singh, the premier Sikh nobleman of the Punjab. Our illustrious friend the Maharajah of Durbhungah, a Brahmin of the Brahmins, the premier nobleman of Bengal, had made arrangements to come here to-day; but circumstances over which he had no control—a sudden attack of illness—prevented him from being present. Here, too, you have Mahomedans, noblemen of the highest birth, scions of the ex-Royal houses of Delhi and Oudh, and others. Well, who are the Princes that are against us? The Maharajah of Benares, and he alone; and, if I understand, Rajah Shiva Persad, who is attending this Congress this year and declares himself to be a delegate, even the Maharajah of Benares is not against the Congress, indeed approves it, but only desires to protest against certain speeches and writings of some Congressmen which he disapproves. (*Laughter.*) But can the Maharajah of Benares represent the Princes of India, or ourselves? (*Cries of 'No.'*) Has he anything in common with us? (*'No, no.'*) Then besides the Maharajah of Benares, there are some gentlemen who have the reputation of being the authors of certain Anti-Congress pamphlets and letters to the press. I have the honour of knowing some of them personally, and can tell you that, so far from writing those pamphlets, they are unable to understand them. (*Laughter.*) Since this question was put in the House of Commons, I have tried in vain to ascertain what native Princes were against us.

"Again, I ask you to turn your eyes round this hall and see if it is true that Mahomedans do not sympathize with us. In the last Congress the number of Mussulman delegates was 83; now it is more than double this. (*Cries of 'Treble! treble!'*) The Mahomedans of Oudh have returned at one meeting 57 delegates, including members of the Royal house of Oudh. (*Cheers.*) Some 27 Mahomedan delegates have been returned by the district of Allahabad, and no less than 11 were returned from a place where you might not have believed that even a single one would be elected. (*A voice, 'Aligurh.'**) Yes! how rightly you have guessed the name. (*Laughter and cheers.*) And now you can appreciate the importance of this so-called opposition which sounds very nicely, but in which there is no reality, as all can see when our opponents are obliged to have recourse to the desperate expedient of putting forward these few titled inanities to show that the Princes of India are against us; they stand self-condemned and need no further refutation from us; nor is it my duty now, I am happy to say, to have any fault to find with the Mahomedans, generally, for not joining us, much less for opposing us; and if any Hindu can claim the honour of enjoying an intimate intercourse with the Mahomedans of this country, I certainly can, and I can assure you that, as a body, they are not against us."

We have quoted at great length from this speech of Pandit Ajoodhia Nath because his words are entitled to great weight. By descent a Cashmeri Brahmin; a man of large means; a member of the Legislative Council; the most distinguished legal practitioner probably in the United Provinces, and unquestionably the leader of his own section of the bar, he is, withal, a most cautious man, deliberating long in every case before he moves. He actually considered over

* Aligurh is the head-quarters of the only Indian Anti-Congressman, at all worthy of a moment's consideration, Sir Syed Ahmed.

our aims and objects and pondered over our methods, for nearly two years before he concluded that he owed it to his country to join our movement. The deliberate utterances of such a man in regard to Indian domestic politics ought to be received with respect by every unbiassed Englishman.

Then Pandit Ajoodhia Nath called upon the assembly to elect a President. The Hon'ble Pheroz Shah Mehta, of the Bombay Council, then proposed Mr. George Yule. He said* :—

"We already boast of an illustrious roll of Presidents of Congress. (*Renewed cheers.*) At the first Congress held in Bombay we had for our Chairman my esteemed and respected friend Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee (*cheers*), a Brahmin gentleman hailing from Bengal, the land of the Baboos, but whom I am proud to be allowed to call one of my oldest and most respected friends. (*Cheers.*) Then at the second National Congress, held in Calcutta, we had for our Chairman a Parsee, that "black man" (*loud laughter and cheers*), Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee; only a "black man" in the Marquis of Salisbury's estimation, but for all that a man who is admired, esteemed and loved, from one end of India to the other (*renewed and vehement cheers*); and at the last great Congress at Madras we had for our President a Mahomedan gentleman occupying the highest position, and perhaps the most distinguished Mussulman in India, Mr. Budrudin Tyabjee. (*Cheers.*) And now, Gentlemen, I ask you to add to that illustrious roll, the name, as President of this Congress, of Mr. George Yule." (*Loud cheers, which were repeated again and again with the utmost enthusiasm.*)

Sirdar Dayal Singh, Majethia, of the Punjab, seconded, and Sheik Raza Hosain Khan, a Talukdar and President of the *Rifa-i-am*, in supporting the nomination, remarked† :—

"I hear that certain people have given out that the Mahomedans are opposed to the Congress, and that even a member of the British Parliament, long resident in India, who surely might have known better, went so far as to virtually assert this, in the House of Commons. Now I am a Mahomedan, and although I could not take part in any of the preceding Congress meetings, I am proud of the fact that I have all along, since the very first gathering of the Congress, taken a very deep interest in it, and looked upon the movement with a friendly feeling. Much has been said about me, but nobody has doubts about my being a Mahomedan; and, as a Mahomedan, and one not altogether without the means of ascertaining the views of my co-religionists, I can assure you that though certain individual Mahomedans, who are great at talking, profess to be against the Congress, the great bulk of the Mahomedans are in no way against, but rather are favourable to the Congress. This point has been ably treated by the Hon'ble Pandit Ajoodhia Nath, and I need not dwell on it at any greater length. It will be enough for me to say that I have brought with me a Fatwa of the Shamsululma, in which the said dignitary has approved and sanctioned the participation of Mahomedans in these Congresses. This Shamsululma is the spiritual leader of the Suni community of Lucknow, a place noted for learning in the Mahomedan world. He ranks first amongst the Suni Doctors of Law.

"Gentlemen, the secret of the opposition has now been divulged; it is not the Mahomedans, but their official masters, who are opposed to the Congress."

A Madras delegate further spoke in support of the nomination, and no other gentleman having been proposed, Mr. George Yule was elected by acclamation, and received with prolonged and enthusiastic cheers when he took the Presidential seat.

Every word of Mr. Yule's inaugural address (pp. 6—11 of the Detailed Report) should be carefully studied; it constitutes probably the most remarkable political speech ever delivered in India. It dealt mainly with the primary question—that fundamental reform, on which more or less depend all other reforms—of the enlargement, and reconstitution on a partially representative basis, of the Council of the Governor-General and the

* Detailed Report, p. 4.
† Detailed Report, p. 5.

several Provincial Councils. The past history of the British Indian Government, so far as it relates to this question, is tersely epitomized, the unanimous desire of all parties in England in past times, to introduce some representative element into that Government, whenever this should be possible, is shown, and the existing fitness of the India of to-day for such a measure is demonstrated. It is impossible to do justice to this full and closely-reasoned argument without quoting (which our space will not permit) the whole of it, and we must, therefore, again refer our readers to the original (pp. 6-8), but there is one passage in which he shows clearly that the non-official European community ought to be just as deeply interested in this reform as the Indian, which may be advantageously here reproduced. Mr. Yule says :—

“ But there are other considerations that add weight to the testimony of the Blue Books. In all the discussions that have taken place in Parliament about the inhabitants of India, there is one section which has never been thought of at all—I mean the British non-official class, to which I belong. I want to make our existence known. We may be known as barristers and solicitors, as bankers, traders, merchants, engineers, editors of newspapers, manufacturers, planters and so forth, but the idea of citizenship, and all that that implies, never seems to have occurred to our rulers in connection with us. I know it has been said that we are already represented. We are English, and the Government is English: therefore we are represented. But that is a false inference and a pure delusion. We have no more power and no more voice in the Government of the country than you Indians have. The Government is no more ours because it is administered by a Secretary of State who is an Englishman, than the bread in a baker's shop is ours because the shop happens to be kept by an Englishman and not by a Native. (*Laughter and cheers.*) We are all alike held to be on the same low level of unfitness and unripeness. The only thing we are the least bit of good for in the country, from the Governmental point of view, is to be taxed. (*Cheers.*) We are ripe enough for that; ripe enough to come under the sweep of the Board of Revenue sickle, but unripe for the meanest privileges of subjects of a free country. Our number is uncertain. The census tables do not inform us: but, few or many, almost all of us would be voters in England, and I venture to suggest that we would make a passable fraction of a constituency in this country. There is another consideration. There are many thousands of Hindu, Mahomedan, Eurasian, Parsee and other gentlemen in the country, who, if they were to transfer their persons to England for twelve months or more, and pay certain rates, would be qualified to enjoy all the rights and privileges of British subjects. If you and I go to England we are qualified. If we return to India our character changes, and we are not qualified. In England we should be trusted citizens. In India, well, the charitably-minded among our opponents say that we are incipient traitors!” (*Loud and prolonged cheers and laughter.*)

Later, after showing that India is, at the present time, far more fitted for representative institutions than England herself was for hundreds of years after she enjoyed them, and that the actual state of the country would warrant a fundamental change in the form of the administration, he points out how very far short of this, fall the modest and cautious proposals of the Congress, for the introduction of a small representative element, only, into the administration.

Then turning to the late Viceroy's “ St. Andrew's Speech,” he shows how inaccurate and futile are that nobleman's statements and criticisms, and concludes his refutation of Lord Dufferin's now well-known attack in the following words :—

“ Well, the Viceroy having started upon an assumption that is not only incorrect, but is the very opposite of the fact, it follows that his condemnation does not apply to us at all, but to a fanciful piece of workmanship of which we are not the artists. The Viceroy must necessarily depend largely upon his subordinates for correct information about the details of this and other movements, and it looks to me as if one of those compilers of facts had fallen into some grievous error. The authoritative views of the Congress are to be found in its resolutions, and the resolution about the reform of the Councils is the third one of the first meeting of the Congress three years ago, and that resolution has been the one affirmed at the following meetings. We are in no way bound even by any statement or argument that any speaker may make in supporting that resolution, but I say with the greatest confidence that

neither in the resolution itself, nor in the speeches of the gentlemen supporting it, is a word to be found that justifies the “ ideal authoritatively suggested.” There may be some remarks in letters to newspapers, in pamphlets or in speeches made by members of the Congress, that give support to the “ ideal.” I don't know of them, and, if I did, I should regret them, just as I might regret any of our members having a hump back; but I should feel no responsibility for either his back or speech. If we be charged with encouraging “ ideals ” on such grounds, we may as logically be charged, in the other event, as a Congress for promoting deformed spines! (*‘Hear, hear,’ and laughter.*) It is annoying to us, no doubt, that our friends, as I take Lord Dufferin to be, should be deceived by imitations of our ticket; but as we have no Trade Mark Bill to protect our wares, all that we can do is to warn our friends to ask for the real article, and to see that they get it.” (*Loud and continued cheers.*)

Finally,* the President called upon the assembly to elect a Committee to settle the subjects that were to be discussed at the sittings to be held during the ensuing three days, as also to frame tentative resolutions in regard to these and select the gentlemen, who were to propose, second, and in the first instance support these.

Accordingly the delegates from each circle elected from amongst themselves a fixed number † of representatives, and a very strong committee of 106 members (*vide* pp. 11 and 12 of Detailed Report) was duly constituted and affirmed by the entire Congress.

Then the Congress adjourned with enthusiastic and prolonged cheers for the Queen-Empress, till next day at 2 P.M., and the Subject Committee began their work, sitting until late that night, and resuming work again next morning, when they sat until 1 P.M.

At 2 P.M. precisely of Thursday, the 27th, the Congress re-assembled; and on the President's taking the chair, one of the delegates, on behalf of a great trader community (the Dasa Porwad Banyas) of Bombay, came forward and presented him with an exquisitely beautiful silver *repoussé* work casket full of new rupees. The President was equal to the occasion, and said ‡ :—

“ I have very much pleasure, indeed, in accepting, on behalf of the Congress, the contents of this casket; and as I understand that it is the intention of the donors that, while you (*turning to the Reception Committee*) get the contents, I myself get the casket, I have even greater pleasure in accepting that casket for myself. (*Laughter and cheers.*) Believe me, I shall ever preserve it as a memento of this great and important meeting, and in grateful remembrance of the honour that you have done me in electing me to be its President.” (*‘Hear, hear,’ and cheers.*)

Then one or two of the Standing Congress Committees § laid their annual reports for 1888 on the table; but the majority unfortunately had either prepared no formal reports, or had not had them printed. It was the first year of systematic organization, and so allowances must be made.

* Some months previous to the assembling of the Congress, the Reception Committee called upon all the Standing Congress Committees to report the subjects which the people of their respective Circles desired to have brought before the Congress. All those subjects, proposed by more than half the Committees, were then recirculated, with tentative resolutions framed in regard to each, to all the Standing and by them to the Divisional Committees, so that in regard to all these subjects, which comprised the great majority of those actually brought before and discussed by the Congress, the delegates came fully prepared.

† The number was fixed after much previous consultation amongst the leaders of the several circles, partly with reference to the population, wealth, educational status and general importance of the circle, but more especially with regard to limiting the representatives to the smallest number, that would adequately represent all different shades of opinion and views obtaining amongst the delegates of each circle. Thus Madras, politically the most advanced circle, but where opinion is marvellously homogeneous, had fewer representatives on the Committee than the North-Western Provinces, and even the Punjab.

‡ Detailed Report, p. 15.
§ There is one such supreme managing body for each Circle, which controls the Divisional Committees, each of which has charge of one electoral division, and of the several Sub-Committees which manage the several included sub-divisions.

Then rose the Hon'ble Kashinath Trimbuk Telang, member of the Bombay Council, to propose the re-affirmation of the primary resolution passed in 1885, 1886 and 1887, calling for the reform and expansion of the Councils, local and supreme, and the introduction of a representative element into the administration of the country. Of the resolution itself, he said little, for, as he truly remarked, at three previous Congresses the question had been so threshed out as to require no further advocacy from him; but turning to the recent attacks of adversaries, he disposed, good naturedly but effectually, of some of these. His remarks upon Lord Dufferin's ill-advised utterances were so singularly happy that every one regretted that the late Viceroy was not present to profit by them. Mr. Telang said* :—

"I hold in my hand a newspaper report of what his Lordship said at Calcutta, and I think it is desirable to refresh your memory by reading the exact words of His Lordship's remarks in regard to the work of the Congress. 'And now, Gentlemen,' Lord Dufferin said, 'some intelligent, loyal, patriotic and well-meaning men are desirous of taking, I will not say a farther step in advance, but a very big jump into the unknown, by the application to India of democratic methods of government and the adoption of a Parliamentary system which England herself has reached by slow degrees and through the discipline of many centuries. The ideal authoritatively suggested, Gentlemen, as I understand' [mark, please, the qualification implied in, 'as I understand'] 'is the creation of a representative body or bodies in which the official element shall be in a minority, who shall have what is called the power of the purse, and who, through this instrumentality, shall be able to bring the British Executive into subjection to their will.' Before I pass on to another portion of his Lordship's speech, I will pause here for the purpose of pointing out that every one of the statements made here by His Lordship is inaccurate as applied to any proposal that has ever been passed at any previous Congress, or any proposal that you will be asked at this Congress to pass. (*Cheers.*) His Lordship begins by saying that we ask for democratic methods of government for India. You have—all of you, I suppose—read the reports of the three Congresses which have been already held. I myself took part in the first, but was unfortunately unable to attend the second and the third Congresses. I have, however, read the reports, and have failed to find in them anything of which it can be fairly said that either the Congress as a whole, or any individual member of it, has asked for the application of democratic methods of government to India. (*Cheers.*) The next charge is that we are asking for 'the adoption of a Parliamentary system which England herself has only reached by slow degrees, and through the discipline of many centuries of preparation.' I say that precisely the same remark that I made with regard to the first clause is applicable to this. We have asked for no such thing, as will be obvious to those who will consider the precise terms of our resolution, and when Lord Dufferin, so cautious and circumspect a statesman as he is, has been so inaccurate in his observations, I can only conclude that His Lordship has not had time to read our reports, and that he has taken his information at second hand, as indeed is indicated by the qualifying remark, 'as I understand.' (*Cheers.*) His Lordship says: 'The idea authoritatively suggested, as I understand, is the creation of a representative body or bodies in which the official element shall be in a minority, who shall have what is called the power of the purse, and who, through this instrumentality, shall be able to bring the British Executive into subjection to their will.' The basis for that statement is our demand that the financial statement shall be brought before the Council for discussion. (*Hear, hear.*) Not only do I not find in any of the reports any grounds for such a statement, but I find what is actually the reverse of it. (*Cheers.*) It has been said over and over again that the Executive shall have the power of deciding what shall be done, and of absolutely vetoing any proposal emanating from the rest of the Council, and yet in face of such a resolution as this, which we have passed not once, not twice, but three times, such a statement has been made by his Lordship. I can only express my amazement at it, and I cannot believe His Lordship to have been capable of making it except on the assumption that he has lacked the time to study our reports himself. (*Cheers.*) The various charges which His Lordship makes against the Congress are charges which remind me of a certain definition which was once given of a crab, *viz.*, that a crab is a red fish which walks backwards; and the criticism made upon *that* was, that the definition was perfectly correct except that the crab was not a fish, that it was not red, and that it did not walk backwards. (*Laughter.*) Now, I may say that Lord Dufferin's criticism is perfectly correct, except that we have not asked for democratic methods of government, we have not asked for Parliamentary institutions which England has got after many centuries of discipline, we have not asked for the power of the purse, and we have not

* Detailed Report, p. 16.

proportion of non-official members from one-third to one-half, and we further suggest that they should be elected. We attach the utmost importance to the principle of election. A partially elective system is the platform on which we take our stand. That platform we can never quit, and by it we shall judge every system which may be devised for the reform of the Councils.

In a word, the people of India are, at present, neither asking for, nor thinking of, Representative Government, but what they do insist on, is, that an appreciable portion of the *advisers* of Government should be their elected representatives.

Syed Shurf-ud-deen, a well-known Mahomedan Barrister, supported the resolution, and in his speech made some remarks as to the present position of the Congress party and the real attitude in regard to it of the Mahomedan community, that deserve special attention* :—

"Well, Gentlemen, you will remember perfectly well that in 1885, when the first meeting of the Congress was held at Bombay, it was said by adverse critics that it was a Congress of a few educated native gentlemen. Again you will remember that when the Congress was held in Calcutta in 1886, it was no longer called a Congress of a few native gentlemen, but a Congress of Bengalees; and in 1887, when the Congress was held in Madras, it was not called a Congress of native gentlemen, or of Bengalees, but a Congress of Hindus. (*Laughter and Cheers.*) Now, Gentlemen, here, in 1888, we have got before us not only Hindus, Bengalees and Maharattas, but I am proud to say we have here amongst us to-day more than 200 Mahomedans, including scions of the ex-Royal families of Delhi and of Oudh. (*Loud cheers.*) Now I think I may be right in expressing the hope and opinion that next year, when the reports of the Congress have been published, it will at last be called by its right name, and accepted as an *Indian* Congress. (*Cheers.*) You will remember that in 1885 there were scarcely any Mahomedans. There was an increase at the next Congress, a further increase in 1887, and now I am proud to say that there are more than 200 Mahomedans present. (*Loud cheers and cries of 'Hear, hear.'*) I may tell you that in 1886, when the Congress was held in Calcutta, owing to some local or temporary reasons, the Mahomedans were charged with holding aloof, but I can assure you that, at least in my province of Behar, the Mahomedans have the fullest sympathy with the objects of the Congress. And I can tell you that in my professional capacity I have to travel all over the division, and have been consulted, and have consulted with my friends, many Mahomedans, and they have in every case proved to be in sympathy with and in favour of the Congress. At the same time I do not for a moment deny that there are some, indeed a good many, who, though fully sympathizing with the objects of the Congress, yet for personal and temporary reasons, think it best in their own interests to stay away. Still these gentlemen are with us and help us privately, and when official pressure diminishes will come round publicly. But abstentions of this nature—and they are more numerous amongst Mahomedans than any, except Mahomedans have any idea of—furnish no grounds whatsoever for reckless assertions, such as that recently made in the House of Commons by Mr. Maclean, that the Mahomedans, as a body, are against the Congress, or for designating this latter by any less comprehensive title than that which it righteously bears—The Indian National Congress. (*Loud cheers.*) There are malcontents everywhere—there must always be some who dissent from anything their neighbours approve,—but the great bulk of the Mahomedans, as the great bulk of the Hindus, Jews, Parsees and Indian Christians, are everywhere *for*, and not *against*, the Congress."

Rajah Rampal Singh put the whole case for the reform of the Councils in very few words. He said † :—

"I am afraid I am a very poor speaker; but I think that every sympathetic Indian, every well-wisher of the country, should say something on the subject before us, however deficient he may be in oratorical powers. We all know that the right of being nominated to the Council has been given us since a long time. But the nomination rests entirely with Government, or rather with a small group of high officials; and some men entirely ignorant of the English language have been appointed to the Council. (*Cheers.*) They were not the representatives of the people of India, because they were the nominees of Government, and were the proteges of officials. (*Cheers.*) That being the case, the grievances of the country were not properly brought by them to the notice of Government, and, instead of fighting

* Detailed Report, p. 20.

† Detailed Report, pp. 20, 21.

asked that the British Executive should be brought under subjection to us. (*Laughter and prolonged cheers.*)

"If you permit me, I will go on to the next passage in which he says: 'I am afraid the people of England will not be readily brought to the acceptance of this programme, or to allow such an assembly, or a number of such assemblies either, to interfere with its armies, or to fetter and circumscribe the liberty of action, either of the Provincial Governments, or of the Supreme Executive.' I say this is a programme which is not brought forward officially or unofficially by the Congress. We have never dreamt of or asked for such things as Lord Dufferin supposes. We have—I say we have explicitly—declared that the right of interpellation which we ask for must not extend to questions, military or political. (*Cheers.*) Then again he goes on to say: 'In the first place, the whole scheme is eminently unconstitutional, for the essence of constitutional government is that responsibility and power should remain in the same hands, and the idea of irresponsible Councils whose members could never be called to account for their acts in the way in which an opposition can be called to account in a constitutional country, arresting the march of Indian legislation, or nullifying the policy of the British Executive in India, would be regarded as an impracticable anomaly.' I entirely agree in this view of His Lordship, only I do not see what application it has to anything said by the Congress. We have never asked for a divorce between power and responsibility. We have, on the contrary, distinctly said that the responsibility must rest with the Executive, and that, therefore, they must have the power of rejecting any resolution and vetoing any proposal, even though such should come from a majority of the Council. (*'Hear, hear.'*) I need only say, in conclusion, that the criticisms which have been made upon us are criticisms which have no manner of application to the resolutions we have passed, or the proposals we have made, but relate rather to some imaginary scheme which, somehow, seems to have floated through Lord Dufferin's brains, but of which we of the Congress had never even so much as heard, until he enunciated it." (*Prolonged cheers.*)

To him followed Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee in a long and eloquent speech. But this matter is an old tale and often told. No rational being, who really understands the facts of the case and the present position of affairs in India, can doubt the urgent necessity of the Reform insisted on in this first resolution, and it will be sufficient if we cull two brief passages from Mr. Bannerjee's speech. In the first he tersely exposes the utter absurdity of the charge of disloyalty and sedition so persistently brought (*faute de mieux*) against the Congress party by its official opponents. He says* :—

"But it is in connection with this charge of sedition, that is, too often, so recklessly brought against us, that I desire, in your name and on your behalf (and in this matter re-echoing the sentiments of the Chairman of the Reception Committee), to enter my most emphatic protest. (*Loud cheers.*) Apart from sentimental considerations—which are no mean considerations with a people so highly sensitive and emotional as we are—is it for one moment to be supposed that we have become so idiotic, and have taken such utter leave of our senses, as not to see that we owe all that we possess—our position and our prestige—to the English connection? (*Cheers.*) Let that connection come to an end, and we lose with it all that we hold most dear in life. Our opponents have charged us with being seditionists, but they have never failed to give us credit for sense. In our case, however, sedition means a measure of folly that is only consistent with idiocy. The charge can only stand upon the one assumption, that the educated community of India have become demented." (*Laughter.*)

In the second he emphatically and correctly declares (and it is as well that this should be clearly understood, now that rumours of some formal reform in the Councils are afloat) that the country will accept no reform as satisfactory which does not provide for the election, by those sections of the community *primâ facie* qualified to exercise the franchise, of *some* members of all the Councils. His words are† :—

"We have no wish to assume sovereign authority. The supreme power will remain where it is vested at present. We only desire that we may be consulted in its exercise. According to our programme, half the members of the Legislative Councils are to be elected, the rest being nominated by Government. Under the existing law, one-third of the members must at least be non-officials. We pray for an increase in the

* Detailed Report, pp. 18, 19.
† Detailed Report, p. 19.

for justice on behalf of the people, they voted blindly with the officials, unless indeed their own personal interests were involved, when, no doubt, they did show some fight on their own behalf. (*Laughter.*) Moreover, the nominated members of Council have always constituted such a microscopic minority, as my kind friend Lord Dufferin would phrase it, that even if they had dissented from the opinion of the officials, and had been bold enough to maintain their views, they would have had no chance of carrying their point. It is for this that we most loyally, constitutionally, and almost pathetically, implore Government to allow us, ourselves, to select half the number of the members of the Legislative Council, and this with the full understanding that supreme authority must always rest with the Executive. With the supremacy of the Executive no Congressman that I have ever met—and I may say that I know a good many of these (*laughter*)—has ever dreamt of interfering; but we want a good number of our own men in Council, so that the Government here, and the people and Government of England, may hear from their representatives what the people of this country really think and feel and wish about the subjects dealt with by the Government." (*Cheers.*)

Other speakers supported the resolution, and then Lalla Lajpat Rai,* by quotations from Sir Syed Ahmed's own past utterances, demonstrated that that gentleman who *now* poses as the leader of the opponents to the Congress movement, in former years advocated, in the clearest and most emphatic language, those very reforms which he now denounces† :—

"Now" (said Mr. Lajpat Rai in concluding his address), "you will by this time have discovered that here this most loyal of Indian Mahomedans, who now stigmatizes us as traitors, 30 years ago demanded for India reforms of the same character as we, now, after 30 years of education and progress, pray for in the resolution which I am supporting, but going far beyond anything in this direction that we have thought it expedient or necessary to ask for." (*Continued cheering.*)

But, perhaps, the most novel and striking point in the debate was that made by Mr. Salem Ramaswami Mudaliar, who, having recently visited relatives at Pondicherry, was able, from personal experience, to contrast British and French modes of dealing with their Indian subjects. He said‡ :—

"Gentlemen, while we are humbly praying our Government to grant us some small representative element in the Government, we have actually got full-blown representative institutions flourishing in this country under our very noses. I do not know whether you are aware how they are flourishing in Pondicherry and other places which are subject to the French Government. England will not as yet allow us the smallest modicum of representative institutions, but in Pondicherry every man has a right to elect his representative. He enjoys manhood suffrage! Not only that, but the people of Pondicherry have got a member of their own in the Chamber of Deputies and another in the Senate. Then in Pondicherry itself they have got a Council which is called the Council-General, and which meets every year, and this is an elective body, elected by the whole people. Before this Council is placed the Annual Budget (*cheers*), and the Budget is fully discussed by the members. The Budget is there threshed out by that body, and it is not until, after this discussion, it has been approved, that it comes into operation. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, it is said that we are not fit for representative institutions, but it is our fellow-countrymen, our relatives in many cases, no better educated, in no wise different from ourselves, whom the French Government has found to be fitted, not only for the small instalment of representative institutions that we ask for, but for fully-developed representative institutions, including manhood suffrage, which none of us ever even dream of demanding. I commend this fact to the careful consideration of our opponents who deny our fitness for even those small reforms we crave.

* It is indeed an extraordinary thing that the natives of India are in Pondicherry found fitted for representative institutions of an advanced character, while the relatives and brethren of these very men, under British rule, are pronounced unfit for the smallest concession in this direction; that the French subjects are allowed to discuss and authoritatively deal with their Budget, while nothing is allowed to us but to pay the taxes."

* Author of the well-known "Open Letters to Sir Syed Ahmed," which have been so widely and deservedly read and commended.
† Detailed Report, p. 23.
‡ Detailed Report, pp. 23, 24.

Then followed what was perhaps the most remarkable incident of the Congress. Rajah Shiva Prasad is a gentleman who, by official favour, has been gradually raised from a clerk's desk to the cushion of a Rajah. Naturally, in his eyes, the officials are demi-gods, and can do no wrong. He retired years ago from Government service, and has ever since been the chief adviser and master of the ceremonies to the Maharajah of Benares. As soon as the officials declared against the Congress, Rajah Shiva Prasad felt impelled to do the same, and to put forward his patron, the Maharajah of Benares, who is in feeble health, and, really, himself takes no part in politics, as doing "ditto." At the time of the Ilbert Bill the Rajah sided with the Europeans against his countrymen, and was freely burnt in effigy in recognition of this service, and during the six months preceding this late Congress he had been most strenuously exerting himself to misrepresent the views of the Congress party and bring them into disrepute. It had resulted from these and other circumstances in Rajah Shiva Prasad's past history, that no man in the length and breadth of the land, was so universally disliked as this gentleman. It may not have been altogether his own fault, public opinion is capricious as we know, but the fact has to be stated, as without a knowledge of this, the full significance of what occurred cannot be realized. This too must be noted, that, shortly before the Congress, the Rajah had entered into a league with Sir Syed Ahmed to put down the Congress; but, as happens at times when gentlemen of this sort meet, they fell out, and, after mutual recriminations in the papers and a terrible fiasco at a meeting they tried to hold at Lucknow, Rajah Shiva Prasad returned to Benares, declaring, it was said, that he would join the Congress party. The Congress party, however, would have nothing to say to him, but at a monster public meeting at Benares, after other delegates had been duly elected, a gentleman rose and proposed Rajah Shiva Prasad as a fit and proper representative of the holy city of Benares. One can conceive that if, in older and more jovial times, some light-minded prelate had, at a Synod of cardinals, after the due canonization (despite the *Avocat du diable*) of sundry saints and saintesses, proposed as a new luminary to grace the calendar, St. Diabolus, that some faint murmur of merriment might have crept through the ranks of even that august assembly, and it may, therefore, be well understood with what cheers and roars of laughter the irreverent Plebs of Benares hailed the nomination of Rajah Shiva Prasad. The proposal was simply smothered in the noisy amusement it evoked, and brushed aside as irrelevant, but the proposer, for reasons best known to himself, went off at once and reported to the Chairman of the Standing Congress Committee and to Rajah Shiva Prasad that the latter had been duly elected as a delegate. The Chairman wrote to the Reception Committee at Allahabad, reporting the election and expressing apprehensions as to the result, and Rajah Shiva Prasad took the next train to Allahabad, appeared at the Congress Office, announced himself as a delegate, paid his fees, and obtained his ticket. Ordinarily a formal certificate, duly signed by the Chairman of the meeting, would have been required, but the letter of the Chairman of the Standing Committee and Rajah Shiva Prasad's rank and position and unhesitating declaration that he had been duly elected were accepted as sufficient—nor indeed, *pace* our good friends in Benares, is there the least reason to suspect the Rajah's good faith in

this instance; he was the victim of a practical joke, and if any one deserved to be hung, it was the gentleman responsible for this.

Great was, however, the indignation, greater still the wrath of the important body of delegates from the Benares division, when two days later they arrived and discovered who it was who had already enrolled himself as their colleague. At first they were not to be pacified, they would not attend the Congress if he was to be allowed to enter the hall—on the other hand, the Reception Committee felt that, having accepted him as a delegate, to exclude him now would be not only discourteous, he having acted as they believed in good faith, but, looking to his position as one of the two leaders of the Anti-Congress party, possibly open to misconstruction.

If he, after denouncing the Congress 'up hill and down dale,' chose so far to recant, as to join it, declaring himself a duly elected delegate, it seemed desirable on public grounds to allow him to do so.

The public generally, however, inclined to believe that he had obtained admission by a fraud, and a general feeling of exasperation against him prevailed, though the Benares delegates had been partially reconciled by a seat, close under the platform and far away from them,* being assigned to him.

The reader is now in a position to understand something of the sentiments with which Rajah Shiva Prasad was regarded by the entire assemblage, when, immediately after Mr. Salem Ramaswami Mudaliar, he rose to propose, what he was pleased to call, an amendment to the resolution then before the Congress.

He commenced by saying† that he was obliged to the Congress, and was not, as was often supposed, opposed to it, but that self-interested men (and here he looked full at all the Congress leaders on the platform) were circulating pamphlets and inflammatory articles "to excite your minds and lower the Government in your eyes," and he went on to say that before sitting down he would lay on the table an amendment. This he was called on to read, and it proved to be a petition to Government, asking for the addition of further sections to the Penal Code to punish the authors of the Congress pamphlets and leaflets, from which it professed to make quotations. But no one had ever heard the passages quoted (one was shown a few days later in the public press to be a bare-faced forgery, a word in a perfectly innocent passage in the Congress catechism having been altered so as to convert it into a most objectionable one), and as the reading proceeded the cries for the names of the publications from which the pretended extracts had been made became louder and louder.

Then the President interfered; he pointed out that the petition could, under no circumstances, be accepted as an amendment on the resolution, to which it was wholly irrelevant, and that, as the Rajah had already occupied a good deal more time‡ than was allowed by the rules to each speaker, he must now sit down. The Rajah gracefully subsided, and the incident was at an end.

The patience, the forbearance with which he was treated, were simply

* The delegates of the several Circles sat in groups, separate blocks, or portions of blocks being assigned to the delegates of each Circle.

† Detailed Report, pp. 24, 25.

‡ Ten minutes were allowed to proposers of resolutions, five minutes to all other speakers. (*Vide*, President's Speech, Detailed Report, p. 15.)

marvellous. In that hall, including delegates, there were at least 5,000 men, who disliked him more than any other living being, and who were, at the moment, specially exasperated against him on account of the trick they held that he had played on the Reception Committee. Yet though he proceeded with the greatest deliberation, he spoke very slowly, to insult—he meant it as an insult, and it was taken as such by all—and misrepresent the entire party, for whole minutes at a time he was listened to in a dead silence, was never, from first to last, interrupted except by calls for the names of the works he professed to be quoting, and finally was permitted to retire with only a few mild hisses. It is not too much to say that nowhere in England, France, or America, would an equally unpopular man have been treated, after such an escapade, with similar courtesy. It has been the custom of adversaries to talk of the excitable character of our Indian population, and to dwell upon this as a reason for withholding from them the privileges—we may say the rights—enjoyed elsewhere by all free men, but the truth of the matter is that the Indians are, at least, as law-abiding and capable of wise self-control as any other people on the face of the earth.

The next speaker was Mr. Mahbub Alum, a Punjabi Mahomedan. His speech was brief, but well worthy of consideration. He said :—

"It is needless for me to try and explain the innumerable blessings we enjoy under British rule. (*Cheers.*) We do thank God that He has been so good and merciful to us Indians as to place us under such a benign, just, and merciful Sovereign as our Illustrious Queen and Empress Victoria. (*Cheers.*) Long may She and Her Government reign over us. (*Cheers.*)

"Let me remind you that I am a Mahomedan of the Punjab, of which province the people were, till recently, Anti-Congressists; but at this moment I assure you their eyes have been opened, and being alive to the true and loyal objects of the National Congress, they are now with us to a man (*loud cheers*); and I am pleased to have the opportunity to assure you that the Punjab Anti-Congress movement is a thing of the past. (*Renewed cheers.*)

"This is a good work, and I feel sure God will help us. (*Cheers.*) Anti-Congressmen accuse us of being disloyal, but I feel inclined to apply the term to them. We openly and truthfully declare our wants, and do not mean to get them by stealth and underhand-work. I am a poor subject, but allow me to advise the Government to mark such men as the Anti-Congressmen, who work by stealth and duplicity. These are the real seditionists; they do not want the causes of disaffection removed; they do not want the grievances of the people redressed—they want them to continue to vex and irritate the people till these grow at last as disaffected as themselves. They are the real enemies; we the real friends and true supporters of the British Government. May God confound their evil schemes, and bless and preserve our Gracious Empress." (*Loud cheers.*)

Other speakers followed, one of them an Allahabad lawyer, Mr. Newal Behari Bajpai, one of Rajah Shiva Prasad's very few well-wishers, made a good point. He said :—

"I am really sorry if Rajah Shiva Prasad disapproves this resolution, as from the nature of the petition which he seemed to wish us to adopt as an amendment to it, I am led to fear. I am sorry, I say, if this be the case, because I have a high respect for the Rajah, whom I have long known, whom I look upon as a father, nay, whose legal adviser I am at this moment in a certain case. But really my respected and distinguished client should be reasonable. Millions share the prayer embodied in this resolution, but it appears that some two or three men somewhere—who or where I know not—who are also supporters of the Congress, have used words which the Rajah thinks objectionable, nay seditious—

* Detailed Report, p. 25.
† Detailed Report, p. 25.

therefore this resolution is bad, and we ought to drop it. Gentlemen, every year millions look forward hopefully to the rains, and perhaps one or two bad men lose their tempers and use bad language, because the monsoon does not come quite as soon as they want; therefore the rains are bad, and we ought not to have any monsoon. I can't see the argument. What on earth have the objectionable expressions (if any such were ever really used—I at least have never heard of such)—what, I say, have these to do with the prayer set forth in our resolution? Nothing! Simply nothing! And that prayer, let who will have talked nonsense or worse, I support with all my heart."

Then Mr. Golucknath, a Punjabi Christian Barrister (a close connection by marriage with the Rajah of Kapoorthalla), rose and proposed* to modify slightly the terms of the resolution so as to make it explicitly advocate the establishment of a Council for the Punjab, where, as he and his seconder affirmed, such a body was greatly needed. Then Mr. Behari Lall summed up the matter in these words—

"I heartily support the resolution as amended, and I sincerely hope that the Punjab will soon get its Council, and that all the Councils, Supreme and Provincial, will, before long, be placed upon that sounder and healthier footing that this our resolution suggests. Until this be done, the Government must continue, as now, to be carried on in a more or less haphazard fashion. What men can do, situated as they are, our rulers, I fully believe, do; but they will never be able to do real justice to us or to themselves, to India or to England, until they associate with themselves in their anxious toils those men whom the country knows and trusts, and whom we elect as our representatives."

The amendment was agreed to, and the following resolution was carried by acclamation :—

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

As illustrating how infectious enthusiasm is, it may be noted that when this resolution was passed, with loud cheers, by the entire assembly, not only did Rajah Shiva Prasad vote for it—holding up and waving his right arm enthusiastically like all the rest,—but so did the managing proprietor (and the inspirer of all its irrational attacks on the Congress) of the leading local Bureaucratic organ, although being present only as a visitor and reporter, it is said, on behalf of Government, he had no right to vote either way. Modern science may ignore magic, but there is something nearly akin to magic in the effects produced upon by-standers by the combined enthusiasm on any subject of any really large body of men.

Mr. Eardley-Norton, a leading barrister of Madras, then rose to propose a resolution in regard to the Public Service Question. Soon after the passing of a resolution on this subject at the first Congress, the Government appointed a Commission to enquire into and report upon it. The report of the Commission has been published, and is now under the consideration of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, but the recommendations of the Commissioners are universally held to be insufficient, specially because they do not include

* Detailed Report, pp. 25, 26.
† Detailed Report, p. 26.

a provision for holding simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service in both India and England. It is felt by every Indian to be a grave injustice that he is debarred from serving his country in any of the higher grades of the service unless he proceeds to England to pass an examination there, the more so that in the case of orthodox Hindus there are still (doubtless they are beginning to disappear) religious objections to crossing the ocean. "What," they reasonably ask, "would the people of Australia and New Zealand feel if they were absolutely precluded from obtaining any of the higher posts in the public service of their own countries unless they had, while still boys, proceeded to England and passed there an English examination?" It was considered by the great bulk of the delegates that it was essential that the country should, before the Secretary of State passed orders on the report, clearly declare that this report was not accepted as altogether satisfactory by the people of India.

At the Congress of 1886 a Committee was appointed to report upon the whole question, and their report, some 20 lines only in length, but tersely embodying the whole pith of the subject, was unanimously adopted by that Congress, and the resolution, of which Mr. Norton was placed in charge, was a re-affirmation of that report. Before touching the special question, Mr. Norton made some remarks in regard to the progress and position of the Congress movement, from which we may extract a few sentences:—

"Your growing representation," he said,* "is the most significant and eloquent testimony to the growing strength and popularity of your cause. (Cheers.) You have had many and serious obstacles placed in your path, but you have been nerved by the opposition, and it is a matter of very hopeful and very sincere congratulation that you have manfully met and conquered the impediments in your way. I am glad to think you have successfully withstood the literary assaults of the Rajah of Bhinga.† (Loud laughter.) I am glad you have not succumbed to the more polished literary essay of Sir Auckland Colvin. (Cheers.) I am glad you have been stimulated and stiffened by the open misrepresentations of Lord Dufferin. (Loud cheers.) And I dare say you will even survive the terrible onslaught made upon you to-day by Rajah Shiva Prasad. (Loud laughter and cheers.)

* * * * *

"Our Congress is outside the reach of petty malice. It is increasing day by day in power and extent, pushing aside by its own great weight the opposing forces of envy and of scorn; and while it draws the various peoples of this country into one common fold of mutual sympathy and good will, rises with silent majesty into a future of self-reliance and content. (Cheers.)—

Like some tall cliff that rears its awful form,
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,
Though round its base the gathering clouds may spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head." (Loud cheers.)

Then turning to the resolution which he proposed, he gave reasons for believing that the recommendations of the Commission were inadequate, and, even if adopted by the Secretary of State, would altogether fail to satisfy the just expectations of the country.

He examined the question historically, and showed the view taken of it

* Detailed Report, p. 26.

† Detailed Report, pp. 27, 28. This is the gentleman whom, rightly or wrongly, his fellow-countrymen, and specially his neighbours in the United Provinces, persist in believing to be incapable, not only of writing, but even of understanding, the letters that have appeared under his signature in the *Times* and other papers.

when it first came before the House of Commons in 1833, quoting, *inter alia*, Sir Robert Peel's memorable words:—

"This is what Sir Robert Peel said: I am glad to be able to shelter myself under his name. Were the words mine, they would be called seditious. (Laughter.) 'In a word, to endeavour while we still keep them under British rule, to atone to them for the sufferings they endured, and the wrongs to which they were exposed in being reduced to that rule, and to afford them such advantages and confer on them such benefits as may in some degree console them for the loss of their independence, these, Sir, are considerations which, whatever may be the anxiety to extend British conquest and to maintain the rights of British subjects, must indisputably be entertained in a British Parliament.'" (Cheers.)

He passed on to the revision of 1853, showing the noble and generous sentiments entertained by the statesmen of those days as to the rights of the people of India, and England's duties in regard to them, and he then quoted at length the following report of the Departmental Committee of the India Office of 1860:—

"2. We are, in the first place, unanimously of opinion that it is not only just but expedient that the natives of India shall be employed in the administration of India to as large an extent as possible consistently with the maintenance of British supremacy, and have considered whether any increased facilities can be given in this direction.

"3. It is true that even at present no positive disqualification exists. By Act 3 and 4, William IV. Cap. 85, s. 87, it is enacted 'that no native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty, resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, color or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company.' It is obvious, therefore, that when the competitive system was adopted it could not have been intended to exclude natives of India from the Civil Service of India.

"4. Practically, however, they are excluded. The law declares them eligible, but the difficulties opposed to a native living in India and residing in England for a time are so great that, as a general rule, it is almost impossible for a native successfully to compete at the periodical examinations held in England. Were this inequality removed, we should no longer be exposed to the charge of keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope.

"5. Two modes have been suggested by which the object in view might be attained: The first is by allotting a certain portion of the total number of appointments declared in each year, to be competed for in India by natives and by all other natural-born subjects of Her Majesty resident in India. The second is to hold simultaneously two examinations—one in England and one in India, both being, as far as practicable, identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit by the Civil Service Commissioners. The Committee have no hesitation in giving preference to the second scheme, as being the fairest and the most in accordance with the principles of a general competition for a common object."

It is, in our opinion, far from creditable to England, that during the, nearly, 30 years that have elapsed since this memorable report, (which precisely embodies the views and wishes of the people of India,) was presented, no single honest attempt has been made to give effect to its recommendations, so that Indians remain to this day excluded from any practical share in the higher branches of the administration. Nor has this been due to any forgetfulness; it is not that the matter has been overlooked; it has been solely owing to the persistent determination of the Indian Bureaucracy, in defiance of the expressed wishes of the people and Parliament of England, to keep for themselves and their class all the loaves and fishes. In 1869 the Duke of Argyll openly condemned the gross breach of faith in which this had involved the nation:—

"With regard, however, to the employment of natives in the Government of their country, in the Covenanted Civil Service formerly of the Company and now of the Crown, I must say that we have not fulfilled our duty or the promises and engagements which we have made."

And that reproach, as Mr. Norton justly remarked, remains as true in 1889 as it was in 1869. Even Lord Lytton—of Press Act and Afghan failures notoriety—in a secret report, which later accidentally saw the light, was compelled to admit that, in this matter of the public service, the people of India had been “*cheated*.”

Nor is it only where the Covenanted Service is concerned, that the people of India are debarred from what their Sovereign, Her Parliament and People have solemnly declared to be their just rights. It is equally the case with all appointments in the Uncovenanted Civil Service that any Englishman can be found to consider worth his acceptance. Mr. Norton put the case clearly. He said* :—

“I wish to touch with brief particularity upon two points in connection with the Public Service Commission : First, as to the excessive cost of the administration of this country. Many people think it ruinous. I agree with them. The only real solution of the difficulty lies in an infusion into the machinery of the country of a large, and yearly larger, element of indigenous Indian talent. (*‘Hear, hear!’*) What share do you hold to-day in the service of your country? Here are some suggestive figures. Out of 2,357 appointments in the higher Uncovenanted Civil Service, you, Gentlemen of India, hold 188. (*‘Shame, shame!’*) The non-domiciled Europeans appropriate 1,460 such appointments: the domiciled Europeans 486, Eurasians 223, and the Indians 188! (*‘Shame!’*) The three first bodies hold 2,169 berths, you only 188! (*‘Shame!’*) Yes, it is a shame, and it is one you will efface from the history of England’s connection with India only by making plain to the people of England your ungenerous and impolitic exclusion from public life in India.”

Now the bulk of these 1,460 non-domiciled Europeans are the sons, sons-in-law, brothers, cousins, tutors, protégés or connections of one kind or another of our Indian European officials, civil, military, past or present, and it is certain that fully two-thirds of these gentlemen might be at once replaced by statutory natives of India, on salaries appreciably smaller than those now enjoyed by these flowers of nepotism, with the greatest advantage to the administration of the country.

“I know nothing,” said Mr. Norton, “more solemnly beautiful than the language of your Charter from the Queen of England (*loud cheers*), in which are embodied the grand and spontaneous declarations of my own dear island home :—

“‘In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.’”

But how is India to be prosperous, to be contented, to be grateful, when the people of England, in this and every other matter, allow Her rights to be trampled under foot, and their own most solemn pledges to Her to be persistently and absolutely ignored, in the interests of that *truly* “microscopic minority,” the Anglo-Indian officials?

But while, on these points, all thoughtful Indians are of one mind, in regard to one detail of the public service question, a considerable difference of opinion existed, and Mr. John Adam, Principal of the great Patcheappah College at Madras, rose to propose as an amendment the re-affirmation, with some slight additions, of the resolution on this subject

* Detailed Report, p. 30.

of the Congress of 1885, instead of, as proposed by Mr. Norton, of the resolution of the Congress of 1886.

Mr. Adam thus explained* the case—

“* * * The latter portion of the amendment is simply Resolution IV of the Bombay Congress of 1885. This, as you will have heard, besides stipulating for simultaneous examinations in England and India, provides that the successful candidates in India shall be sent to England for further study, and be subjected there to such additional tests as may be considered necessary. Now this Resolution of the 1885 Congress was not brought forward in 1886 or 1887. In 1887 the subject was not touched at all because the Public Service Commission had completed their labours, but had not yet issued their report, and the matter was considered to be, as it were, *sub judice*. But in 1886, when the resolution of 1885 might have been re-affirmed, a different resolution, identical with that which has been proposed to you by Mr. Norton, was substituted for it. One reason for this appears to have been that the resolution of 1885 contained a clause, *viz.*, that in regard to successful candidates being sent to England to complete their education, about which great differences of opinion existed. I venture to think that, despite these differences of opinion, it would have been wiser in 1886 to put the original resolution, and have taken the verdict of the Congress upon this point. I myself hold that it is absolutely necessary that successful candidates at examinations in India should be sent to England for two or three years’ special training. I urge this upon two grounds—the first, that we must have the best men trained in the most complete manner to administer our laws, and I hold that, however well a man may be trained in this country, he will be greatly improved as a public officer by the additional training which he can obtain in England. The second is, that it is absolutely necessary that Indian gentlemen, who aspire to high official position under the British Government, should have a far more thorough knowledge of English manners, customs and habits of thought than they can possibly acquire in this country. It must be remembered that Indians who rise in the Civil Service will have not only to rule over their own countrymen, but to work in harmony with, and, as time goes on, direct and control the operations of European officials. I think there is nothing more absolutely necessary than that young Indians selected for the Civil Service should go to England, if only to qualify them to maintain later their independence and self-respect in their relations with their European brother-Civilians.

“You will not forget that this question of the Public Service is the one to which the most esteemed of all Indian reformers, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (*loud cheers*) has devoted his life and soul; and you will, I am sure, feel that his opinion on this subject is entitled to the very greatest weight. (*‘Hear, hear!’*) Now the resolution of 1885, which I am asking the Congress to affirm in lieu of the resolution of 1886, which Mr. Norton has proposed to you, was Mr. Dadabhai’s own resolution, moved by himself at the first Congress, and I cannot put my case with regard to this disputed question of going to England more strongly than it was put by Mr. Dadabhai at Bombay, whose words I will now quote: ‘I say without the least hesitation that the candidate himself, as well as the service, will be vastly benefited by a visit to England. The atmosphere of freedom and high civilization which he will breathe will make him an altered man, in character, in intelligence, in experience, in self-respect, and in appreciation of due respect for others. In short, he will largely increase his fitness and command more respect in his responsible service.’ Gentlemen, I venture to hope that you will accept my amendment. To me it seems quite certain that the Government can never concede simultaneous examinations without insisting on the successful candidates expending two or more years in England before they enter on the very responsible duties of an Indian Civilian. Nay more, I am compelled to say that I have doubts whether I could honestly recommend simultaneous examinations unless coupled with such a condition; and I think it would be well if your resolution distinctly set forth your appreciation of its absolute necessity. I am aware that a very large number of you share my views, but are indisposed to press the point, because some others of our brother-delegates object to it, and there is, doubtless, much to be said in favour of the view that, as it is quite certain that if the Government does concede simultaneous examinations, it will necessarily insist upon this condition, it is needless for us to say anything about the matter. But my own view is that the open and straightforward course is the best, and that our cause would gain by our setting forth distinctly, not only the concession that we desire, but the necessary condition to this concession, as one that we are prepared to accept. These, Gentlemen, are the reasons which have led me to submit to you this amendment, which I must now leave to your better judgment.”

The amendment was duly seconded, and, evening having closed in, the President adjourned the assembly until next day at 11 A.M.

* Detailed Report, pp. 32, 33.

It will be easily understood that the real question at issue between the two parties, of which Messrs. Norton and Adam were respectively the spokesmen, was, whether the Congress should or should not once more authoritatively re-affirm the recommendation of the first Congress, that, in the event of simultaneous examinations being conceded, successful candidates in India should be required to proceed to England for further training. The younger and more progressive sections were entirely in favour of this, the older and more conservative opposed to it. Naturally, whatever their views as to the desirability of the measure, orthodox Hindus could not, with any regard for consistency, agree to laying down a rule which involved crossing the black waters; in other words, the breach of what has somehow come to be regarded as a sacred ordinance, and which has not, as yet, been repudiated or abandoned by any general consensus of opinion. Should Government insist on such a condition, public opinion has grown so divided on the subject, that, not impossibly, were their sons successful in a competition, the most orthodox might accept it, but they could not reasonably be expected themselves to join in *inviting* Government to impose it. On the other hand, the party of progress, the social and religious reformers, and all the younger men almost without exception, were intensely anxious to commit the whole Congress to what would virtually have been an authoritative repudiation of what they hold to be a mere superstition in regard to quitting Indian limits.

No Englishman can, perhaps, understand the intense interest felt in the question: to one party it meant the loyal and loving adherence to the faith of their fathers at whatsoever risk to temporal interests; to the others a notable advance in the upward path of national regeneration. So all that evening and far into the night the camp was alive; from tent to tent flitted the earnest advocates of the contending parties, arguing, entreating, coaxing; and again by sunrise the work was recommenced, and to those ignorant of the sweet reasonableness of our people, it really seemed as if the goddess of Discord had, as our adversaries have been so fond of prophesying that she would, at last succeeded in establishing her reign of misrule over the Congress.

At 11 A.M. (Friday, the 28th December) the Congress punctually re-assembled. During the previous day the news of Mr. John Bright's serious illness had been generally disseminated. The great tribune of the people has ever been regarded in India as friendly to her people's cause, and hence a feeling had sprung up amongst delegates from all provinces that it would be well to express, to his family, India's sympathy with them in their sorrow. Accordingly, in response to innumerable suggestions to this effect, the President on taking his seat proposed that a telegram expressive of sympathy should be at once despatched to Mr. Bright's son, a proposal unanimously and enthusiastically accepted by the assembly. The telegram to Mr. John Albert Bright ran as follows* :—

"Congress consisting of 1,200 delegates from all parts of India join in expressing their high appreciation of your father's services to India, their sorrow at his illness, their sympathy with him and his family in his sufferings, and their earnest hope for his complete recovery,"—

* Detailed Report, p. 34.

and it was, later, gratifying to all, to know, that this message was duly received and cordially acknowledged.

Then the Public Service debate was resumed by Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar, who proposed yet another amendment. Mr. Mudaliar had himself been a member of the Public Service Commission, and the gist of his speech was,* that the recommendations of this body, if not all that could be desired, were yet, if adopted in their entirety, likely to be productive of much benefit, and were, at any rate, the best terms that he, and the three other gentlemen who acted with him in the interests of the Indians, a small minority, could extort from the majority. That if they had abandoned the simultaneous examinations, it was partly because the official majority would not listen to the proposal, and partly because, even amongst Indians, differences of opinion existed, both as to the expediency of such simultaneity and as to the conditions that should be attached to it if conceded. He considered that a tolerably fair compromise, on the give-and-take principle, had been arrived at, and that if the Secretary of State accepted this, as it stood, agitation on the subject should cease, for some years at any rate. Therefore, he said, my amendment is to postpone for a year all consideration of the subject.

"At present," he said, "I think we are in a sense bound by the compromise we have made, and this is why I press you to defer further consideration of the subject, until we see what orders the Secretary of State passes on our report. If he accepts it in its entirety, I, for one, think we might be content to drop the subject for some years. If, however, he fails to do this, then I shall be the first to press for further agitation. So all I say now is, *wait and see*—wait another year before you take any further action on the question." (Cheers.)

Mr. Telang seconded Mr. Mudaliar's proposal, but the sense of the meeting was not with these gentlemen, and Mr. Mono Mohan Ghose, a distinguished member of the Calcutta Bar, rose and suggested a compromise, which at once satisfied the assembly. He said † :—

"Now, there is one matter as to which we are all agreed, and that is the necessity for holding simultaneous examinations in England and India. I think we are also agreed that we fully appreciate the justice and the propriety of the recommendation made by the Public Service Commission, to raise the limit of age prescribed for the open competition. (Cheers.) It would not be right, therefore, to ignore the services rendered to the country by the members of that Commission, who have performed their difficult task in such a manner as to entitle them to the thanks of this Congress. (Cheers.) I must confess, however, that, as regards the propriety of taking up this question at all, I at one time entertained considerable doubts. I was at first inclined to believe that the wise course for us would be to follow that suggested by Mr. Mudaliar; but after hearing Mr. Norton, and after mature consideration of the matter, I have come to the conclusion that, if we were not to press our demand on this occasion before the Secretary of State, we might be allowing judgment to go by default. It is our duty to let the Government know what we think on the subject, and I think the Congress will, therefore, agree with me that the best course for us on the present occasion would be the adoption of a resolution which could not possibly cause any difference of opinion in the Congress, and which would explicitly set forth what we mean and wish."

"This, then, is the resolution which I venture to propose for your acceptance :—

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

The original resolution, and both the previous amendments were with—

* Detailed Report, pp. 34, 35.
† Detailed Report, p. 37.

drawn, and Mr. Ghose's resolution, which set forth exactly what all were agreed upon, and no more, was passed unanimously.

Is there another country in the world in which a large body of earnest men,—after a debate like that of the previous day, after further most exciting private discussions during half the night and nearly all the morning, after every vote had been canvassed and counted and every man had definitely ranged himself in one of three parties,—would thus unanimously and immediately have abandoned their several positions, which they had been prepared to defend to the last, simply on its being made clear to them that there was yet another position that all might accept without either violence to their own convictions or disrespect to those of their brethren?

It is the "sweet reasonableness" evinced in cases of this nature, and there have been other similar instances at previous Congresses, and the noble self-control exhibited in the incident of Shiva Prasad, that more than anything else, to our mind, conclusively demonstrate the fitness of Indians for a far larger measure of representative institutions than the Congress Party, in their wise caution, have ever yet thought it expedient to suggest.

The next resolution was one reiterating the necessity set forth in similar resolutions at previous Congresses, for the complete separation of judicial and executive functions. No one now is bold enough to deny, openly, that this is a necessary reform. The thing is too clear; but for all that we seem no nearer to it than we were a quarter of a century ago.

As Mr. Yule, in his inaugural address, well remarked* :—

"This was one of the ridiculous proposals, one of those school-boy clamours to start with, but the Viceroy now tells us that 'this is a counsel of perfection to which we are ready to subscribe.' Allow me to congratulate you upon this concession so frankly and handsomely made. All that we want now is to see the concession of the principle reduced into practice."

But this is precisely what our Indian authorities seem resolved not to do. As Mr. Shurfuddin, a Punjabi Mahomedan, truly said† :—

"Where a Collector wishes to realise revenue, he does so, not merely by the exercise of those powers conferred on him, on that behalf, by the Legislature, but by the pressure of the authority that he possesses as a Magistrate, conferred on him, not in view to the realisation of land revenue demands, but to enable him to punish offenders against the criminal law."

And this combination they seem to find too convenient to be abandoned. How absolutely indefensible this system of combining all sorts of functions in one and the same official becomes, in some provinces, was clearly set forth by Mr. Devaro Vinayek, a grave and thoughtful legal practitioner of six-and-twenty years' standing, the vice-chairman and moving spirit of one of the best managed municipalities in India. He said‡ :—

"You will be surprised and startled when you hear from me that in my province, not only the magisterial and police powers are combined in one officer, but also the revenue and civil

* Detailed Report, p. 11.
† Detailed Report, p. 41.
‡ Detailed Report, p. 41.

judicial powers are all combined in one man. (*Cries of 'Shame!'*) There is one head of the district who is the Deputy Commissioner and who is the supreme authority in all matters. He is head of the police—he is the highest local tribunal in criminal matters with powers of sentencing to seven years' imprisonment with hard labour—he is the highest tribunal in all civil cases—he is the chief revenue official, head director, alike, of all fiscal arrangements. In every relation of life you are in the grasp of this one man; if he dislikes you—if he have a prejudice against you—there is no escaping him; it is an absolute despotism. Now, I ask, is this a defensible system? Others have told you, and you yourselves well know what takes place where only police and criminal judicial powers are combined in one officer. You can imagine what might occur in our province. As a matter of fact, serious failures of justice have resulted, and if these have not been more frequent or grievous in our province than elsewhere, it is due solely to the fact that we have had exceptionally good officers who scorned to abuse their powers. But we cannot count upon a continuance of this; the system is susceptible of unlimited abuse and oppression, and against that system I earnestly and unhesitatingly protest, and this, despite the sincere personal respect and esteem in which I hold many of the officers under whom I have lived and worked." (*Cheers.*)

Mr. J. E. Howard, a barrister, was the proposer of the resolution, and he gave several happy illustrations of "the utter confusion to which the existing irrational combination of these two functions, the judicial and the executive, in one official, are apt to give rise."

Two of these may be usefully reproduced :—

"Fourteen years ago," he said,* "I was called upon to defend two persons before the Sessions Judge of Agra, and the evidence against them consisted principally of the statements of policemen who had placed the stolen articles where they were found; so that I had no difficulty in getting the assessors to record a verdict of acquittal. The Sessions Judge, nevertheless, very much to my surprise, convicted the accused persons. I was asked to have tea with the Sessions Judge soon after the trial was over, and he remarked to me that he supposed I was surprised at his having convicted my clients. I confessed I was on the evidence adduced, and he then made the following remarkable observation to me: 'I admit the evidence against them was very weak, but you know *those fellows have a very bad reputation, and Her Majesty's Government must be carried on!*' (*Laughter.*) That was his notion of exercising judicial functions. As a Magistrate during the previous 20 years of his service, he had always been both head policeman, prosecutor and judge, and when he came to be a Sessions Judge he could not escape the bias thus formed, and when the Magistrate set forth in the committal papers that the accused were very bad characters, he felt bound to convict them, whether there was any sufficient evidence against them or not. As the Judge in question has retired from the service, I will not mention his name, but I will give you the sequel of the case which came in appeal before the High Court of these Provinces. Mr. Justice (afterwards Sir Charles) Turner heard the appeal of the prisoners, Mr. Colvin was my leader, and so flagrantly opposed to common sense and common justice was the conviction, that that eminent Judge (*cheers*) never called upon the counsel for the appellants to say a single word in support of the appeal. Turning to the Government Pleader, who appeared on behalf of the Crown in support of the conviction—as he is a distinguished member of this Congress and present, I may be permitted to mention his name, Mr. Dwarkanath Banerji—(*cheers*)—Mr. Justice Turner said: 'How can you support this conviction, Mr. Banerji? I see the evidence is entirely that of policemen who found the things, which they are accused of having placed where they are said to have found them, and I must confess the case smacks strongly of police manufacture.' Mr. Banerji, with that blandness and frankness which distinguishes him, was forced to admit that the evidence was extremely weak and suspicious, and the men were acquitted on the spot; but observe the result: they had been nearly two months wrongfully in jail, and, as you know, there is no redress for such wrongs. An innocent man, wrongfully convicted or incarcerated, has no compensation of any kind, and it is because of the irreparable nature of the wrong that we should provide every possible safeguard against such abuses.

"The last instance is a comparatively recent one, taken from the most backward of these provinces—Oudh—a non-regulation province as it is called. A few years ago the Judicial Commissioner of Oudh had his judicial soul shocked by finding that a Deputy Commissioner under him, in whom were combined the functions of Revenue Collector and Magistrate, had used his magisterial powers to convict—I forget how many persons (I believe the number was nearly a hundred)—under the Indian Penal Code, for disobeying the lawful order of a public servant, because they had not paid their instalments of revenue in the time within which he had ordered that they should be paid! The Judicial Commissioner sent these

* Detailed Report, p. 39.

cases up to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces and Chief Commissioner of Oudh, for such notice as His Honor might see fit to take of the matter, and the fines were, I believe, remitted; but the case illustrates, happily, the utter confusion in regard to the first principles of justice to which the existing irrational combination of these two functions, the judicial and executive, in one official, are apt to give rise."

It is needless to quote further illustrations of the evils to which the existing system everywhere, almost daily, gives rise. Mr. Tahilram Khemchand, of Sind, after quoting an instance which came under his personal experience, truly hit the mark when he said* in conclusion—

"There must be some hundreds of Barristers and Pleaders amongst the twelve hundred and odd delegates here assembled, but I venture to assert that there is not one single one of them who cannot, from his own personal experience, cite many similar cases in which the combination of the two functions, against which this resolution is a protest, has led to the most flagrant miscarriages of justice."
(Loud cheers.)

The resolution was passed unanimously.

The next resolution brought before the Congress referred to certain other necessary reforms in the existing judicial system, which, though of great practical importance to the people, are not such as to interest greatly the general reader. Those who desire to learn more of the matter, may turn to pages 42-46 of the Detailed Report, but a single speech, that made by Mr. N. Subha Row of Madras in regard to the desirability of extending the system of trial by jury, may, perhaps, be here reproduced with advantage. He said †:—

"This is a matter upon which we are all agreed. (*Hear, hear!*) We see at present, in several parts of our Presidency, in many important districts, this system of trial by jury in full force. It is a system which is admitted to be an aid to the administration of justice; it has been in force for a long period with us, and it has worked, and is working, satisfactorily. (*Cheers.*) It is often alleged, as a reason for not further extending the system, that there are not a sufficient number of people of the intelligence required to make men satisfactory jurymen, and that our people are not sufficiently advanced in education to aid Judges as jurors in the discharge of their functions. I must give the most emphatic denial to these allegations so far as my Presidency is concerned. (*Cheers.*) Has not the education of the country been going on for a great number of years? The existence of this assembly is sufficient evidence of that and of the existence of far more than the required number of competent jurors. What town in the Empire, in which Sessions Courts are held, but is represented here by delegates? (*Cries of 'None, none.'*) What delegate is there in whose election at least fifty educated men, fit to be jurors, to say nothing of the multitudes of the less cultured did not take part? (*Cries of 'None, none.'*) We are not wanting in men; men by scores, and hundreds even, in some towns, will willingly come forward and take upon themselves the honorable duties of jurymen. (*Cheers.*) Again it is, at times, alleged that the present system of trial with the aid of assessors is a farce, and that, because that system is a farce, therefore the system of trial by jury would also be a farce. I submit that no more fallacious argument could be advanced. (*Cheers.*) The present system of trials with the aid of assessors may not be quite satisfactory, and if it were, it would be a miracle. For how can you expect really good men to spend a whole day, at times two or three, in working into a case thoroughly, merely to enable a Judge, at the end, to decide perversely without reference, or in direct opposition, to their carefully worked-out opinions? When assessors are summoned to assist a Judge, they are not, as a rule, consulted in any way. Their presence, in fact, is practically ignored, and they are simply, too often, mere paraphernalia of the Judge's Court, having no more to say to the trial, in which they are supposed to assist, than his inkstand or his chair. Moreover, no efforts are made, in most cases, to secure good men as assessors. When the list of assessors is drawn up, the Judge and the Collector meet and do it in something like five minutes. Nor do they try to see that the better-informed sections of the people are represented on their list, or even to make sure that there are any intelligent people amongst the lot. The most ignorant men, and old people in their dotage, are some-

* Detailed Report, p. 40.

† Detailed Report, pp. 44, 45.

times put on the list. I have known two assessors, who could not read or write, put on in a forgery case, who, when the paper was put into their hands to say if it was forged or genuine, could only say, 'Whichever you please.' (*Laughter.*) This is only one of many instances that I could cite, but I think I have said enough to prove that the not unfrequent failure of the assessor system is absolutely no argument against the success of a properly conducted jury system."

The resolution was unanimously agreed to, and at 1-30 P.M. the Congress adjourned for half an hour. When it re-assembled, the debate was opened by Munshi Sujjad Hussain, a Mahomedan gentleman of Lucknow, the editor of the Lucknow *Punch*. The resolution which he had to propose referred to a reform of the existing police administration, and probably no question came before the Congress in which every individual out of the whole three millions who personally took part in the elections, felt such a lively personal interest as in this one. The iniquities, the atrocities of the present police system, are no new discoveries, yet this was the first occasion on which they have formed the subject of discussion by the Congress. The reason is, that this is one of those matters in which all the educated sections of the community feel that there is little hope of any real reform being effected until the country is largely represented on the Councils. Hence they have never pressed this question, but have rather concentrated their efforts on the reform of the Legislative Councils. This year, however, the intelligent but (according to English ideas) uneducated classes greatly out-numbered the educated at the elections, and so nine-tenths of the delegates came charged with the strictest injunctions from their constituents, to expose and demand a reform of the present police system. No more conclusive evidence of the growing strength of the popular element in the Congress movement could possibly be adduced than this new departure taken this year in regard to the police, which is, *par excellence*, the common-people's grievance.

Munshi Sujjad Hussain is a born orator and a gentleman of infinite humour, and from first to last he kept the assembly in a roar of laughter. His whole speech should be read (pp. 46-48 of Detailed Report), but unfortunately he spoke in Urdu, and the best translation gives but a feeble reflection of the eloquence and humour of the original. He opened the question with the remarks—

"You all know what our good and great and beneficent British Governors have done for our welfare, our protection and advancement; indeed you all probably know more about *this* than I do. (*Laughter.*) Amongst these most excellent works, one is the Police Administration.

* * * * *

"No Lieutenant-Governor, nor even Viceroy, has such power in regard to my peace and comfort, as a simple *chowkeedar* (village watchman) or His Honor the constable (*sahib bahadur*). (*Cheers and laughter.*) The humblest labourer in the village, the most exalted noble in the city, are equally under the control of these distinguished officials. There is no place, no spot, where their Highnesses of the Police, like the Angel of Death, are not present." (*Cheers.*)

And he went on to show that it was not the people, but the thieves, that the police protected. Great as is the annoyance of being robbed, the police investigation into the robbery is worse.

"On him too they cast the blame of having been careless—of course if he *has* been robbed, which they greatly doubt, it has been solely his *own* fault—and if the thieves have by chance left him anything, this, the poor man's good friends, the police, are always kind enough to accept." (*Loud and continued cheers.*)

The speech should be read, but its conclusion, referring to the futile efforts of secret emissaries of the official party during the Congress to make mischief amongst the delegates, deserves special notice.

"For the last two days I have watched certain men coming into the Congress camp and making friends with the delegates and giving them certain advice, and, without openly opposing our work, doing all they can, in an underhand way, to mislead some of my co-religionists, by holding out to them prospects of the good will of the authorities, and of titles, if they will only leave the camp. Now I cannot help looking upon the friendly advances of these astute individuals as very similar to those made to Adam and Eve by the Devil in Paradise. (*Cheers.*) This is one of the traps of our ingenious and unscrupulous adversaries, who, finding they can do us no harm by their open hostility, seek now to injure us under the guise of friendship. (*Loud cheers.*)

"Let me tell you a little story : There was a certain Moulvi, very learned and pious, who, day and night, was occupied in the praise of God. The Devil was puzzled ; said he, 'I can't get hold of this fellow anyhow ; really I shall lose him if I don't look out, and, what is worse, people so look up to and revere him, that the whole country here is growing religious, and if I cannot show him up, I shall lose the whole country ; it really is deuced hard, and blow me if I know what to do.' One day, however, having put on a wonderful appearance of sanctity, with a beard down to his navel, wearing a huge green turban and a long robe, a rosary in one hand, a staff in the other, and slippers on his feet (*loud laughter*) in the small hours of the night, he appeared before the holy devotee : 'Peace be to you ; And to you be peace.' 'May I hope you are well ?' 'Whence has your honour come ?' The devil said : 'I am Gabriel. Our good friend* God has accepted your devotion and is much pleased with you, and has ordered me to wait upon you and give you his best regards and bring you to the seventh heaven. So here I am, and I have brought the heavenly steed (*Boorak*)† ; it is at the door.' Hearing this the devotee was rejoiced beyond bounds, and burst out laughing. Nay, he was in such a hurry that he did not properly perform his ablutions, but combing his beard rapidly and slipping on his robe he announced that he was ready. The devil bound a handkerchief over his eyes and mounted him and took him along with him. Jogging on, when they had got to a certain place on the outskirts of the village, the devil said : 'Highness we have now arrived at the *Sadrat-ul-Muntaha* (*i.e.*, the place beyond which Gabriel could not proceed, when he accompanied Mahomet on his visit to Heaven). I can go no further ; from hence other angels will take your worship.' Our devotee, in his enthusiasm about the seventh heaven, remained on the heavenly steed, moving slowly about all night, but no Mr. Angel (*Feristah sahib*) came, nor was the glory of God revealed to him. In the morning, passers-by who saw their much venerated devotee in this condition were greatly astonished and came near him and saw the bandage over his eyes. This they removed, and then the devotee saw that there was neither heaven nor God's throne, nor the *Sadrat-ul-Muntaha*, nor even the heavenly charger, but there, seated on an ass, he was perched on top of an old brick kiln. (*Prolonged cheers and laughter.*)

"Now, therefore, it behoves us to weigh carefully the proposals of these enemies of our cause, who come in the guise of friends, and to reckon up well the loss and gain of every thing. Let it not be that unscrupulous people with deceitful stories leading us away from this devotion to our country's cause, and taking us up the mount of flattery, leave us, at last, perched there upon our own folly, to be the laughing-stock of the world." (*Tremendous cheering.*)

After this humorous introduction, the entire question was very ably and fully discussed, and, as it has not been touched on in previous reports, we may quote at some length from the debate.

Mr. Mudholkar said‡ that this, though a humbler proposition than others that preceded it, was an eminently practical one, which would come, perhaps, more home to the hearts of the masses than any other :—

"It will carry the name of the Congress into every homestead. The policeman's is not a very happy lot, and, as we all know, he is more or less abused all over the world ; but in India he is simply execrated from one end of the country to the other. In every village, in every town, amongst all ranks of society, high or low, wherever you go, you will find that there is nowhere any one who has one single

* Allah Meah, a kind of familiar way of speaking of God.
† The heavenly charger on which Mahomed rode to heaven.
‡ Detailed Report, pp. 48, 49.

good word to say for the policeman—nay, he is hated and detested—and the reasons are not far to seek. The policeman's duties are such that he ought to be loved by every well-wisher of society. He ought to be the protector of our lives and property, and as such he ought to be almost venerated. But here is the fact ; in every village, the person who is most feared—feared even more than the highest official in the district—is the policeman getting Rs. 5 or Rs. 6 per month. The reason is that the law, as it stands at present, invests the policeman with powers so very wide and comprehensive, that it is no wonder that, when exercised by men whose salaries range from £4 to £6 per annum ! (Englishmen will, I hope, mark this astounding fact) the result should be so very unsatisfactory. Those powers are in several respects such that they could not safely be entrusted to any set of human beings. There are others which can certainly not be rightly entrusted to any one without proper safeguards and restrictions. And to whom, I ask, are such extraordinary powers entrusted ? To men ignorant and illiterate—to men drawn from the lowest ranks of society—men who have no sense of responsibility in regard to their duty (*cheers*), and who are paid the magnificent salary of from £4 to £6 per annum, being actually less than well-to-do people pay their stable assistants, their punka pullers, or their sweepers. Yet any one of these men, if he takes it into his head to insult or annoy you, or to lower you in the public estimation, can do it, and, practically, with impunity. Is it to be wondered if, to make a living, their whole energies are devoted, not to the suppression or detection of crime, but to the extortion, under threats, (of what they will otherwise do) of the means for a luxurious livelihood, out of the rest of the community ?

"Is there one single Indian here present who cannot, from his own personal experiences, narrate a dozen cases of cruelty, oppression and extortion on the part of these wretches ? I shall be told by our adversaries that these our oppressors are our own fellow-countrymen, but this attempt to shift the responsibility is futile. When, before Lord Cornwallis' reform, the English Covenanted Civil Service were paid on the same beggarly scale (considering the positions they occupied) as the police now are, they were just as wicked and corrupt as our Indian policemen. The fault lies with Government, and with the Government only. They must restrict the arbitrary powers of the police. They must pay them adequately, and they must put them in charge of officers who care more for truth and justice than for drill and *nakshahs*,* and who really sympathize with and desire truly in their hearts, above all things, the welfare of the people." (*Loud cheers.*)

Some of Mr. Pringle Kennedy's remarks may also be usefully reproduced. He said † :—

"Gentlemen, the resolution which I rise to support to-day is one the importance of which yields to no other or to almost no other of the resolutions before you. (*Cheers.*) In spite of what some people seem to think, a native of India does not spend all his days in the law courts, is not always being tried before a judge, with or without a jury, nor is he continually before the High Court on the Criminal Revision side. But the police, like unto the poor, we have ever with us. There is a French proverb, '*La bouche va toujours*,' which, being translated with its appropriate application, means, '*A policeman is always hungry.*' (*Laughter.*) He is ready for anything—from a pice to a thousand rupees. His mouth is the most elastic of any in the country. A pie ‡ is not too small to escape his notice, and I believe he would not choke even if he swallowed a crore. §

Then holding, as he told us, that an ounce of fact was better than a ton of theory, he gave illustrations of police tactics from his personal experience, and thus concluded his speech :—

"Now I am a microscopic member of a microscopic minority. (*Laughter.*) My experience is limited. It may be that the entire police of the empire do not ill-treat accused persons (*Cries of 'They do, they do'*) ; that in Bombay and Madras they do not take bribes (*Cries from Madras and Bombay delegates, 'They do, they do'*) ; and that the stories of ill-treatment by them of persons in the Punjab desiring to attend this Congress are but the figments of an excited imagination (*Cries of 'No, no ; they are true !'*) ; but to the character and conduct of the police in my own part of the country I can speak with confidence, and can boldly assert that it leaves almost everything to be desired. (*Cheers.*)

"We want a commission to inquire into all this. (*Cheers.*) I recognise that it is an extremely difficult problem. The men's pay, as the last speaker remarked, is ridiculously small, their power

* *Nakshahs* are printed tabular forms, the multiplicity of which is one of the minor evils of British administration. In India, the word "*Nakshahs*" is used as the equivalent of the English "*Red-Tape*."
† Detailed Report, pp. 49, 50.
‡ The 1/4rd of a farthing.
§ One million sterling.

immoderately great, and possibly any alteration in either direction may prove difficult in practice. But I cannot believe that it is beyond the resources of statesmanship, when thoroughly informed as to the facts, which our rulers might be if they appoint a proper Commission. I lay stress on this, for no purely official Commission will be of the least use ; we must have the Commission mixed ('Hear, hear,' and cheers), and largely composed of independent non-officials ; otherwise we may be pretty sure that we shall have the old official report, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians.' (Cheers.) We want reform, not a panegyric on existing facts, and if we get the kind of Commission I have suggested, we may then, possibly, also get what the country requires." (Cheers.)

Mr. Harchandrai Vishnudas, a Sindh lawyer, also spoke * very much to the point :—

"It is the part of a policeman to detect crime, but they ought to catch the criminal, and should not lay hold of the wrong person, as they seem to prefer doing. The cry comes up from all parts of India that the existing police administration in this country is very far from satisfactory. It is true that no institution in this world is capable of absolute perfection, but there are institutions and institutions, and this institution is of such a nature that we must, perforce, if we are to have any peace or comfort in life, try to free it, as much as possible, from the taint of evil and from defects of every kind. The police branch of the service admits of a very great deal of improvement, but the system at present is such that it will hardly lend itself to any of those reforms that we desire. One of its great defects is that the men who constitute the rank and file of the police department are drawn from the very dregs of the community, and are both illiterate and very badly paid. They have not any such sense of duty as can restrain them from those acts of extortion and oppression which they now commit without any scruple of conscience—without, I really believe, in many cases, realizing that they are doing wrong. It would be better if the Government were to raise their pay, and see that they have some education, and some such conscientious feelings as would revolt against gross injustice. It is quite necessary that the continual practice of torture should be put a stop to. There have come within my own observation cases of torture of so revolting and atrocious a nature that I do not like to harrow your feelings by describing them to you. At present men in the lowest grade of the service have no regular promotion to expect. They are kept on the same pay as long as they remain in the service. Not only ought a far higher class of men to be enlisted, not only ought their initial pay to be raised, so that their service may be worth having, which it is not now, unless they extort a good deal of money monthly from the people, but fair chances of promotion ought to be open to all of them, so that they may look forward confidently to both better pay and better positions, and obtain them in the course of time, with certainty, as the reward of real merit." ('Hear, hear.')

Other speakers followed, but we will only quote from one more speech, that of Mr. Parthasaradhy Naidu, of the Madras Presidency :—

"The Police Department," he said,† "constituted as it is at present, consists of men who are in nine cases out of ten utterly uneducated and devoid of all moral sense. Under the false theory that physical strength is the sole necessary qualification, all the roughs and blackguards of our slums are enlisted into the police force ; and, as a matter of fact, they are so badly paid that no good strong able-bodied man, capable of doing a good day's work elsewhere, and whose character was above extortion and corruption, would ever enlist in the force. In my opinion we ought certainly to subordinate physical strength to brains and heart. The police have not always to do pioneer's work, or sepoy's duty. On the contrary, the bulk of their duties require intelligence, judgment, tact, and, above all, integrity. A well-organised police would be more engaged in the prevention than in the detection of crime. The present state of the Department is such that, on the occurrence of a crime, the police spare no pains to bring some man, whether innocent or guilty they seem to care little, into trouble, supplying all the necessary evidence, no matter whether the final result be the conviction of a guilty or an innocent man. They think that the greater the number of the victims they have 'run in' the more efficient will their Department and themselves appear in the eyes of the officials and the public. This, so far as the public is concerned, is a sad and serious mistake, and their villainy, in the long run, renders them quite detestable to every one, and utterly discredits the whole Department. I am, therefore, strongly of opinion that the Police Department must consist of well-paid and educated men, possessing discriminative powers. While we see education spreading everywhere, there is no reason why it should not be more prominently availed of in the Police Department. By so saying I do not mean, for one moment, that feeble, puny men—the victims of over-study—should be enlisted, but the robust amongst the educated should be drafted into this important Department, the

* Detailed Report, p. 50.

† Detailed Report, p. 52.

pay being so raised as to make it worth the while of such men to serve in it. And certainly such men will not only be able to cope with the wear and tear of the Department, but also will be able to understand that they have not a mere mechanical duty to perform without caution and care, as is now done, and that they are not employed, as our present police seem to fancy, solely to rob and harass the respectable and peaceful sections of the community. In order to induce educated, intelligent and God-fearing men to enlist, the Department must be thoroughly re-organized. Not only must the present emoluments be improved, but the present uniform also, and the status of the entire force materially raised. A very large number of matriculates and middle-school youths will then be most willing to join the ranks of the Constabulary, and similarly our B.A.'s, F.A.'s and others will unhesitatingly volunteer for grades like Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors. Unless the Police Department is thus satisfactorily reformed, or, in other words, without an honest and intelligent police force, our life and property will never be safe—no, not even under the benign administration of our beloved and Gracious Imperial Majesty the Queen-Empress." (Loud cheers.)

Almost every delegate desired to speak on this subject, but the influence of the leaders of the several circles sufficed to restrain the debate within reasonable limits, and in the end the following resolution was unanimously passed :—

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

Then followed a resolution re-affirming three kindred resolutions, passed at previous Congresses. The first, relative to the establishment of military colleges in India at which young natives of India, as defined by statute,* would be trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army ; the second, pressing the expediency of authorizing (under such rules and restrictions as might seem fitting) a system of volunteering for the people of India ; and, the third, praying for a modification of the existing law relating to the possession and use of arms.

All these questions, it may, perhaps, be remembered, were discussed at great length at previous Congresses, and were very fully noticed in the introduction to the Report of the Congress of 1887. Here it may suffice to impress upon the reader the enormous importance of the question involved in these resolutions.

The Empire of the East, the brightest jewel in the diadem of our beloved Queen-Empress, was won, not by England's bayonets, but by India's swords, and by these and these alone can its lustre be maintained undimmed. None of us ignore the glorious achievements of our British troops, for *ours* we now hold them to be, nor the skill and heroism of British officers, but History's pages are no longer sealed to us, and we see that, but for the co-operation, in past times, of India's warriors (inferior though, man for man, these may be held, as compared with the English) Britain's small bands of heroes would have fought, and fallen, in vain. Even in the last great struggle, when a pampered Indian soldiery, false to their allegiance and faithless to their salt, all but wrecked the Empire which a century had nursed to glorious maturity, it was not so much the British soldiery, tardily dribbled into India, as the new Indian soldiery, sprung from the

* Natives of India, as defined by Statute, include pure Natives, Eurasians and domiciled Europeans and Americans.

bosom of the people to uphold their benefactor's cause, who, under British guidance, were instrumental in restoring peace and order. And in the spacious future if, as some forbode, a death struggle with one of the world's greatest Empires for the supremacy in Asia be really impending, it will be by the aid of "India's dusky legions," alone, that England's meteor flag will brave the battle,

"To wave eternal o'er the golden East."

But, unhappily, apparently blind to the true aspect of the case, the Indian Government, like the foolish woodman of the fable, are deliberately sawing through the branch on which they, and England's Empire in India, inevitably depend for support. By the Arms Act, by their refusal to educate our youth as soldiers and to permit volunteering, they are, as Mr. Feroz Shah Mehta phrased it, emasculating the nation. Well said he* :—

"Perhaps a good many of you remember the case of James II., who, when in his hour of peril, appealed to the Duke of Bedford (whose son had been judicially murdered by the king) for help, to whom the old nobleman replied: 'I had once a son whom I could have sent to your assistance. But I have not got him now.' In the same way, in some hour of need, India might have to say something similar to England." (Cheers.)

If the present short-sighted policy be persisted in, when next England, in her need, calls upon India, she will call in vain. The martial spirit of her people absolutely extinguished, India will no longer furnish recruits for Britain's armies. With every desire to assist, India's peoples will be powerless, and—to quote Mr. Bhimjee's memorable speech at the Madras Congress—unarmed and helpless, their martial spirit dead, they will have to stand aloof wailing like women, whilst their English friends are massacred by Russian hordes, and they themselves, their fortunes and their families, are left a prey to the ruthless barbarities of the invaders.

Is it at all strange that, under these circumstances, a deep interest is felt in these questions throughout the country? Is it not rather the persistent failure of the British Government to appreciate the vital character of the issues involved, at which we must marvel?

The debate was long, because considerable difference of opinion existed as to the last clause of the resolution, *viz.*, that referring to the Arms Act. In the first place, this was not, perhaps, happily worded; it was more general in its terms than was felt to be necessary, and did not sufficiently clearly emphasize the special reforms in executive procedure which the country really desires; and, in the second place, several of the speakers somewhat misunderstood what the practical effect of this clause would be, and treated this as more sweeping than it was at all likely to be.

The debate may be referred to (pp. 54-60 of Detailed Report), but nothing therein calls for further special notice.

The resolution was carried by a large majority.

The next question that came before the Congress was one which, for the

* Detailed Report, p. 58.

reasons explained when dealing with Police Reform, had never previously been taken up. The evils of the existing systems of Excise and Abkari were universally acknowledged, and the fact that under those systems one of the most sober populations in the world was becoming imbued with a taste for intoxicants, was equally universally deplored. But this was just one of those matters of domestic reform, in regard to which the more highly educated classes, with whom the Congress originated, could see no hopes of effecting anything until a substantial Indian element had been infused into the Councils, and hence it was to secure this latter fundamental reform, out of which all the others might be hoped to flow, that previous Congresses had chiefly directed their efforts. This year, however, the popular element being stronger and the feeling of all classes, (no doubt, to a certain extent, stimulated by Mr. Samuel Smith's crusade in England and Mr. Caine's auspicious visit to India,) very acute on the subject, a great number of the delegates came up pledged to bring it forward. Some sentences may be culled from the speech of Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Watcha, of Bombay. He said* :—

"I congratulate the Congress on this new departure in its programme. Hitherto the resolutions passed by it have had reference to the political welfare of our countrymen, but I take the resolution just read † out to you to be partly political and partly social. It is political so far as it prays the Government to inquire, with the aid of a Commission, which, it is to be hoped, will consist of officials as well as non-officials, into the real condition of the drink traffic, and social so far as it is a practical step in earnest towards the improvement of the masses who contribute largely to the excise revenue. It is not only a general belief, but, I may say, the universal conviction, that the habit of drinking is greatly on the increase; consequently there is a strong feeling that its further growth should be checked betimes, and, so far as my own Presidency is concerned, I can unhesitatingly say that consumption has greatly increased. It has doubled itself during the last few years. I have also watched the course of the drink revenue in the other provinces, especially in Bengal, Madras and the United Provinces, and I regret to have to say that there, too, intemperance is increasing. The evil must, in a large measure, be attributed to the direct action of the State, or, in other words, to the excise policies of the Imperial and Local Governments.

"However, the main fact is this: That on the one hand the Government deny that its excise policy is the principal and direct cause of the increased habit of drinking among the people, and on the other the people stoutly maintain that such is the case. I may give credit to the Government for its benevolent intentions to check intemperance and promote sobriety among its subjects. But, all the same, it is not at all able to control the excessive zeal of excise officials to net in a larger and larger drink revenue every year by pushing the drink traffic.

"What is wanted is not an expansive, but a restrictive, system of Abkari—a system which shall promote sobriety and not one which stimulates intemperance, or puts those who never drank spirits in the way of drinking them. We want a policy which shall really be in practice one of maximum of revenue with minimum of consumption. Unfortunately, as matters now actually stand, there is a maximum of revenue and a maximum of consumption."

Pandit Sattyanand Agnihotri, a leading religious and moral teacher in the Punjab, a man of vast personal experience amongst the peoples of India, spoke very strongly on the subject. He said ‡ :—

"This country is suffering at present from the Abkari plague; liquor is very cheap, and is everywhere to be had, for Government shops have sprung up everywhere, and the consequence is that habits

* Detailed Report, pp. 60, 61.

† RESOLVED—"That as it is the general belief of the people of this country that the system of Abkari and Excise now prevailing in India have, despite the well-known benevolent intentions of the Government, permitted, if they have not directly encouraged, a serious increase in the consumption of intoxicants, the Government be respectfully urged to investigate the question, and to adopt such an improved system as shall tend to discourage insobriety."

‡ Detailed Report, pp. 61, 62.

of drunkenness are increasing, and the people, especially the lower classes, are being terribly demoralized. It is in vain that I and others, whose mission it is to labour for the moral elevation of the people, preach and pray and wear our hearts and lives out in the struggle against vice, so long as the existing system—ever tempting to drunkenness and all the sin and wickedness that this brings in its train—is allowed to continue unaltered. It is ruining the country. Thirty years ago, as I know from older men, drunkenness was comparatively rare, and nearly confined to limited, criminal or very low-caste classes. Fifteen years ago—and here I speak from my own knowledge, when I first commenced my labours—the evil was not nearly so great, and liquor was still avoided by all respectable persons. Now, drinking has begun to assume terrible proportions. The Government have no wish to ruin the country; and I feel sure that, when the real state of the case is brought home to them, they will take the matter into their serious consideration, and do their part of the work in remedying this great evil. For our part, we have innumerable societies now all over the country, endeavouring to discourage the use of intoxicants, but it is everywhere the existing evil system of Excise and Abkari that constitutes our greatest difficulty.”

* * * * *

“These associations are doing good, but it is essential that the Government should strengthen them by amending its own ways, which are, I fear, the root of this great social and political evil. Last October, we held in Bengal, as you may remember, a Provincial Congress, and there too a strong resolution, recommending the reform of the existing Abkari system, was unanimously passed by the whole 100 representatives sent up by every district in Bengal. Go where you will, to Madras, Bombay, Guzerat—and I have visited most provinces during the last few years—there is the same complaint everywhere,—the Government system of dealing with the liquor question, by which it is evolving a yearly increasing revenue, is demoralizing the country; and it is not too much to say that, if a radical change be not speedily effected in that system, the national consequences will be most disastrous. Gentlemen, I am at one with you in all your proposals; but my daily personal experiences, for some years now, lead me to be more earnest and to feel more strongly in regard to this resolution, which I with all my heart commend to your acceptance, than in regard to almost any other, and we have the consolation too of knowing that this, at least, is a resolution in which our most unscrupulous and unprincipled adversaries cannot, it seems to me, possibly find anything to cavil at.”

But the cautious wording of the original resolution (*vide ante* note, p. xxxvii) did not quite commend itself to the assembly, and Mr. R. D. Mehta of Calcutta, a moderate of the moderates, rose and proposed an amendment in the following words* :—

“Why should we beg the question? Why talk about its being the general belief of the people of this country, &c.? It is not a question of belief, but an established fact, that the consumption of liquor has increased, and is increasing. Then why this talk about benevolent intentions? The intention of the Government is said to be benevolent. Benevolent indeed—not only benevolent, but fruitful—revenue full (*laughter*); very benevolent as far as the Government treasury is concerned, but, as far as the health and morals of the people are concerned, ruinous. (*Cheers.*) The Government has directly encouraged the consumption of drink, and why should we now lay ourselves open to any misconstruction? We do not want any investigations, we have had too many investigations, and the result is merely delay in carrying out the indispensable reforms. I move as an amendment that our resolution on this subject be worded as follows :—

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

“I hope, Gentlemen, that you will accept this amendment. It is shorter and more to the point, and it is not open to the misconstructions which the hesitating tone of the original would be certain to invite. The Government have for a long series of years been stimulating drunkenness; let them now encourage sobriety. This is what we mean, and let this be what we say.” (*Cheers.*)

The amended resolution was accepted by the assembly, and, after a few more speeches, passed without a dissentient voice; but before quitting the subject,

* Detailed Report, p. 62.

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it may be well to reproduce some pregnant remarks by Mr. F. T. Atkins well known as the most active missionary, alike in India and England, of the Anglo-Indian anti-Ilbert Bill agitation, but now, like many others of his then colleagues, a good Congressman. He mentioned that he had been for five years at the head of the largest Teetotal Association in the country—the Independent Order of Good Templars—and that, but for the majority of the members being military men, and thus debarred from participation in political matters, he should have appeared not only as a delegate of the people, but as a representative of the Good Templars. He maintained that the question was a great deal more a political than a social one, and went on to say* :—

“The reason the Good Templars feel so much interest in this liquor question is because the majority of the men in the British Army in India, whose healths are ruined by intemperance, or who are punished for offences committed while under the influence, of drink, obtain the liquor from the cheap drinking places, established or maintained under the auspices of the Government Abkari Department, where country liquor is sold. You have already heard from a previous speaker what every English soldier in India costs this country. So you can understand when soldiers fall sick through drink, or their services are lost to the State by their being invalidated to England, or in other ways, it means a serious loss of public money, and the amount so lost every year is an enormous sum, which, of course, comes out of the revenues of India, and which ought properly to be set against the revenue that the Government, by its present system of Abkari and Excise, is realizing. I therefore consider that I am quite justified in asserting that this resolution is of great political importance (*Cheers*); and that the question of an improved Abkari system has, even from this single point of view, a grave political significance. I need scarcely add that, amongst the community generally, an increase in drunkenness involves an increase in crime, an increase in the cost of repressive and adjudicative agencies, and an increase in the danger of the lower classes at some time getting out of hand; and so, from whatever side we look at it, whether where the European soldier or the Indian peasant is concerned, it is certainly quite as much, if not more, of a political than a social question.” (*Loud cheers.*)

Next came a resolution setting forth the necessity of raising the income-tax taxable minimum. The question is one that has a deep interest for the lower middle classes, multitudes of whom, though in reality only possessing incomes less than the legal minimum, are grievously harassed in consequence of the defective administration of the Act. To very few, if any, of the delegates did it signify personally, whether the minimum remains as now fixed at an income of £34, or is raised, as suggested by the Congress, to £68, because their incomes exceeding largely even the latter sum, their own pockets would be in no way relieved by the change. But even in 1887, the lower middle classes took part in many places in the elections, and during 1888 they did so almost everywhere, and hence the proposed reform, suggested at the Madras Congress, was even more strongly insisted on at that of Allahabad.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was in charge of the resolution. He commenced by saying † :—

“The Congress will not, I hope, be misunderstood in accepting this resolution. We do not object to the income-tax itself; all that we desire is that the taxable minimum should not be so oppressively low as it is. When Lord Dufferin taunted us in his postprandial oration at St. Andrew's with not representing the country, because we did not ask his Lordship to decuple the income-tax, he quite forgot that the first Congress that met at Bombay distinctly stated that, if the then increasing expenditure could not

* Detailed Report, pp. 62, 63.
† Detailed Report, p. 63.

be met by reductions, the necessary additional revenue should be obtained by extending the license-tax to those classes of the community who were till then exempt from its operation. In other words, it was the Congress that first advocated the re-imposition of the income-tax. (*Cheers.*) His Lordship himself complimented the Congress as "that body of intelligent and patriotic men" when he cited their authority in support of his income-tax scheme; but though we approved and desired the imposition of the income-tax on the rich, or those who could afford to pay it, we did not want it to become an engine for harassing the poor; and if only Lord Dufferin knew half as much as we do of the injustice and oppression practised on the poorer classes of the people in connection with this tax, and, Gentlemen, if he knew how wide and deep is the discontent that is consequently spreading in the country, I am sure that, instead of quizzing us, as he did for not proposing an increase in the tax, he would have unhesitatingly raised, as we have advised, the taxable minimum." (*Cheers.*)

Then he went on to explain that, though £34 was the legal taxable minimum, in practice, men, with incomes of only some £12 a year, were really made to pay :—

"We do not," he continued, "for a moment insinuate that it is the desire of Government that the poor should be thus oppressed, or that the taxable minimum should in practice be reduced so much below the amount fixed by law. The fault apparently rests on the shoulders of those officers who are entrusted with the duty of assessing and collecting the tax. But, Gentlemen, the very perfunctory manner in which revising officers hear and dismiss appeals, lends colour to the popular belief that the burdensome oppression and injustice that they groan under is practised with the tacit approval of Government. I shall only quote here one instance to show how unbecomingly the tax is administered, and how some Government officials help by their thoughtless conduct to bring our Government into disrepute. Every one knows how poor a man a grain-parcher is. He earns his daily bread by exposing himself to a blazing fire even throughout the hottest months of summer. One would imagine that the tax-collector would pass by such uninviting victims. But that unhappily is not the case. I am sorry to say, and I have it on the best authority, that in some cases the tax has been imposed on even such miserable men as grain-parchers; and what is more painful to have to record is, that the revising officers, instead of exempting such men from payment, have on appeal confirmed the assessment made by their subordinates. In the particular instance that I have just now in my mind, the revising officer ordered the grain-parcher to produce his books and so prove that his income was not what the assessing officer had imagined it to be. Fancy a grain-parcher keeping books! You might as well expect a beggar selling lucifers in the streets of London to keep books! (*Loud cheers.*) But this official would insist upon the books being produced, and that being impossible, as the books had naturally no existence, he compelled the poor man to pay the amount assessed! Tell me, Gentlemen, what can bring Government into greater disrepute than such incidents?"

Mr. T. P. Crowley, a manufacturer and merchant of Allahabad, seconded the resolution, and then in a most humorous speech, which may be read,* prophesied the triumph of the Congress.

* This is what he said :—

"Gentlemen, our opponents tell us that the National Congress will never, never succeed. Let me recall to you that when Wilberforce first brought in his Bill for the abolition of the slave trade, all those who reaped the fruits of this accursed traffic swore by all their false gods and said: 'By Heavens, never.' But time passed on and right triumphed, and that infamous practice was abolished for ever, and it was *ever* and not *never*, and so will be the success of the Indian National Congress; it will be for *ever* and not *never*. (*Laughter and cheers.*) Then there was the Reform Bill. Have we not read how the old autocrats shook their heads. How they said, Oh, it was outrageous altogether? (*Laughter.*) How they swore that, even if they had to die on the floor of the House, the Bill should never, never pass. But again time ran on and the Bill was passed and passed for *ever*, and so will the triumph of the Congress be for *ever* and not *never*. (*Laughter and cheers.*) Now we come to the repeal of the Corn Laws. It was going to destroy the whole Church and State; it was going to wipe England off from the roll of the nations and usher in a worse than French Revolution. *Never*, so long as one drop of blood remained in their veins, would the landed aristocracy permit it. No, never! (*Loud laughter.*) But again a righteous cause, backed by patience and perseverance, triumphed, and the triumph was for *ever*, and so will be the success of the National Congress for *ever* and not *never*. (*Uplarious laughter and cheers.*) Now we come to the Bill passed by Mr. Gladstone for the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. The whole army of Tories and Bigots, all poor Ireland's enemies—and alas! she has too many—declared that though the heavens fell, this awful thing should never be. But the Bill passed and passed for *ever*, and again the right triumphed and was for *ever* and not *never*, and so will the Congress victories be for *ever* and not *never*! (*Renewed laughter and cheers.*) If Lord Salisbury only knew the people of India as I have done for forty years, he would know that he is not worthy to loosen the laces of the shoes of many he seeks to insult by taunting them with their colour. (*Laughter and cheers.*) But do not let us give in to him or those like him, but—let opponents misrepresent and rave as they please—let the Congress be *ever* and *ever* and *ever*!" (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. K. V. Veshwanadha Iyer, of Madras, followed. He began by saying that he quite agreed with Mr. Crowley that the Congress must be for ever and for ever, but that that was a rather large question, and that the one immediately before them was whether or no the taxable minimum should be raised. He went on to say* :—

"I can tell you without any hesitation that the working of the Act, if the taxable minimum limit be retained at 500 rupees, will continue to be, as now, highly oppressive. (*Cheers.*) Fifty years ago, no doubt, an income of Rs. 500 a year might have been a taxable item. Money went much further, wants were fewer, lives simpler; but all this is changed now, and what then was competence is now the barest sustenance. It can surely not be desired that, after Government has introduced so many changes by which the conditions of life may be ameliorated and existence made so much fuller, we should now go back to primitive modes of life and be contented with what sufficed us in past times. But that is what is involved in keeping the limit as low as £34, or else it must be admitted that it designedly trenches upon the necessities of existence which the income-tax is professed *not* to do! What served us years ago cannot be supposed to serve us now. (*Cheers.*) What were undreamt-of superfluities then are necessities to-day; not only do we actually need more for ourselves, but we have other and new demands to meet. For instance, we have to educate our children in a manner unheard of, in past times, and the expenses of education are yearly increasing, and Government is throwing more and more of the burthen of this, yearly, on the shoulders of us poorer middle-class men. It is the policy of the Government that we should bear the larger part of these burdens, and that a constantly diminishing share of these expenses should be borne by the State. In all ways, therefore, the men with incomes of Rs. 500, and even considerably more, are becoming practically poorer and poorer and more wholly unfit to be yearly tortured on the income-tax rack. On this ground, amongst others—and there are many others with which I need not trouble you, for they were very fully set forth at the Congress at Madras last year—I support the resolution before you most emphatically."

Other speakers followed. Mr. Boikantha Nath Sen, the eminent pleader of Murshidabad, in an admirable and closely-argued speech, which should be read,† demonstrated the utter futility of the grounds on which, in its late resolution on the subject, the Government assumed that the administration of the income-tax had been satisfactory, while Professor Krishna Row Govind Deshpandye, of the Nagpore College, pointed out that in the Central Provinces, owing to the Pandhri tax, the avowed taxable minimum was only £17. He said‡ :—

"This is an old native tax, and the peculiar blessedness of our position is, that, while the old native taxes are retained, the modern European taxes are superadded to us. Gentlemen, it is, I fear, no use, but I desire by these words to protest respectfully against this Pandhri tax, this special income-tax with a taxable minimum of £17 a year, and to express a hope that when the Government raises the income-tax minimum, as we are praying them by the resolution before us to do, they will be good enough to abolish the Pandhri tax altogether, since, unless they do this, we, poor Central Provincials, alone of all the peoples of this great Empire, will be none the better. However, I support the resolution, and even should we ourselves gain nothing, we are all brothers, and your gain will be our consolation." (*Loud cheers. Cries of 'Vote, vote.'*)

But the night was drawing on apace, the following brief resolution—

"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"—

was put and carried unanimously, and the Congress adjourned to the next day at 11 A.M.

* Detailed Report, p. 65.

† Detailed Report, pp. 66, 67.

‡ Detailed Report, p. 67.

The first business transacted by the Congress next morning, when it re-assembled, for the last time, was its acceptance of an "Indian National Congress Hall," built and presented, as an office for a Divisional Congress Committee, in the Southern Mahratta country, by one of the delegates, to whom a vote of thanks for his handsome gift was unanimously accorded.

Next the President referred to the mountain of congratulatory telegrams and letters that had accumulated on the table. He said * :—

"We have been receiving simply innumerable telegrams and letters from sympathisers with the Congress,—such as Mr. Budrudin Tyabjee, the Hon'ble Rajah Peary Mohun Mookerjee, Moulvi Haji Mir Jaffir Ali Saheb, the Hon'ble Forbes Adam of Bombay, Dr. Trailokya Nath Mitter, His Highness the Maharajah of Durbungah, the Rajah of Deveracota, Syed Abdul Bari of Dacca, Soobanjee Nanooobhoy and five thousand Mahomedans of Yeola, the Reverend J. P. Mekee, Rajah Rajendra Narain Deb Bahadur, President, Indian Association, the second Rajah of Calicut, &c.,—mostly expressing not only sympathy but regret that unforeseen circumstances prevented their personally taking part in this assembly. Some of these I should have liked to read to you, but the time at our disposal is so very limited that I have decided not to read any. For this same reason—the very little further time now at our disposal—I have to state that I have been receiving, in greater abundance than I at all like, notices of resolutions and amendments to resolutions, and I would ask all those who may be now contemplating sending in any more resolutions, or any more amendments, to have mercy upon me and upon their brother delegates, for I am really afraid that we shall not be able to dispose even of all those that have already been sent in." (Cheers.)

Then Mr. John Adam of Madras rose to propose a most important resolution in regard to education. The recent change in the official attitude towards education has been viewed throughout the country with grave disapprobation. Mr. G. Subramania Iyer very tersely explained the dissatisfaction to which the recent change of policy in this matter has given rise. He said † :—

"There is no doubt growing up an idea that the new policy of education is the official reply to the demands of our Congress. (Cheers.) That Government finds itself face to face with demands, based upon the principles which it has itself preached, and which, while it is unwilling to concede them; it cannot logically refuse. It thinks, some people fancy, that the people of India are becoming too well-educated to consent to remain any longer in that *status pupilaris* which the Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces so commends, and it has determined now to do what it can to arrest this growing enlightenment which can only be appeased by reform. Gentlemen, I repudiate any such idea; it is, I am sure, a slander on our good and wise rulers, and it is moreover an impossibility. Great Britain will never go back from the noble doctrines enunciated in Parliament in 1833, in Lord Stanley's despatch of 1854, in hundreds of State documents, in thousands of public utterances of her noblest and greatest statesmen. If the Government be now acting, as it is, in a way to give colour to such a suspicion in the minds of those incapable of appreciating the greatness and magnanimity of the spirit in which England has ever dealt with India, it is only because the Government, in popular phraseology, is hard up—(laughter)—so hard up that it is clutching at every visible straw of retrenchment without stopping to consider anything but the momentary relief; and I am quite sure that we have only to put the question temperately in its bare light before Government, and to make clear to them what an irreparable and incalculable injury they will do the country, if they really continue to work on this new and indefensible line, for them to retrace their steps and resume their older and wiser policy." (Cheers.)

The best and wisest men, no doubt, accept Mr. Subramania Iyer's explanation, but it is to be feared that the suspicions, he so warmly repudiated, find acceptance with a very large proportion of the public, and it seems impossible to deny that they have good *apparent* grounds for the views that they hold.

* Detailed Report, p. 68.

† Detailed Report, p. 72.

Very great interest was, therefore, taken in the resolution proposed by Mr. Adam, which ran as follows:—

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

Mr. Adam's whole speech may be read, but the following passages are specially deserving of attention, his position as chief of the largest and most flourishing independent educational institution in India, and as founder in this country of what may be designated a system of technical commercial education, entitling his opinions to great weight :—

"Since last Congress," he said,* "a great change has taken place, and Government has not only indicated but adopted a retrograde policy. I have no time at command to prove to you from the note of Government itself that its tendency is what I have indicated. You must take it from me that in the opinion of those who have studied it, the policy marked out is distinctly retrograde. What it will be more useful to do is to prove to you by a concrete instance that the note is not a mere *brutum fulmen*, but that the policy shadowed out is to be enforced through the iniquitous engine of the system of Provincial contracts. We have for long been clamouring in Madras for an increased allotment from Imperial revenues, and this I will say that no Government could be more anxious to foster education and devote to it all the money they can, than our Government, from the Governor downwards. Well, Sir, they told the Director of Public Instruction that he might budget for an extra lakh this year. He did so. He sent in his budget. It came back with a G. O., stating that Government regretted it could not fulfil its promise, and the extra lakh must be cut off. What had happened in the interval between the Government's promise and its failure of performance? The Hon'ble Mr. Westland† had paid a visit to Madras. You can draw your own conclusion. This is but one example of the way in which the benevolent intentions of local Governments are frustrated by the imperious demands of the Imperial Exchequer. What then are these local Governments compelled to do? As regards higher education, they are compelled to shut up their High Schools and Colleges; in Madras they have been almost all closed. They commenced with the High Schools. The second grade Colleges have followed suit, and there is no security that the first grade Colleges will not next come. As regards primary education, they are obliged to throw its cost more and more on the local rates. Now, however good it may be, in principle, to look forward to a time when primary education can be supported solely from local funds, that is an ideal of which we can, here, look for the realization only in a distant future.

* Well, Gentlemen, finally, why should you consider it the duty of Government to foster education? We are continually told that we Congress-wallahs are only educated men, and represent only an educated minority. Reproach it is intended to be, though I consider it the highest honour; but, such as it is, remove all grounds for the accusation by striving to turn that minority into a majority. But you have a higher reason for desiring the spread of education. Look back and ask what but education has given you all that amount—and it is no small amount—of liberty which you now possess. Education has brought you here, education has taught you the value of representation, and education has given you men fit to act as your representatives. And why then should Government recognise it as their duty to foster education? Why, because education, if it has taught you to value liberty, has also taught you the wide gulf that exists between liberty and license; if it has taught you to know your rights and knowing dare maintain, it has taught you how to use and not abuse them; if it has taught you to pray for privileges, it has taught you their value, and inspired you with gratitude and loyalty to the giver. It is owing to education that the old India is being rung out and the new India is being rung in, not as in France, in America, aye in England herself, by the tocsin clang heralding revolution and rebellion, but by the silver chimes proclaiming liberty and law. Education is the fairy prince of the beautiful allegory written, as with prophetic prescience of to-day, by the greatest and sagest poet of our time. Education is the fairy prince who with his magic touch

* Detailed Report, p. 69.

† Then officiating Member of the Supreme Council, on a roving retrenchment mission.

has awakened the sleeping liberty of India, and the sleeper awakening, has formed with her deliverer that union which we have to strengthen, more and more, unto the perfect day. How does the poet express it?

And on her lover's arm she leant
And round her waist she felt it fold,
And far across the hills they went,
In that new world which is the old :
And o'er them many a shining star-
And many a merry wind was born,
And streamed through many a golden bar,
The twilight brightened into morn."

The Hon'ble Kashinath Trimbak Telang followed in a masterly speech,* which we need scarcely apologize for reproducing, almost in its entirety :—

"Mr. President," he said, "even in the most enlightened countries of Europe—in Germany, for instance, where education has been organized and developed probably more than in any other part of the world,—even in Germany, I say, the Government accepts the duty of fostering and encouraging education, both technical and general, in all its branches. (*Cheers.*) It is only in this country that the doctrine has recently been gaining ground that this duty does not devolve upon the Government. The doctrine is one which, as far as I am concerned, I entirely repudiate. (*Cheers.*) I think it is not only an erroneous doctrine, but it is a fatal doctrine, to be admitted either by the Government or the people. (*Cheers.*) I say it is the duty of all Governments, and more of the British Government in India than of any other in the world, to promote education, because here you have a great nation to whom the education most essential to its progress is entirely alien in many respects. It is a kind of education that we in India have never had before; and as it is admitted on all hands that this particular kind of education, and not our own old indigenous type of education, is essential for our proper national development, it is essential for the British Government, whom Providence has made responsible for this, to do all it can to foster it in all its branches. (*Cheers.*) I would also say this, that the doctrine which we enunciate in this resolution of ours is a doctrine which has been traditionally accepted by the British Government in the past. It is only now, under stress of circumstances, which it is not necessary to dwell upon, that a new-fangled doctrine is beginning to be enunciated. I say again that I entirely repudiate this doctrine as an erroneous and disastrous one. (*Hear, hear.*) In the resolution recently issued by Government, they declare that, as soon as they find local bodies to take over the management of schools, they will themselves withdraw from them. I am not against the Government withdrawing from the direct management of educational institutions. But the limits within which they can, at present, safely or properly carry out the policy of withdrawal are very narrow indeed; and in order that those limits should become wider than they are at present, in order that the field of private management be more extended than it is now, it is necessary that the Government management in some institutions should continue for some considerable time to come (*cheers*); because, I say, except on the footing of model institutions managed by Government and surrounded by institutions under private management, India is not likely to make that progress which we all so much desire, and which the Government ought to desire just as earnestly and strongly as we do. There is one other point to which I would refer before concluding my remarks, and that is with regard to the amount of expenditure which the Imperial Government says it will incur for purposes connected with education. Well, all I can say upon that point is that a Government which finds money for the very varied activities † (*laughter*) in which it is engaged in this country, ought not to say that it has not enough to pay for education, considering especially what a small proportion of revenue is now devoted to education. It is not more than one per cent. of the Imperial revenue. (*Cries of 'Shame!'*) When we remember this insignificant proportion, I cannot but express my amazement that there should be any responsible statesman saying that this is an allowance which we ought not to expect to get hereafter. (*Cheers.*) No reasonable person who understands the position of affairs will ever object to the Government allowance increasing from year to year, by leaps and bounds if necessary, considering what the educational institutions in this country have to deal with. If we only look to the example which England herself has set us in this matter, if we look to the tremendous increase in the grants for education since Forster's Act was passed, I think the Government of India will see that their novel doctrine cannot be sustained for a moment (*cheers*), and is hardly likely to meet the approval of that great British nation to which, as a last resort, we may be compelled to appeal against this threatened systematic scheme for arresting the spread of education and with it the real progress, in the highest sense of the word, of our country and our countrymen." (*Loud cheers.*)

The Editor of the *Hindu*, one of the most moderate and best managed of

* Detailed Report, p. 70.
† Referring to our perpetual wars and expeditions, frontier railways and (so-called) defences, trips to and from the Hills and the like.

all our Indian journals, Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, part of whose speech has been already quoted, then followed, and we shall reproduce the rest of his wise and thoughtful utterances * :—

"Although for special reasons this vast assembly is primarily interested in political reform, still the gentlemen here present are extremely anxious to promote, by all possible efforts, social and moral reform. We have greatly at heart the improvement of the character of our people, the eradication of their old prejudices and crude notions, the modification of our domestic and social institutions, and we want to see many reforms effected in the interest of the moral and material well-being of the people. (*Cheers.*) But how can we expect all this to be done unless the education of our people is continually improved and expanded? (*Cheers.*) It may be said that Government does not intend to discourage the progress of education in this country. It only wishes, for financial reasons, to retire from directly controlling it, and contemplates depending upon private and local efforts to supply its place. But, Gentlemen, though the principle involved may be correct, its application to India at present would be, taking the country as a whole, altogether premature. (*Cheers.*) The condition of this country is not that of European countries, where public spirit has been greatly developed, where there are a large number of wealthy men ready to expend their wealth on altruistic objects where to aid education is a popular and accepted form of public beneficence, and where, lastly, there already exist such a multitude of highly-educated men that high education practically propagates itself in every direction without its being necessary for the State to foster the process. In this country, more especially in Southern India, there is as yet but little real public spirit; there are comparatively few wealthy men, and those we have, are, too many of them, chiefly intent on keeping their wealth for their own private purposes; the endowing of schools and colleges is not a popular form of beneficence, and men of high education, though in the aggregate constituting a very large number, form, as compared with our immense population, but a very small percentage. Under such circumstances, private efforts cannot be expected to do one tithe of what is required. There is, no doubt, another agency which, to a certain extent, has taken the place of Government, and during the past few years has done something to aid the progress of education—I mean the Municipal and Local Boards, which have now the entire charge of elementary and secondary education. (*Cheers.*) But the resources of these institutions are extremely limited, and they have so many objects to which they are bound by law to devote their funds that these too are wholly unable to do more than a fraction of the work that is necessary, if England is to redeem her pledges and really do her duty by our people. (*Cheers.*) For just consider these institutions, young and feeble themselves, are responsible for the sanitation, conservancy, communications and hospitals of considerable, often very large, areas, as well as for the education of the inhabitants of these; and the people are poor, and their revenues small, and of these they can devote at best only a fraction to education: and then in regard to higher education they are helpless, and cannot obviate the evil effects of the policy now newly inaugurated. I shall give an instance. In the district of Madura there has been for many years a Government Second Grade College; but recently Government resolved to abolish that institution. The people of the place were alarmed, and applied to the local Municipality and District Board to take up the management of the College. They had a meeting, and the result was that the matter was referred to Government. But what did Government do? They said that the Municipal and local funds should be devoted to elementary and secondary education, and that higher education did not come within the scope of their operations. The consequence is the people of the district of Madura have either to go to Madras for their collegiate education, or to have recourse to another college where instruction is given, not commending itself to the religious opinions of the population. Well, that is a real hardship, which is owing to the new policy of parsimony in regard to a matter which should have, more than any other, precedence over mere pecuniary considerations. (*Cheers.*) There is also another point of view in which this subject can be looked at. Our country is in a peculiar position. At the bidding of an allied but widely differently-situated nation, it has to abandon in many matters its old ways, learning, literature, and ideas, and enter upon a new phase of existence. It has to suit itself to the requirements of the latest scientific and artistic developments of European countries, and to remodel all its internal arrangements according to the standards of European civilization; and I do not see how these stupendous changes are to be effected in a manner altogether wholesome to the people, unless full provision is made for a sound and widespread education permeating every class of society." (*Cheers.*)

Other speakers followed; Pandit Radha Charan Goswami, a well-known religious teacher, quaintly remarked, speaking in pure Hindce :—

"Mr. President and Gentlemen,—It is a joyful day in which this great Congress, the Fourth Indian National Congress, meets here in this holy city of Prayag.† By your presence here, it has been trans-

* Detailed Report, pp. 71, 72.
† The ancient and sacred name of Allahabad.

formed from a *Tribeni** into a *Sahasrabeni*,† the confluence of a thousand streams of learning and patriotism. Safe in this holy region, this blessed Congress has, day by day, conducted its loyal and virtuous work, replete with future prosperity to India and to England."

But there were absolutely no two opinions on this great question, and the resolution (already given *supra*, p. xliii) was carried unanimously.

A very pleasing incident then diversified the day's proceedings. It had got about, somehow, amongst the delegates, that that day was Mr. Gladstone's birthday, and in response to numerous suggestive slips, sent up to him from all parts of the House, the President now proposed that the Congress should send him a congratulatory telegram. The proposal was received with enthusiasm. None who were then present will ever forget the rapturous and ringing cheers that followed every mention of Mr. Gladstone's venerated name.‡

The fact is that every Congressman is a firm believer in those principles of Local Self-Government with which Mr. Gladstone's name is identified, and looks forward joyously, but patiently, to the time, distant though it may be, when his children, or, more probably, grand-children, shall be as independent, in the administration of all the internal affairs of the country, as are now the people of the Dominion of Canada. But, whereas, the Canadians thought fit to take up arms, and endeavour to make clear, by violence, the nature of their aspirations, the Congressman, appreciating the great growth of liberal sentiments in Great Britain since 1837, relies implicitly on India obtaining, from time to time, all those successive measures of enfranchisement which the ever-changing condition of her people may demand, by the purely peaceful methods of constitutional agitation.

Next came the following resolution:—

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

The rationale of this was well explained by Mr. Ananda Charloo, a leading pleader of Madras, who said §:—

"The problem that is now before us is the practical difficulty of introducing a general system of technical education in this country. This problem is not easy to solve. It will have to be solved with reference to the varying conditions of different parts of the country. What will suit one part may not be found to suit another part. One thing undoubtedly is possible, and that is to open schools; but that is going very little beyond the first stage. You may teach ever so much, but unless you teach on precisely the practical lines required by the conditions of the time and place you will effect little. You want a good deal of detailed information before there can be an organized effort made in the interests of technical education. You all know, at any rate many of you must know, that in Madras the Jubilee memorial was the creation of an Imperial Institute ('Hear, hear'), and the funds collected on that occasion are being mainly applied to technical education. But when we have before us the question of a general system of technical education, it is quite clear that the collection of materials must necessarily precede any effort in that direction, and

* *Tribeni*, the confluence of three rivers, viz., the Jumna, Ganges, and Sarasooti, the latter being, in these latter evil days, invisible to human eyes!

† *Sahasra* = a thousand.

‡ And not on this occasion only, but on previous days also. We may quote the following from Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee's speech (Detailed Report, p. 18):—

"When a statesman in the position of Mr. Gladstone, long the Prime Minister of England, still the trusted leader of a great party, the hope of Ireland—its future deliverer—holds views such as these, we may say, with confidence, that we are within measurable distance of victory. (*Tremendous cheering for Mr. Gladstone, the audience rising up.*) I hope and trust the mighty voice of a great nation will go forth from this hall and be wafted across mountains, seas and deserts, and reach the ears of Mr. Gladstone, as the expression of our personal regard for him and our sympathy for his labours." (*Cheers.*)

§ Detailed Report, p. 75.

therefore the object of the resolution before you is to ask Government to institute inquiries for the purpose of obtaining all the data and materials that we must have as a foundation on which to base any rational, as opposed to a haphazard, scheme."

A long debate followed;* not because there was any opposition to the resolution, but because some earnest expositors of the alleged wrongs of the emigrant coolies in Assam, desired to combine in it a demand for an enquiry into emigration matters, and because, again, some gentlemen, who distrust Government commissions, wished to add a rider calling upon Government to establish one or more technical schools at once in each Presidency. But Mr. Adam protested against any dovetailing, however neat, of the emigration question into a resolution relating to technical education, a wholly different subject, and Mr. Pheroze Shah Mehta remarked that the rider was inconsistent with the resolution. He said †:—

"The resolution asks for enquiry, because we, as a fact, do not know what class of technical schools to establish, or how to do it, and the rider proposes, with this, to couple a demand for the immediate establishment of technical schools in every province. (*'Hear, hear.'*) You must either abandon the demand for the enquiry, or you must give up the demand for the immediate establishment of the schools in every Presidency. The two demands are inconsistent, and cannot be coupled in one and the same resolution." (*Cheers.*)

So, ultimately, the amendments were withdrawn, and the original resolution adopted unanimously, and we shall only extract from the discussion some general and philosophical remarks that, in its course, fell from the Rev. Ram Chander Bose, and which seem to merit careful consideration. He said ‡:—

"One of the objections advanced against the National Congress is that it peremptorily refuses to discuss and deal with social problems. But the question which is being now discussed is, after all, a social question. Technical education involves a social reform or revolution of gigantic proportions. It will spread correct notions of the dignity of labour—(*'Hear, hear,' and cheers*)—raise the industries of the country from the contempt to which they have been ignorantly consigned; to a position of respectability and influence, and obliterate those of our social distinctions which are fictitious and unnatural. (*Cheers.*) It will cement class to class and create that bond of sympathy which will weld the jarring elements of our national life into a compact, homogeneous whole. (*Cheers.*) It will in this way accomplish a social revolution; nay, it will do something more. It will accomplish a moral revolution of equally gigantic and magnificent proportions. It will effect a salutary change in our national character. Our national character is by no means so dark as it is represented to be by professional detractors. Calm and philosophical observers, like Bishop Heber and Principal Kay, have noticed therein traits which, in their opinion, Christian nations would do well to imitate. (*Cheers.*) But it is a fact, which no one present will call in question, that what preponderates in the national character is quiescence or passivity, the active virtues being thrown in the background or remaining in a state of dormancy. These must be awakened and called into vigorous play before we can march forward alongside of the great nations of Europe and America. The virtues we are sadly deficient in are courage, enterprise, the will to do, and the heart to dare—(*cheers*)—and these, I maintain, will be fostered among us by technical education, and the varied industries that will grow up as the fruits of this. Political questions are inseparably linked to and bound up with social and moral questions. Why? Because life in the first place is a unity. (*'Hear, hear.'*) Our lines of distinction between political, social, and moral life are arbitrarily drawn, as life in its political aspects cannot move forward without causing life in its social and moral aspects to move forward also. Life in one department in motion and in others stationary is an impossibility! In a similar manner progress is an unity, and our distinctions between material and moral progress are fictitious. When true progress is realized in one department of life, the other departments cannot but be affected by it. Progress is, if you will allow the expression, contagious; and when it affects one portion of life, or one of its sides, it spreads over and exercises a restorative influence over the others also. Some of you are friends and champions of social reform, and you are apt to be impatient because social questions are not discussed in the Congress. Let me advise you to be patient. (*'Hear, hear.'*) Social questions in some form or other will come in for discussion, and social reform will emanate from our deliberations. Again, some of you are friends and

* Detailed Report, pp. 73-79.

† Detailed Report, p. 78.

‡ Detailed Report, pp. 78, 79.

champions of moral reform, and you are impatient because moral questions are not discussed in Congress. Let me give you the same advice—be patient, and you will by and bye see moral questions discussed here, and a moral influence of the healthiest kind issuing from our association. We have every reason to look forward to the time when the glorious results of our deliberations will be the rectification, not of this solitary evil or that, but of all the varieties of evils under which the country is groaning.” (Cheers.)

The next matter of importance was Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee’s speech proposing the submission of the resolutions, passed by the Congress, to the Governments of India and England. This speech we shall quote in its entirety, it being essential to make clear why the Congress of 1888 only pressed for a Parliamentary Committee, whilst a previous Congress had insisted on a Royal Commission to enquire into the affairs of India. Mr. Bonnerjee (President of the First Congress and one of the leaders of the Calcutta bar) said* :—

“Mr. President and Gentlemen,—We have hitherto been hewing some of the many stones which are still required to crown the splendid, the unique, the marvellous edifice (cheers) which the statesmanship of Great Britain has reared up in this country. (Cheers.) It is now necessary that these stones should be submitted by us to the chief superintendent of that edifice in this country, and to his official superior in London, in order that they may consider their merit and fitness. (Cheers.) Accordingly I have to present for your acceptance the following resolution :—

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

“I may say that this resolution is as of course, and it would not have been necessary for me to detain you a single moment if it had not been for the fact that the concluding portion of it, the portion that is which asks for an enquiry by a Parliamentary Committee, might seem at first sight inconsistent with one of the resolutions which we passed at the Congress of 1885. You will remember that at that Congress we asked that the enquiry into the administration of India which had been promised by the then Secretary of State for India by means of a Parliamentary Committee should be made by a Royal Commission, consisting of representatives both of England and of this country, and taking evidence both in England and India. (Cheers.) But, as the late Lord Beaconsfield once said, many things have happened since then. (Laughter and cheers.) It has become unnecessary, for the purposes of the resolutions which we have passed here, to ask for a Royal Commission. On this occasion we are only asking that if any of the propositions which we are going to lay before the Government require any further inquiry—in our judgment no inquiry further than what has been already made is necessary—then such inquiry may be made by a Parliamentary Committee. A Parliamentary Committee, as you all know, must come to an end with the Parliament that appoints it, and it must conclude its labours before any very long time has expired. On the other hand, a Royal Commission may go on sitting for years and years, hanging up reforms which have been felt, and declared by you all, on behalf of the country, to be absolutely necessary. (Cheers.) Many of the resolutions which you have passed deal with matters which may be disposed of in this country by the Government of India, if only the Secretary of State so desires ; and the only thing you have asked for which requires the consideration of Parliament is the expansion of our Legislative Councils. That subject has been before the country now for many years, and it is not necessary that any further inquiry should be made.

“I hope that, should these proceedings come under the eye of Mr. Bradlaugh (loud and prolonged cheers), who has so kindly interested himself in matters connected with India, he will see that we are not in any way throwing overboard the notice of motion which he has given, and which he has promised to bring forward at the next sessions of Parliament. We are only asking him to modify his motion to a certain extent. I hope he will not think that, in asking for a Parliamentary Committee, and not for a Royal Commission, we are guilty of any inconsistency, or are in any way unappreciative of his great efforts on our behalf. (Loud cheers.) I know I speak the sense of this vast assembly when I say that we are unfeignedly grateful to him for his masterly and able advocacy of our cause (cheers) ; and we hope that he will be pleased to help us in the future in the direction of the resolution which I have submitted to you. (Cheers.)

* Detailed Report, pp. 80, 81

“The reforms however for which we have pressed in the preceding resolutions are not by any means the only reforms which are essential for the welfare of India. They are perhaps the simplest, and in regard to them the country is now most completely of one mind as to the exact steps that it is necessary for the Government to take. But there are other great and vital reforms which must sooner or later be dealt with if India is to be justly administered, and if even the ultimate interests of the British Empire as a whole are to be considered. Such, for instance, as the reduction of military expenditure, and its re-apportionment on a juster basis between England and India, and various other matters with which I need not trouble you now. These are extremely complicated questions, in regard to most of which we ourselves lack the detailed practical knowledge essential to the suggestion of definite action, and in regard to these we shall have later to press once more for that Royal Commission which we prayed for in 1885. But at the present moment what we first want is that those simple and clear reforms, which are now fully ready for practical embodiment, should be carried out.”

The resolution was after all, as the President remarked, a purely formal one, and, after a few more brief speeches, was adopted unanimously, but nothing could be more admirable in its way than Moulvi Mansur Ali’s brief speech, which may well be commended to all English readers as fairly illustrative of the feelings which animate the Congress party. He said * :—

“Gentlemen, I also warmly support this resolution and endorse every word spoken by the last speaker. What more can we do, as faithful and loyal subjects, than tell our rulers plainly what those grievances are that make the people dissatisfied and beg them to remove them, if they see fitting, by the measures which we propose to them, if not, by such other measures as their greater wisdom may suggest.” (Cheers.)

From time to time the efforts of the party of purity in England, to relieve India from the disgrace of a Governmental subvention of prostitution, have attracted notice in this country. The subject has always been felt to be an unsavoury one, and little has been said or written about it, and hence any feeling on the subject is confined to the more highly educated classes. So when in the Subject Committee it was proposed to put on record some expression of sympathy with our English philanthropists, doubts were expressed by many delegates, simply because they knew that the great bulk of their constituents knew absolutely nothing about the matter. However, as the delegates themselves did know, and were agreed to a man on the subject, it was concluded to frame the following resolution :—

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

But then arose a difficulty ; all were ready to vote for this resolution, none would consent to speak upon it. Indian gentlemen are, perhaps, more reticent on such subjects than Englishmen—who have had greater experience in public matters—and so only three Englishmen and one Indian could be got to bring the subject before the Congress, and the one Indian carefully spoke upon other subjects, confining his remarks on this one to a few words at the very close of his speech.

The whole discussion should be read, but it will suffice to reproduce here a single passage from the eloquent speech of Captain Hearsay, who seconded the resolution. He said † :—

“And, Gentlemen, though the C. D. Acts have been repealed, the rules under the Cantonment Acts,

* Detailed Report, p. 82.
† Detailed Report, p. 84.

under which these evil things are done, are still in full force. There are in India over 2,000 young women, so procured, for the hideous purpose alluded to. If the Government thinks it is a medical necessity for such women to be entertained, why do not they import into India for this purpose the countrywomen of these British soldiers? (*Cheers.*) Why should our poor Indian women be sacrificed on the altar they have erected to lust? Let them import Englishwomen, if they dare, for these vile purposes. Or, what would be much better, allow greater freedom in, and even promote, the marriage of these soldiers. Can any one imagine anything more shocking than this legalized system of prostitution? A body of unfortunate young Indian women kept in a state of moral slavery and annually recruited to supply the supposed carnal wants, not of their own countrymen, whom they can understand, and with whom they have a certain sympathy, for whom it is possible for them to cherish some sort of passion, however degraded, but of the British soldier, whose colour, customs and conduct are all alike repugnant to their natural instincts—a system, which all the better men amongst those soldiers protest against and declare to be a mere incitement to the boys, who now-a-days are sent out in shoals, to sin. Surely it is an astounding thing to find such a system legalized by the rules of a Christian nation. It is, to speak metaphorically, a fearful cancer, and one which requires to be not only firmly cut out, but cauterized, so as to prevent its breaking out in another form, under new laws and rules."

The resolution was carried unanimously. Then followed a resolution embodying a Congress rule of practice, previously agreed to all over India, but which it was deemed expedient to put formally on record. The resolution runs as follows :—

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

And its necessity and objects were thus explained by Mr. Ananda Charloo :—

"Many of you," he said,* "have copies of the Madras Standing Congress Committee's Annual Report. In that report you will find an account explaining how this rule was found to be desirable for our guidance there. I may tell you also that that rule was framed in accordance with the wishes of some of our best Mahomedan friends. (*Cheers.*) Mr. Tyabjee (*cheers*), who was our President last year, in course of conversation told us that a resolution of that kind was considered desirable by many of his co-religionists; and other gentlemen, whose names cannot be mentioned without high praise, Mir Hoomayun Jah Bahadoor of the Mysore Regal house and Hajee Mahomed Abdulla Badshah Thakore Sahib, our Mahomedan Madras Merchant Prince (*cheers*), were a party to this proposition being adopted by the Madras Standing Committee. Then, as you are probably aware, this resolution was sent round to all the other Standing Congress Committees, and after full consideration approved by them. Outsiders may be surprised at this unanimity, but the reason is to be found in the fact that it is in strict accordance with one of the fundamental principles of the Congress, which is that it shall only deal with those subjects on which a substantial agreement has been come to by the great bulk of the intelligent men in the country. Now, of course, if either the Mahomedans or the Hindus as a body object, the subject is clearly not one in regard to which a substantial agreement has yet been come to. Now the resolution consists, as you will see, of two provisions and a rider. The first provision provides for no subject being even considered by the Subject Committee if either Mahomedans or Hindus as a body object to the question being discussed. Thus, if any foolish person were to propose that the question of cow-killing should be considered by the Congress (and there was one such person at Madras), he would be at once silenced under this rule. Then again it may happen that, though no one objects to the discussion of the subject yet, when after that discussion a resolution comes to be framed in regard to it, the conclusion thus arrived at may be distasteful either to the Hindus or the Mahomedans, in which case such resolution would be dropped. You see we want to consult and work together like brothers. (*Loud cheers.*) If we are all agreed on any matter, then we will submit the

* Detailed Report, pp. 85, 86.

universal view to Government; but if we cannot come to a substantial agreement amongst ourselves, then we drop the subject until we can. But there is a rider. Our resolutions are before the world; no new comer should join who is not fairly in sympathy with these. Any one who joins us, joins us, broadly, on the basis of these resolutions; and, though we will allow him to rediscuss them if he likes, and again take the sense of the assembly in regard to them, we cannot allow him, or any one, to block them. With this explanation I commend this resolution, typical as it is of the true Congress spirit, to your hearty concurrence." (*Loud cheers.*)

The whole assembly was absolutely of one mind on this subject, and further quotations from the debate are needless; but there was one speaker, and a little story he told* that merit special notice.

Swami Alaram, a humble vagrant, a religious and moral preacher, is of the true apostolic type. He takes no thought what he shall eat, or what he shall drink, or wherewithal he shall be clothed. His sole possessions are a single coat and cap (which he wears until their dilapidated condition suggests to some one to give him new ones), a gourd to hold water, a rosary and a staff. Ever on the move—preaching purity, honesty, truthfulness and devotion to the divine—he wanders from village to village, fed by willing hands wherever he halts for the night, and though he has not a farthing in the world (he will not take money), yet even in this dollar-worshipping age, he is loved and respected over a tract of country larger than all England. Quite uneducated, according to English ideas, he is yet very shrewd, and he set forth in broad Hindee the following parable, which our official opponents might advantageously read, mark, learn and inwardly digest :—

"A certain Guru, Lalbujhakar by name, had a large number of disciples (*chelas*). As they were going on their way they saw the footprints of an elephant, which none of them had ever seen before, and they asked their Guru what that was. The Guru laughed at them, for not knowing, and cried, because he himself did not know, but he said, at last, when pressed :—

Bujhey Lalbujhakar aur nai bujhey koey;
Peir men chukki band ker hiranna kuda hoey.
(Lalbujhakar he knows, but no other one knows
A deer has jumped here with millstones on his toes.)

The Anti-Congressists are Lalbujhakars; one of these is of Benares, and favoured us with his presence here, and another is sitting at Aligurh, and these our would-be Gurus' (teachers') ideas in regard to politics and the present state of our country appear to be about as accurate as Guru Lalbujhakar's ideas in regard to the elephant's footprints; and mind, that, all over India, those irresistible elephants—education and public spirit—are daily leaving their footprints, and the officials, who are now, we see, the *chelas* of these Gurus, had better get wiser men to tell them what these really mean." (*Loud cheers.*)

Then the question of the permanent settlement was brought forward. A resolution in regard to it had been framed in the Subject Committee, and at an earlier stage of the proceedings (see p. 79 of the Detailed Report) it had been brought forward and then dropped, partly because the gentleman, who by some misunderstanding had been placed in charge of it, began to argue against the resolution he proposed, and partly because the feeling of the assembly in regard to it had not been sufficiently tested. But the landed interests were largely represented in the Congress, and the majority of the constituencies of the South of India are agricultural and intensely interested in this question, and so there was a large body of delegates, who, either on their own account, or on behalf of those they represented, were determined that the subject should not be shelved. So the President having, in response to their reclamations, taken the sense of the

* Detailed Report, pp. 86, 87.

assembly and having ascertained that many were in favour and none opposed to re-opening the question, Mr. Howard, to start the debate, proposed the following resolution* :—

"That in the opinion of this Congress the time has now come for introducing into the major portions of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and into parts of the Punjab and other Provinces, a permanent settlement of the land revenue demand."

Sheikh Raza Hussein, an Oudh Taluqdar, put the question well. He said † :—

"If the subject of a permanent settlement had not been at all brought before the Indian National Congress, I should have thought that the Congress had not fully performed its duty. The greater part of the population of India is composed of men who have special connection with the tillage of the soil. The main resource of India lies in its agriculture. The best relief for and antidote against the poverty of the people, and the now almost yearly-recurring famines, are to be found in the introduction of a permanent settlement throughout all those portions of the country which have been long settled. I quite admit that there are portions of the country where population is sparse and cultivation in its infancy, where a permanent settlement would be out of place ; but in districts where the population ranges from 500 to 900 per square mile of cultivation, the time has come for fixing the land revenue demand, unless, indeed, in some exceptional localities which railways have not yet approached, and the agricultural value of which we may expect to be materially changed when they do approach it. When I say a permanent settlement, I do not necessarily mean a permanent settlement precisely similar to that in Bengal. In the first place, we are wiser now than we then were. The experience of eighty years has shown us how we can improve on that settlement in many particulars. In the second place, landed tenures vary all over the country, and in each place the permanent settlement must vary accordingly. And again when I say a permanent settlement and speak of a fixity of the Government demand, I do not necessarily mean that that demand should be settled in rupees. On the contrary, I am disposed to believe that it would have to be fixed in terms of quantities of the three or four chief local staples of produce, in regard to which a cash revaluation might be made at intervals of, say, every three, five or seven years, based upon the average local prices of those staples during the preceding period. Thus, if the Government demand in any village were fixed at 50 maunds of wheat, 100 maunds of jowar, 100 maunds of bajra, 50 maunds of gram, and 50 maunds of urher, this would remain the demand for all time, but every three, five, or seven years, the actual number of rupees would be fixed by a calculation based on the average local price of these articles during the past three, five, or seven years. I can only say that, unless some such fixity is given to the Government demand in our province, cultivation will never keep up with the growth of population. Grant it, and hundreds of thousands of wells will be dug within the first five years, and millions of acres that now yield only small unirrigated crops would yield double and treble the amounts of far more valuable staples. By one way or another, people would manage to put double the amount of manure they now do into the ground. But no great improvement can take place so long as the people are for ever on the look-out for the recurring swoop of the settlement officer to sweep the fruits of their labours into the official net. Mr. Howard spoke of the 'unearned increment,' which is explained to me to mean, profits that a person has not made for himself, and he tells us that a great political economist tells us this should belong to Government. Well, if this is political economy, our system must be perfection, for at every revision Government appropriates the profits that it never earned, but which the cultivators of the soil have earned. (Laughter.)

"Gentlemen, if what I have heard as to the real meaning of the phrase used by Mr. Howard, viz., that it refers to an increased value of lands and produce, owing to the making of railroads and opening out roads and the like is correct, then I say that in the greater part of our provinces no such increased value is any longer to be looked for. The country is as fully populated and as much opened out as it can be, and any improvement in the yield of the land will be due to the landlord putting more capital into it, or the cultivator more labour, and neither will ever do this until they get a permanent settlement.

"Now, I am not pretending that I am prepared with any definite scheme. Our resolution does not put forward anything of the kind ; but I do think that the Government should be made aware of the very strong feeling on this subject that pervades the country, and take the matter, which, for some years past, it has, as it were, excluded from the sphere of practical politics, anew into consideration, and into consideration with the view to action, and therefore it is that I consider it imperative to pass the resolution which I have had the honour to second."

* Detailed Report, pp. 88, 89.

† Detailed Report, pp. 89, 90.

Other speakers followed supporting the resolution, Rajah Rampal Singh, remarking, * *inter alia* :—

"I am sure that if the entire population were polled, 70 per cent. would vote for permanence of settlement ; and I am also sure that, when we get representative councils, one of the very first, I might say the first thing we should all fight for in all of these, would be the introduction of an equitable permanent settlement into all the thoroughly-cultivated and well-advanced portions of the country. We do not wish to take the Government at a disadvantage ; we do not expect them to take immediate action on this resolution ; but we desire by it to serve them, as it were, with a notice that we are all thinking of his question, and all fully resolved when other simpler matters, as Mr. Bonnerjee explained, are disposed of, to press for a reform in this matter also. Therefore I desired that this subject should come on for discussion, and therefore it is that I still advocate the passing of this resolution, although I perceive that many, while agreeing with us in principle, consider that any resolution on the subject would be premature."

This last remark exactly defined the attitude of the majority ; and Mr. Telang, in a brief but masterly speech, well expressed the general views and wishes on the subject. He said † :—

"The question of a permanent settlement is one of the highest importance, both to the people and the Government. But I do not think that it is one which should be, as it were, rushed through this Congress. (Cheers.) On the contrary, I submit that both we—who have assembled in this hall—and those who, though elected as delegates, have not been able to attend here, and lastly our constituents who sent us here, should have an opportunity of maturely and gravely considering the question in all its numerous bearings. Now that the question has been re-opened by the re-admission of the withdrawn resolution, it is for us to consider how we should deal with it. It appears to me that there is a considerable difference of opinion as to the mode in which we ought now to proceed. I do not want to discuss here the merits of the question of a permanent settlement. It is obvious from the show of hands that there is some difference amongst us even as to whether it should be touched at all, and therefore, I think, it is desirable that any resolution we may now pass on this most important subject should be such that we ourselves may all be satisfied with it, as well as those not present. (Hear, hear.) It appears to me that, looking to the circumstances under which the question has now been raised, no resolution, whatever it might be, that we came to on the merits of the question, whether favourable or unfavourable to a permanent settlement, would be likely to carry much respect or weight. I fully admit the importance of the question, but precisely on that account I submit that no decision should be come to in regard to it, without full previous preparation and detailed discussion of it all over the country. Now many of us, most of us, have had no preparation ; it was not one of the 13 subjects circulated over the country before we left our constituents. The question has had no definite practical discussion amongst us in most parts of the country. We have all vague general ideas, probably in most cases favourable to the notion, but very few, if any, of us have really recently studied the question or read up the voluminous literature that exists on a subject which for the last 40 years, at least, has off and on been under discussion alike in India and England. I doubt whether there is one single man of marked ability connected with India who has not written something about this question during the last 50 years. We ought at least to read a good deal of what has been written before expressing definite opinions. By all means let us discuss the question ; it is one of first-rate importance, but let the whole country that we represent, and we ourselves, be first properly prepared for the discussion. I therefore suggest an amendment as follows :—

"That the question of the introduction of a permanent settlement of the land revenue demand into the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and other Provinces be referred to the several Standing Congress Committees, with instructions to report upon the same, in so far as it affects their respective Circles, to the Congress of 1889."

This amendment was accepted by every one, and passed unanimously, Sheikh Raza Hussein, only remarking that ‡ :—

"We agriculturists probably know already quite as much, if not more, about the subject than we are ever likely to learn from any official literature, however extensive. For this will be mere theory, whereas we know the practice. At the same time, I agree that the matter is so important that it is well that

* Detailed Report, p. 90.

† Detailed Report, pp. 90, 91.

‡ Detailed Report, p. 91.

anything we say in regard to it should have the appearance of being the result of deep deliberation, and so I am quite willing to accept the amendment. At the same time, if we were to deliberate for 50 years, it would not, in the smallest degree, affect my opinion that in my province a permanent settlement is absolutely required, in the interest alike of landlords and cultivators." (*Cries of 'Vote, vote.'*)

Lastly came the question of the recent enhancement to the salt tax. The President* was somewhat averse, for reasons which he explained, to the passing of any formal resolution on the subject. But all the delegates from Bombay and Madras, Sindh, Berar and the Central Provinces, and not a few of those from other places, were pledged to bring the subject before the Congress, and the assembly unanimously voted for its discussion. Accordingly the following resolution—

"That this Congress do put on record its disapproval of the recent enhancement of the salt tax as involving a perceptible increase to the burthens of the poorer classes, as also the partial absorption, in a time of peace and plenty, of the only financial reserve of the Empire"—

was submitted to the assembly.

Mr. Narayan Vishnu Bam, of Poona, took charge of it, and his entire speech merits careful perusal. He said†:—

"Here, in Upper India, you have been used to dear salt, and your people eat much less of it and require less of it than ours in the south, and you can hardly realize the terrible hardship involved to our people in paying, now, a two-rupees-eight-annas duty on salt which costs one anna, and on which, not so very many years ago, we paid a duty of only ten annas. I have heard that in Bengal some gentlemen said they approved of the recent enhancement of the salt tax. (*Cries of 'No, no.'*) I can only say that all over the south of India it has created more discontent than even the income-tax; and in some parts of the south in the Madras Presidency for instance, this has been aggravated by Government giving a monopoly of the sale to a few men, who have still further artificially raised the price. Gentlemen, the salt tax, which presses proportionally more and more heavily on a man the poorer he is, is altogether a bad tax; but if kept at a low limit it is bearable. At its present rate, our poor people cry out dreadfully about it. I do not believe that the Government could be right in raising it as they have done, and I think that we shall be ill discharging our duty as representatives of the people if we do not distinctly put on record our disapproval of the measure. Is there any one here who approves it? Do we not all feel it to be a wrong thing to add to the already crushing poverty of the poorest classes? Let them tax articles of luxury—tax them as heavily as is possible without creating smuggling—but do not let them go on raising a tax on the necessities of life and adding to the burthens of the poor, because it is easy, and they have no voice. Gentlemen, we are the voice of the country, of the poor as much as, nay more than of the rich, for they can speak for themselves, but let us, at any rate, protest on behalf of the poor. Personally there is not one of us here who cares for this increase; it means to most of us a rupee more a year; in the largest households, not more than five rupees. But to the very poorest it means eight annas more a year, and let me tell you, Gentlemen, that there are millions on millions to whom that eight annas extra means eight meals less in a year, and that to people who, even before this enhancement, never got more than one meal in the 24 hours. And, Gentlemen, what we all feel is that, had a terrible war with Russia been raging, had there been some great famine, strangling in its deadly grasp huge provinces, there might have been some excuse for this enhancement. But that to do this in normal times, when there were at most only petty wars—and Government always keeps a small stock of these on hand—(*laughter*), and no famine anywhere, was indefensible. We all feel this, and this is what the resolution says, and this being so, I hope you will support this resolution unanimously. I had much more to say, but the President's warning-gong has sounded, and I can only repeat—this is what you mean—this is what you think—then say it, and say it plainly." (*Cheers.*)

Very true and telling were Mr. Girija Shankar Kashiram Dwivedi's brief utterances:—

"We all desire," he said, ‡ "salt to be cheap, for the sake of the poor. We all disapprove the recent increase to the duty. Instead of raising the duty it should have been lowered. Lord Ripon lowered it,

* Detailed Report, p. 92.

† Detailed Report, p. 92.

‡ Detailed Report, p. 93.

and had he remained here he would have reduced it further. But Lord Dufferin, instead of reducing, has raised it because he wanted to annex Burmah, and waste crores up in Afghanistan. Therefore the whole country is displeased with him, and he is displeased with the country and runs down this Congress which is the voice of the country. Yes, we disapprove this recent increase to the salt tax. We say it was wrong, and that there was no real justification for it, only a justification that Lord Dufferin himself had made by expenditure, which we all disapprove."

These few lines embody, perhaps, the true solution of the otherwise inexplicable attitude assumed by Lord Dufferin towards the Congress, on the eve of his departure from India.

The resolution condemning the recent enhancement of the salt tax was unanimously adopted; two formal resolutions—one fixing the Bombay Presidency as the scene for the next Congress, the other re-appointing the General Secretary—were passed, and a vote of thanks to the President was enthusiastically carried. The President replied briefly, and after thanking the leading members of the Reception Committee on his own behalf, and that of the delegates at large, declared the Fourth Indian National Congress dissolved.

"There* was much cheering which continued for some time. Then three thundering cheers, repeated again and again, were given for the Queen-Empress, and the vast assembly began to disperse; but the majority of the delegates went on to give cheers for a variety of people—Mr. Gladstone, Sir William Hunter, Mr. Bradlaugh, Lord Reay, Lord Connemara, &c., until some one proposing a cheer for Lord Dufferin, the assembly, or what was left of it, realising the *reductio ad absurdum*, broke into peals of laughter, and finally dissolved in a state of universal good humour."

Certainly, characteristic as were the self-control, the moderation and the good humour so conspicuously displayed by this late Congress, its most characteristic features were the intense love and loyalty which it displayed towards the Queen-Empress and the thoroughly genuine and hearty desire which it evinced for a permanent and satisfactory union between England and India.

Over the gateway of the Castle was a large medallion of the Queen, the spontaneous effort of a humble local genius. High over the Congress Hall from first to last fluttered and flaunted "the Flag that's braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze." Inside hung pictures of Her Majesty, no part of the original design, but brought thither, at different times, by their owners, unexpected, unsolicited tributes of their loyalty. Great as was the enthusiasm in regard to Mr. Gladstone, it was as nothing to that exhibited in regard to the Queen, every mention of whose name, every allusion even to whom, was uplifted on the cheers of the entire gathering. Nor was this mere lip service, toadyism, or idiotic reverence for a great unknown: it was the heartfelt expression of the genuine love awakened in the entire country by the knowledge that, constitutional Sovereign as she is, fenced in by a thousand traditions and debarred from anything like a free and full expression of her own personal feelings, it was to Her Majesty personally, and not to either of the great English parties, that India owes *her* Magna Charta.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya referred feelingly to this; he said †:—

"It is not at all surprising to find speaker after speaker, from our worthy President downwards, referring to that great charter of our rights and privileges. This is the keystone of the arch which

* Detailed Report, p. 96.

† Detailed Report, p. 64.

supports all our demands. Therein our gracious Sovereign, under whose benign government we assemble year after year to deliberate upon our common wants and to formulate our common grievances, our gracious Sovereign whose pictures now hang round us, shedding, as it were, some faint reflection of her kindly and motherly influence on our deliberations (*loud cheers*);—therein, Gentlemen, our most noble Queen of England and Empress of India solemnly extended to us pledges, the fulfilment of which we now pray for."

And when he went on, amidst vociferous cheers, to read the Queen's own letter of August the 15th, 1858, (conveying to Lord Derby her instructions as to the tenor of that memorable proclamation, which she in that letter requested him to prepare,) and then to ask what sane man could fail to appreciate the ring of sincerity and beneficence that echoes throughout the sentences, it was the genuine love and gratitude of a nation, face to face, despite all forms and constitutional barriers, with an Empress, whose true heart had felt for and befriended them, that welled up in the flood of cheers in which, for some moments, the debate was drowned.

There was no separatist cry of India for the Indians. "We claim the more perfect union of England and India," said * Pandit Ajoodhia Nath. "How auspicious the meeting," said another speaker, †

"in this sacred city which has from time out of mind been sanctified by the confluence of two sacred rivers, emblematic of the perpetual union between India and England—(a voice, 'Three cheers for the Union!' and the call was enthusiastically responded to.)"

We have grave cause for complaint against many of our English officials and even some non-officials; men utterly out of sympathy with our people, never tired of finding fault with and speaking ill of them; incapable of appreciating their many virtues, their high capacities; men enamoured of their own supposed superior wisdom; men whom it would be well, alike for India and England, could they be transplanted once more to bloom in British homesteads, and learn there, anew, those fundamental principles of justice and liberty which are Britain's abiding glory. We have our quarrel with these men, who, to us, seem by no means worthy representatives of the land that gave them birth; but no race feeling mingles in that quarrel on India's part, and her people are still as ready to follow and revere an Englishman like Lord Ripon, who is just and generous to them, as though he were an Indian. Nay, even more ready perhaps, for something of the old hero worship, which arose in days when, if there were fewer Englishmen in India, they were greater and better men, still lingers in the people's hearts.

We have our quarrel with these particular Englishmen; but this has not yet shaken India's reliance in the justice or the generosity of the unprejudiced Englishman or of the English nation as an aggregate.

Conspicuous throughout the debate was the desire manifested by speaker after speaker that the people of England should realise this and should understand that it was equally in the interests of both countries that they lifted up their voices to protest against abuses and entreat for reforms.

* Detailed Report, p. 2.

† Pandit Bishen Narayan Dhar. See Detailed Report, p. 21.

Said * Nawab Mahmood Ali Khan :—

"Some people are kind enough to say that we of the Congress are disloyal. If this were indeed so, it would be a bad thing for England and a very bad thing for India, because we of the Congress mean the bulk of the Indians. (*Cheers*.) But it is not so; we are loyal to the tips of our fingers (*loud cheers*); we do not conspire, we do not plot, we do not speak evil in secret, but we come openly forward and say to our rulers, These things we want, these things we do not like: pray give us the former and do away with the latter. We say this in all respect, and we send our prayer home to England, and we say to the English people, These are the promises which our great Empress made to us in 1858: now please see that these promises are made good, and that our humble prayers, for the redress of our grievances, are attended to. Is this disloyalty? Is this sedition? No, Gentlemen, it is the men, be they Indians or Europeans, who are opposing our loyal and constitutional agitation, who, whether they mean it so or not, are really acting disloyally to the interests of both Great Britain and India. (*Cheers*.) May they all soon be wiser, and may the English Government and the English nation come to understand what the real position of affairs is, and do us the kindness and the justice we pray for." (*Cheers*.)

Said † Mr. Tahir Ram Khem Chand :—

"All that we say to Government is—'Do us justice, so that our people may be loyal and contented, so that they may rely implicitly upon you, and hasten to support you in the hour of need.' We ask for justice, because we wish the entire country to be truly loyal in its heart of hearts. If we were sedition-mongers, as some have idly proclaimed, our course would really be quite different. We should sit quiet and let the people brood over their wrongs and the injustice that is too prevalent, and thus allow discontent to grow and spread, and prepare the people for a rising. But we come boldly forward and tell the Government that the system of administration needs to be improved and reformed. We point out to them exactly how this should be done; and we tell them that, if they want to inspire love and confidence in the people, they must remove those grievances which are now alienating their hearts."

Again ‡ another :—

"The Congress is the noblest movement of the age, and one of its *raison d'être* is to give us an opportunity of making known to our rulers our grievances in a constitutional and loyal manner. I hail the day on which the Congress first came into existence. It is not only calculated to enable the natives of the soil to protect their rights and privileges, but it is also one of the bulwarks of defence of British rule in India." (*Cheers*.)

Said § Pandit Ajoodhia Nath :—

"I sincerely hope that the members of the two Houses and the people of Great Britain will henceforth commence to take a more lively interest in Indian affairs; and I hope most sincerely they will never for a moment be misled by the cuckoo cries of our local opponents, who, incapable of refuting our arguments or justifying their frantic and unconstitutional opposition, charge us, and as they well know falsely, with disloyalty. (*Cheers*.)

"This is a charge that we will not submit to. Let them call us by any other opprobrious designation they please, and we will treat them with the silent contempt they merit. But if they charge us with disloyalty, we fling back the charge in their teeth, and say, and say truly, that it is they, and not we, who are the real traitors to their country and their Queen." (*Loud cheers*.)

Numerous other passages might be cited, but enough has been said to convince any unbiassed mind of the unaffected loyalty towards the British Sovereign and people, which animates to-day that great and enlightened section of the Nation, which already leads one-third of the entire population, and which will very soon, practically, lead the whole country.

It is well for India and England that this is so; but no one capable of grasping the situation can fail to realize that the position is not one of stable

* Detailed Report, p. 82.

† Detailed Report, p. 40.

‡ Babu Kailash Chunder Sen. See Detailed Report, p. 53.

§ Detailed Report, p. 4.

equilibrium; that the favour in which England is at present regarded by India partakes somewhat of the character of a *succès d'estime*; and that if this happy state of feeling is to be maintained—and on this India and England's best future hopes depend—there must be *performance* as well as promise on Great Britain's part. The paper credit, of words, must be sustained by the sterling coin of deeds, and it will be doubly well for both Great Britain and our greater India, if English statesmen realize this, and realise it soon, while the tide of sympathy and good will is still high.

One word more: Persistent and disingenuous efforts have been made to saddle the Congress party, as a whole, with a responsibility for every utterance of every supporter of or member of that party. But in reality the Congress party, as a party, repudiates any such responsibility; it is responsible for the formal resolutions passed at its sittings and for nothing else. Day by day, as the movement spreads, men who accept its principles write and publish books, pamphlets, and leaflets, and make speeches, in a dozen languages, here, there and everywhere. For all these productions, the individual authors and orators are alone responsible. The Congress party, as a whole, may or may not agree with what this or that speaker or writer puts forth, but it holds itself RESPONSIBLE *only* for the resolutions it passes; by these it claims to be judged, and by these it must either stand or fall.



NOTE A.

Even in parts of the Empire, where the organization was admittedly incomplete, the elections were wonderfully systematically conducted. The following extract from a letter by Mr. Shanker Vinayak Vable, Pleader of the District Court, and Secretary of the Divisional Committee, Ahmednager, (Dekhan), will serve to illustrate this:—

"One inaccuracy has crept into the statement of delegates called for by you to check the information already furnished during the Congress days. It is this, that not six but seven delegates from this division were present at the Congress. Six were elected at the great public meeting, to which members were returned from every taluqa and important town and village of the district. The seventh, Mr. Ananda Maruti Sangli, was elected at a public meeting of the churches.

"There are about 7,500 Native Christians belonging to the American Mission in this district. They have got 23 churches, who returned 68 members to the Central Union Church Meeting, here, at which Mr. Sangli was elected.

"As regards the method of election generally, the information is given in detail in the Divisional Committee's report which must, by this time, have been submitted to you. From what I have said, I hope you will see that our election was thoroughly constitutional. The Collector of this district has been making all possible enquiries into our movement. He did not anticipate that our election meeting would be so thoroughly representative. It was really a grand success. Over 7,000 people (including numbers of Mahomedans), themselves the delegates of certainly twenty, nay possibly fifty times their own number, attended the final divisional meeting. The Collector has quite satisfied himself that we were not "self-constituted delegates."

Yet the Dekhan is only *now* being, what *we* call, thoroughly organised.

SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

FOURTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

Held at Allahabad on the 26th, 27th, 28th & 29th December 1888.

RESOLUTION I.

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

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

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

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

RESOLUTION IV.

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

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

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Resolution IX of the Congress of 1886, to wit—

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

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

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

does now, hereby, affirm the same respectively.

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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“authority empowered by the Government of India on that behalf), for
“reasons to be recorded in writing and duly published;”

does now, hereby, affirm the same respectively.

RESOLUTION VII.

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

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

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

RESOLUTION X.

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

RESOLUTION XI.

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

RESOLUTION XII.

Resolved—That this Congress, having watched with interest and sympathy the exertions that are being made in England for the total abrogation of laws and rules relating to the regulation of prostitution by the State

in India, places on record its appreciation of the services thus rendered to this country, and its desire to co-operate by all means in its power in the attainment of this laudable object.

RESOLUTION XIII.

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

RESOLUTION XIV.

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

RESOLUTION XV.

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

RESOLUTION XVI.

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

RESOLUTION XVII.

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

GEORGE YULE,

President of the

Fourth Indian National Congress.

ALLAHABAD, December 31st, 1888.

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DETAILED REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

HELD AT

ALLAHABAD

On the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of December, 1888.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

THE FIRST MEETING OF THE FOURTH CONGRESS took place on the afternoon of the 26th December, 1888, at Allahabad, the capital of the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, in a vast and splendid temporary Hall, erected for the purpose, in the grounds of Lowther Castle. Lowther Castle lies alongside Government House, and faces and overlooks the Alfred Park. The grounds are very extensive, and were almost completely occupied by rows upon rows of large tents, in which about 800 of the delegates were housed, the rest being accommodated elsewhere.

Some 5,000 visitors, and about 1,200 delegates, had assembled in and around the Congress Hall by 1-30 P.M., and at 2 P.M. precisely the chair was taken by the HON'BLE PANDIT AJOODHIA NATH, Chairman of the Reception Committee, on whom devolved, *ex officio*, the task of welcoming the delegates and calling upon them to elect a President.

THE HON'BLE PANDIT AJOODHIA NATH—(*North-Western Provinces, No. 551 in list*)—rose and said:—

GENTLEMEN,—On behalf of the Reception Committee, I offer you a most hearty welcome. I rejoice to see so many friends and countrymen, many of whom have come long distances and at great personal inconvenience, assembled to try and secure, by all loyal and constitutional means, the amelioration of the political condition of India. (*Cheers.*) It is a matter for great rejoicings that all the leaders of native opinion from all the various provinces, and the representatives of all the different communities of the Empire, have assembled here this day to labour for that *summum bonum*, the greatest good of the greatest number. (*Cheers.*) If Allahabad has not been fortunate enough to be the first to secure the patronage of this great national institution, it may well be proud of being the first place where its organization has arrived at a fair state of perfection. (*Cheers.*) But while our organization has so much improved, I regret to say that our arrangements for your reception have not been, by any means, as satisfactory as they were at either Calcutta or Madras. (*No, no.*) But, Gentlemen, in consideration of the difficulties thrown in our way by the Civil and Military authorities, we have some claim to your indulgence. We were first of all led to believe—I may say distinctly informed—that we should be permitted to occupy the Khusro Bagh for our encampment. But a little later, to our great disappointment, we were told that the requisite permission could not be accorded (*Cries of "Shame!"*); and no satisfactory reason was assigned for this change of front. In April, after much negotiation, permission was granted to us to pitch our camp on a large plot of waste ground lying between the fort railway station and the fort, on payment of rent. This rent we paid in advance, and we were assured that there would be no further difficulty in the way of our occupying that piece of land. But, Gentlemen, in the month of August—four months later—we were informed that on sanitary grounds we could not be allowed to occupy that place, and the rent money, which we had paid in advance, was returned to us. Then we managed to secure a group of houses belonging to members of the Reception Committee and other friends, not very far away from the office of the *Pioneer*. This was too much for our opponents, and as some of the houses were unfortunately situated within the Cantonment limits, the Military authorities, arbitrarily, prohibited our utilizing those houses for Congress purposes. (*"Shame!"*) No inquiry was made as to the sanitary arrangements we were going to make. It was apparently taken for granted that the Congress Camp—and you have seen what a beautiful and perfectly

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

1st Day.

Chairman
of Reception
Committee's
Address.

managed camp ours is—would be the filthiest and most insanitary of all gatherings. ("Shame!") It is not too much to say that no other gathering for any other purpose would have been thus barred. Hundreds of thousands of men, poor, ill-clothed, ill-fed, and I fear not a few of them far from clean, are allowed to occupy land no further from the fort at the yearly fair—hundreds of thousands who every twelfth year swell to millions—but no authorities, Civil or Military, interfere with them. But our gathering of less than 1,500 gentlemen, all well fed and well clothed, could not be permitted on sanitary grounds. Then, as a last resource, we were obliged to rent these premises where we are now assembled. You can, therefore, easily imagine the difficulties with which we have had to contend. We obtained possession of this house and grounds on the 1st November, and had barely six weeks in which to make all the necessary arrangements for housing and feeding over 1,200 delegates. (Cheers.) Those friends of ours who have come from Madras will, I hope, remember that the task of providing for the delegates in Allahabad has not been so easy as at Madras, where His Excellency the Governor himself lent them tents, assisted them in many ways, and sympathized with their work. (Cheers.) But here I had to dance attendance for an hour at least in the Fort of Allahabad waiting the pleasure of the officers to grant me an audience—officers who not only gave us no assistance, but quite the contrary. (Laughter, and cries of "Shame!") All this will convince you that we have some claim to your indulgence.

I shall now ask you to elect your own President. But before you proceed with his election, you may perhaps expect me to say a few words about the opposition of other kinds that we have had to encounter. You are now very familiar with the nature of that opposition. You know the strength of that opposition, and you also know that it is fast losing its power for evil, and dying out as all unrighteous things sooner or later die. (Cheers.) But I feel it my duty to refer to it in consequence of the letter of Sir Auckland Colvin to our most esteemed, but much abused, friend Mr. Hume. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Hume has not only now, but for years past, been working with infinite and unselfish zeal to promote the welfare of India, and we may leave it to time to vindicate his action from the strictures of the Lieutenant-Governor. (Cheers.) Again, I am sorry to say that that portion of the Anglo-Indian press which delights in ridiculing and contemning the aspirations of the native community left no stone unturned to bring discredit on Mr. Hume. (Cheers, and cries of "Shame!") But we are not children. We know the game they are playing; and we mean to stick to Mr. Hume to the last. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) His advice to us has always been loyalty and moderation, and yet he has been stigmatized as the most seditious man in India. The next reason which induces me to refer to this opposition is the speech of Lord Dufferin, who speaks of the seditious nature of some of our writings and speeches. Some few thoughtless non-official opponents had already, it is true, adopted similar means to discredit us. But I am surprised, I am astonished, to find any sensible man, let alone a gentleman occupying the position of a Viceroy, bringing a charge of disloyalty against us. (Cheers.) It is impossible—and I say it with great confidence—to find on the face of this earth a people more loyal than my countrymen. (Loud cheers.) We claim the more perfect union of India and England, and yet we are called disloyal. Are we disloyal? (Loud cries of "No, no.") Some people have gone the length of talking such nonsense as to say that we want the Russians to come into the country. (Laughter.) Now, Gentlemen, I ask you, is it not absurd to suppose that the educated natives of India, who have such an admiration for the free and representative institutions of England, could ever wish to be under Russian rule or become Russian serfs? (Laughter and cheers.) History we have read, English education we have received, with Englishmen we have mixed and mixed freely, but we are not credited, it would seem, with even sense enough to realize that the English Government is far better than the Russian or than that of any other European Power. The existence of the Congress, the very meetings which we hold annually, are the best proofs of the excellence of the British Government. (Cheers.) Where will you find any Government which would allow a foreign country, which it has pleased Providence to place under its charge, to have the same constitutional freedom of speech as the British Government has been pleased to grant to us? (Cheers.) I will only mention to you one instance as a signal proof of our loyalty. When a couple of years ago there was some talk of a Russian invasion, not only our men, but, mark please, also our women, expressed in an unmistakeable manner their wish that the Russians should be kept out of the country by all possible means (cheers); and were ready, in some cases, it is said, to sacrifice those jewels, so dear to all females, to provide the necessary funds. (Loud cheers.) If occasion arises we will prove to our opponents that it is we who are loyal and not they; it is we who will support the Government and not they; it is we who will be ready with our purses and not they. (Cheers.) We fully acknowledge the inestimable blessings conferred upon us by Government; we most gratefully admit the numberless benefits derived by India from British rule, and all that we now say is this, viz., that there is yet room for improvement; that England can confer still further blessings upon us; and that, therefore, we may properly approach our Most Gracious Empress—approach her most respectfully and loyally—with the prayer that she will cause all those gracious pledges given on her behalf to be now more fully redeemed. (Cheers.)

England has been the first to introduce free institutions into this country, and we ask Her Majesty now to extend them so far as the circumstances will permit, so that to the end of time the English Government may be held up to all the civilized Governments under the sun, as the very model of perfection. (Cheers.) That our prayers will be granted sooner or later I have not the slightest doubt. (Loud cheers.)

Two years ago I gave the subject of the Congress my best consideration, and after mature deliberation I arrived at the conclusion that, so far from being dangerous to Government, it embodies the essential germ of the permanency of the British Government. (Cheers.) I have since then, in consequence of Sir Auckland Colvin's letter and Lord Dufferin's speech, as a loyal subject of Her Majesty, re-considered the matter, and believe me, Gentlemen, that I have been unable to discover in any of our speeches, publications or proceedings, anything which is at all seditious, or which in any way approaches to sedition. You know the multifarious duties of a Viceroy, and you know the heavy work of a Lieutenant-Governor, and I believe that these exalted officials have not had the time to study carefully our pamphlets, but have received their information as to their general purport and bearing at second hand, and you know what the value of that kind of second hand information is. (Laughter.) But this being so, it is the duty of every loyal subject of the Queen to prove, by his firmness in the cause, and by his moderation, that the charges brought against us by our kind opponents have no foundation in fact. These criticisms and this opposition have given rise to certain misapprehensions, the most prominent among these being the idea that the Government means to do injury to those who join the Congress. Nothing could be more absurd than such a rumour. The great nation on whose possessions the sun never sets—the most advanced of nations, the first to introduce free institutions into this country, and teach us that rulers were created for the good of subjects, not subjects for the pleasure of rulers—the noble nation that has united justice with freedom, will never allow its officers to resort to such unjustifiable and unconstitutional measures. (Cheers.) Englishmen as a nation are not capable of suppressing any loyal constitutional organization by any arbitrary or unfair means. (Cheers.) Having said this much I am obliged to say something more which is not quite so pleasant. News comes to us from district after district that people have been told by their official superiors that they would "come to grief" if they joined, subscribed to, or in any way aided the National Congress. Reports of this nature have reached me from Cawnpore, Etawah, Agra, Aligarh and other places too numerous to mention. I have letters in my office to the effect that in one of the towns in the Aligarh district people held meetings, and were ready not only to elect delegates but to prove unmistakeably the interest they take in the Congress by putting hands deep into their pockets. (Cheers.) But down came the news "The district officer will be displeased with you." ("Shame!") In Gorakhpore anti-Congress meetings were held, and Government officers took part in them. ("Shame!") Important people were forbidden to take part in Congress meetings. Well, Sir, a great many rumours are circulated which are not true, and we will hope that some of these at least may be more or less untrue. (Laughter)

Then there is an idea that the Congress party is only a microscopic minority. (Laughter.) But it is not only natives who have received an English education, and even these may now be numbered by hundreds of thousands, who take part in this movement. I see before me, even in this Congress, numbers of gentlemen who, though very highly educated and cultured, have not received any so-called English education. I have been to several places in these provinces in connection with the Congress, and wherever I went I found great enthusiasm prevailing amongst all classes of people, and what you will be still more pleased to hear is that we have received contributions from all classes, even from those who profess to be against the Congress. (Laughter and cheers.) Nay, from some of those whose names figure high on the list of so-called anti-Congress Associations. (Cheers, and cries of "Name! name!") I cannot, of course, disclose their names, for they accompanied their donations with special requests that their names should never be disclosed. I have also received large subscriptions from native noblemen on condition that their names should not be disclosed because they are afraid of the officials. (Laughter.)

A question was recently put in the House of Commons by a member, in which it was stated that the Native Princes and the Mahomedans as a body were against the Congress. ("No, no.") You have here seated on the platform Sirdar Dayal Singh, the premier Sikh nobleman of the Punjab. Our illustrious friend the Maharajah of Durbhunga, a Brahmin of the Brahmins, the premier nobleman of Bengal, had made arrangements to come here to-day; but circumstances over which he had no control—a sudden attack of illness—prevented him from being present. Here, too, you have Mahomedans, noblemen of the highest birth, scions of the ex-Royal houses of Delhi and Oudh, and others. Well, who are the Princes that are against us? The Maharajah of Benares, and he alone; and if I understand Rajah Shiva Persad, who is attending this Congress this year and declares himself to be a delegate, even the Maharajah of Benares is not against the Congress, indeed approves it, but only desires to protest against certain speeches

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and writings of some Congressmen which he disapproves. (*Laughter.*) But can the Maharajah of Benares represent the Princes of India, or ourselves? (*Cries of "No."*) Has he anything in common with us? (*"No, no."*) Then, besides the Maharajah of Benares, there are some gentlemen who have the reputation of being the authors of certain anti-Congress pamphlets and letters to the press. I have the honor of knowing some of them personally, and can tell you that, so far from writing those pamphlets, they are unable to understand them. (*Laughter.*) Since this question was put in the House of Commons, I have tried in vain to ascertain what native Princes were against us.

Again I ask you to turn your eyes round this hall and see if it is true that Mahomedans do not sympathize with us. In the last Congress the number of Mussulman delegates was 83; now it is more than double this. (*Cries of "Treble! treble!"*) The Mahomedans of Oudh have returned at one meeting 57 delegates, including members of the Royal house of Oudh. (*Cheers.*) Some 27 Mahomedan delegates have been returned by the district of Allahabad, and no less than 11 were returned from a place where you might not have believed that even a single one would be elected. (*A voice, "Aligurh."*) Yes, how rightly you have guessed the name. (*Laughter and cheers.*) And now you can appreciate the importance of this so-called opposition which sounds very nicely, but in which there is no reality, as all can see, when our opponents are obliged to have recourse to the desperate expedient of putting forward these few titled inanities to show that the Princes of India are against us; they stand self-condemned and need no further refutation from us; nor is it my duty now, I am happy to say, to have any fault to find with the Mahomedans, generally, for not joining us, much less for opposing us; and if any Hindu can claim the honour of enjoying an intimate intercourse with the Mahomedans of this country, I certainly can, and I can assure you that, as a body, they are not against us. But, Gentlemen, I am afraid I have detained you too long. (*Cries of "No, no," and "Go on."*) It is enough for me now to say that, so far as I have been able to thresh out this question, persistent efforts in the cause of the Congress are the best and almost the only proofs that you can now-a-days give of true and heartfelt loyalty to our beloved Queen-Empress. (*Loud cheers.*) Our strength has been tried, our firmness has been tested, and our loyalty is unquestionable. Then, Gentlemen, what else is required for our success? One thing, and one thing only, is required. We require—and I say it—to reach the ears and attract the eyes of the people in England; we require only to create a deep interest in Indian affairs in the Houses of Parliament and in the hearts of the British nation. (*Cheers.*) I do not think that, hereafter, you will find the benches of the House of Commons quite so bare as in times past they have ever become as soon as an Indian question was brought before the House. I sincerely hope that the members of the two Houses and the people of Great Britain will henceforth commence to take a more lively interest in Indian affairs; and I hope most sincerely they will never for a moment be misled by the cuckoo cries of our local opponents, who, incapable of refuting our arguments or justifying their frantic and unconstitutional opposition, charge us, and as they well know falsely, with disloyalty. (*Cheers.*)

This is a charge that we will not submit to. Let them call us by any other opprobrious designation they please, and we will treat them with the silent contempt they merit. But if they charge us with disloyalty, we fling back the charge in their teeth, and say, and say truly, that it is they and not we who are the real traitors to their country and their Queen. (*Loud cheers.*) And now, Gentlemen, I have already detained you too long (*"No, no"*), and must now ask you to proceed at once to the election of a President.

Election of
President.

THE HON'BLE PHEROZSHAH M. MEHTA—(*Bombay, No. 208 in list*)—then rose and said: GENTLEMEN,—It is my high privilege to-day to propose the election of the President of the Fourth Indian National Congress. (*Cheers.*) We already boast of an illustrious roll of Presidents of Congress. (*Renewed cheers.*) At the first Congress held in Bombay we had for our chairman my esteemed and respected friend Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee (*Cheers*), a Brahmin gentleman hailing from Bengal, the land of the Baboos, but whom I am proud to be allowed to call one of my oldest and most respected friends. (*Cheers.*) Then at the second National Congress, held in Calcutta, we had for our chairman a Parsee, that "black man" (*loud laughter and cheers*) Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee; only a "black man" in the Marquis of Salisbury's estimation, but for all that a man who is admired, esteemed and loved, from one end of India to the other (*renewed and vehement cheers*); and at the last great Congress at Madras we had for our President a Mahomedan gentleman occupying the highest position, and perhaps the most distinguished Mussulman in India, Mr. Budrudin Tyabjee. (*Cheers.*) And now, Gentlemen, I ask you to add to that illustrious roll, the name, as President of this Congress, of Mr. George Yule. (*Loud cheers, which were renewed again and again with the utmost enthusiasm.*) In the course of my public experience I have heard the names of several public men received with enthusiasm, but the enthusiasm with which you have received the name of Mr. Yule convinces me that I need say but few words in commendation of this gentleman, whom your enthusiastic cheers sufficiently prove that you have already accepted as President of your Congress. (*Renewed cheers.*) Through-

out his Indian career he has won the respect, the admiration, and the regard of everybody with whom he has come in contact—Native and European, official and non-official. (*Cheers.*) It is sufficient for me to say that the positions, the high and respected positions, which he has held as leading member of one of those princely mercantile houses which have helped to make British India what she is, as the elected Sheriff of Calcutta, as the President of that Chamber of Commerce which (in common with other Chambers of Commerce of India) has laboured so persistently to bring about the public discussion of the budget; I say the tenure of such positions is a guarantee of the esteem in which he has been held throughout his Indian career. (*Cheers.*) But, Gentlemen, I will mention only one single instance to show how justly-founded this esteem has been. I have already told you that Mr. Yule was Sheriff of Calcutta. The fees of this office are going to be abolished now, but in those days they were large; and how did Mr. Yule employ those fees which were intended to be appropriated to his own use by the Sheriff? In supporting Native Schools. (*Loud cheers.*) I say this shows the great, the deep interest, and sympathy with which Mr. Yule has watched the progress and welfare of the people of the country in which his lot is cast. (*Loud cheers.*) In electing Mr. George Yule you will be doing an appropriate and very significant thing in more ways than one. A great deal of criticism and some little abuse have been showered on us, because we have assumed the name of a National Congress; but in doing so I say we are absolutely doing homage to that bond of union which has brought Englishmen and Indians together (*cheers*), paying homage to that civilized British rule of which we are proud to say we are subjects and citizens, subjects and citizens of one great Imperial Majesty. (*Loud cheers.*) Then also in another respect Mr. George Yule's election as Chairman of this Congress is most appropriate. We are giving the most complete guarantee of the loyalty, which not only has marked our proceedings during the preceding three Congresses, but which will animate the proceedings of this and, I can confidently predict, every subsequent Congress. (*Cheers.*) I will not detain you any longer, but will now formally lay before you the proposal that Mr. George Yule be elected President of the Indian National Congress of this year. (*Loud cheers.*)

SIRDAR DYAL SINGH, MAJETHIA—(*Punjab, No. 341 in list*)—then said: GENTLEMEN,—I second Mr. Mehta's proposition. We could not possibly have a better President.

SHEIKH RAZA HOSSEIN KHAN—(*Oudh, No. 439 in list*)—rose and said, speaking in Oordoo: GENTLEMEN,—I hear that certain people have given out that the Mahomedans are opposed to the Congress, and that even a member of the British Parliament, long resident in India, who surely might have known better, went so far as to, virtually, assert this in the House of Commons. Now I am a Mahomedan, and, although I could not take part in any of the preceding Congress Meetings, I am proud of the fact that I have all along, since the very first gathering of the Congress, taken a very deep interest in it, and looked upon the movement with a friendly feeling. Much has been said about me, but nobody has doubts about my being a Mahomedan; and as a Mahomedan, and one not altogether without the means of ascertaining the views of my co-religionists, I can assure you that though certain individual Mahomedans, who are great at talking, profess to be against the Congress, the great bulk of the Mahomedans are in no way against, but rather are favourable to, the Congress. This point has been ably treated by the Hon'ble Pandit Ajoodhia Nath, and I need not dwell on it at any greater length. It will be enough for me to say that I have brought with me a Fatwa of the Shamsululma, in which the said dignitary has approved and sanctioned the participation of Mahomedans in these Congresses. This Shamsululma is the spiritual leader of the Suni community of Lucknow, a place noted for learning in the Mahomedan world. He ranks first amongst the Suni Doctors of Law.

Gentlemen, the secret of the opposition has now been divulged; it is not the Mahomedans, but their official masters, who are opposed to the Congress, and I need only add that I heartily support the proposal that Mr. Yule, whose great claims on our respect and esteem are well known to you all, be elected the President of this the Fourth Indian National Congress.

RAI BAHADUR SUBHAPATHY MUDELILAR—(*Madras, No. 70 in list*)—said: GENTLEMEN,—I entirely concur in all that Mr. Mehta has said. It may seem surprising to many of you here—coming as I do from the far south—but as a merchant I have had some dealings with our proposed President, Mr. George Yule. In fact I am one of his oldest constituents. From what I have seen, and from what I have known of his character as a merchant, I support with all my heart the proposition that has been made. In electing this gentleman, we are doing honour to one who has been doing much for the natives of India, and we shall be doing, I fully believe, the very best thing we can for ourselves. Of course I cannot pretend to recapitulate all he has been doing for us in the past, nor does it seem needful, since from the enthusiastic acclamation

1st Day. with which this Congress has received his name, I can entertain no doubt that you have made up your minds to elect him, and that his election will meet with universal approval. (Cheers.)

THE HON'BLE PANDIT AJOODHIA NATH—(N. W. P., No. 551 in list)—President of the Reception Committee, then said: GENTLEMEN,—No one else having been proposed, and there being no other proposal before you, I now ask you to say whether it is your pleasure that Mr. Yule should be your President? (Cries of Yes, yes, and loud and prolonged cheering.)

Then I declare Mr. Yule duly elected as President of this Congress, and (suiting the action to his words) I now thus induct him in the Presidential Chair.

MR. GEORGE YULE, PRESIDENT—(Calcutta, No. 1097 in list)—who was received with renewed and most enthusiastic cheers, then rose and delivered the following address:—

GENTLEMEN,—When I was asked some time ago to allow myself to be nominated for the position to which you have now elected me, I had some hesitation in giving my assent to the request. It was an unexpected, and with all due deference to the judgment of my too indulgent friends, it was an undeserved compliment. That, however, is a kind of objection which can always and very easily be got over. But I knew your assemblies were very large, and I also know that it is a most desirable quality in the President of such a gathering to have a voice strong enough to reach the remotest listener. I feared I had no such voice. For that reason chiefly, and for others that need not be mentioned, I felt, I hope with unaffected diffidence, that I was scarcely the man to follow those magnificent speakers who had occupied the chair at previous meetings of the Congress. Nevertheless, quickened by my warm sympathies with the main objects of the Congress, I am here at your call, for better or for worse. (Cheers.)

And now, Gentlemen, I come at once to the business that lies before us. Why are we here? What do we want? What are we striving after? In the resolutions that are to be submitted to you there are some reforms embodied, which state our wants, which set forth our views, and indicate the direction in which our thoughts are travelling. I think I am right, however, in saying that all these do not occupy exactly the same place in our regards. About one or two of them there is more or less of doubt as to their value or importance. But there is one of them respecting which there is the most complete and perfect unanimity of opinion. I refer to the reform of the Legislative Councils. I myself regard this one as the most important of all. Each of the other reforms begins and ends with itself. The reform of the Councils is not only in itself good, but it has the additional virtue of being the best of all instruments for obtaining other reforms that further experience and our growing wants may lead us to desire. (Loud cheers.) With your permission I will confine the observations I have to make to this one question. In doing so, it seems to me to be needful first of all to state some of the facts connected with the origin of the Bill under which the affairs of India are at present administered. When the sole Government of this country was taken over by the Crown in 1858, it fell to the lot of Lord Palmerston, who was then Prime Minister, to introduce into the House of Commons a Bill which was afterwards known as India Bill No. 1. The main provisions of this Bill were, that the Government of India was to vest in a Viceroy and Council in India, and in a Council of eight retired Indian officials presided over by a Secretary of State in London. The proceedings of these two separate bodies, each of whom had certain independent responsibilities, were to be subject to the review and final decision of the House of Commons. The chief objection to this Bill was, that no provision was made for the representation of the people of the country. Mr. Disraeli, who was leader of the Opposition, objected to it on the ground of the insufficient check which it provided; and he said that with such Councils as those proposed, "you could not be sure that the inhabitants of India would be able to obtain that redress from the grievances under which they suffered, that English protection ought to insure." Almost immediately after the introduction of the Bill, Lord Palmerston was defeated upon a side question, and Lord Derby became Prime Minister with Mr. Disraeli as leader of the House of Commons. No time was lost by the new Ministry in introducing India Bill No. 2. Mr. Disraeli dwelt upon the desirability of having the representative principle applied to the Government of the country, and his scheme was to increase the Council in London, which was proposed by Lord Palmerston, from eight to eighteen Members, half of whom were to be elected and were, in all other respects, to be entirely independent of Government. He regretted that the unsettled state of the country did not admit of a representation of the people in India itself, and all that could be done in the meantime was to approach as near to that form of Government as the circumstances would permit. The provisions of his Bill to effect that purpose were briefly these: Four of the elected half of the Council were to be members of the Indian Civil and Military Services of ten years' standing, and the remaining five must have been engaged in trading with India for at least five years. The constituency electing the four members connected with the services was to consist of all officers of both branches of the

India service, and also of all residents in India owning £2,000 of an Indian railway or £1,000 of Government stock. The five mercantile members were to be elected by the Parliamentary constituencies of London, Belfast, Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow. So deeply ingrained is this notion of Government by representation in the minds of Englishmen, that, rather than leave it out of sight altogether in dealing with the affairs of India, the Government of that day made the proposals I have stated. Although the intention underlying these proposals was applauded, the scheme itself was felt to be, from the imperfect character of the constituencies, wholly inadequate to secure the check that was desired. It was clear, or rather it soon became clear, that the interests of one set of voters were adverse to the interests of the mass of the people, and that the other set knew absolutely nothing of the country or its wants. Received with favour, at first, the Bill soon became the object of jest and derision on the part of the Opposition, and even its more impartial critics said of it that it was useless offering to the people of India, under the name of bread, what would certainly turn out to be a stone. At the suggestion of Lord John Russell, the Bill was withdrawn, and the House proceeded by way of resolution to construct the frame-work of another Bill. The plan finally adopted was this: the Legislative and Administrative powers were to be entrusted to a Viceroy and a Council in India, and the check upon them was to be a Council of fifteen Members sitting in London. This Council was to be responsible to the Cabinet through a Secretary of State, who was to be responsible in turn to the House of Commons. This arrangement was regarded merely as a provisional one, and the policy to be pursued was to work up to the constitutional standard. Education was to be largely extended and improved, and the natives of the country were to be drafted into the service of Government as they became qualified with the view, among other reasons, to fit them for the anticipated enlargement of their political powers. ("Hear, hear.") The promises made and the prospects held out in the debates in Parliament derived a lustre from the famous proclamation of the Queen,—that half-fulfilled charter of India's rights,—which was first read and published to the people of India in this very city of Allahabad thirty years ago. (Loud cheers.) Now, what I wish to impress upon your minds by this brief narrative is the great importance that was attached at that time to some sort of constitutional check. Failing to have it in the form that the English people themselves approved and followed in the management of their own affairs, they devised the substitute with its threefold check that I have mentioned. Parliament itself was full of gushing enthusiasm as to the part it would take in the business. In the absence of a representative body in India, the House of Commons was to play the rôle of one on our behalf. It was to regard the work as a great and solemn trust committed to it by an all-wise and inscrutable Providence, the duties of which it would faithfully and fully discharge. Such was the style of language employed both in and out of Parliament at the time I allude to. And now what is the actual state of the case? It is summed up in a single sentence. There is no check. The Bill under which our affairs are administered appears, like many other Bills, to be open to more than one interpretation. The interpretation put upon it at the time, and what was probably the intention of Parliament, was this: the Government in India was to have the right of the initiative; the Council in London the right of review; and the Secretary of State, subject to the ultimate judgment of the House of Commons, the right of veto. And this was practically the relations of the parties until 1870. In that year the Duke of Argyll was Secretary of State; and in a controversy on this subject with Lord Mayo, who was then Viceroy, he laid down quite another doctrine. He held that the Government in India had no independent power at all, and that the prerogative of the Secretary of State was not limited to a veto of the measures passed in India. "The Government in India," he maintained, "were merely Executive Officers of the Home Government, who hold the ultimate power of requiring the Governor-General to introduce a measure, and of requiring also all the Official Members of the Council to vote for it." This power-absorbing Despatch is dated the 24th November, 1870. The supposed powers and privileges of the Council in London have been similarly dealt with, and the Council is now regarded merely as an adjunct of the office of the Secretary of State to furnish him with information or advice when he chooses to ask for it. The present position, then, is this: the Government in India has no power; the Council in London has no power; the House of Commons has the power, but it refuses or neglects to exercise it.

The 650 odd members who were to be the palladium of India's rights and liberties have thrown "the great and solemn trust of an inscrutable Providence" back upon the hands of Providence to be looked after as Providence itself thinks best. (Laughter.) The affairs of India, especially in the Financial Department, have passed with no kind of check whatever into the hands of the Secretary of State. I do not blame the present members of the House of Commons for thus abdicating the functions that their predecessors of thirty years ago assumed. The truth is, that they have not time enough to attend to the details of the trust; and on more important matters they can have only one side of every question—the official side—presented to them; and they know from experience that that is not always the whole of the case. (Laughter.) As they are not in

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1st Day. a position to judge rightly; they do not attempt to judge at all; and they may fairly come to the conclusion that, if it is not worth our while to demand and agitate for some voice in our own affairs, it is not worth their while to trouble themselves at all about us. If we be satisfied, for example, to have the Budget thrown at our heads like a snowball, and a muddy one it is, we deserve to have it in that way. There is a common belief among the European trading community that there are some big leaks in the Store department and in Home charges generally; but we have no means for verifying or disproving the suspicion. Now and again we hear of some facts that confirm it. Here is one told me the other day by an authority I would call unimpeachable. The department with which this gentleman is connected indented for an article, and after many weary months it came at last charged six times the price for which, my informant said, he, himself, could have bought it. If we be content with the secrecy and the supposed inefficiency of such a system, then I say we deserve no better. Temporary commissions of enquiry into the working of such departments are of little good. The real remedy is a permanent commission in the shape of elected members of Council having the right to look into such matters. (*Cheers.*)

But when we make the demand that the political institutions of the country should be placed on a wider basis, we are not only asking what the Government of thirty years ago avowed was desirable, but also what almost every Viceroy since that time has either promised, or held out as a hope to be indulged in by us. I admit that these promises have been associated with such phrases as "when qualified" or "as far as may be." These words doubtless afford a pretext for shirking the due fulfilment of the promise. Of course, to the antagonistic mind, our qualification will always be in the future; but I am sure I express your conviction when I say that, whatever use the abettors of the present bureaucratic rule may make of these phrases, the distinguished personages who uttered them had far other intentions than to make of them a loop-hole of escape when all other channels of retreat were closed by a reasonable fulfilment of the conditions. Putting aside then this Small Cause Court use of the words (*laughter*), I come to say something on the question of qualification. What does it mean? What was in the minds of the Queen's advisers when these phrases were employed? Can we doubt that they were thinking of the qualifications of ordinary English constituencies at a somewhat more rudimentary stage of their development than they are to-day? Now, if it can be shown that there are considerable numbers of people in this country with attainments and characteristics similar to those of constituencies in Great Britain two or three generations back, the condition as regards them has surely been amply fulfilled. But how is that to be shown? It is not a matter for mere floating opinion to decide, one man saying Yes, and the next saying No, but neither being able to adduce any reason, or state any fact in support of his view. If you want to know the financial resources of a body of men, such as a trading company, you audit their accounts. If you wish to ascertain where a village is in point of education, you don't inquire what Mr. This or Baboo That thinks, but you want to know how many schools there are, how many scholars there are, and what amount of money is being spent upon them. Then you have facts of a kind on which to form an intelligent and reliable judgment. Now, Gentlemen, in the Blue Books published by the Indian Government you have the material, the moral, and the educational state of the country set out in such fulness as to enable us to say where the people are in the scale of humanity as compared with those of other countries. I am not going into an "as-dry-as-dust" analysis of these facts. I simply indicate the method of proof, and I challenge anyone to rise from the study of these books, and give reasonable grounds for denying that there are large bodies of men in this country fitted in every way for the proper discharge of duties connected with a constitutional form of Government. One or two of the facts may be mentioned, however, to illustrate the nature of this evidence. The total foreign trade of India has reached the figure of £150,000,000 a year, which was the extent of the commerce of the United Kingdom in 1837. We are in precisely the same position as regards commerce that England was in fifty years ago, and yet the mercantile community have not an authoritative word to say about the laws and regulations affecting such a prodigious trade. The income of the British Government in 1837 was £47,200,000, not one penny of which was raised or spent without the sanction of the representatives of the people. The Indian Budget of last year shows an income of £77,000,000, and there is not a man in the country outside the Supreme Council who has a vote or a voice in the matter. (*Loud cheers.*) Since 1858, about £20,000,000 have been spent on educational institutions. The number of these institutions at the present time is 122,000, attended by upwards of 3,300,000 students. The number of schools in England in 1821 was only 18,467, and the scholars 650,000. These, however, have rapidly increased during the last twenty years, but it was not till 1881 that they reached the number of the schools and scholars in this country. Now a statesman or a politician would surely be justified in concluding that the country, of which such facts can be stated, must have within it considerable numbers of men of means, intelligence, industry, foresight and moral grit—the very material out of which good representative institutions can be carved. But there are other considerations that add weight to the testimony of the Blue Books. In all

the discussions that have taken place in Parliament about the inhabitants of India, there is one section which has never been thought of at all—I mean the British non-official class to which I belong. I want to make our existence known. We may be known as barristers and solicitors, as bankers, traders, merchants, engineers, editors of newspapers, manufacturers, planters and so forth, but the idea of citizenship, and all that that implies, never seems to have occurred to our rulers in connection with us. I know it has been said that we are already represented. We are English and the Government is English: therefore we are represented. But that is a false inference and a pure delusion. We have no more power and no more voice in the Government of the country than you Indians have. The Government is no more ours because it is administered by a Secretary of State who is an Englishman, than the bread in a baker's shop is ours because the shop happens to be kept by an Englishman and not by a Native. (*Laughter and cheers.*) We are all alike held to be on the same low level of unfitness and unripeness. The only thing we are the least bit of good for in the country, from the Governmental point of view, is to be taxed. (*Cheers.*) We are ripe enough for that; ripe enough to come under the sweep of the Board of Revenue sickle, but unripe for the meanest privileges of subjects of a free country. Our number is uncertain. The census tables do not inform us: but, few or many, almost all of us would be voters in England, and I venture to suggest that we would make a passable fraction of a constituency in this country. There is another consideration. There are many thousands of Hindu, Mahomedan, Eurasian, Parsee and other gentlemen in the country, who, if they were to transfer their persons to England for twelve months or more and pay certain rates, would be qualified to enjoy all the rights and privileges of British subjects. If you and I go to England we are qualified. If we return to India our character changes, and we are not qualified. In England we should be trusted citizens. In India, well, the charitably-minded among our opponents say that we are incipient traitors! (*Loud and prolonged cheers and laughter.*)

There is one more consideration. You know that the Government is accustomed to send some of the Bills it has in preparation to all our leading Associations, both Native and European, for the expression of our opinion upon their provisions. If we be qualified to give an opinion outside the Councils, how much more valuable would that opinion be with the fuller knowledge that can be obtained inside the Councils?

I have thus far spoken of the qualification as having an intellectual as well as a material basis, but I may say here that the only qualification ever known to the British constitution has been the possession of a stake, as it is called, in the country. For four hundred years that stake was a forty-shillings freehold. At the present time it is the occupancy of a house and the payment of certain rates. An educational qualification may be implied in these later days, but it has never formed a test of fitness within the British dominions. But assuming it to be so, then, what I find is that India to-day, taking it all over, is in rather a better state in this respect than England was a century ago. At least every ninth man in India can read and write. Now, I will read you a short extract from an excellent little book by Professor Thorold Rogers called the "British Citizen." He says, speaking of England: "I do not believe that 100 years ago more than one man in ten, or one woman in twenty, knew how to read and write. When I was a youth in a Hampshire village hardly one of the peasantry who was over forty years of age knew how to read. It was deemed superfluous to give even a rudimentary education to the peasant." Going another century or two back, the people of England, man and boy, high and low, with the exception of a mere handful, were steeped in the grossest ignorance, and yet there was a House of Commons. But whatever may be deemed to be a proper qualification in England, or here, it is part of our own case that the great majority of the people is quite unfitted for the franchise. There we are at one with our opponents. But then they say that that is a good reason why the minority should wait until the mass be also qualified. There I think they are wrong. Granted that a man is not entitled to a vote any more than he is entitled to drive a steam engine, and that is my own view of this question; but because the persons in a country capable of managing steam engines are few compared with those who are not, are we, on that account, to debar the capable few from following their vocation? (*Cheers.*) In like manner, I contend that if there be but a small minority in a country fitted to exercise the useful function of the franchise, it is a mistake to withhold the privilege from them on the ground that others are not fitted. Given increasing means and growing intelligence, and there invariably follows a desire to have a voice in all matters that concern us; and I hope it is not difficult to believe that such a desire, "the monition of nature," as Carlyle calls it, "and much to be attended to," has been implanted in the human breast for some wise and good purpose. Happy would it be for the world if, instead of thwarting and repressing such a desire, its rulers nourished it and guided it, as it arose, into the proper channels for its due gratification and exercise. (*Loud cheers.*)

Now, the views and facts I have submitted would seem to warrant some important change in the polity of the country; but the change we do advocate is one of extreme

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moderation, and far within the limits that the circumstances of the country, in my own opinion, would justify. We don't seek to begin, as has been asserted, at the point England has reached after many generations of constitutional Government. We don't want the strong meat of full age, but we want to be weaned. We say there are numbers of us who have had the feeding bottle long enough. We desire no sudden snapping of existing ties; we ask only for the loosening of the bonds. We are content to regard ourselves as in the position of the man who has long been confined in a darkened room on account of disordered eyesight. We know that under the skilful treatment of a kindly physician our visual powers have been strengthened. We have sense enough not to demand the full blaze of day to be suddenly let in upon us, but only such a drawing-aside of the curtains as will adjust the light to our powers of vision. But, if the physician, skilful and kindly as we recognise him to be, were to insist upon our remaining in the dark, we should be forced to the unwelcome conclusion that his skill was resultless and abortive, or that the unlovable side of his character had manifested itself in that he wished to keep us in the dark for some unworthy purpose of his own. If under such treatment we became discontented with his services, the blame of it would be with the physician and not with the patient. (*Cheers.*)

Now, Gentlemen, I will state more definitely the change we desire. We want the Legislative Councils to be expanded to an extent that will admit of the representation of the various interests in the country, as far as that may be practicable. We want half the Councils to be elected, the other half to be in the appointment of Government, and we are willing that the right of veto should be with the Executive. We also want the right of interpellation. These are the substance of our wants. We propose that the constituencies should consist of Members of Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce, Trades Associations; associations like the British Indian Association, and, generally, all persons possessing such qualifications, educational and pecuniary, as may be deemed necessary. We should have to go far back in the history of England to find a parallel to the limited privileges we should be content with,—to the time, at all events, of Edward the First, 600 years ago, when Barons and Commons sat together, and when King and Barons held the sway. We are not wedded even to these proposals. The principle of election frankly accepted, there would be little difficulty in satisfying us in the matter of the constituencies, or as to the size of the Councils. The devising of a suitable elective body might well be left to the Government, or better still, by way of a preliminary, to the final judgment of the Government, to a small Commission which could easily be rendered acceptable to the whole community. Happily there is no scarcity of men in the country, both among the official and non-official classes, abundantly qualified for such a work. I should like to mention the names of half-a-dozen such men chiefly for the purpose of dissipating the fears of those who seem to think we have some revolutionary scheme in view, and not because they only are competent for such an undertaking. If you were willing to commit the working-out of the practical details of the reform we ask for to the men I wish to name, we ought to hear the last of the reckless charges that are made against us. The first I have in my mind's eye is that wary, sagacious Scotchman who has just closed a long and honorable career of worthy service among us, Sir Charles Aitchison. The second is an Englishman, no less qualified by experience and by endowment of head and heart for the task, Sir Steuart Bayley. The next is the veteran statesman from the Southern Provinces, Sir Madhava Rao. The next is a Mahomedan of tried legislative ability from the Bombay side of the peninsula, Budrudin Tyabjee. The next is a gentleman from Bengal whose character and talents have placed him in the front rank of his profession, W. C. Bonnerjee. These five men presided over, and the balance held even between them, by such an one as the Governor of Bombay or Madras would, I believe, produce a scheme which would secure the approval of the Government, allay the fears of the timid, and satisfy the aspiring ones among us for a generation at least. (*Loud cheers.*)

I fear I have occupied your time to an unreasonable length, but I wish to trespass on your indulgence for a short time longer for the purpose of making a few remarks on the speech of the ex-Viceroy at the Scotch Dinner in Calcutta. All movements of the kind in which we are concerned pass through several phases as they run their course. The first is one of ridicule. That is followed, as the movement progresses, by one of abuse, which is usually succeeded by partial concession and misapprehension of aim, accompanied by warnings against taking "big jumps into the unknown." The final stage of all is a substantial adoption of the object of the movement with some expression of surprise that it was not adopted before. These various phases overlap each other, but between the first and last the distinction is complete.

Well, we are out and away from the comical aspect of the movement. It has become too serious for that, and we are midway between the abusive and misapprehensive stages. In the speech of our ex-Viceroy we have, as might be expected, none of the coarser instruments of attack—indeed, I find a vein of sympathy with us running through his speech—and we have partial concession, misapprehension regarding some of our

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demands, and, in consequence, the usual warning voice. The concession I refer to is as regards the separation of the Executive and Judicial functions. This was one of the ridiculous proposals, one of those school-boy clamours to start with, but the Viceroy now tells us that "this is a counsel of perfection to which we are ready to subscribe." Allow me to congratulate you upon this concession so frankly and handsomely made. All that we want now is to see the concession of the principle reduced into practice. (*"Hear, hear."*) The misapprehension is contained in the following sentence: "The ideal authoritatively suggested, as I understand, is the creation of a representative body or bodies, in which the official element shall be in a minority, who shall have what is called the power of the purse, and who through this instrumentality shall be able to bring the British Executive into subjection to their will." Now, Gentlemen, if there be one thing more than another that we have tried to make clear, it is that the British Executive should continue to be paramount in the Councils. We have made it as clear as the English language is capable of expressing thought, that the utmost we want is that half of the Councils be elected; the other half to be wholly in the nomination of the Government. These may be all officials or not, just as the Government pleases, and we have made it equally clear, in addition, that the Government should have the right to veto all adverse votes. Such an arrangement guarantees the supremacy of the Executive under all circumstances, aye, even if their own side vote against them. But, is it to be assumed that the elected members are all to vote adversely? Is it to be supposed that any measure of the Executive will be such as to be condemned by every section of the community? I hope no British Executive will ever take leaps into the dark to lead to such a result. Well, the Viceroy having started upon an assumption that is not only incorrect, but is the very opposite of the fact, it follows that his condemnation does not apply to us at all, but to a fanciful piece of workmanship of which we are not the artists. The Viceroy must necessarily depend largely upon his subordinates for correct information about the details of this and other movements, and it looks to me as if one of those compilers of facts had fallen into some grievous error. The authoritative views of the Congress are to be found in its resolutions, and the resolution about the reform of the Councils is the third one of the first meeting of the Congress three years ago, and that resolution has been the one affirmed at the following meetings. We are in no way bound even by any statement or argument that any speaker may make in supporting that resolution; but I say with the greatest confidence that, neither in the resolution itself, nor in the speeches of the gentlemen supporting it, is a word to be found that justifies the "ideal authoritatively suggested." There may be some remarks in letters to newspapers, in pamphlets, or in speeches made by members of the Congress that give support to the "ideal." I don't know of them, and if I did, I should regret them, just as I might regret any of our members having a hump back; but I should feel no responsibility for either his back or speech. If we be charged with encouraging "ideals" on such grounds, we may as logically be charged, in the other event, as a Congress for promoting deformed spines! (*"Hear, hear," and laughter.*) It is annoying to us, no doubt, that our friends, as I take Lord Dufferin to be, should be deceived by imitations of our ticket; but as we have no Trade Mark Bill to protect our wares, all that we can do is to warn our friends to ask for the real article and to see that they get it. (*Loud and continued cheers.*)

And now, Gentlemen, I wish to say, in conclusion, that I have a strong faith that our limited enfranchisement is in the near and not in the distant future. No rational mind can believe that the present system can go on for ever,—that it is the last will and dying testament of Providence regarding us. (*Laughter.*) We are, I trust, the heirs of a better hope. A careful reading of the speeches and writings of our leading officials leads me to believe that they would be glad to see this matter settled; and I do not exclude Sir Auckland Colvin from this category. His objection seems to be to some of the bye-play and not to the general drift of the drama. The great difficulty hitherto has been to find the time to deal with the subject. Lord Dufferin had his thoughts too fully occupied with the troubles on the frontier and in Burma to give adequate attention to this question, which is apparent in the mistake he has fallen into regarding our demands. And I for one regret that it has not fallen to his lot to add a new lustre to his name, and to establish a further claim upon our regard by promoting a measure such as we advocate,—a measure which any statesman might well be proud to be the instrument of carrying; for it is one which (while going a long way, if not the whole way, in calming the present agitation) would draw into closer connection the two extreme branches of the Aryan race, the common subjects of the Queen-Empress: a measure which would unite England and India, not by the hard and brittle bonds of arbitrary rule which may snap in a moment, but by the flexible and more enduring ligaments of common interests promoted, common duties discharged, by means of a common service, chosen with some regard to the principles of representative Government.

(*Here the President had to pause for a time, to allow the prolonged storm of applause and cheering which greeted the conclusion of his address to wear itself out. Then he resumed as follows.*)

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And now, Gentlemen, I will ask you before we separate to appoint a Subject Committee, who will discuss the subjects to be brought before the Congress to-morrow and on the subsequent days, frame tentative resolutions on these subjects, and settle the names of the gentlemen who are to be invited to propose, second and support these Resolutions. Now, it is extremely desirable that this Subject Committee should not be too large and unwieldy, but after consulting the leading delegates, from every Province, it seems agreed that it is impossible, if its representative character is to be preserved, to reduce the number of the members of this committee below 106.

The numbers to be allotted to each circle have been most carefully considered in consultation with a great number of delegates, and I will ask you to accept these as now settled, viz. :—

For the Calcutta Circle, viz., Lower Bengal, Orissa and Assam	...	18
For the Behar Circle, viz., the Patna, Bhagalpur and Hazaribagh Divisions	...	7
For the Benares and N.-W. Provinces Circles	...	16
For the Oudh Circle	...	8
For the Punjab and Delhi Circles	...	17
For the Sindh Circle	...	3
For the Guzerat Circle	...	4
For the Bombay Circle	...	4
For the Poona Circle	...	6
For the Berar Circle	...	3
For the Nagpur Circle, viz., the Central Provinces	...	8
For the Madras Circle	...	12

I will now ask the delegates from each circle to elect from amongst themselves the number of delegates that I have just mentioned for their respective circles, to represent them on the Subject Committee.

The following gentlemen were then elected to be members of the Subject Committee, viz. :—

CALCUTTA CIRCLE (Lower Bengal, Orissa and Assam).	ISWAR CHANDRA DAS (Dacca).	No. 1223.
	BAIKUNTHA NATH SEN (Berhampur).	No. 1192.
	NUFER CHANDER PAL CHOWDHRY (Krishnagur).	No. 1174.
	ANATH BANDHU GUHA (Mymensingh).	No. 1240.
	NILMONI CHOWDHRY (Rajshahye).	No. 1211.
	MOHESH CHANDER CHOWDHRY (Burdwan).	No. 1101.
	BEPIN CHANDRA PAL (Assam).	No. 1245.
	AMBIKA CHARAN MAZUMDAR (Furriddpur).	No. 1210.
	MOULVI MAHOMED HAFIZ (Burrisal).	No. 1204.
	MOTI LAL GHOSE (Jessore).	No. 1112.
	NARENDRA NATH SEN (Calcutta).	No. 1106.
	RAJKUMAR SARVADHIKARI (ditto).	No. 1099.
	KALI CHARAN BANERJEE (ditto).	No. 1135.
	SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE (ditto).	No. 1128.
	MANOMOHUN GHOSE, ESQ. (ditto).	No. 1111.
	W. C. BONNERJEE, ESQ. (ditto).	No. 1098.
	J. GHOSAL, ESQ. (ditto).	No. 1100.
	MOHAMED ALTAHAR (Orissa).	No. 1244.
BEHAR CIRCLE (Patna, Bhagalpur and Hazaribagh Divisions).	BABOO SALIG RAM SINGH (Patna Division).	No. 1104.
	" GURU PRASAD SEN (ditto).	No. 1016.
	MR. SHARF-UD-DIN (ditto).	No. 1083.
	MR. PRINGLE KENNEDY (ditto).	No. 1049.
	BABOO TARINI PRASAD (Bhagalpur Division).	No. 1090.
N.-W. P. AND BENARES CIRCLES.	MOULVI ABDUL RAHMAN (ditto).	No. 1032.
	RAI JADU NATH MOOKERJI (Hazaribagh Division).	No. 1028.
	THE HON'BLE PANDIT AJOODHIA NATH (Allahabad).	No. 551.
	PANDIT BISHAMBHER NATH (ditto).	No. 552.
	RAJA RAMPAL SINGH (ditto).	No. 571.
	MR. J. E. HOWARD, Barrister-at-Law (ditto).	No. 573.
	PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA, B.A. (ditto).	No. 569.
	MOULVI ABDUL JALIL (Cawnpur).	No. 720.
	RAJAH LUCHMAN SINGH (Agra).	No. 707.
	BABOO JAMNA DAS BISWAS (Agra).	No. 687.
	HAFIZ ABDUR RAHIM (Aligarh).	No. 797.
	MR. PYARI LAL, Barrister-at-Law (Meerut).	No. 768.
	BABOO RAMKALI CHOWDHRY (Benares).	No. 872.
	MR. W. DIGBY, C.I.E. (Allahabad).	No. 631.
	SHEIKH NASIR-UD-DIN (Benares).	No. 880.
	MIR WAHID ALI (Rohilkhand).	No. 526.
	PANDIT JWALADATT JOSHI (Almora).	No. 840.
	MR. GOPI NATH (Ajmere).	No. 992.

OUDH CIRCLE	SHEIKH RAZA HOSSEIN KHAN (Lucknow).	No. 439.	1st Day. Election of Subject Committee.
	MUNSHI GANGA PRASAD VARMA (ditto).	No. 471.	
	MR. HAMID ALI KHAN, Barrister-at-Law (Lucknow).	No. 435.	
	" GOKUL CHAND (Faizabad).	No. 482.	
	MUNSHI SAJJAD HUSEIN (Lucknow).	No. 434.	
	CAPTAIN HEARSAY (Lucknow).	No. 841.	
	MR. ALI MOHAMED BHIMJEE (Lucknow).	No. 455.	
	" BISHAN NARAYAN DAR, Barrister-at-Law (Lucknow).	No. 437.	
PUNJAB AND DELHI CIRCLES.	SIRDAR DYAL SINGH MAJETHIA (Lahore).	No. 341.	
	LALA KANHAIYA LAL (Lahore).	No. 342.	
	PANDIT SHEO NARAYAN (Jullundhur).	No. 370.	
	S. M. AGNIHOTRI (Lahore).	No. 344.	
	MR. C. GOLAKNATH, Barrister-at-Law (Lahore).	No. 340.	
	" J. C. BASU (Lahore).	No. 346.	
	" K. P. ROY (ditto).	No. 337.	
	LALA MURLIDHAR (Umballa).	No. 376.	
	SHEIKH UMR BAKSH (Hoshiarpur).	No. 361.	
	LALA GIRDHARILAL (Delhi).	No. 393.	
	" LAJPAT RAI (Hissar).	No. 348.	
	SYED SARDAR ALI SAHIB (Ludhiana).	No. 381.	
	UMRAO MIRZA HAIRAT (Delhi).	No. 397.	
	MOULVI MAHBUB ALAM (Gujranwala).	No. 367.	
	CAPTAIN BANON (Dharamsala).	No. 374.	
	MOULVI MANSUR ALI (Delhi).	No. 411.	
	SHEIKH SHARF-UD-DIN (Ludhiana).	No. 383.	
SINDH CIRCLE	RAO BAHADUR GOVIND BUKSH AWATRAI (Sukkur).	No. 238.	
	RAO SAHIB TAHILRAM KHEMCHAND (Karachi).	No. 241.	
	MR. N. GUPTA (Karachi).	No. 239.	
GUZERAT CIRCLE	MR. S. N. PANDIT, Barrister-at-Law (Rajkot).	No. 257.	
	" YUSAF ALI JEMADAR, B.A. (Kaira).	No. 244.	
	RAO SAHIB KESHAVLAL MOTILAL (Ahmedabad).	No. 245.	
	RAO SAHIB MOHANLAL RANCHODDAS (Surat).	No. 248.	
BOMBAY CIRCLE	THE HON'BLE KASHINATH TRIMBAK TELANG, M.A., LL.B., C.I.E. (Bombay).	No. 201.	
	THE HON'BLE PHEROZSHAH M. MEHTA, Barrister-at-Law (Bombay).	No. 208.	
	MR. N. G. CHANDAVARKAR, B.A., LL.B. (Bombay).	No. 203.	
	MR. D. E. WACHA.	No. 204.	
POONA CIRCLE	RAO BAHADUR V. M. BHIDE (Poona).	No. 96.	
	MR. M. B. NAMJOSHI (ditto).	No. 101.	
	" K. V. PATWARDHAN (Ahmednagar).	No. 150.	
	" S. R. KIRLOSKAR, B.A. (Sholapur).	No. 168.	
	" SADASIVA BOLKRISHNA BHATE (Belgaum).	No. 170.	
	" FRAMJI MANCHERJEE (Satara).	No. 140.	
BERAR CIRCLE	RAO SAHIB DEVARAO VINAYEK (Akola).	No. 273.	
	R. N. MUDHOLKAR, B.A., LL.B. (Amraoti).	No. 259.	
	MR. P. N. JOG, B.A., LL.B. (ditto).	No. 275.	
CENTRAL PROVINCES CIRCLE.	MR. JAGANNATH PRASAD (Hoshangabad).	No. 304.	
	" BEPIN KRISHA BOSE, M.A., B.L. (Nagpur).	No. 285.	
	" BAPU RAO DADA, M.A. (ditto).	No. 290.	
	" SADA SHIVA R. C. PATWARDHAN (Harda).	No. 325.	
	" HARI DASS CHATTERJI, M.A., B.L. (Khundwa).	No. 313.	
	" HARIVAMAN KELKAR, B.A., B.L. (Wardha).	No. 322.	
	" K. G. DESHPANDE, M.A. (Nagpur).	No. 291.	
	" BIHARI LAL, B.A. (Jubbulpore).	No. 298.	
MADRAS CIRCLE	M. R. RY. S. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR, M.A., B.L., F.M.U. No. 15.		
	RAI BAHADUR A. SABAPATHY MUDELLIAR (Bellary).	No. 70.	
	C. VIJAYARAGHAVA CHARIAR, ESQ., B.A. (Salem).	No. 90.	
	EARDLEY NORTON, ESQ., Barrister-at-Law (Madras).	No. 19.	
	JOHN ADAM, ESQ., M.A., F.M.U. (ditto).	No. 2.	
	M. R. RY. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER, ESQ., B.A. (ditto).	No. 20.	
	M. R. RY. M. VIRARAGHAVA CHARIAR, B.A. (ditto).	No. 21.	
	M. R. RY. C. SANKARA NAIR, B.A., B.L., F.M.U. (Malabar).	No. 17.	

1st Day. MADRAS CIRCLE (contd.)
 Election of Subject Committee.
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 ABDUL RAHIMAN SAHIB, ESQ. (Coimbatore). No. 87.
 M. R. RY. C. JAMBULINGA MUDALIAR, B.A., M.L. (Cuddapah). No. 58.
 M. R. RY. N. SUBBA RAO, B.A., B.L. (Godavari). No. 38.
 M. R. RY. M. G. AROKIASWAMI PILLAI, B.A. (Coimbatore). No. 86.

Adjournment.
 The elections having been completed and announced by the President and ratified unanimously by all the delegates, cheers were called for, simultaneously, by at least a score of delegates, for Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, and these having been enthusiastically given, over and over again, the President at about 5 P.M. notified the adjournment of the assembly till next day, and the meeting commenced to disperse. But some considerable time elapsed before the last cheers for Her Majesty were given, and the Subject Committee was able to gather together on the President's platform and commence work.
 The Subject Committee sat till late that night and resumed work next morning sitting till 1 P.M.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Thursday, December 27th, 1888.

THE Congress re-assembled at 2 P.M. of the 27th. Immediately on the President's taking his seat—

MR. JUGMOHUNDAS VANDRAVANDAS—(Bombay, No. 225 in list)—rose and said: Sir, spokesman and representative of my community—the Dasa Porwad Banya community of Bombay—I rise to present to you this humble token of our sympathy in the cause of the Congress, and our respect, Sir, for you as President. It is a silver casket containing Rs. 175, and we desire that these Rs. 175 may be taken as our mite towards the expenses of this great gathering, and that you, Sir, may be pleased, yourself, to retain the casket as a memento alike of this Congress and of the respect and good will with which we, all, here regard you. (Loud cheers.)

THE PRESIDENT in reply said: I have very much pleasure, indeed, in accepting, on behalf of the Congress, the contents of this casket; and, as I understand that it is the intention of the donors that, while you get the contents, I myself get the casket, I have even greater pleasure in accepting that casket for myself. (Laughter and cheers.) Believe me, I shall ever preserve it as a memento of this great and important meeting, and in grateful remembrance of the honor that you have done me in electing me to be its President. ("Hear, hear," and cheers). And now, Gentlemen, we must proceed to business, and I have to submit to you one or two small regulations by which I propose to guide my Presidential action. The first rule that I desire to observe is this: Proposers of resolutions will be allowed ten minutes in which to set forth their motions and this, I believe, is in accordance with the precedents of previous Congresses; while seconders of resolutions and all other speakers will be restricted to five minutes. In the case of amendments I see no necessity for further law, and I propose to allow the movers and the seconders of such only the same five minutes allowed to other speakers. The other regulation or suggestion—for it scarcely amounts to a rule—is that all speakers able to speak in English should speak in that language, because a far larger proportion of the delegates understand English than any other language; and it is hence the most appropriate for our debates. No departure from this rule will be allowed except in the cases of those delegates who are *bonâ fide* unable to address an audience in English. (Cheers and cries of "Quite right.")

MR. EARDLEY NORTON—(Madras, No. 19 in list)—rose, and, laying a printed report on the table, said: Sir, on behalf of the Madras Standing Congress Committee, I have the honour of laying on your table a report drawn up of the work done by our Committee during the past year under the resolutions passed at last Congress.

MR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR—(Berar, No. in 259 list)—next presented a report to the President and said: Sir, on behalf of the Berar Standing Congress Committee, of which I am the Secretary, I beg to present this report of the work done by our Committee in 1888, and lay it on the table for the information of those members of the Congress who may care to read it.

MR. VISHNU MORESHWAR BHIDE—(Poona, No. 96 in list)—next rose, and presenting a report said: Sir, I beg to present a report of the proceedings of the Provincial Conference held at Poona, at the invitation of our Standing Congress Committee, in connection with the work of the Congress, and lay it on the table for the information of the members.

THE HON. K. T. TELANG—(Bombay, No. 201 in list)—then addressed the assembly as follows: Mr. President and brother delegates,—I have the honour to move the first resolution, which runs as follows:—

"That this Congress do affirm the necessity for the expansion and reform of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws and regulations, and the Provincial Legislative Councils, already set forth in Resolutions III of the Congresses of 1885 and 1886, and Resolution II of the Congress of 1887, a tentative scheme for which expansion and reform was suggested in Resolution IV of the Congress of 1886."

I think you will see from the terms of the resolution that its substance hardly requires much explanation or much in the way of remark to commend it to the acceptance of the delegates here assembled from all parts of the Empire. The subject—

2nd Day.
 Presentation of Casket, Report, &c., &c.

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Councils.

matter of that resolution has been considered by each of the three Congresses which have been held in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, and this Congress is to be asked to re-affirm the proposition which was passed by those Congresses. It would, therefore, be pure surplusage if I were to address any lengthened remarks to the Congress in support of the subject-matter of this resolution. The subject to which the resolution refers has not only been fully discussed and debated by the three Congresses which have been already held, but has also been debated and discussed outside these, both in the public press and at innumerable public meetings. And it has been discussed not only by those who sympathize with the Congress, but also by other bodies and individuals throughout the Empire; and the conclusions at which they have all, as a rule, arrived have been in full accord with the resolutions which the various Congresses have already passed. (Cheers.) After all this threshing out of the matter dealt with in this resolution, it would be unpardonable were I now to inflict on the Congress any lengthened dissertation on a main question at issue. But there are certain points in connection with this resolution which have been raised in recent controversies, and brought forward by gentlemen who are authorities upon Indian questions, and whose remarks, observations and suggestions are unquestionably entitled to the greatest attention, to which I am constrained to refer.

One of our critics who, in this particular part of the Empire, will easily be identified I mean the Lieutenant-Governor of these provinces—has said that the Congress, in putting forward this suggestion about the expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils, has suggested anything of a very novel or original character; that the thing which the Congress has been asking for is one which has been considered long before the Congress was dreamt of. And he has made this observation as though this fact might be supposed to throw some discredit on the work of the Congress. ("Hear, hear.") Perhaps discreditable is a stronger word than should be used; but the remark has been made at any rate in a depreciatory sense. Now, speaking for myself, I must say that I consider the remark as by no means one to which we need object. When a scheme does not issue forth in full panoply, as it were, from the brain of a single author, but is the synthesis of the best thoughts of many brains during a long period, it is considered in practical politics as rather a merit than a defect; and therefore when Sir Auckland tells us that our suggestion is one which has been put forward long before this Congress came into existence, I welcome that remark as one of the certificates to the work of the Congress (cheers), and I consider it rather satisfactory than the reverse. (Cheers.)

But, Gentlemen, we have had criticism from another quarter, about which also it is necessary to speak, though not in any great detail. We have all read Lord Dufferin's speech at the St. Andrew's Dinner at Calcutta, and in this too we have seen some criticisms upon our work, which similarly deserve some passing notice. For my own part, I am prepared to treat Lord Dufferin's criticism as on the whole friendly criticism, and as a piece of warning and advice coming from a friendly quarter which deserves all the attention which can be bestowed upon it. But while I am prepared to welcome His Lordship's deliverances from that point of view, I think it my duty to point out from my place here that some of his Lordship's criticisms and statements have been based upon a complete misapprehension of the actual facts of the case. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.)

I hold in my hand a newspaper report of what his Lordship said at Calcutta, and I think it is desirable to refresh your memory by reading the exact words of His Lordship's remarks in regard to the work of the Congress. "And now, Gentlemen," Lord Dufferin said, "some intelligent, loyal, patriotic and well-meaning men are desirous of taking, I will not say a further step in advance, but a very big jump into the unknown, by the application to India of democratic methods of Government and the adoption of a Parliamentary system which England herself has reached by slow degrees and through the discipline of many centuries. The ideal authoritatively suggested, gentlemen, as I understand" [mark, please, the qualification implied in, "as I understand"] "is the creation of a representative body or bodies in which the official element shall be in a minority, who shall have what is called the power of the purse, and who, through this instrumentality, shall be able to bring the British Executive into subjection to their will." Before I pass on to another portion of his Lordship's speech, I will pause here for the purpose of pointing out that every one of the statements made here by his Lordship is inaccurate as applied to any proposal that has ever been passed, at any previous Congress or any proposal that you will be asked at this Congress to pass. (Cheers.) His Lordship begins by saying that we ask for democratic methods of Government for India. You have all of you, I suppose, read the reports of the three Congresses which have been already held. I myself took part in the first, but was unfortunately unable to attend the second and the third Congresses. I have, however, read the reports, and have failed to find in them anything of which it can be fairly said that either the Congress as a whole, or any individual member of it, has asked for the application of democratic methods of Government to India. (Cheers.) The next charge is that we are asking for "the adoption of a Parliamentary system which England herself has only reached by slow degrees, and through the discipline of many centuries of preparation." I say that precisely the same remark that I made with regard to the first clause is applicable to this. We have asked for

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no such thing, as will be obvious to those who will consider the precise terms of our resolution; and when Lord Dufferin, so cautious and circumspect a statesman as he is, has been so inaccurate in his observations, I can only conclude that His Lordship has not had time to read our reports, and that he has taken his information at second hand, as indeed is indicated by the qualifying remark, "as I understand." (Cheers.) His Lordship says: "The idea authoritatively suggested, as I understand, is the creation of a representative body or bodies in which the official element shall be in a minority, who shall have what is called the power of the purse, and who, through this instrumentality, shall be able to bring the British Executive into subjection to their will." The basis for that statement is our demand that the financial statement shall be brought before the Council for discussion. ("Hear, hear.") Not only do I not find in any of the reports any grounds for such a statement, but I find what is actually the reverse of it. (Cheers.) It has been said over and over again that the Executive shall have the power of deciding what shall be done, and of vetoing any proposal emanating from the rest of the Council; and yet in face of the resolution as this, which we have passed not once, not twice, but three times, a statement has been made by his Lordship. I can only express my amazement at it, and I cannot believe His Lordship to have been capable of making it, except on the assumption that he has lacked the time to study our reports himself. (Cheers.) The various charges which His Lordship makes against the Congress are charges which remind me of a certain definition which was once given of a crab, viz., that a crab is a red fish which walks backwards; and the criticism made upon that was that the definition was perfectly correct, except that the crab was not a fish, that it was not red, and that it did not walk backwards. (Laughter.) Now, I may say that Lord Dufferin's criticism is perfectly correct; except that we have not asked for democratic methods of Government; we have not asked for Parliamentary institutions which England has got after many centuries of discipline; we have not asked for the power of the purse; and we have not asked that the British Executive should be brought under subjection to us. (Laughter and prolonged cheers.)

If you permit me, I will go on to the next passage in which he says: "I am afraid the people of England will not be readily brought to the acceptance of this programme, or to allow such an assembly, or a number of such assemblies, either to interfere with its armies, or to fetter and circumscribe the liberty of action, either of the Provincial Governments, or of the Supreme Executive." I say this is a programme which is not brought forward officially or unofficially by the Congress. We have never dreamt of or asked for such things as Lord Dufferin supposes. We have—I say we have explicitly—declared that the right of interpellation which we ask for must not extend to questions military or political. (Cheers.) Then again he goes on to say: "In the first place, the whole scheme is eminently unconstitutional; for the essence of constitutional Government is that responsibility and power should remain in the same hands, and the idea of irresponsible Councils, whose members could never be called to account for their acts in the way in which an opposition can be called to account in a constitutional country, arresting the march of Indian legislation, or nullifying the policy of the British Executive in India, would be regarded as an impracticable anomaly." I entirely agree in this view of His Lordship, only I do not see what application it has to anything said by the Congress. We have never asked for a divorce between power and responsibility. We have, on the contrary, distinctly said that the responsibility must rest with the Executive, and that, therefore, they must have the power of rejecting any resolution and vetoing any proposal, even though such should come from a majority of the Council. ("Hear, hear.") I need only say, in conclusion, that the criticisms which have been made upon us by the late Viceroy are criticisms which have no manner of application to the resolutions we have passed, or the proposals we have made, but relate rather to some imaginary scheme which somehow seems to have floated through Lord Dufferin's brains, but of which we of the Congress had never even so much as heard, until he enunciated it. (Prolonged cheers.)

BABU SURENDRANATH BANERJEE—(Bengal, No. 1128 in list)—in seconding the resolution on the expansion of the Legislative Councils, spoke as follows: Brother-Delegates,—I cannot shut my eyes to the grave responsibility which I incur, in common with my leader, in having to speak to this resolution. It is the most important resolution in your programme. (Cheers.) You have chosen to put it in the forefront among the topics to be discussed by this Congress. Round it have gathered that mass of misconceptions which the organs of your public opinion have been at so much pains to dispel. It has been the chief theme of controversy and of complaint. It is the one point in your armour against which your opponents have hurled their sharpest darts with merciless severity and with unflagging steadiness. For my part, I may say that I welcome this opposition. I rejoice at it, and I thank God with all my heart that it has pleased Him in His inscrutable Providence to subject us to this ordeal and to the chastening influence of this severe discipline. Nothing but good can come out of it. (Cheers.) Causes the noblest, the most beneficent, the most far-reaching in their consequences for good have never prospered or triumphed except under the stress of adverse criticism. (Cheers.) Comparing great things with small, I may say that

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2nd Day. the noblest page of Christian history has always appeared to me to be that which records the triumphant sufferings and is ensanguined with the blood of the martyrs of early Christianity. ("Hear, hear.") There is nothing more attractive in Moslem annals than that which describes Mohamed as flying from the hands of his persecuting relatives, seeking a home and an asylum at Medina, and there installing himself as king, prophet, priest, the deliverer of his people. So in our case, the opposition will do nothing but good. It will put us on our mettle and bring out all that is good in us. Lord Dufferin has done us a service, the magnitude of which it is impossible to exaggerate, and for which we should be truly grateful. (Loud cheers.) He has done for you by his speech at St. Andrew's Dinner what you could not have done for yourselves by twenty years of persistent agitation. By one great bound, we could jump into the unknown—the National Congress has taken its place among the foremost of discussion in English political circles, and has arrested the attention of leading English politicians. (Cheers.) The National Congress and the expansion of your Legislative Councils are now being discussed by the fire-sides of English homes, around the tables of English Clubs, and upon the platforms of English public meetings. Not the least valuable of acquisitions has been that of Mr. Gladstone. Only three months ago, in a conversation with the Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk of Hyderabad, he professed ignorance of the program of the Congress, and thought that it was associated in some way with Mr. Malabar's agitation. But mark what he said only the other day in his Lime-house speech. He spoke in terms of strong sympathy with the National Congress. (Loud cheers.) He observed: "It will do for us to treat with contempt or even with indifference the rising aspirations of this great people." (Loud cheers.) When a statesman in the position of Mr. Gladstone, long the Prime Minister of England, still the trusted leader of a great party, the hope of Ireland—its future deliverer—holds views such as these, we may say with confidence that we are within measurable distance of victory. (Tremendous cheering for Mr. Gladstone the audience rising up.) I hope and trust the mighty voice of a great nation will go forth from this hall and be wafted across mountains, seas and deserts, and reach the ears of Mr. Gladstone as the expression of our personal regard for him and of our sympathy for his labours. (Cheers.)

I must say that it is with a sense of pain that I listened to the statement made by the Hon'ble Pandit Ajoodhia Nath regarding the petty official opposition which the efforts of the Reception Committee encountered at each stage. When the story of this spiteful and unworthy persecution is published in this country, and when it is repeated in England, I am sure there will be one universal feeling of indignation throughout the country, which I hope will teach the local officials a lesson which they have yet to learn. (Cheers.) I must say that it seems to me a marvel that there should be any misconception with regard to the nature of our demands. "Demands," do I say? We have really made none. We have put forth some tentative suggestions regarding the reform and expansion of the Legislative Councils. We pin our faith to no particular system, to no special programme. We say so in terms as clear as the resources of the English language can supply. We say (and I quote the very words of the Resolution of 1886), "whatever may be the scheme that may be adopted, care should be taken that all sections of the community and all great interests are adequately represented." (Cheers.) All that we pray for—all that the Congress has ever asked for—is the acceptance, in a modified form, of the representative principle in the constitution of the Legislative Councils, with a due regard for the interests of all sections of the community. I will not hesitate to say that it seems to me inexplicable that there should be any misconception with regard to our programme. There is a singular vein of inconsistency running through much of what has been said and written on the subject by our official critics. Sir Auckland Colvin says in that letter, with which we are all so familiar, and of which I desire to speak with the utmost possible respect, that he saw nothing to object to in the programme of the first Congress, nothing to object to in the proceedings of the second Congress. But then there came a reaction in his mind when he read the Report of the third Congress. I there was nothing to object to in the proceedings of the first and the second Congresses does it stand to reason that he should take exception to the third, which re-affirmed the most important Resolutions of the second Congress? (Cheers.) But then he goes beyond the limits of the Congress programme; there are the conversations and catechisms which have upset the official classes, and account for this change of feeling. I am not here to defend these conversations and catechisms. (Laughter and cheers.) I see the distinguished authors of these productions on this platform, and they are quite able to take care of themselves. (Renewed laughter.) But it is in connection with this charge of sedition, that is too often so recklessly brought against us, that I desire, in your name and on your behalf (and in this matter re-echoing the sentiments of the Chairman of the Reception Committee) to enter my most emphatic protest. (Loud cheers.) Apart from sentimental considerations—which are no mean considerations with a people so highly sensitive and emotional as we are—is it for one moment to be supposed that we have become so idiotic and have taken such utter leave of our senses as not to see that we owe all that we possess—our position and our prestige—to the English connection? (Cheers.) Let that connection come to an end, and we lose with it all that we hold most dear in life. Our opponents have charged

us with being seditionists, but they have never failed to give us credit for sense. In our case, however, sedition means a measure of folly that is only consistent with idiocy. The charge can only stand upon the one assumption, that the educated community of India have become demented. (Laughter.) For my part I may say—and I believe that in this matter I express the sense of this great Congress—that I regard the connection between England and India as Providential, and that England is here for one of the noblest purposes of history. (Loud cheers.) I can find nothing more glorious in the matchless record of England's fame than that under her influence this mighty national awakening should take place which finds its highest expression in this great and historical gathering of the National Congress. (Cheers.)

Our programme for the expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils which we are called upon to re-affirm by this Resolution is extremely moderate. It is neither a Parliamentary system, nor representative Government, nor the application of democratic methods to Indian institutions that we seek for. Our demand is much more moderate than that. All that we want is to rescue the present Legislative Councils from their character as monstrous shams, and convert them into useful consultative assemblies which may help the Government in the difficult task which Providence has assigned to it; and in India, more than in any other country, is such a step necessary where there are so many races and nationalities and such diversified interests. Therefore even for administrative purposes, if for nothing else, the reconstitution of the Councils has become a necessity. (Cheers.) We desire to place non-official opinion on an organized footing for purposes of consultation by the Government. Non-official opinion is consulted now. We say it should be consulted in a more formal and methodical manner. We have no wish to assume sovereign authority. The supreme power will remain where it is vested at present. We only desire that we may be consulted in its exercise. According to our programme, half the members of the Legislative Councils are to be elected, the rest being nominated by Government. Under the existing law, one-third of the members must at least be non-officials. We pray for an increase in the proportion of non-official members from one-third to one-half, and we further suggest that they should be elected. We attach the utmost importance to the principle of election. A partially elective system is the platform on which we take our stand. That platform we can never quit, and by it we shall judge every system which may be devised for the reform of the Councils. The next point in our programme is that the Budgets should be discussed in Council; and in this respect we only want a partial extension of a principle already admitted and acted upon. The Budget is now discussed in the Supreme Council, but only when a new measure of taxation is proposed. The Congress suggests that the Budgets should be discussed on all occasions in the Provincial as well as in the Supreme Council, and whether a new scheme of taxation is proposed or not. There is a singular unanimity of opinion in connection with this part of the programme of the Congress. The Chambers of Commerce throughout the country have repeated the same demand and with marked persistency. Intimately connected with this part of our programme is the right of interpellation. The discussion of the Budget would become a meaningless and empty form unless the members had the right of asking questions or calling for papers with regard to items entered in the accounts. (Cheers.) Thus, even for the satisfactory discussion of the Budget, the right of interpellation is needed. But let it be noted that we want the right to be confined purely to domestic matters. It is therefore a marvel how Lord Dufferin could fall into the mistake that we are anxious to claim authority over military arrangements.

Such, in short, is our programme for the reform and expansion of the Legislative Councils. But we suffer from misconception. A formidable opposition has been organized against us. The victory, however, is ours, if we be only true to ourselves. The signs of a great national awakening are visible on all sides. (Cheers.) It may be a portent for good; or it may be a portent for evil. God grant that it may be the harbinger of countless blessings to our country! God grant that it may deepen our loyalty, stimulate our patriotism, and consolidate our imperial connection with England. It is for us to lead it into fruitful channels pregnant with good to the people. We shall not be wanting in our duty. Let us press our claims; let us not sleep over the matter; but rather let us agitate, pray and supplicate; and England, too, will not be wanting in her duty by us. England, the home of the brave, the sanctuary of the free, the asylum of persecuted freedom, will not refuse to extend to us, in part at least, those institutions which have upreared her own greatness and have built up the fabric of her immortal renown. (Loud cheers.) Then will England have enthroned herself in the hearts of our people, and will have cemented her connection with India by bonds of love and gratitude which no change of circumstances and no stroke of untoward fate will ever suffice to sever. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

MR. SYED SHARF-UD-DIN—(Behar, No. 1083 in list)—in supporting the resolution, said: Mr. President and Brother-delegates,—You can perfectly well understand the importance of this the most important of all the resolutions in the business at this Congress. It is unnecessary for me to dwell on its importance, because this has already been set forth in the eloquent speeches of the two gentlemen who have preceded me. There is

2nd Day. one point, however, to which, if I may be allowed, I should like to make some reference. In the resolution we claim the right of interpellation. Might I be permitted to recall to you one fact in regard to this right of interpellation. In the year 1854—so long ago as that—under the administration of Lord Dalhousie, it was laid down—if I am right—at the first meeting of the Legislative Council that the right of interpellation was to be conceded to all members of Council. Well, may I be allowed to ask you why a right granted us so far back as 1854 should be withheld in 1888? (*Cheers.*) In regard to the general question of introducing some representative element into the Government of the country, I need not say much, as the sentiments of the entire assemblage on this point have been faithfully expressed by the two able speakers who have preceded me, and it only remains, Gentlemen, for me to bring to your notice the fact that I am a Mahomedan. (*Loud cheers.*) Well, Gentlemen, you will remember perfectly well that in 1885, when the first meeting of the Congress was held at Bombay, it was said by adverse critics that it was a Congress of a few educated native gentlemen. Again you will remember that when the Congress was held in Calcutta in 1886, it was no longer called a Congress of a few native gentlemen, but a Congress of Bengalees; and in 1887, when the Congress was held in Madras, it was not called a Congress of native gentlemen, or of Bengalees, but a Congress of Hindus. (*Laughter and cheers.*) Now, Gentlemen, here in 1888, we have got before us not only Hindus, Bengalees and Mahrattas, but I am proud to say we have here amongst us to-day more than 200 Mahomedans, including scions of the ex-royal families of Delhi and of Oudh. (*Loud cheers.*) Now I think I may be right in expressing the hope and opinion that next year, when the reports of the Congress have been published, it will at last be called by its right name, and accepted as an Indian Congress. (*Cheers.*) You will remember that in 1885 there were scarcely any Mahomedans. There was an increase at the next Congress, a further increase in 1887, and now I am proud to say that there are more than 200 Mahomedans present. (*Loud cheers and cries of "Hear, hear."*) I may tell you that in 1886, when the Congress was held in Calcutta, owing to some local or temporary reasons, the Mahomedans were charged with holding aloof, but I can assure you that at least in my province of Behar the Mahomedans have the fullest sympathy with the objects of the Congress. And I can tell you that in my professional capacity I have to travel all over the division, and have been consulted, and have consulted with my friends, many Mahomedans, and they have in every case proved to be in sympathy with and in favour of the Congress. At the same time I do not for a moment deny that there are some, indeed a good many, who, though fully sympathising with the objects of the Congress, yet for personal and temporary reasons think it best in their own interests to stay away. Still these gentlemen are with us and help us privately, and, when official pressure diminishes, will come round publicly. But abstentions of this nature—and they are more numerous amongst Mahomedans than any, except Mahomedans, have any idea of—furnish no grounds whatsoever for reckless assertions, such as that recently made in the House of Commons by Mr. Maclean, that the Mahomedans as a body are against the Congress, or for designating this latter by any less comprehensive title than that which it righteously bears—The Indian National Congress. (*Loud cheers.*) There are malcontents everywhere; there must always be some who dissent from anything their neighbours approve, but the great bulk of the Mahomedans, as the great bulk of the Hindus, Jews, Parsees and Indian Christians, are everywhere for and not against the Congress.

RAJAH RAMPAL SINGH—(*Allahabad, No. 571 in list*)—said: I am afraid I am a very poor speaker; but I think that every sympathetic Indian, every well-wisher of the country, should say something on the subject before us, however deficient he may be in oratorical powers. We all know that the right of being nominated to the Council has been given us since a long time. But the nomination rests entirely with Government, or rather with a small group of high officials; and some men entirely ignorant of the English language have been appointed to the Council. (*Cheers.*) They were not the representatives of the people of India, because they were the nominees of Government, and were the protégés of officials. (*Cheers.*) That being the case, the grievances of the country were not properly brought by them to the notice of Government; and, instead of fighting for justice on behalf of the people, they voted blindly with officials, unless indeed their own personal interests were involved, when, no doubt, they did show some fight on their own behalf. (*Laughter.*) Moreover, the nominated members of Council have always constituted such a microscopic minority, as my kind friend Lord Dufferin would phrase it, that even if they had dissented from the opinion of the officials, and had been bold enough to maintain their views, they would have had no chance of carrying their point. It is for this that we most loyally, constitutionally, and almost pathetically implore Government to allow us ourselves to select half the number of the members of the Legislative Council, and this with the full understanding that supreme authority must always rest with the Executive. With the supremacy of the Executive no Congress man that I have ever met—and I may say that I know a good many of these (*laughter*)—has ever dreamt of interfering; but we want a good number of

our own men in Council, so that the Government here, and the people and Government of England, may hear from their representatives what the people of this country really think, and feel, and wish, about the subjects dealt with by the Government. (*Cheers.*)

PANDIT BISHAN NARAYAN DAR—(*Oudh, No. 437 in list*)—said: It is a matter of great pleasure to me to find that we are going to re-affirm this, the most important of all the resolutions of the National Congress. In this city, which will always be famous as the place where that great Proclamation of 1858 was first published—in this sacred city which has from time out of mind been sanctified by the confluence of two sacred rivers, emblematic of the perpetual union between India and England—(*a voice "Three cheers for the Union," and the call was enthusiastically responded to*)—it is a matter of great pleasure to me to find that you are going to re-affirm the resolution about the reform and extension of the Legislative Councils. I consider it as the keystone of all our political progress; it is the pivot on which will turn the political fortunes of this country. (*Cheers.*)

The principal objections which are advanced against our demands for the introduction of a representative element into the Legislative Councils is that it would weaken the hands of the Government; and that the methods by which we are seeking to obtain this reform are objectionable. Now my own meagre knowledge of history does not permit me to arrive at any such conclusions. The little knowledge of modern history that I possess leads me to the contrary conclusion, and to a conviction that the concession of local autonomy within certain limits and safeguards can only add to the strength and stability of the British Empire. (*Cheers.*) Let me take an instance from the history of the British Colonies. Take the Dominion of Canada. I do not wish to say that the analogy between India and the English Colonies is at all perfect; but I think there are a great many points in the history of Canada which might furnish very instructive lessons to our Government in its dealings with India. Canada is divided into two parts—Upper and Lower Canada. Upper Canada is English, and Lower is French. Now, some time ago, both the Canadas were governed separately by a Government and Council, who were not at all responsible to the people of Canada, and were removable only by the Home Government of England. These Canadians had not even the semblance of self-government; but they so bitterly resented the system, and they became so disaffected to the Home Government that in 1837, when Queen Victoria came to the throne and *Te Deums* were sung in the churches in honour of the event, the congregations left their seats and walked out, and signs of rebellion soon became visible everywhere. The assembly of Canada forwarded their national grievances in the form of ninety resolutions to the British Government, who replied by placing the country under military control. While these things were occurring in Canada, you will be surprised to hear that the British public knew nothing about them. It was only when some Canadians, under sentence of transportation, were landed in England that they at all realized what had been going on. Then the conscience of the British public was touched, their indignation against the existing authorities was aroused, and such a cry was raised that the prisoners were at last released. (*Cheers.*) That event rivetted the attention of the British public upon the Canadian question, and as soon as the mist of ignorance was dispelled from the minds of the British nation in regard to Canadian affairs, the demands of Canada were at once conceded. Ever since Canada has obtained responsible Government, she has become more and more loyal and attached to the British Government. The history of Canada teaches us three lessons—first, that the concession of autonomy within certain limits and safeguards is good for the strength of the Imperial unity; secondly, that the English nation is always ready to do justice to every class, and that, if it sometimes fails to do so, it is simply for want of accurate knowledge and information (*cheers*); and, thirdly, that we should go on agitating in the most loyal and constitutional manner, and supply the great British nation with all information we can as to our present position and aspirations. If you go on in this way, I am sure your appeal will not be made in vain. (*Cheers.*)

Who will solve the great problem of Indian politics if the English were to give it up? I have great faith in the English nation, and I assure you that I feel the full weight of responsibility which I believe everybody feels here who rises to address this august assembly. But knowing full well that every word uttered here will be carefully scrutinized by the public outside, that every sentiment expressed here will be considered, and justly considered, the voice of India's sons, whose voice never through any other channel reaches English ears, I have yet ventured on this occasion to stand before you, my countrymen, and tell you that if you go on making your appeal with fairness, courage and moderation to the great English nation, they will assuredly respond to your prayers, for as the harp responds to the harper's touch, so does the great deep heart of England respond to every reasonable prayer for justice and freedom. (*Loud cheers.*)

2nd Day. MR. UMRAO MIRZA HAIRAT—(*Delhi, No. 397 in list*)—who spoke in Urdu, then said :
 Res. I, Reform of the Legislative Councils. Gentlemen,—I am here as a delegate from the Punjab, and I am a Mahomedan. I am at a loss, in the presence of such able men as have preceded me, to express myself worthily before this noble meeting ; but my feelings, both national and religious, prompt me to address a few words to you. (*Cheers.*) As regards the resolution asking permission to elect natives of this country as members of Council, I can but say that it is the mainspring of this movement, in connection with which we are here assembled ; and it is only when we are properly represented in the Councils that this country will obtain what it actually needs, for it is we who know our wants and how to represent them. It is a known fact that the two hundred and fifty millions of subjects depend solely on the Council for the remedy of their grievances (*cheers*) ; and it is essentially necessary that the members of the Council should be thoroughly conversant with the innumerable wants of the people, high and low, which it is next to impossible to expect from the Council as it now stands, composed of members never moving with, but diligently avoiding, the people. Hence the necessity, as we all see, that we should be more truly represented. Members elected would carefully avoid anything that would create religious or caste prejudices, and their views would be such as not to hurt the feelings of the various classes of the people, who depend on them for securing their safety and comfort. It is my opinion that the people should elect the members, as only such members will ever be fully aware of the actual wants of the people (*cheers*) ; and the House of Commons should take this into its earnest consideration. It is a sad fact that the present native members even are, as a rule, quite ignorant of our wants, and such opinions as they express, when they are asked to deal with or legislate on any question, are received by them from officials as much estranged from and unknown to the people as themselves (*cheers*) ; therefore I beg that the House of Commons will add to the many blessings this country enjoys by granting this earnest and not unreasonable prayer of the people and by permitting us to elect members to represent the Indian people on the Council. We are fully and gratefully impressed with the justice of British rule, with which may God long continue to bless us. (*Cheers.*)

LALA LAJPAT RAI—(*Punjab, No. 348 in list*)—said : It is with a feeling of exultation and pride that I address this splendid assembly—splendid on account of its loyalty to the Crown, splendid on account of its sincere attachment to our great Queen-Empress. You might think it audacious on my part to address this vast assembly ; but I come here for a special purpose. I come here to tell you why we want to have the right of interpellation. A few days ago a high and responsible officer of Government visited one of the towns of the Punjab. The inhabitants of the town, including the Vice-President of its Municipality and its leading men, waited on the high officer for redress of grievances in relation to a certain department. Can you guess what the reply of that officer was ? It was practically to this effect, *viz.*, that the Government of India had its own interests to consult, and did not care for the people. (*Cries of "Impossible," "Name," and "Shame."*) Gentlemen, the fact is as I have stated, incredible as it may seem, and those of our opponents who say that we are spreading disaffection should know this incident, and consider whether it is we who are spreading disaffection or officers like these. (*Cheers.*) This is no exaggeration, Gentlemen ; I repeat that it is a fact to which a thousand citizens of that town can testify. I therefore support this proposition with all my heart. I support it in the words of the Mahomedan who is said to be the leader of the opponents of the Congress. I will speak to you in the words of no less an authority than Sir Syed Ahmed. (*Hisses and cheers.*) That exalted personage, addressing a body of gentlemen at the laying of the foundation stone of the new Ghazipore, now the Victoria College, pretty well endorsed all our claims.

I will begin, however, with his book on the "Causes of the Indian Revolt," which was written in 1858, and translated and published in English in the year 1873. It may be worth while to note here that the translators of this were no other than Sir Auckland Colvin, the present Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces, and Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, the writer of Sir Syed Ahmed's biography. In this book, after trying to prove that the Mutiny of 1857 was no "religious war," nor the result of a preconcerted conspiracy, he says that "most men, I believe, agree in thinking that it is highly conducive to the welfare and prosperity of the Government, indeed that it is essential to its stability, that the people should have a voice in its Councils. It is from the voice of the people that Government can learn whether its projects are likely to be well received ; the voice of the people can check errors in the bud, and warn us of dangers before they burst upon and destroy us." To make the matter more clear, he went on saying that "this voice, however, can never be heard, and this security never acquired, unless the people are allowed a share in the consultations of Government. The security of a Government, it will be remembered, is founded on its knowledge of the character of the governed as well as on its careful observance of their rights and privileges." These are noble words nobly spoken—words of sterling honesty and independence of spirit. Can they have any other meaning than what attaches to this resolution of our National Congress, which prays for the introduction of a representative

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 element into the constitution of our Legislative Councils ? Pray tell me how can the people have a voice in the Councils of Government if not by representation ? How can the people of a country have their voice constantly heard if not through their representatives ? But, to leave no doubt on the subject, I will go on giving further quotations from the writings of the same great opponent of the National Congress. He once advocated the introduction of the representative element into the Legislative Councils of India in these words : "The evils which came to India from the non-admission of natives into the Legislative Councils of India were various. * * * It (*i.e.*, the Government) could never hear, as it ought to have heard, the voice of the people on the laws and regulations which it passed." Again he says : "But the greatest mischief lay in this, that the people misunderstood the views and the intentions of the Government. They misapprehended every Act." Further on he says that, "if Hindustanees had been in the Legislative Councils, they would have explained everything to their countrymen, and thus these evils which have happened to us would have been averted." In his opinion, as expressed in his writings, this non-representation of the voice of the governed in the Legislative Council of the realm is stated to have been the "one great cause," and the "origin of all small causes of dissatisfaction." He further went to the length of saying that our own countrymen should be selected, to form an assembly like the English Parliament, which demand at the time he advanced it was certainly more premature than it now is, though the National Congress, with all the advantages that the country has had of education and enlightenment since the year 1858, only advocates the partial introduction of a representative element into the Legislative Councils. (*Loud cheers.*)

With your permission, Gentlemen, I shall quote a little more from the writings of Sir Syed. He says : "I do not wish to enter here into the question as to how the ignorant and uneducated natives of Hindustan could be allowed a share in the deliberations of the Legislative Councils, or as to how they should be selected to form an assembly like the English Parliament. These are knotty points. All I wish to prove here is that such a step is not only advisable but absolutely necessary, and that the disturbances are due to the neglect of such a measure." Could clearer words be used than what I have just quoted ? Is there any doubt as to their meaning ? Because, if so, I shall be obliged to quote the exact Hindustani words used by him to express the ideas propounded in the above lines. No ; I do not suppose you can feel any doubt on that point, as the English rendering was undertaken, as I have already mentioned, by no other than Sir Auckland Colvin and Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, the former of whom, at least, has now declared himself to be hostile to the National Congress. Now you will by this time have discovered that here this most loyal of Indian Mahomedans, who now stigmatizes us as traitors, 30 years ago demanded for India reforms of the same character as we now after 30 years of education and progress pray for in the resolution which I am supporting, but going far beyond anything in this direction that we have thought it expedient or necessary to ask for. (*Continued cheering.*)

MR. SALEM RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR—(*Madras, No. 15 in list*)—also supported the resolution. He said : It is with great pleasure I now rise to support the proposition which has been so eloquently seconded and supported, but I do not think many words of mine or of any one else's are needed to induce you to re-affirm this resolution, which has been so often and so fully discussed and accepted at previous Congresses. I do not propose therefore to repeat those arguments which have been so forcibly urged, not only on the present occasion, but on all previous occasions, in support of this proposition ; but I simply wish to place before you some facts which it may interest you to know, and which will enable you to judge whether the resolution placed before you involves quite so great a leap in the dark as some people seem to suppose. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, while we are humbly praying our Government to grant us some small representative element in the Government, we have actually got full-blown representative institutions flourishing in this country under our very noses. I do not know whether you are aware how they are flourishing in Pondicherry and other places which are subject to the French Government. England will not as yet allow us the smallest modicum of representative institutions, but in Pondicherry every man has a right to elect his representative. He enjoys manhood suffrage ! Not only that, but the people of Pondicherry have got a member of their own in the Chamber of Deputies and another in the Senate. Then in Pondicherry itself they have got a Council which is called the Council-General, and which meets every year, and this is an elective body elected by the whole people. Before this Council is placed the Annual Budget (*cheers*), and the Budget is fully discussed by the members. The Budget is there threshed out by that body, and it is not until, after this discussion, it has been approved that it comes into operation. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, it is said that we are not fit for representative institutions, but it is our fellow-countrymen, our relatives in many cases, no better educated than, and in nowise different from ourselves, whom the French Government has found to be fitted, not only for the small instalment of representative institutions that we ask for, but for fully-developed representative institutions, including manhood suffrage, which none of us ever even dream of demanding. I commend this fact to the careful consideration of our opponents who deny our fitness for even those small reforms we crave ; and

2nd Day. I say further to them, read the constitutional history of England. There was a time when the members who were elected for the English Parliament felt most unwilling to attend Parliament, because the meaning of the summons was that they were sent for to be taxed. That was in the earlier period of representative institutions in England. And we, at any rate, have passed beyond that stage. Now take the state of affairs in this country. We are certainly not now in a flourishing condition so far as finances are concerned. We are even now approaching a great crisis, and, when we ask for representative institutions, we know full well that the earliest duty we may have to discharge may be to tax ourselves and countrymen even more heavily than they are now taxed. I have simply to tell you that a further fall in the exchange to the extent of only one penny means that we should have to pay a crore more than we now pay; and yet, so far from wishing to shirk our duty in this matter, as the Commons in England did in former times, it is we who urge our right to share the burthen of devising additional taxation in such ways as shall be least injurious to the country, and it is the Government who refuses to allow us any share in anything but the payment of the taxes that they, with a very imperfect knowledge of our country and ourselves, see fit in their wisdom to impose. It is indeed an extraordinary thing that the natives of India are in Pondicherry found fitted for representative institutions of an advanced character, while the relatives and brethren of these very men, under British rule, are pronounced unfit for the smallest concession in this direction; that the French subjects are allowed to discuss and authoritatively deal with their Budget, while nothing is allowed to us but to pay the taxes. I may note in this connection that all people do not share the views of the authorities in this matter, but that the Madras Chamber of Commerce has addressed an important letter to Government, urging the advisability of extending to the people of India the principles of Representative Government. Sir, India can never be properly governed without these representative institutions, but I do not want to take up more of your time, because so much has been already said, and said so well and powerfully on this head, that if any man, either in England or India, is not now convinced that the time has come for extending some form of representative institutions to India, that man is beyond the scope of argument, and will never be convinced. (Loud cheers.)

RAJA SIVA PRASAD—(Vide note at end of list p. 157.)—next addressed the Congress. He said: We all feel obliged to the Congress, and I myself am not, as is often supposed, opposed to the Congress itself. But some unthoughtful people or self-interested men have been publishing pamphlets and inflammatory articles in the newspapers (cries of "Not true" and "No, no") to excite your minds and to lower the Government in your eyes. The nobility and gentry of Oudh have applied to Government to have a law to stop such proceedings. My sole object is to clear the Congress from such a stigma (cheers) which prevents many from joining the Congress. With reference to the Legislative Council, we know that the matter has been for long before Government. The difficulties are great and numerous. I think we should have faith in the Government and wait. I can take my oath that India is now more prosperous than it has ever been in the past, and no country in the world is more happy; but the distribution of copies of inflammatory pamphlets and speeches (cries of "Where are they? We have seen none such") is calculated to stir up the ignorant against Government. Before sitting down, I would, therefore, propose that the Congress do approve and adopt the amendment which I place on the table. (Loud cries of "Read it.")

The Rajah then began to read a document which proved to be a draft of a petition* to the Lieutenant-Governor in the following terms:—

"We, the undersigned nobility and gentry of the United Provinces of the North-West and Oudh, approach your Honour with the view of representing our sense of the political danger which, in our humble opinion, threatens to disturb the peaceful condition of the Empire. The growing and mischievous practice of communicating to the weak and unlettered masses ideas tending to create distrust against the existing order of Government (here there was an interruption) by means of speeches delivered in the midst of large concourses of people, or by the publication and extensive distribution of newspaper articles and pamphlets in towns and villages, both in the language of the people, and containing matter eminently calculated to unsettle the mind of the ignorant and unthinking portion of our countrymen, should not, we respectfully submit, be any longer ignored. We feel it to be our duty to condemn the practice of men of position and influence laying before large audiences of the people a statement of the misgovernment of the Empire—(loud cries of dissent)—naturally, involved in such inflammatory language as "to what condition the nation has been reduced" and "how distressed she feels." "In what calamity the nation has fallen?" "Is she alive or dead?" To declare the value of the "principles of democracy," and that "England owes its greatness to it;"

* It has since been pointed out in the public Press that one at any rate of the so-called quotations in this petition is a barefaced forgery, a word having been so altered as to change a perfectly innocent into a very objectionable phrase.

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to hold up to admiration the "Republican form of government in France;" to show that "in the Colonies even the negroes enjoy the same rights as the British-born subjects," implying thereby that the condition of the negroes is better than that of the people of India—(interruption and hissing)—to denounce "the annexation of Burma;" to represent the conduct of the authorities as arbitrary, "doing whatever they like," that "people are regarded as nobody," that "our business is to bow down and not to murmur," that the reforms in the European army will remove the necessity for imposing taxes," that "we are dying by paying the taxes, and the authorities in England do not care a bit," demanding "the formation of an Imperial Council, two-thirds of the members of which shall be elected by the people."

(Here the Rajah was interrupted by many delegates, who demanded the names of the publications from which he professed to quote, as no one knew of these passages.)

THE PRESIDENT, having called the assembly to order, said: Rajah Siva Prasad.—I allowed you to go on speaking, though a good deal of what you said seemed to me scarcely relevant to the question actually before this meeting, and when you said you had an amendment to propose, I readily allowed you to read it; but having heard you thus far, I have no hesitation in saying that this petition is in no sense an amendment on the resolution now under consideration, and must be rejected as irrelevant. I will ask you now, sir, (you have occupied a good deal more than the allotted time) to sit down. (Loud and enthusiastic cheering, which was mingled with hisses as the Rajah retired.)

MR. MUHAMMED MAHBUB ALAM—(Punjab, No. 367 in list)—then spoke in Urdu, as follows: Gentlemen,—It is needless for me to try and explain the innumerable blessings we enjoy under British rule. (Cheers.) We do thank God that he has been so good and merciful to us Indians as to place us under such a benign, just, and merciful Sovereign as our illustrious Queen and Empress Victoria. (Cheers.) Long may she and her Government reign over us. (Cheers.) I support the proposals of those of my friends who have just addressed you. A sick man once asked Sugra Hakim what safe cure there was for a severe illness, and he replied: "When you recover from your illness, then you will know what is the safe cure." (Laughter.) When the sick man knows his ailments, he knows his cure, and he has faith and hope that the remedy applied will cure. (Cheers.) The remedy for our cure is in the hands of the benevolent British Government, and we are sure it will not withhold it when it is so earnestly prayed for by us. Let me remind you that I am a Mahomedan of the Punjab, of which province the people were, till recently, anti-Congressists; but at this moment I assure you their eyes have been opened, and, being alive to the true and loyal objects of the National Congress, they are now with us to a man (loud cheers); and I am pleased to have the opportunity to assure you that the Punjab anti-Congress movement is a thing of the past. (Renewed cheers.) As I have been assured and persuaded, so allow me to assure you that we cannot fail to obtain our wants as represented by the National Congress. This is a good work, and I feel sure God will help us. (Cheers.) Anti-Congressmen accuse us of being disloyal, but I feel inclined to apply the term to them. We openly and truthfully declare our wants, and do not mean to get them by stealth and underhand work. I am a poor subject, but allow me to advise the Government to mark such men as the anti-Congressmen, who work by stealth and duplicity. These are the real seditionists; they do not want the causes of disaffection removed; they do not want the grievances of the people redressed—they want them to continue to vex and irritate the people till these grow at last as disaffected as themselves. They are the real enemies; we the real friends and true supporters of the British Government. May God confound their evil schemes, and bless and preserve our gracious Empress. (Loud cheers.)

MR. S. B. BHATE—(Poona, No. 170 in list)—then said: Sir,—I only wish to remark that I have seen and heard a good deal of the Congress agitation, and have read a good deal of the Congress literature, and all I can say is that I have never heard or seen a single word in connection with the movement that any rational being could characterize as disloyal. Had there been any taint, however slight, of disloyalty in the matter, I would have had no hand in it; but, as it is, I am an earnest Congressman, all the more earnest because I am loyal to the core. (Cheers.)

MR. NAWAL BEHARI BAJPAI—(Allahabad, No. 559 in list)—then rose and said: Gentlemen,—I support this resolution—the most essential of all the resolutions which are to be placed before you. I am really sorry if Rajah Siva Prasad disapproves this resolution, as from the nature of the petition which he seemed to wish us to adopt as an amendment to it, I am led to fear. I am sorry I say if this be the case, because I have a high respect for the Rajah, whom I have long known, whom I look upon as a father, nay whose legal adviser I am at this moment in a certain case. But really my respected and distinguished client should be reasonable. Millions share the prayer embodied in this

2nd Day. resolution, but it appears that some two or three men somewhere—who or where I know not—who are also supporters of the Congress, have used words which the Rajah thinks objectionable, nay seditious—therefore this resolution is bad and we ought to drop it. Gentlemen, every year millions look forward hopefully to the rains, and perhaps one or two bad men lose their tempers and use bad language, because the monsoon does not come quite as soon as they want; therefore the rains are bad and we ought not to have any monsoon. I can't see the argument. What on earth have the objectionable expressions (if any such were ever really used—I at least have never heard of such)—what, I say, have these to do with the prayer set forth in our resolution? Nothing! simply nothing; and that prayer, let who will have talked nonsense or worse, I support with all my heart.

MR. CHARLES GOLAKNATH—(Punjab, No. 340 in list)—rose and said: Sir,—I am entirely in sympathy with the resolution so far as it goes, but I desire to suggest a small addition to it. You will remember that, when at the first Congress a resolution on this subject was passed, it embodied a prayer that Councils should be created for both the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab. Well, the N.-W. Provinces have since had a Council granted for them, and you, Gentlemen, seem to have been so satisfied with that result that ever since then you have neglected our claims and left us, poor Punjabees, out in the cold; but I can assure you that we need a Council quite as much as these Provinces, and so I hope you will agree to add a few words to the resolution now before you, advocating our claims. (Cries of "Yes, yes!") Well, my definite proposition is, that in the third line of the resolution you insert before the word "provincial" the word "existing," and that at the end of the resolution you add the words:

"And do further urge that a Legislative Council (of the same character as those which have been suggested for Provinces where Legislative Councils already exist) be established for the Punjab." (Loud cheers.)

I see that you have kindly accepted my additions, and I need not therefore, I think, take up your time by any further remarks on the subject.

MR. JADU NATH MAZUMDAR—(Bengal, No. 1187 in list)—said: I beg to second this proposal. Though now coming from Bengal, I was until recently a resident and a worker in the Punjab as a journalist, and I can tell you from long personal experience that there is no province in India in which the authorities are so completely a law unto themselves, and in which a Council, partly composed of independent and representative men, is so urgently needed.

The proposer and seconder of the original resolution now signified their acceptance of the amendment.

MR. BEHARI LALL—(N.-W. Provinces, No. in list)—said: I heartily support the resolution as amended, and I sincerely hope that the Punjab will soon get its Council, and that all the Councils, Supreme and Provincial, will, before long, be placed upon that sounder and healthier footing that this our resolution suggests. Until this be done the Government must continue, as now, to be carried on in a more or less haphazard fashion. What men can do, situated as they are, our rulers I fully believe do, but they will never be able to do real justice to us or to themselves, to India or to England, until they associate with themselves in their anxious toils those men whom the country knows and trusts, and whom we elect as our representatives.

MR. SADHO LAL—(Benares, No. 884 in list)—then said: This is a day of joy when we consider what difficulties and oppositions we have had to contend with which at one time threatened the success of this, the Fourth Congress; but it is the will of God, the Just, that justice be shown and dealt out to us, and He has ruled that we do meet here to-day from all parts of this vast Empire ruled over by our gracious Queen Victoria. (Cheers.) The regulation appointing certain Indian members to the Legislative Council of India has been passed and is in force, but yet it is not as we would wish for the benefit of the millions. Members appointed should be those elected by the people, whose wants they know and can represent. We are aware that Her Gracious Majesty, the Empress Victoria, cares for us as a mother does for her children, and as such, while forgiving our many little faults, she grieves to know that we are sufferers in any way, and will, we are sure, grant our wants which we meet here to express, so that they may reach her tender heart. We do and shall continue to enjoy the blessings of liberty of speech, and therefore feel sure our cries will reach Her Gracious Majesty, who, I feel certain, will grant our request. (Cheers.)

Other delegates rose to speak, but were interrupted by cries of "Vote, vote."

THE PRESIDENT.—Is there any gentleman who wishes to speak against this resolution? (Cries of "None, none.") Do you wish the debate to be further prolonged? ("No, no.") "Vote, vote." Then I shall put the resolution which will, as amended, stand thus:—

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

THE PRESIDENT then put the Resolution, which was carried by acclamation.

MR. EARDLEY NORTON—(Madras, No. 19 in list)—who was received with enthusiastic and long-continued cheering, then rose and said: Gentlemen,—With your permission, I will first read out to you the important though rather lengthy resolution which I am to have the honour of proposing for your acceptance. It runs as follows:—

"That this Congress, having read and considered the report of the Committee appointed by the Congress of 1886 to submit a statement in connection with the Public Service Question, do approve and adopt the said report, to wit:—

- "1. 'That the open competitive examination be held simultaneously in India and in England.'
- "2. 'That the simultaneous examination 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 nineteen, nor, as recommended by Sir Charles Aitchison, more than twenty-three 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, and declare that nothing short of the reforms therein suggested will satisfy the people of this country.'

Gentlemen, it is just one year since we met in Madras; and, before I proceed to deal with the resolution which has been entrusted to my care, and which I have just read to you, I should like to take this, possibly my first and last, opportunity of saying a few words upon the Congress at large. You will recollect that when we met in Bombay in 1885 we numbered only 70 delegates. (Cheers.) At the end of one year we met again in Calcutta, and then in 1886 our numbers had increased to 407. (Cheers.) At Madras in 1887 you raised that total to 608. (Cheers.) And now I am glad and proud to know that, in spite of grave impediments, official and otherwise, you have doubled that representation, and stand to-day an aggregate of 1,200 delegates. (Loud cheers and cries of "More than that.") Yes, more than 1,200. (Cheers.) I trust that you will still further progress, and that at our next Congress you may double your number of to-day. (Loud cheers.) Your growing representation is the most significant and eloquent testimony to the growing strength and popularity of your cause. (Cheers.) You have had many and serious obstacles placed in your path, but you have been nerved by the opposition, and it is matter of very hopeful and very sincere congratulation that you have manfully met and conquered the impediments in your way. I am glad to think you have successfully withstood the literary assaults of the Rajah of Bhinga. (Loud laughter.) I am glad you have not succumbed to the more polished literary essay of Sir Auckland Colvin. (Cheers.) I am glad you have been stimulated and stiffened by the open misrepresentations of Lord Dufferin. (Loud cheers.) And I dare say you will even survive the terrible onslaught made upon you to-day by Rajah Siva Persad (cheers), who has been safely brought to bed in the public view of a speech and a petition, which I think we may safely assume to be a speech and petition for a K. C. S. I. (Loud laughter and cheers.) Gentlemen, you and I will grant, and cheerfully grant, to every delegate the most complete freedom of speech. Every man is entitled not merely to hold but to publish his opinions. But I leave it to Rajah Siva Persad to settle accounts with his own conscience (cheers), and to justify, if he can, to himself and the world, that line of action which has permitted him to enter this assembly as a delegate of the people and simultaneously to attack it upon the very principle of its existence. (Loud cheers.)

I pass on to the matter confided to my charge, with the expression only of this hope that you will not give way to the opposition arrayed against you; that you will not be frightened by the number or the rank of those who are combined to intimidate, to insult, and to delay you. (Cheers.) We can point to this meeting, both in its quantity and quality, as evidence of the most re-assuring of beliefs that the morale of the country is expanding

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and solidifying under the vivifying effect of abusive opposition. (Cheers.) And it is gratifying also to know that among this audience there is at any rate one gentleman, a member of Parliament (cheers), who will be able to tell the people of England what he has seen and what he has heard; and who—though I know not what his opinions are—will speak with the weight which is due to personal familiarity with the subject of which he talks. (Cheers.) He has been in both camps. He has spoken at first hand with Sir Syed Ahmed; he has been tickled with the seductive oratory of Mr. Beck (laughter), and I for one am not afraid of the result of any comparison he may draw between them and ourselves. (Cheers.) There is nothing they can teach which will not benefit us. (Cheers.) Our Congress is outside the reach of petty malice. It is increasing day by day in power and extent, pushing aside by its own great weight the opposing forces of envy and of scorn; and while it draws the various peoples of the country into one common fold of mutual sympathy and good will, rises with silent majesty into a future of self-reliance and content. (Cheers.)

Like some tall cliff that rears its awful form,
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm,
Though round its base the gathering clouds may spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head. (Loud cheers.)

Next to the question of the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils, the most important, in my opinion, is the resolution which has been entrusted to my advocacy. This refers to the labours of the Public Service Commission which, you will recollect, travelled round the country. Its labours have fructified into a report. That report, I believe, is under the consideration of the Secretary of State in Council,—such consideration, that is, as he ever gives to subjects which are Indian (laughter), and I daresay we shall, in the course of a few years, have some expression of opinion from that august individual. (Laughter.) Meanwhile it seems to me extremely desirable that you should take a strong and natural interest in the question how far you shall share in the public service of your country. It seems desirable that you should, in your own interests, endeavour to strengthen the Secretary of State's hands, and to bring to his notice the opinions you in this country hold. ("Hear, hear.") I am sorry to think that on this question I shall not be supported from my own Presidency of Madras with unanimity. Mr. Salem Ramaswamy Mudaliar will ask you to defer further consideration of the report of the Service Commission for the period of one year. He wishes to await the decision of the India Office. He is stronger than I am in the faith which he holds with respect to the relief which the Secretary of State will give us. (Laughter.) I am one of those who are of opinion that you will get nothing at all unless you ask for it, and unless you go on asking for it. ("Hear, hear.")

Mr. Ramaswamy Mudaliar was one, and by no means the least distinguished, of the dissentient Indian gentlemen who sat upon the Commission. His and their views, I believe, are entirely in accord with the spirit and the letter of the resolution which I have read to you. The report of the Committee was not a unanimous one in one sense, and from that report three Indian gentlemen dissented, although they agreed in the opinions which received the signatures of the entire Commission. I am sure we shall be all unanimous that Mr. Ramaswamy Mudaliar and his Indian colleagues honestly did their best on your behalf (cheers), and that they laboured courageously and conscientiously to press your views upon the majority (cheers), and in anything I say I wish, absolutely, to cast no shadow of reflection upon their efforts. But you will be told that these gentlemen upon the Commission were your representatives, and that you are bound to support them at all cost to the whole extent of their considerations. The answer to that is that they were not your representatives, for the simple reason that you had no voice in their election (laughter and "Hear, hear"), and are not therefore bound by their decision or their views. ("Hear, hear.") With all respect for the judgment of Mr. Ramaswamy and his colleagues, I cannot help thinking that in surrendering, not a detail, but a principle, he and his friends will be found not to have done the best for the people of India. (Cheers.) I cannot suppress the belief that if Mr. Ramaswamy and his co-adjutors, instead of signing the report, had written a dissentient minute with that force and perspicuity of which he and Mr. Justice Mitter are such masters, you would have been in a far stronger position with respect to your memorial to the Secretary of State than you are now. (Cheers.)

Let me shortly tell you the history of this measure. In 1833 the question first came before Parliament. It was discussed and supported by men of such eminence and distinction as Sir Robert Peel, Lord Lansdowne, the grandfather of the present Viceroy (cheers), and I trust heartily that the grandson will show himself worthy of his grandfather (loud cheers), and Mr. Charles Grant. These are names of some historic moment, of some intellectual worth. (Cheers.) They will compare not unfavourably with Lord Dufferin and Sir Auckland Colvin (cheers), with the Rajah of Bhinga (laughter), and Mr. Beck. (Laughter.) This is what Sir Robert Peel said. I am glad to be able to shelter myself under his name. Were the words mine, they would be called seditious. (Laughter.) "In a word, to endeavour while we still keep them under British rule, to atone to them for the sufferings they endured, and the wrongs to which they were exposed in being reduced to that rule, and to afford them such advantages and confer on

then such benefits as may in some degree console them for the loss of their independence. 2nd Day.
These, Sir, are considerations which, whatever may be the anxiety to extend British Res. II,
conquest and to maintain the rights of British subjects, must indisputably be entertained Public
in a British Parliament." (Cheers.) Listen to Mr. Charles Grant: "Convinced as he Service
was of the necessity of admitting Europeans to India, he would not consent to remove a Question.
single restriction on their admission unless it was consistent with the interests of the natives." (Cheers.) "Provide for their protection," Mr. Grant said, "and then throw open wide the doors of those magnificent regions, and admit British subjects there—not as aliens, not as culprits, but as friends." (Loud cheering.) "In spite of the differences between the two people, in spite of the difference of their religions, there was a sympathy which he was persuaded would unite them, and he looked forward with hope and eagerness to the rich harvest of blessings which he trusted would flow from the present measure." (Cheers.) Twenty years elapsed, and in 1853 the matter came before Parliament again. And on this second revision, men of the stamp of Lord Stanley and Lord Monteagle, Lord Granville, and he the great tribune of the people John Bright (loud and prolonged cheering, the audience rising and giving Mr. Bright's name three cheers) re-affirmed the principles expressed in 1833. Then in 1858 our Queen gave you your great Charter, unasked (loud cheers), with wondrous and sagacious magnanimity, thus affording a signal and illustrious example of how to invest a gift with a deep and abiding value. (Cheers.) Hers is the spirit in which concession should be made. How I wish our rulers in India would act upon her lesson, and not force us, by their attitude, into the belief that we must wring, by years of acrimonious toil, the faintest semblance of reform, yielded at length only with ungracious reluctance. (Cheers.) Where are the brave and generous sentiments of thirty years ago; where the men to lend their aid and sympathy to the cause of Indian liberty and Indian reform? (Cheers.) What a vast and sorrowful difference between our rulers of 1850 and of 1888! (Loud cheers.)

Lastly, in 1860, a Departmental Committee of the India Office thus reported:—

"2. We are, in the first place, unanimously of opinion that it is not only just but expedient that the natives of India shall be employed in the administration of India to as large an extent as possible consistently with the maintenance of British supremacy, and have considered whether any increased facilities can be given in this direction.

"3. It is true that even at present no positive disqualification exists. By Acts 3 and 4, Wm. IV, Chap. 85, s. 87, it is enacted 'that no natives of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company. It is obvious, therefore, that when the competitive system was adopted it could not have been intended to exclude natives of India from the Civil Service of India.

"4. Practically, however, they are excluded. The law declares them eligible, but the difficulties opposed to a native living in India and residing in England for a time are so great that, as a general rule, it is almost impossible for a native successfully to compete at the periodical examinations held in England. Were this inequality removed we should no longer be exposed to the charge of keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope.

"5. Two modes have been suggested, by which the object in view might be attained. The first is by allotting a certain portion of the total number of appointments declared in each year, to be competed for in India, by natives and by all other natural-born subjects of Her Majesty resident in India. The second is to hold simultaneously two examinations—one in England and one in India, both being, as far as practicable, identical in their nature, and those who compete in both countries being finally classified in one list according to merit by the Civil Service Commissioners. The Committee have no hesitation in giving preference to the second scheme, as being the fairest and the most in accordance with the principles of a general competition for a common object."

Such is the history of the pledges made to you. What as to their fulfilment? This is what the Duke of Argyll said in 1869: "With regard, however, to the employment of natives in the Government of their country, in the Covenanted Civil Service formerly of the Company and now of the Crown, I must say that we have not fulfilled our duty, or the promises and engagements which we have made." (Cheers.) The reproach is as true in 1888 as it was in 1869. (Cheers.) That is an admission which as an Englishman it shames me to have to record. I like to believe that my countrymen not merely make, but redeem, their promises. (Cheers.) It pains me when I see them lack the courage of their convictions. (Cheers.) Let me call one more witness to the point. He shall be a former Viceroy. I will examine Lord Lytton. (Laughter.) I should be afraid to use his language as my own, lest I should be indicted for high treason. (Laughter.) But a Viceroy can do no wrong. (Laughter.) Lord Lytton in a secret report, which accidentally came to light, in terms told the authorities in England that the people of this country had been "cheated"—I am quoting, Gentlemen (laughter)—of their hopes. (Cheers.) So much for the manner and extent of England's redemption of her vows.

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I wish to touch with brief particularity upon two points in connection with the Public Service Commission: First, as to the excessive cost of the administration of this country. Many people think it ruinous. I agree with them. The only real solution of the difficulty lies in an infusion into the machinery of the country of a large, and yearly larger, element of indigenous Indian talent. ("Hear, hear.") What share do you hold to-day in the service of your country? Here are some suggestive figures. Out of 2,357 appointments in the higher Uncovenanted Civil Service you, gentlemen of India, hold 188. ("Shame, shame.") The non-domiciled Europeans appropriate 1,460 such appointments: the domiciled Europeans 486, Eurasians 223, and the Indians 188! ("Shame.") The three first bodies hold 2,169 berths, you only 188! ("Shame.") Yes, it is a shame, and it is one you will efface from the history of England's connection with India only by making plain to the people of England your ungenerous and impolitic exclusion from public life in India. (Cheers.) Here is an interesting analysis of your position in this country:—

NAME OF DEPARTMENT.		Non-domiciled Europeans.	Domiciled Europeans.	Eurasians.	Indians.	REMARKS.
Accounts Department	...	25	8	3	6	* The number of "domiciled Europeans" in the superior branch and of Native Sub-Assistants and Rangers not given. † "Domiciled" Europeans include Eurasians.
Customs	...	15	60	117	12	
Forest	...	5	25	13	2	
Jails	...	60	15	13	16	
Opium	...	49	13	8	1	
Postal	...	33	59	9	39	
Police	...	315	33	5	17	
Public Works	...	810	119†	...	86	
Registration	...	7	1	1	...	
Salt	...	35	32	16	7	
Survey	...	108	103	38	2	
TOTAL	...	1,460	486	223	188	

I can add little, gentlemen, to the story that this tells.

My second point is one which you will find for yourselves hidden away in the dark recesses of the Commission's Report. I quote from the report itself. Paragraph 47 of that report says: "The strength of the Covenanted Civil Service in the several provinces (including Statutory Officers, Junior Civil Servants and officers absent on leave) is about 940 officers." Paragraph 77 of the same report tells us that "the effect of these proposals is to remove about 108 appointments from the list of appointments reserved in the schedule, and by the orders of the Secretary of State, a number in excess of the proportion of one-sixth of the same appointments thrown open under the statutory rules." The case, therefore, stands thus: At present the Covenanted Civil Servants hold 940 appointments. To one-sixth of those appointments Statutory Civil Servants are eligible. One-sixth of 940 is 156. If, therefore, the Statutory Civil Service, as at present in existence, is not abolished, Indians may look forward to securing for themselves 156 appointments in the course of an official generation. But the Public Service Commission proposes to abolish the Statutory Civil Service. With that abolition will disappear your 156 appointments in the Civil Service, and by way of compensation you will receive 108 appointments. (Cheers.) You lose 48 appointments! And this is the *razinama* or compromise which is so beneficial to you that you are to be asked to endorse the action of Mr. Ramswamy Mudeliar and his colleagues! (Cheers.) I ask you to accept of no suggestion for further delay (cheers), but to let the Secretary of State for India know plainly that you are not satisfied with the recommendations of the Public Service Commission, and that you cannot fairly be expected to receive with a sense of gratitude any scheme which does not honestly meet your just wants by raising the age of the candidate (cheers), and permitting you to compete upon fair and equal terms by the establishment of a simultaneous examination in India. (Loud cheers.) These are the two great principles for which you are contending. (Cheers.) To these you are entitled, and, please God, we shall live to see you in the full enjoyment of both. (Cheers.) The question of age is one which concerns not merely the Indians; it is of equal moment to the Englishman. We cannot too earnestly condemn a system which pushes young English boys into positions of grave trust and serious responsibility, at a time of life when, without the safeguard of any previous training, they have not discarded, and cannot discard, the frailties of precocious youth. (Cheers.)

* Taken from a pamphlet on "Indian Civil Service Reform," by Mr. Parbati Churn Roy, B.A. Fisher Unwin: London.

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You will be asked to await the Secretary of State's decision. Be advised, gentlemen, and do not. (Cheers.) You will find yourselves in a very awkward predicament if you stay your hand and await the final pronouncement of judgment on your claims. How can you then turn round and, being silent now, express your discontent? Be honest and avow your conviction now (cheers), and by your action not merely strengthen the efforts of your many friends in England, but assist the Secretary of State to a right decision by a clear and manly exposition of your views. If you are inclined to accept that very modest instalment of reform to which my friend Mr. Ramswamy Mudeliar has accorded his consent, I admit that I have formed a very mistaken estimate of your character and your claims. (Cheers.)

I have in a previous portion of my speech expressed my regret at the seeming alteration in the sentiments and sympathies of my fellow-countymen. Let me appeal to them in all sincerity and in all earnestness to let their actions be guided by that larger, that nobler, that wiser liberalism which a quarter of a century ago characterized our views of India's wants and our own relations to our Indian fellow-subjects, which bound us together in a closer and truer bond of mutual esteem and fellow-feeling. (Cheers.) I would ask them to act in the spirit, and on the lines of those magnificent words—I say magnificent, for I know nothing more solemnly beautiful than the language of your Charter from the Queen of England (loud cheers)—in which are embodied the grand and spontaneous declarations of my own dear island home:

"In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people." (Loud and long-sustained applause.)

THE HON'BLE MR. PHEROZSHAH M. MEHTA—(Bombay, No. 208 in list)—Gentlemen,—I mean to set the best of examples, and will put an end to my oratorical existence within the period of five minutes allowed by that guillotine.* (Laughter.) I will take one minute of the five to make one observation which has suggested itself to me by an incident which took place to-day. Some of you, gentlemen, were disposed to be rather angry with the gentleman who wished to propose an amendment to the first proposition. You will remember the words of wisdom which fell from the President in the course of one of the most remarkable speeches I have ever heard. (Cheers.) He told us that all such agitations passed through three stages—hostility, partial acquiescence, and misapprehension, and finally complete surrender. Now, I say we should be glad that we find the Rajah Shiva Prasad, who is in the Congress to-day, in the second stage of preparation. (Cheers and laughter.) His hostility to the Congress has ceased, and he comes here to-day to do you an act of homage by moving an amendment. (Laughter.) That act of homage means that he subscribes to the great and sacred principles on which this Congress is founded. (Cheers.) And I think I shall prove a very safe prophet when I say that by the time the next great Congress is held, the Rajah will have reached the last stage of transformation, and that is one of complete surrender. (Laughter and cheers.) Now I pass on to the task which has been entrusted to me, a very difficult task indeed, when I remember that I was preceded by Mr. Eardley Norton, who has placed before you the proposition in his charge in one of the most able and eloquent speeches that I have ever heard. (Cheers.) I will therefore confine myself to a few observations on the proposition. It is said that we want to enter the Civil Service of India, because the educated classes of this country aspire to it. It is said that the admission is demanded for the purpose of satisfying what are called the legitimate aspirations of the educated classes of this country. That may be one way of putting the matter. But I would ask you to put it on a simpler and broader basis. The reason why the Congress is so earnest about securing the equal admission of the natives of this country into the public Civil Service rests upon a two-fold foundation. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has over and over again pointed out to us that the question rests upon economic necessity. It is necessary on economic grounds that natives should be largely employed in the administration of the country. But there is a necessity even greater than that, and that is a political necessity. (Cheers.) I say that when the time came to settle the principles on which British rule in India was to be carried on, it was clearly recognised by those sober statesmen who guided the destinies of England at that time, that even for Orientals an absolute despotism was an impossible creed in practical politics. (Cheers.) It was clearly recognised that even the most benevolent and the most paternal despotism must, if it wants to be stable and permanent, place its roots in the country in which it carries on that rule; and this principle was soberly, though eloquently, enunciated by Lord Macaulay in 1833, when he said that, for the sake of English honour and English wisdom, it was absolutely imperative that the natives of this country should have an equal share in the administration. (Cheers.)

* Pointing to the somewhat guillotine-like frame, in which hung the President's gong, one tap on which warned the speaker that he must draw to a close, while two peremptorily closed his harangue.

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I would press these two grounds on the Government, I would press them on the Secretary of State, and I would press them on the people of England, because I am one of those who wish that the British rule in India should be a stable and permanent rule. (*Cheers.*) Now, I will say a word about the question of age. It is not only necessary for Indian candidates to get into the Civil Service, but it is equally necessary for the right and better administration of the country, as Mr. E. Norton has so well pointed out, that the limit of age should be increased. What does the present limit of age mean? It means that for our Magistrates and Deputy Collectors we have mere boys of 22 and 24. I know too well from the experience I have acquired in my professional capacity what it is to have first class magisterial and administrative powers placed in the hands of youths. However good they may be, they are only youths, inexperienced, unripe youths. (*Cheers.*) I say, therefore, that this is a most important question. Do not be carried away by the great importance of the first resolution, and think that the one now before you is of a subordinate importance. It is, on the contrary, in the eyes of many of our most advanced thinkers, *par excellence*, the question of the day, and I earnestly hope and trust that this Congress will energetically raise their united voices in this matter to the powers that be, as the question really, most vitally, affects the best interests and the future progress and welfare of the country. (*Loud cheers.*)

MR. JOHN ADAM—(*Madras, No. 2 in list*)—said: Sir,—I rise to propose an amendment. I am entirely at one with the mover and seconder of the original resolution, in desiring that full justice should be done to the people of India in the matter of thoroughly opening to them, to the fullest extent, the door of admission to all branches of the Public Service. But the form of the resolution as proposed does not commend itself to my mind, nor to those of many of my friends, and it appears to me in some respects defective; and I therefore desire to propose for your consideration a resolution essentially to the same purpose, but differently worded. This resolution, that I would propose for your consideration, runs as follows:—

"That this Congress, while acknowledging that the proposals of the Public Service Commission would, if adopted in their entirety, be a great improvement upon the present system of admission to the various branches of the Public Service, declares that no system will be satisfactory to the country which does not also provide for a selection examination in India, and therefore affirms Resolution IV of the Congress of 1885, namely—

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

Now it might at first hearing appear as though this resolution which I have just read to you (and what I shall have to say in regard to it) were in some way opposed to what previous speakers have contended for; but you will find that my amendment does not in the smallest degree militate against the privileges which you are demanding. There is no more earnest advocate than I am for holding simultaneous examinations in both countries and for increasing the limit of the age. (*Cheers.*) On this latter point especially my opinion is extremely decided. I know English young men well, and for the last four years I have had considerable experience of Indian young men also, and I must say I think it utterly absurd and ridiculous to take English boys, of the ages at which they now often come to this country, and place them in such positions of responsibility as they now habitually occupy. (*Hear, hear.*) I know many members of the present Civil Service. No doubt after a few years' experience they become able and efficient, but I maintain that the experience which they require should not be acquired in independent positions at the expense of the people of India. (*Cheers.*) The amendment I propose commences by acknowledging that the recommendations of the Public Service Commission would, if adopted in their entirety, prove a great improvement on the present system, and it goes on to declare that no system would be satisfactory to the country which does not also provide for selection and examination in India. In fact, the latter portion of the amendment is simply Resolution IV of the Bombay Congress of 1885. This, as you will have heard, besides stipulating for simultaneous examinations in England and India, provides that the successful candidates in India shall be sent to England for further study, and be subjected, there, to such additional test as may be considered necessary. Now this resolution of the 1885 Congress was not brought forward in 1886 or 1887. In 1887 the subject was not touched at all, because the Public Service Commission had completed their labours but had not yet issued their report, and the matter was considered to be, as it were, *sub judice*. But in 1886, when the resolution of 1885 might have been re-affirmed, a

different resolution, identical with that which has been proposed to you by Mr. Norton, was substituted for it. One reason for this appears to have been that the resolution of 1885 contained a clause, *viz.*, that in regard to successful candidates being sent to England to complete their education, about which great differences of opinion existed. I venture to think that, despite these differences of opinion, it would have been wiser in 1886 to put the original resolution, and have taken the verdict of the Congress upon this point. I myself hold that it is absolutely necessary that successful candidates at examinations in India should be sent to England for two or three years' special training. I urge this upon two grounds—the first, that we must have the best men trained in the most complete manner to administer our laws; and I hold that, however well a man may be trained in this country, he will be greatly improved as a public officer by the additional training which he can obtain in England. The second is, that it is absolutely necessary that Indian gentlemen, who aspire to high official position under the British Government, should have a far more thorough knowledge of English manners, customs and habits of thought than they can possibly acquire in this country. It must be remembered that Indians who rise in the Civil Service will have not only to rule over their own countrymen, but to work in harmony with, and, as time goes on, direct and control the operations of European officials. I think there is nothing more absolutely necessary than that young Indians selected for the Civil Service should go to England, if only to qualify them to maintain later their independence and self-respect in their relations with their European brother-Civilians.

You will not forget that this question of the Public Service is the one to which the most esteemed of all Indian reformers, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (*loud cheers*) has devoted his life and soul; and you will, I am sure, feel that his opinion on this subject is entitled to the very greatest weight. (*Hear, hear.*) Now the resolution of 1885, which I am asking the Congress to affirm, in lieu of the resolution of 1886 which Mr. Norton has proposed to you, was Mr. Dadabhai's own resolution, moved by himself at the first Congress, and I cannot put my case with regard to this disputed question of going to England more strongly than it was put by Mr. Dadabhai at Bombay, whose words I will now quote: "I say, without the least hesitation, that the candidate himself, as well as the Service, will be vastly benefited by a visit to England. The atmosphere of freedom and high civilization which he will breathe will make him an altered man, in character, in intelligence, in experience, in self-respect and in appreciation of due respect for others. In short, he will largely increase his fitness, and command more respect in his responsible service." Gentlemen, I venture to hope that you will accept my amendment. To me it seems quite certain that the Government can never concede simultaneous examinations without insisting on the successful candidates residing two or more years in England before they enter on the very responsible duties of an Indian Civilian. Nay more, I am compelled to say that I have doubts whether I could honestly recommend simultaneous examinations unless coupled with such a condition; and I think it would be well if your resolution distinctly set forth your appreciation of its absolute necessity. I am aware that a very large number of you share my views, but are indisposed to press the point, because some others of our brother-delegates object to it, and there is doubtless much to be said in favour of the view that, as it is quite certain that if the Government does concede simultaneous examinations, it will necessarily insist upon this condition, it is needless for us to say anything about the matter. But my own view is that the open and straightforward course is the best, and that our cause would gain by our setting forth distinctly, not only the concession that we desire, but the necessary condition to this concession, as one that we are prepared to accept. These, Gentlemen, are the reasons which have led me to submit to you this amendment, which I must now leave to your better judgment.

MR. SANKARA MENON—(*Madras, No. 28 in list*)—said: Sir,—I beg to second my friend Mr. Adam's resolution. I do not know what the view may now be in other provinces, but I know that even in Madras a great many of the ablest men who gave their evidence before the Public Service Commission agreed that, even if simultaneous examinations in India and England were conceded, it would still be necessary for successful candidates in India to go to and spend at least two years in England, mixing with the English people, learning their methods of administration, and acquiring those habits of independence and self-reliance which in India, situated as we now are, we rarely acquire. In this view I wholly concur, and this is why I support this amendment, which has been so fully explained by my leader, that I need trouble you now no further.

It being now nearly dark, the PRESIDENT adjourned the meeting till next day at 11 A.M.

The Subject Committee re-assembled and again sat until late.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, the 28th December, 1888.

3rd Day. THE Congress re-assembled punctually at 11 A.M. As soon as all were seated the
 Telegram to Mr. President rose and said: Gentlemen,—I have to ask your attention to a special subject
 to Mr. now lying seriously ill, and, recognising the interest he has always taken in the welfare of
 Bright. this country (cheers), it is proposed to send a telegram to him, or to his son, expressing
 sympathy with him in his affliction. (Cheers.) The terms of the proposed telegram are
 these :—

"TO JOHN ALBERT BRIGHT,"—that is, his son,—FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE
 INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, ALLAHABAD.

"Congress, consisting of 1,200 delegates (cheers) from all parts of India, join in expressing
 their high appreciation of your father's services to India (cheers), their sorrow at his illness,
 their sympathy with him and his family in his sufferings, and their earnest hope for his
 complete recovery." (Cheers.)

Is it your desire that this telegram should be despatched? (Loud cheers and cries of
 "Yes, yes; all, all.")

PANDIT AJOODHIANATH then read the telegram in Urdu for the benefit of non-English-
 speaking delegates, who also warmly approved of the proposal.

Res. II, Public Service Question. MR. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR—(Madras, No. 15 in list)—then, resuming the debate on
 the second Resolution, said: I intimated yesterday to our President that I was going to move
 another amendment upon the Resolution that has been placed before you, and which was
 proposed by my friend Mr. Norton and seconded by Mr. Mehta. You have all heard that
 Resolution, and the amendment I am going to propose is—

"That the further consideration of the questions dealt with by the Public Service Com-
 mission be postponed to the next Congress."

Before taking this step of proposing the postponement for a whole year
 of this important question, I have weighed in my own mind my duty, and, after
 giving it my best consideration, I am convinced that I should not be acting like an
 honourable man if I did not come forward here and explain to you what it was that
 was done by the Public Service Commission in its report, and ask you to look into that
 question carefully before committing yourselves to any definite opinion against it.
 I was one of the members of that Commission, and I accepted the position because I
 felt that it involved the performance of an important duty towards my fellow-country-
 men. (Cheers.) In all that we did there—and I speak out boldly, not so much on my
 own account as because I am concerned about the reputation of my absent friends who
 acted with me on that Commission—we were actuated by one sole desire, that of
 doing justice to our countrymen as a whole. (Cheers.) With that resolve we took
 our seats, and from beginning to end our attitude was one, in no way sympathetic with
 the attitude of the official members, but directly opposed to this. We took evidence in the
 North-West Provinces and in the Central Provinces also, and indeed all over the country,
 and after taking the evidence of all who had anything to say upon this most important
 question, we came to the conclusion that it was perfectly hopeless to find any unanimity
 of opinion upon it. You are all aware that the essential point in the propositions brought
 before you, alike by Mr. Norton and Mr. Adam, is that there should be a simultaneous
 examination in England and India for admission to the Civil Service. (Cheers.) Now I
 am entirely in favour of this, but then I am also a strong advocate of the condition that
 the men who may be selected in India must be sent to England to complete their education.
 ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) I held that opinion when I entered the Commission, and I hold it
 at this moment. After deliberate consideration, I came to the conclusion that I must merge
 my own opinions, so far as the Commission was concerned, in the opinions held by the
 majority of my countrymen whom I virtually represented; and, after much evidence had
 been taken, we found that the majority of the Mahomedans on the one hand, and of the Hindus
 on the other, were not quite of one mind as to what they wanted. Most of the Mahomedans
 said, "We do not want simultaneous examinations for some years to come," while the
 Hindus said, "But we want them now"—at the same time, they would not say upon what
 terms and subject to what conditions they desired this concession. The fact was that
 some were agreed that they would send selected men to England, while others said this
 could not be done. Now I am very much mistaken if, in case you should take the sense
 of this assembly on this point, you would not find opinions, even now, almost equally divided
 on this point. At all events, the minority (and I cannot guess on which side the
 minority would be) would be so powerful a minority, that you would not be doing your duty

unless you took into consideration the opinions expressed by that minority. (Cheers.)
 Now, finding this irreconcilable difference of opinion in connection with the question, we
 had to see also what Government had to say upon the matter. The Government said
 they were prepared to concede a great deal, and they accepted the view that the Indians
 had the right to demand a fair share in the Government of the country; but, that if we
 asked them to take a step which might exclude all Englishmen from the service—and this
 some supposed might be the result of holding simultaneous examinations in India and
 England—they were not prepared to accede to that. That was the view taken by
 Government. Of course, as a fact, we were not, in pressing for simultaneous examinations,
 asking them to take a step which could possibly lead to such a result. But they said,
 We, who are responsible for the good government of the country cannot take a leap like
 that into the dark. (Cheers.) It is for you to devise some scheme which we may safely
 accept. (Laughter.) But I felt that there was little chance of surmounting this difficulty
 or overcoming their objections in any such way. I knew that they held the reins, and
 that we had to submit. So it only remained to us to get the best terms we could, and to
 see if we could effect a compromise, whereby the children of the soil might have as large
 a share as they would concede to us in the government of the country, and no offices be
 kept apart for the ruling classes (cheers), and no natives excluded from any office by
 reason of caste or colour. (Cheers.) The terms of the compromise were that Government
 would give us one-third of the whole of the appointments of the judicial service
 throughout India, in which it was distinctly established and admitted that we were really
 doing our work as well as the Europeans. But it was difficult, they alleged, to say
 whether we possessed the necessary qualifications for the Executive branches, and therefore
 for the present they would give us only one-tenth of the appointments in these. They
 admitted that the men who held High Court Judgeships had done their work as
 well as Europeans, and they were willing to give us one-third of all judicial appointments.
 There was also no reason, they conceded, why natives should not be appointed to be
 members of the Executive Council, but these were in the gift of the Crown and did not
 fall within the scope of our enquiries. But as regards Executive appointments generally,
 our official colleagues, that is to say Government, felt, they said, no certainty that we were
 qualified, and therefore one-tenth of these was the most that we could get conceded.
 They were also ready to raise the age limit, and there were also minor points well
 known to all, in which the report, as adopted, would improve our position. But the
 question of simultaneous examinations was one that the rest of the Commission would
 not entertain. Now we were only four—Mr. D. S. White, Mr. Justice Mitter, Mr. Nulkar,
 and myself—and what we had to consider was, Should we hold out as irreconcilables, as
 impracticable men who, though much was being conceded to them, refused to accept
 anything short of the whole, and recorded dissents because we could not get everything
 we wanted; or were we rather, like reasonable men, to try to meet our colleagues half way,
 and in our turn give up something? Especially, was it worth while making such a stand
 in regard to a concession which the Mahomedans did not want, and in regard to the
 terms of which the Hindus, who did want it, were diametrically opposed to each other?
 It was our unanimous opinion that, under the circumstances, we must abstain from
 pressing this point and join our colleagues in their report, favourable as, in our opinion,
 this is in many respects to us; but we did this under the condition, which we put in writing,
 that the report was to be adopted in its entirety. If this be done, then I do not think
 we should at present agitate further on this subject. If it be not done, then I shall
 consider myself free to re-open the whole question. But at present I think we are in a
 sense bound by the compromise we have made, and this is why I press you to defer further
 consideration of the subject, until we see what orders the Secretary of State passes on
 our report. If he accepts it in its entirety, I, for one, think that we might be content to
 drop the subject for some years. If, however, he fails to do this, then I shall be the first
 to press for further agitation. So all I say now, is, wait and see—wait another year
 before you take any further action on the question. (Cheers.)

THE HON'BLE K. T. TELANG—(Bombay, No. 201 in list)—said: I rise for the
 purpose of expressing my concurrence, to a certain extent, in the remarks which the last
 speaker has addressed to the Congress in support of the amendment that he has moved.
 The way in which the question strikes me is this: The Congress has already stated what it
 considers to be an appropriate solution of this question, and has also stated that that solu-
 tion requires that there should be a simultaneous examination for the Indian Civil Service
 held both in England and India. The Congress has stated that the limit of age for
 admission to that examination should be from 19 to 23. The Congress has also made
 other demands in reference to the examinations. They are on the records of the
 proceedings of the Congress. I accept them entirely, and in the evidence I gave before
 the Public Service Commission I stated my opinion to be in entire accordance with the
 proposals of the Congress. Therefore, if I now rise for the purpose of asking
 the Congress not to pass the resolution which has been moved by Mr. Norton, or
 even Mr. Adam's amendment, it is not because I do not accept the principle of Mr.
 Norton's resolution, nor because I consider that circumstances have occurred since

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that Resolution was first passed which have in any way altered the condition of the case, but because I consider it a prudential measure to accept Mr. Ramaswamy's amendment. The reason is that the circumstances under which we now meet require that we should wait and be quiet a little, rather than that we should, by re-opening the question, perhaps sacrifice all that we might otherwise get under the report. Let us wait for the present and see what attitude the Government takes in the matter, and then begin to fight anew if it is necessary to do so. Having put on record what we have done, having never receded from the position we have taken, we are not now called upon to do anything more. We have made our claim, and Government, who has to decide on that claim, appointed a Commission for the purpose of advising as to how that claim should be satisfied. The Government has received this advice, and it has now to pass judgment on it. When that tribunal has given its decision, it would be for us to go, if necessary, to a higher tribunal, and you will remember that, after all, the Secretary of State for India is not the final tribunal in this matter. There is one other remark I wish to make, and that is with reference to the figures mentioned by Mr. Norton to the Congress yesterday. I had myself worked out the figures some months ago, and I had come to a conclusion very similar to what he did; but there is a certain miscalculation in those figures which I am not at present in a position to explain. However, one remark I should like to make. Mr. Norton made a comparison of what we get under the system of the Statutory Civil Service with what we should get under the compromise effected by the Public Service Commission; and he said that under the Statutory Civil Service we get a good many more appointments than we should get under the compromise recommended by the Commission. For my part, I have always held that the appointments obtained under the Statute were not worth having (*cheers*); and therefore, even if we were to lose a few places, what we should obtain under the circumstances recommended by the Public Service Commission would be a clear gain. I hold that the appointments obtained under the Statutory Civil Service arrangements are not only useless, but mischievous, because they have a tendency in them to demoralize the community, and we can get rid of that demoralization at very little cost indeed, by accepting the compromise suggested by the Commission. (*Cheers*.)

MR. MONOMOHUN GHOSE—(*Calcutta, No. 1111 in list*)—then said: I did not intend, when I came to Allahabad, to intrude myself upon your attention on this occasion; and the importance of the subject now before you is my only justification for abandoning my original intention, and appearing before you with a third amendment. The subject is one which has engrossed my attention during the last 25 years of my life, and you will readily understand that, as the result of the consideration which I have been able to give to the subject, I have formed definite and very strong opinions upon various points connected with it. I had hoped that it might not have been necessary for me to express any of those opinions, but Mr. R. S. Mudaliar's remarks make it impossible for me to abstain from doing so. Indeed, it would be needless affectation on my part to attempt to conceal my views, which I have already publicly expressed in my evidence before the Public Service Commission. (*Cheers*.) I will, therefore, state at the outset that these views are in entire accord with what has fallen from the mover of the first amendment, Mr. Adam; and I have the satisfaction of feeling that I am supported in this respect, as I have ascertained, by almost the entire body of delegates from Bombay and Madras, and the majority of those who have come from Bengal. I have long felt that there could not have been a greater misfortune to the people of this country than the traditional idea, which has prevailed for centuries, to the effect that it is a sin and a pollution to cross the geographical boundaries of Hindustan, and that any person who commits such a sin must be regarded as an alien and a foreigner. I believe the days when such an idea was prevalent are gone, never to return. (*Cheers*.) I believe that it is absolutely necessary that the men of our own nationality, who are to be our rulers and administrators, should receive precisely the same training as the European Covenanted Servants of the Crown. I believe it is essential and exceedingly important that the Covenanted Civil Servants in this country should be men imbued with Western ideas and Western culture, or, in other words, that they should have a competent knowledge of the social and political institutions of England, which cannot be acquired without a residence in that country, and without familiar association with Englishmen in their own homes. I also believe that it would be idle to expect that the Government would permit simultaneous examinations in England and in India unless we were prepared to send our young men to be trained in England. (*Hear, hear.*) Nevertheless, I feel, and I must acknowledge, that there is a section of our countrymen, and an influential section too, who think somewhat differently on the subject. It may be that in the Congress the representatives of that section are in a minority, and that, if called upon to vote, the majority of us will probably support the amendment proposed by Mr. Adam. (*Cheers*.) But we must remember that the opinions of those who differ from us in this respect are entitled to our respectful and even indulgent consideration (*cheers*); and I am therefore not prepared to say that we should be acting wisely if we

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were to invite discussion upon points on which any difference of opinion might prove disastrous to our best interests. (*Cheers*.) I think, therefore, that we should try to avoid, in regard to questions of this sort, any substantial difference of opinion, and, above all, heated discussions which are not likely to lead to any useful result or secure any good object. (*Cheers*.) What we ought to aim at, in such matters, is to secure, as far as possible, a unanimity of opinion. (*Cheers*.) With this view I will submit for your consideration a resolution which, I have no doubt, will meet with general approval. Now, there is one matter as to which we are all agreed, and that is the necessity for holding simultaneous examinations in England and India. I think we are also agreed that we fully appreciate the justice and the propriety of the recommendations, made by the Public Service Commission, to raise the limit of age prescribed for the open competition. (*Cheers*.) It would not be right, therefore, to ignore the services rendered to the country by the members of that Commission, who have performed their difficult task in such a manner as to entitle them to the thanks of this Congress. (*Cheers*.) I must confess, however, that, as regards the propriety of taking up this question at all, I at one time entertained considerable doubts. I was at first inclined to believe that the wise course for us would be to follow that suggested by Mr. Mudaliar; but, after hearing Mr. Norton, and after mature consideration of the matter, I have come to the conclusion that, if we were not to press our demand on this occasion before the Secretary of State, we might be allowing judgment to go by default. It is our duty to let the Government know what we think on the subject, and I think the Congress will, therefore, agree with me that the best course for us on the present occasion would be the adoption of a resolution which could not possibly cause any difference of opinion in the Congress, and which would explicitly set forth what we mean and wish.

This then is the resolution which I venture to propose for your acceptance:—

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

I do not think, Gentlemen, that I need say more upon this amendment, which I now leave in your hands.

MR. N. G. CHANDAVARKAR—(*Bombay, No. 203, in list*)—said: I have great pleasure in seconding this amendment. We have saved ourselves, I hope, from presenting to the outside world the spectacle of a house divided against itself; and I hope that, for the sake of unanimity, we shall avoid touching on points on which any difference of opinion exists among ourselves. The mission of the Congress is to deal with those questions on which we are all substantially agreed, not those on which we differ. When we get all that we all agree to be necessary, it will be time to take up questions on which we are not agreed. Now we are all agreed to a man as to the point set forth in this amendment, and I hope we shall pass it by acclamation. If I were to express my own convictions on the subjects touched upon in the speeches, lying outside this amendment, I should have to say that my views are quite in accord with those of Mr. M. Ghose. (*Cheers*.)

MR. EARDLEY NORTON—(*Madras, No. 19, in list*)—said: Sir,—So far as I am concerned, I shall be quite willing to withdraw my motion in favour of that proposed by my friend Mr. Monomohun Ghose. (*Loud cheers*.)

THE HON'BLE MR. PHEROSHAB MEHTA—(*Bombay, No. 208, in list*)—said: Sir,—As seconder of the original Resolution, I gladly follow my leader in withdrawing it in favour of Mr. Ghose's motion. (*Cheers*.)

MR. JOHN ADAM—(*Madras, No. 2, in list*)—said: Gentlemen,—I entirely concur in Mr. Ghose's amendment so far as it goes, and it has the advantage of meeting every body's views to this extent, and I have therefore no hesitation in withdrawing my amendment, which, with my seconder, Mr. Sankara Menon's concurrence, I now do. (*Cheers*.)

MR. RAMASWAMY MUDALIAR—(*Madras, No. 15, in list*)—said: Gentlemen,—I suppose it is expected of me that I too should make a recantation and withdraw my amendment. Well, Gentlemen, I cannot exactly do that, but I will abstain from pressing it. (*Laughter and cheers*.)

THE HON'BLE K. T. TELANG—(*Bombay, No. 201, in list*)—said: Sir,—To make the recantation of my friend Mr. Mudaliar complete, I, as the seconder of his amendment, declare my concurrence in its withdrawal in favour of Mr. Ghose's amendment. (*Cheers*)

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

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

Well, Gentlemen, in moving this resolution I find myself in a happier position than many others who have had to move other resolutions covering more debateable ground; and, before I come to my point, you will permit me to say a few words by way of introduction as to the Congress itself, and what I have heard as to the Princes and Chiefs who have *not*, and of the people who *have*, joined this movement. Gentlemen, I should not be standing here to-day associated with this movement if I did not believe it to be essentially a middle-class movement representing the independence and intelligence of the country, and thus the interests of the various peoples of this land. So much has been said about the Proclamation of the Queen in 1858 that I must tell you that I heard that Proclamation myself, having laboured in this place in various capacities ever since then for the period of thirty years. If I have no other qualification for the task that has been entrusted to me, at least I have the one of having seen the various phases through which this country has passed during the time. I trust that you will pardon my giving you three instances, taken from my own experience, to illustrate those phases. We have no quarrel, Gentlemen, with the Executive power. Eventual power must reside somewhere, and authority must be obeyed in the last resort for the welfare of the people; but it is in the nature of Executive authority that its orders must be obeyed, and no judicial officer can discharge his duties impartially or with that moral effect which is necessary to the administration of justice, save in absolute independence and according to his conscience. As you are aware, in 1860, the first Penal Code was passed for India, and shortly after this there was a trial in these parts of a person of some consequence, accused of treason and waging war against the Queen. In those days we had no legal profession in these provinces, and that blessed peace reigned which, in the opinion of many persons, is only disturbed now by the presence of lawyers, who are regarded as the scourge of the country. (Laughter.) The accused person had, therefore, to get a solicitor of some distinction from Calcutta to defend him, and a remark was heard by me in a railway carriage in which an official was told of the arrival of the legal gentleman from Calcutta. When he heard of this he said, "What a scoundrel the fellow" (meaning the legal gentleman) "must be!" (Cries of Shame! shame!) No, Gentlemen, there is no shame except in conscious wrongdoing. That unfortunate gentleman only spoke according to his lights, and we know what notions of justice prevailed in those days from the ignorance which he displayed. It is our justification for existence that such ignorance must be dispelled, and it is the glory of our nation that we have, by the highest legislative authority of this land, disseminated a notion of the people's rights by the various laws enacted from time to time for their benefit. (Cheers.) Well, Gentlemen, the next instance illustrates the evils arising from a combination of judicial and executive ideas in the same person, which

is a necessary result of the two functions being habitually combined in one official. Four-
teen years ago I was called upon to defend two persons before the Sessions Judge of Res. III.,
Agra, and the evidence against them consisted principally of the statements of police-Separation
men who had placed the stolen articles where they were found; so that I had no of Judicial
difficulty in getting the assessors to record a verdict of acquittal. The Sessions Judge, and Execu-
nevertheless, very much to my surprise, convicted the accused persons. I was asked tive Func-
to have tea with the Sessions Judge soon after the trial was over, and he remarked to me
that he supposed I was surprised at his having convicted my clients. I confessed I was
on the evidence adduced, and he then made the following remarkable observation to me :
“I admit the evidence against them was very weak, but you know those fellows have a
very bad reputation, and Her Majesty's Government must be carried on !” (*Laughter.*) That
was his notion of exercising judicial functions. As a Magistrate during the previous 20
years of his service, he had always been both head policeman, prosecutor and judge, and
when he came to be a Sessions Judge he could not escape the bias thus formed, and
when the Magistrate set forth in the committal papers that the accused were very bad
characters, he felt bound to convict them, whether there was any sufficient evidence
against them or not. As the Judge in question has retired from the Service, I will not
mention his name, but I will give you the sequel of the case which came in appeal before
the High Court of these Provinces. Mr. Justice (afterwards Sir Charles) Turner heard
the appeal of the prisoners. Mr. Colvin was my leader, and so flagrantly opposed
to common sense and common justice was the conviction that that eminent Judge (*cheers*)
never called upon the counsel for the appellants to say a single word in support of the
appeal. Turning to the Government Pleader, who appeared on behalf of the Crown
in support of the conviction—as he is a distinguished member of this Congress and
present, I may be permitted to mention his name, Mr. Dwarkanath Banerji—(*cheers*)
—Mr. Justice Turner said: “How can you support this conviction, Mr. Banerji? I
see the evidence is entirely that of policemen who found the things, which they are
accused of having placed where they are said to have found them, and I must confess
the case smacks strongly of police manufacture.” Mr. Banerji, with that blandness and
frankness which distinguishes him, was forced to admit that the evidence was extremely
weak and suspicious, and the men were acquitted on the spot. But observe the result:
They had been nearly two months wrongfully in jail, and, as you know, there is no redress
for such wrongs. An innocent man, wrongfully convicted or incarcerated, has no
compensation of any kind, and it is because of the irreparable nature of the wrong
that we should provide every possible safeguard against such abuses. The last instance
is a comparatively recent one, taken from the most backward of these provinces—Oudh—
a non-regulation Province as it is called. A few years ago the Judicial Commissioner
of Oudh had his judicial soul shocked by finding that a Deputy Commissioner under him,
in whom were combined the functions of Revenue Collector and Magistrate, had used
his magisterial powers to convict—I forget how many persons (I believe the number was
nearly a hundred)—under the Indian Penal Code, for disobeying the lawful order of a
public servant, because they had not paid their instalments of revenue in the time within
which he had ordered that they should be paid! The Judicial Commissioner sent these
cases up to His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of the N.-W. P. and Chief Commissioner
of Oudh, for such notice as His Honor might see fit to take of the matter, and the
fines were, I believe, remitted, but the case illustrates, happily, the utter confusion in
regard to the first principle of justice to which the existing irrational combination of
these two functions, the judicial and executive, in one official, are apt to give rise.

Gentlemen, this and similar cases (of which all of you present could doubtless cite many) are evils resulting from an imperfect conception of what justice really means, and we must not be too indignant with the men who thus err, but rather with the system which permits, nay, rather, naturally leads up to such things, and it is against this faulty system that the resolution, which I have had the honour to propose to you, is specially directed. I do not, for a moment, pretend that this is the only defect of our existing judicial system, but human nature being what it is, we must not wonder that the system of sublime impartiality, gradually attained in England by purifying the judicial system there until it represents the most exalted ideal conceivable for giving a man a fair trial, should not yet be fully understood here, except by men especially trained in the more advanced English conceptions of justice. The profession to which I have the honour to belong, after generations of effort in England, has attained to a practice of independence and fairness which stands unrivalled throughout Europe; and I would ask you to remember that it is only by patience and perseverance and long effort that all this has come about, and to entreat you, yourselves, to emulate that patience and that perseverance.

The triumph of moral force, which the existing system of jurisprudence in Great Britain so aptly demonstrates, is one more proof that right must ever prevail in the end; and I would ask you, not only in the matter of this special reform, which it has been my duty this day to advocate, but in the case of all those other reforms which we know to be essential to the well-being of ourselves and our countrymen, to find no fault with your

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opponents, to resort to no angry declamation and no heated remonstrance, but to be patient, persistent and true to yourselves. Not by violence or noise have the great things of the earth been achieved; not by ambition or self-seeking can a nation's life be regenerated; but by calm indomitable reliance on that moral force which is the supreme reason, and by implanting in all with whom you may come in contact the conviction that you look for eventual triumph to these means, and these only; and that the moral power which has made the English nation glorious throughout an empire, on which it has been well and truly said that the sun never sets, is the power to which you trust for the triumph of those great principles of justice and freedom which you are all here assembled to vindicate and uphold. (Cheers.)

MR. TAHILRAM KHEMCHAND—(*Sindh, No. 241, in list*)—said: Gentlemen,—I second the Resolution. All that we say to Government is—"Do us justice, so that our people may be loyal and contented; so that they may rely implicitly upon you, and hasten to support you in the hour of need." We ask for justice, because we wish the entire country to be truly loyal in its heart of hearts. If we were sedition-mongers, as some have idly proclaimed, our course would really be quite different. We should sit quiet and let the people brood over their wrongs and the injustice that is too prevalent, and thus allow discontent to grow and spread, and prepare the people for a rising. But we come boldly forward and tell the Government that the system of administration needs to be improved and reformed. We point out to them exactly how this should be done; and we tell them that, if they want to inspire love and confidence in the people, they must remove those grievances which are now alienating their hearts. Now it is quite certain that the existing combination of judicial and executive functions is a very fruitful source of dissatisfaction; and I will give you an instance which occurred in my province, to illustrate the evil of combining these two divergent functions in one official. A man was charged by the police with a certain offence before a second-class Magistrate. The Magistrate made inquiries and found that there was no valid ground for the police suspecting the man, and that the police had apprehended him to satisfy some grudge that they had against him. The Magistrate reported the circumstances of the case to his official superior, stating in his report that he had discovered that the police had made some alterations in their diary in order to substantiate the false charge. The matter being brought to the notice of the next higher authority, a native first-class Magistrate, a prosecution was directed against the policeman who had made the false entry in the diary. The District Superintendent of Police interested himself on behalf of the policeman who was concerned in the offence, and got the case transferred from the Court of a first-class Magistrate, who was a native, to that of an European first-class Magistrate in whom the two functions were combined. The injured man who had been falsely accused was not represented by a Pleader, and not being prepared to go on with the case elsewhere without a legal adviser, he applied for a postponement. But his application was summarily disallowed and the Magistrate took advantage of his unavoidable unpreparedness to dismiss the case, entirely ignoring the fact that it was on the State, and not the individual sufferer, that, when the case had reached this stage, rested the onus of causing the facts of the case to be investigated.

There must be some hundreds of Barristers and Pleaders amongst the twelve hundred and odd delegates here assembled, but I venture to assert that there is not one single one of them who cannot, from his own personal experience, cite many similar cases in which the combination of the two functions, against which this resolution is a protest, has led to the most flagrant miscarriages of justice. (Loud cheers.)

MR. DEVARAO VINAYEK—(*Berar, No. 273, in list*)—rose and said: I am here to speak a few words in support of this resolution. I do not stand here because there is anything of great importance left unsaid by my predecessors, or because I desire to exhibit powers of oratory which, unfortunately, I do not possess, but solely because I feel very strongly upon this subject, and desire to corroborate what has been alleged as to the evils of combining the judicial and executive functions in one officer, by my own experience, during the six and twenty years that I have practised as a Pleader. I come from Berar. The name of our little province may be perhaps scarcely known to many of my brother-delegates (laughter), but I can assure them that even in this little out-of-the-way tract of country the evils of this unholy union of functions, that can never be joined in lawful matrimony, are as apparent as elsewhere. (Cheers.)

But the question has been discussed, not only in this Congress, but at several of the previous Congresses, and the universal opinion is that the severance of the executive and judicial functions is a necessity, and that the Government is bound to effect that severance without any further delay. Of course I might give instances as my predecessors did—aye any number you please—of failures of justice due to this unconstitutional combination, but really it would be simply taking up your time in vain, and as it were slaying the already dead.

But there is one point that I may properly touch on. You have a resolution 3rd Day. here before you, and if I understand that proposition, or rather resolution, properly, its object is to disconnect the magisterial or criminal judicial powers from the police or executive powers. But you will be surprised and startled when you hear from me that in my province, not only the magisterial and police powers are combined in one officer, but also the revenue and civil judicial powers are all combined in one man. (Cries of "Shame.") There is one head of the district who is the Deputy Commissioner and who is the supreme authority in all matters. He is head of the police—he is the highest local tribunal in criminal matters with powers of sentencing to seven years' imprisonment with hard labour—he is the highest tribunal in all civil cases—he is the chief revenue official, head director, alike, of all fiscal arrangements. In every relation of life you are in the grasp of this one man; if he dislikes you—if he have a prejudice against you—there is no escaping him; it is an absolute despotism. Now, I ask, is this a defensible system? Others have told you, and you yourselves well know what takes place where only police and criminal judicial powers are combined in one officer. You can imagine what might occur in our province. As a matter of fact, serious failures of justice have resulted, and if these have not been more frequent or grievous in our province than elsewhere, it is due solely to the fact that we have had exceptionally good officers, who scorned to abuse their powers. But we cannot count upon a continuance of this; the system is susceptible of unlimited abuse and oppression; and against that system I earnestly and unhesitatingly protest, and this, despite the sincere personal respect and esteem in which I hold many of the officers under whom I have lived and worked. (Cheers.)

BABOO TARINI PRASAD—(*Behar, No. 1090, in list*)—said: I have been asked to support the resolution which has been proposed by Mr. Howard. My duty is simple enough. The resolution deals with a subject which has been thoroughly discussed both at the Congress of 1886 at Calcutta and at the Congress of 1887 at Madras. I respectfully ask you to say whether there were any differences of opinion on either of these occasions upon this subject. I submit that there can be no hesitation in saying that there were really no two opinions on this question. (Cheers.) All I need say here, therefore, is that my experience for the last twenty-five years, as a member of the legal profession, has convinced me, as it must have convinced all of you, that the evils which flow from the combination of the executive and of the judicial functions are too numerous to dwell upon, and too serious to be overlooked, and that the sooner they are done away with, by what I suppose Mr. Vinayek would designate a divorce *a vinculo* (laughter), the better. With these words I would commend the resolution to your acceptance. (Cheers.)

MR. SHARF-UD-DIN—(*Punjab, No. 383, in list*)—said, speaking in Oordoo: Gentlemen, This resolution which we now have to dispose of concerns the existing powers of district officers, in which are amalgamated judicial, executive and revenue powers—a combination which is a source of great suffering to people who have the misfortune to have dealings with our trinitarian authorities, three officers in one. For instance, where a Collector wishes to realise revenue, he does so not merely by the exercise of those powers conferred on him on that behalf by the legislature, but by the pressure of the authority that he possesses as a Magistrate, conferred on him, not in view to the realisation of land revenue demands, but to enable him to punish offenders against the criminal law. What we now pray for is the immediate discontinuance of this anomalous combination of various functions in one individual. The need for this reform is urgent and well known to you, and has been already so repeatedly and clearly set forth that I need not, I think, dwell upon it at any great length. You all know the doubts we one and all entertain, when under trial before such compound officials, of getting any real justice meted out to us. The Magistrate ought to be our refuge against unlawful and arbitrary acts of the Collector, but the two men are one, and so far from the one acting as a check on the other, the two offices being combined in one, we have practically no redress. Thus a man is brought up for arrears and non-payment of rent before the Collector, and, though he feels that he is being unjustly dealt with, he has to keep his mouth closed and bear his hard lot, whatever it may be, with patience, because he knows that if he protests or fights against the Collector's order, the Collector, who is also a Magistrate, will either commit him for contempt of court or fine him for disobedience of lawful order, or in some other way bring the criminal law to bear upon him. Officials, who are Revenue Collectors, Civil Judges, and also Magistrates, as they are in many places, not unfrequently seem to think it their duty to superadd a criminal charge to the revenue or civil case before them. In a civil suit, when books and accounts and deeds are presented to establish a claim, an officer whose temper is ruffled takes it into his head that there is some cheating or forgery, orders an investigation by the police of which he is the head—the police whose oppressions are only too well known to all of you, and who at once bring them into play to obtain the conviction of an innocent man for their own exaltation in the eyes of their superior—and then tries and convicts the man himself. This is only a single instance of the kind of injustice and oppression to which this combination of

3rd Day. functions, the complete separation of which we are now praying for, continually leads. I have myself seen instances in the Punjab of officers, sitting as Civil Judges, letting their temper get the better of them, and exercising magisterial powers to commit unoffending witnesses, in civil suits before them, to the *Hawalat** and trial, for unknown or imaginary faults. The system leads to all kinds of abuses, and I cannot doubt that, if we press our request for a separation of the two functions, it will be granted to us, for it is a just and righteous one. (*Cheers and cries of "Vote, vote."*)

THE PRESIDENT : Does any one wish to oppose this resolution ? (*None, none.*) Do you wish the discussion to be prolonged ? (*No, no, vote, vote.*) Then I will now put the resolution as follows :—

RESOLVED—“*That this Congress having read and considered Resolution XI of the Congress of 1886, to wit—*

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

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

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

MR. KALI CHARAN BANERJEE—(*Bengal, No. 1135, in list*)—The terms of the resolution which I have the honour to propose are as follows :—

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

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

“*Resolution IX of the Congress of 1886, to wit—*

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

“*and Resolution X of the Congress of 1886, to wit—*

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

“*do now, hereby, affirm the same respectively.*”

This tri-partite resolution is cognate to the resolution which you have just adopted. Sir Richard Garth, late Chief Justice of Calcutta, puts it so, and not only puts it so, but plainly tells us that the posture of affairs which necessitates the separation of judicial and executive functions, is the very posture of affairs which necessitates the carrying out of the principle underlying this resolution. This is a resolution in the interests of the administration of justice, and is framed upon lines tried, and adopted, and effectuated in England. As regards the first of these resolutions, which refers to the extension of the system of trial by jury into many parts of the country where it is not at present in force, I need say but little. Indeed, if we were to consider the principle which underlies this institution—the principle, namely, that the accused person should have the benefit of a trial at the hands of his peers—it is impossible to conceive that there should be any district in India which would be found backward. Everywhere it must be possible for the accused person to find peers at whose hands he might claim to be tried. But our resolution does not go so far. We demand simply that the system of trial by jury be further extended ; and is it possible for any one, having regard to the districts represented in this Congress, to say that such of them, for example, as did not enjoy the privileges, would be found too backward for the experiment ? There is the alternative system of trial with the aid of assessors. If in a district there are persons whose opinion taken individually is worth taking, surely in that district there must be persons whose opinion taken collectively should be worth taking, with the further incident of being binding on the Court. I come now to the second resolution, and in speaking to it I must confess that at one time I had the perversity of intellect to be taken in by the phrase “perverse verdicts.” I congratulate myself on the fact that I am in a position to-day to tell you that I have been exorcised of the delusion, and the great exorcists are present here. If it is open to a judge to speak of the verdict of a jury as perverse,

* i.e., the Lock-up.

jurors accustomed to call things, as viewed by them, by their proper names, may be permitted to retort and say that there may as well be a perverse reference from their verdicts, and a perverse reversal of them. With regard to this reference section, you will be pleased to remember that there is a still further sting about it. If an accused person is convicted by the Sessions Court in a trial by jury, he has a right of appeal to the High Court, but his appeal must be based on grounds of law ; whereas if a reference is made by the Sessions Judge from the verdict of a jury, the whole case is reopened by the High Court, and not only are legal grounds taken into consideration, but the evidence is also looked into. We must also always remember that, as far as the system of trial by jury is concerned, it is not only a system good for administrative purposes, but it is likewise well fitted to develop the political education of the country, and the reference section, suspended like the sword of Damocles over the heads of jurors, cannot fail to have a demoralising effect. I will now pass on to what I consider a still more important resolution, and that is the third. Your attention has just been drawn to the evil consequences of combining judicial and executive functions in the same hands. The necessity for separating these functions is admitted by Government, but in order to carry out the principle, there is said to be need for funds, and funds may not be forthcoming. As far as the third resolution is concerned, it is a resolution to which effect may be given at once ; at any rate, it is a resolution to which Government may be pressed to give effect, so long as funds are not forthcoming for the separation of judicial and executive functions. We complain of injustice being done at the hands of officers in whom we find a combination of these functions, and this resolution asks that the accused person should have the right of demanding in serious cases a committal to the Court of Sessions. The Sessions Judge of the present day has, as a rule, no executive weaknesses ; you may not be prepared to accept that proposition after what has fallen from the lips of Mr. Howard, but, still, as a rule, we may take it that the Sessions Judge is not affected with any such weakness, and so we ask that the accused person should in certain cases have the right of demanding a sessions trial. In pressing this resolution, we should remember that this was a matter submitted to the consideration of the Government of Lord Ripon, and that in respect to it the Government of Lord Ripon recorded a strong minute, and the Select Committee entrusted with the Criminal Procedure Bill recorded it as their opinion that it was a matter well worthy of being considered when the Criminal Procedure Code came next to be amended. Sir Auckland Colvin was on that Select Committee. We may press this resolution on Government with such credentials in our favour. It may be said that the result of this change would be that the Sessions Judge would find his file much heavier than it is now, but this option would not be exercised in every case. It would often be the interest of the accused person not to be committed to the Sessions. He would not think of exercising the option, except when he had grave apprehensions of a failure of justice. Then you must remember that if the case goes direct to the Sessions Court, you have, it is true, more sessions cases ; but then, on the other hand, you have fewer appeals. At any rate, here is a necessity arising from the fact that justice suffers from the combination of judicial and executive functions. Justice should not only be done, but the machinery should be such as to justify that justice to the sense of the country.

MR. N. G. CHANDAVARKAR—(*Bombay, No. 203, in list*)—rose and said : I do not think I could recommend this resolution to your approval better than by simply saying that it is eminently more reasonable, more liberal, and more in accordance with true British citizenship than that other resolution suggested yesterday by our old friend Rajah Shiva Prasad, which our worthy President was good enough to decline with thanks. (*Laughter and cheers.*) Rajah Shiva Prasad is so charmed with the existing criminal laws of the country that he would have the rigours of these laws increased. The Rajah is so anxious to be governed by the principles of British justice that he wishes to be rid of that, as he views it, objectionable regard to the rights of free speech and private opinion, which apparently in his opinion disgrace and discredit the existing criminal laws. (*Laughter and cheers.*) Rajah Shiva Prasad suggests that we ought to introduce into the criminal laws of this country a provision for what he pleases to call seditious libel. Well, though this combination of words is not unknown to legal experts in England, I confess that I have never thoroughly been able to realize its meaning. I can understand what sedition is, and what libel is, but I find it hard to realize what we are to understand by that jumble of words, seditious libel. (*Laughter and cheers.*) Believe me, we ought to have no faith in such nostrums as he places before you. Gentlemen, the question which is involved, alike in the Rajah's suggestion to increase the rigours of the criminal law and in the proposition before you to amend the existing law, is simply this : Are we to be ruled in accordance with the principles enunciated by such men as Sir James Stephen (*hisses*), or to be ruled in accordance with the principles of that august Sovereign of ours who in 1857 so impressed upon Lord Stanley that every Indian was not to be treated as a rebel, but, on the contrary, that every native inhabitant in this country was to be assured that Her most anxious desire was

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3rd Day. to see the people of India happy and contented and flourishing. (*Cheers.*) I see, Gentlemen, that the response of this Congress will be that you are anxious to be ruled in accordance with the sentiments of our august Sovereign rather than by those of Sir James FitzJames Stephen. (*Cheers.*) If any Ministry ventured to propose any such laws in England, as Shiva Prasad and his friends suggest for India, they would be out of power within the week. (*Cheers.*) Nay more; if any Ministry were to propose to insert in the criminal law of England a provision such as that against which we protest in the second clause of our resolution, they would speedily find themselves on the Opposition Benches. Is it because we belong to what Lord Salisbury was once pleased to call the colored millions of India, that such an objectionable provision has been inserted into our Criminal Procedure Act? But further discussion is needless, and I shall only add that, in passing this resolution, we are demanding to be ruled in accordance with the principles of those who have been approved by time as the worthiest statesmen of England, and conformably to the express wish of our august and beloved Sovereign. (*Loud cheers.*)

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SHEIKH UMR BAKSH—(*Punjab, No. 361, in list*)—then spoke. He said: I am called to support this resolution, the importance of which has been clearly set forth by the gentlemen who have preceded me. I have specially risen to support this resolution because I am a Mahomedan, and it is well to show that we Mahomedans are not behind the followers of any other creed in our desire to secure, by combined action, the welfare of the entire country. (*Cheers.*) In passing this resolution, we shall not be evincing any ill-feeling towards Englishmen, who already enjoy the right of trial by jury; but just as we have asked for other things, we ask for this also as a matter to which we may lay claim under that Charter of Liberty granted us in 1858: (*Cheers.*) If this resolution be accepted by the British Government, this Congress will gain the thanks of the whole country. But this is just one of the resolutions which will be most likely to be granted by the Government, and the country will then come to realize fully that the Congress has done a good many things for their countrymen. (*Cheers.*) It is said, I know, by some men that this system of trial by jury will fail in some parts of this country; that the country is not everywhere prepared for it. There is, perhaps, some truth in this, but in the first place there is no measure but fails in some points at first, and in the second we are not blindly pressing for the extension to every district of this system. No doubt there are places where the people are too backward, and where it would be difficult to secure a sufficient number of sufficiently good men to act as jurors. But we do not pray for its extension to such backward places, but only to those numerous districts in which good jurors can certainly be obtained in large numbers. As in all other cases, our prayers are moderate. At present we only want trial by jury extended to places clearly fit to receive this boon, but as time goes on there is no doubt that it will have to be further and further extended, and that in the long run it will succeed here as it has done in all other places where it has been introduced. (*Cheers.*) In regard to the other two clauses of the resolution, I need hardly speak, for the most captious critic can, it seems to me, find nothing to cavil at in these. (*Cheers.*)

MR. N. SUBBA RAO—(*Madras, No. 38, in list*)—said: This is a matter upon which we are all agreed. (*"Hear, hear."*) We see at present, in several parts of our Presidency, in many important districts, this system of trial by jury in full force. It is a system which is admitted to be an aid to the administration of justice; it has been in force for a long period with us, and it has worked, and is working, satisfactorily. (*Cheers.*) It is often alleged, as a reason for not further extending the system, that there are not a sufficient number of people of the intelligence required to make men satisfactory jurymen, and that our people are not sufficiently advanced in education to aid Judges as jurors in the discharge of their functions. I must give the most emphatic denial to these allegations so far as my Presidency is concerned. (*Cheers.*) Has not the education of the country been going on for a great number of years? The existence of this assembly is sufficient evidence of that and of the existence of far more than the required number of competent jurors. What town in the Empire, in which Sessions Courts are held, but is represented here by delegates? (*Cries of "None, none!"*) What delegate is there in whose election at least fifty educated men, fit to be jurors, (to say nothing of the multitudes of the less cultured) did not take part? (*Cries of "None, none!"*) We are not wanting in men; men by scores, and hundreds even, in some towns, will willingly come forward and take upon themselves the honourable duties of jurymen. (*Cheers.*) Again it is, at times, alleged that the present system of trial with the aid of assessors is a farce, and that, because that system is a farce, therefore the system of trial by jury would also be a farce. I submit that no more fallacious argument could be advanced. (*Cheers.*) The present system of trials with the aid of assessors may not be quite satisfactory, and if it were it would be a miracle. For how can you expect really good men to spend a whole day, at times two or three, in working into a case thoroughly, merely to enable a Judge, at the end, to decide

perverse without reference, or in direct opposition, to their carefully worked-out opinions? When assessors are summoned to assist a Judge, they are not, as a rule, consulted in any way. Their presence, in fact, is practically ignored, and they are simply, too often, mere paraphernalia of the Judge's Court, having no more to say to the trial, in which they are supposed to assist, than his inkstand or his chair. Moreover, no efforts are made, in most cases, to secure good men as assessors. When the list of assessors is drawn up, the Judge and the Collector meet and do it in something like five minutes. Nor do they try to see that the better-informed sections of the people are represented on their list, or even to make sure that there are any intelligent people amongst the lot. The most ignorant men, and old people in their dotage, are sometimes put on the list. I have known two assessors, who could not read or write, put on in a forgery case, who, when the paper was put into their hands, to say if it was forged or genuine, could only say "Whichever you please." (*Laughter.*) This is only one of many instances that I could cite, but I think I have said enough to prove that the not unfrequent failure of the assessor system is absolutely no argument against the success of a properly-conducted jury system.

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MOULVI ABDUL JALIL—(*Cawnpur, No. 720 in list*)—spoke in Urdu and said: As regards the resolution now before you, I have only a very few words to say. Previous speakers have insisted on the necessity of an extension of the jury system, and you all realize the disadvantages under which we Indians suffer by reason of this system being in most places denied to us. So on this head I need say no more. But the sufferings and oppression undergone too often by accused persons in criminal cases, while their cases are pending in the lower or magistrate's courts, are so real and serious that, for my part, the section of the resolution which I would most earnestly press for is the last, which would entitle accused persons in warrant cases to demand that they be at once committed to the sessions instead of being tried by the magistrate. This would be quite as great a boon to the country in its way as trial by jury in another way, and I think we cannot too earnestly press this on the consideration of Government.

RAJAH RAMPAL SINGH—(*Allahabad, No. 571 in list*)—rose and said: Gentlemen,—These questions relating to the improvement of our judicial system have been very ably discussed throughout the debate, but there is one small point which has been missed. That bears upon and is an argument in favour of the separation of the judicial and executive functions. In that you have virtually assured our overworked officials that you desire to relieve them by taking a portion of their work off their shoulders. The officers who are overwhelmed with all those varied functions, to whose combination we object, are worked from morning to night like a horse. (*Laughter.*) Therefore if these gentlemen are allowed the same pay, and by being relieved of some of their now too multifarious functions, have less work to do, they will, or at least ought to, be much obliged to you. (*Renewed laughter.*) So these gentlemen in whom these many irreconcilable functions are jointly vested, and who have very much too much work upon their hands, will probably be as greatly benefited by the change we recommend as the people of this country. (*Cheers.*) And, if they have any gratitude in them, they ought to applaud and not condemn us. (*Laughter.*) And now I want to pay a compliment to a gentleman to whom I may perhaps have been thought to do scant justice on a former occasion (*laughter*), Sir Drigbijhai Singh. Now he practically tested the merits of the jury system, for he introduced what we call the *panchayat* system into his State, which was, in fact, nothing but a trial by jury; and though there had been, previous to that time, constant litigation in his State, after the system came once into force, he never was troubled in that way. All cases were settled by juries.

On a former occasion I made the remark that this gentleman held up his hand to signify assent in the Governor-General's Council, although he did not understand a word of what was going on; but his conduct in this matter of the jury system shows that although, perhaps, he knew no English, he understood well the practical side of good administration. Now I have finished. I wanted to mention this fact, because without it my remarks would have been too one-sided, failing to recognize merits though I had pointed out defects. (*Cheers. Persistent cries of "Vote, vote." We are all agreed," &c.*)

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen,—Does any one oppose this resolution? (*Cries of "No, no."*) Do you want any more speeches on the subject? (*Deafening cries of "No, no."*) Then, Gentlemen, I will put the resolution, which will stand thus:—

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

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

3rd Day. "Resolution IX of the Congress of 1886, to wit—

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

Finality of Juries' Verdicts—*"and Resolution X of the Congress of 1886, to wit—*

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, a provision, similar to that contained in the Summary Jurisdiction Act of England (under which accused persons in serious cases have the option of demanding 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."

"does now, hereby, affirm the same respectively."

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously; and it being then 1-15 P.M., the President adjourned the assembly to 2 P.M.

Res. V., Reform of the Police Administration. The Congress re-assembled at 2 P.M., when MUNSHI SAJJAD HOSEIN—(Lucknow, No. 434 in list)—rose and said, speaking in Urdu*: This is the first time that I have had the honour of attending this great National Assembly, the Indian National Congress; and when I find that this Assembly, which in 1885 numbered some 70 delegates only, now consists of over 1,200, I feel tempted to express, at some length, my great gratification at this astounding success. But the magnitude of the task, the vast number of abler speakers, and above all the shortness of the time allotted to each speaker, lead me to hurry on at once to the subject allotted to me, and acting on the words of the Persian Poet—

*"Time is short, work much we see,
Brief and few our words should be—"*

say only just a few words, and on one single question only.

You all know what our good and great and beneficent British Governors have done for our welfare, our protection and advancement; indeed you all probably know more about this than I do. (Laughter.) Amongst these most excellent works, one is the Police Administration, which we, at all places, at all times, and under all conditions greatly need in order that our property and lives may be fully protected from the long arms of thieves and budmashes, and in order that under the shadow of our subject-projecting English Government, we may repose, without a care, in peace and safety. Just as for our bodily life, air, water and food are necessary, and on their purity depends our health, so is the safety and comfort of the people dependent on the Police, and on its good administration rests the public welfare. Hence, probably, it is that the ocean of their powers is shoreless, and that its expanse is such that nowhere any coast is visible. No Lieutenant-Governor, nor even Viceroy, has such power in regard to my peace and comfort, as a simple chowkeedar (village watchman) or His Honour the constable (sahib bahadur). (Cheers and laughter.) The humblest labourer in the village, the most exalted noble in the city, are equally under the control of these distinguished officials. There is no place, no spot, where Their Highnesses of the Police, like the Angel of Death are not present. (Cheers.) Let a man displease them in the slightest, and see the beneficence of our kind Police. He may know nothing about it, but there will be a criminal case filed against him, and arrangements made for requiring him to give security for good behaviour, before he can reach his home. (Loud laughter.)

Gentlemen, you will remember that in this Assembly a notorious Rajah was pleased to say that now-a-days pamphlets and speeches were going about which did not fall short of seditious libels, and to present a petition for signature in which the Lieutenant-Governor was requested to introduce into the Criminal Code sections for the punishment of this offence. Gentlemen, this new invented crime is beyond the scope of my limited intellect; but this I will say, that I have carefully studied all that has been written and said by the Congress party in the various papers in which from time to time these have appeared, and I have seen pamphlets and speeches, calculated to promote the welfare and prosperity of the country, issued by its truest well-wishers and friends (loud cheers); and, as far as I can make out, these are the very pamphlets and speeches referred to by that fifty-per-cent.-above-proof, trebly-distilled-quintessence of loyalty, the Rajah aforesaid (loud laughter), and I want you to reflect what new additional scope for our good Police's energy there will be, if even things like these are to be repressed by law, and to consider what amount of comfort this Police, with its already vast powers, in practice confers upon us.

I do not deny those blessings conferred on us by the Police department, but I cannot forget that it is not at present so managed as to be in any way reassuring to the public. (Cheers.) It is a department for looking after thieves and budmashes, but experience shows

* Great pains have been taken with this translation, and as a translation it is exact, but it altogether fails to give any idea of the eloquence, the happy turns of expression, and the quaint verbal quips and quirks that characterized the original, which throughout its delivery kept the audience in a roar of laughter.

that the way it does this is by petting and protecting them. ("Hear, hear.") Is there one man, be he ruler or ruled, who will this day say one word in praise of the Police? The people complain bitterly of their oppression and extortion, the officials are disgusted at their systematic getting up of false cases, and involving of innocent men in serious charges. The Police doubtless investigate closely and exert themselves greatly, but the budmashes and disturbers of the peace, in virtue of presents, and sucking up to them, and giving them information, and filling their fists with cash, get off Scot-free, and the whole weight of their persecutions falls upon those unfortunate well-conducted people, to protect whom these Police are appointed. I daily see, in whomsoever's house a theft occurs, the Police forget all about recovering the property and tracing out the thieves, and think first and only of what they can get for themselves in the way of entertainment and bribes, so that, often besides the loss by the theft, the poor man has to bear also the cost of lavishly entertaining and feeding the Police. On him too they cast the blame of having been careless—of course if he has been robbed, which they greatly doubt, it has been solely his own fault—and if the thieves have by chance left him anything, this the poor man's good friends, the Police, are always kind enough to accept. (Loud and continued cheers.)

Once a European friend asked me, joking, "What is the meaning of cholera pills?" I said, "Why, of course, pills to cure cholera"; he replied, "Why, of course? cholera pills don't mean, necessarily, that they will cure cholera, it may mean that they will cause it." So our Police, too, are just such cholera pills; for when they were first established they were supposed to have the first meaning and to cure crime, but now experience shows that they have the second, and cause crime. (Loud cheers.)

And now let others advocate the reform of the Legislative Councils, the separation of judicial functions, and what not; but, as for me, what I want to see is a thorough reform of the Police, so this is the resolution which I have to propose to you, and to which I would invite your most earnest consideration, viz.:

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

It is not improbable that our kind friends of the Police, whom I see listening carefully to all that is going on (laughter), or others of them who may hear of this resolution that I have ventured to propose, will cry out that "these Congress fellows are indeed great scoundrels." (Laughter.) They are always finding fault—now here, now there, and now they want to lay their hands on the Police. Hitherto we have, in a casual way, made inquiries about them at the instigation of this or that officer, but now we will show them what comes of meddling with us! Amongst them no doubt there are very wealthy and learned barristers and vaquils, but what does that signify? Just let Mr. Eardley-Norton from Madras visit some village of Oudh, or Mr. Howard, or the Hon'ble Pundit Ajoodhia Nath of Allahabad appear in some town in the Punjab, and we'll be even with them! At the very least we can always arrest them on suspicion, and bundle them in, handcuffed, to the sadder station." (Loud laughter.) But let me respectfully say to Their Highnesses the Police—yes, my friends, truly you possess just these powers, and you are well practised in playing such tricks. All this kind of thing you can easily do; but, if you will consider carefully, you will see that this resolution is calculated to be of great service to you also. I know that sometimes, on account of not catching thieves or by reason of an insufficient number of cases being sent up from your circle, your superior officers pitch into you, and you, to lift the load off your own heads, seize upon any one that you can lay your hands on and force him to carry it, and so make up a false case. But do you suppose that this improper pressure on you by your officers will not be dealt with by the Commission? This is true that, by the limitation of your powers, there is some danger of the belly of that bottomless pit of a pocket of yours remaining empty, but increased salary, providing a certain and more respectable income, will make amends for this. So you need not cut up rough with us, but ought rather to be grateful. (Laughter and cheers.)

Now the fixed time has passed, and indeed I have finished my speech ("Go on, go on"); but, as you insist on my going on, I will just say a few words more in reference to this Congress. For the last two days I have watched certain men coming into the Congress camp and making friends with the delegates and giving them certain advice, and, without openly opposing our work, doing all they can, in an underhand way, to mislead some of my co-religionists, by holding out to them prospects of the good will of the authorities, and of titles, if they will only leave the camp. Now I cannot help looking upon the friendly advances of these astute individuals as very similar to those made to Adam and Eve by the Devil in Paradise. (Cheers.) This is one of the traps of our ingenious and unscrupulous adversaries, who, finding they can do us no harm by their open hostility, seek now to injure us under the guise of friendship. (Loud cheers.)

* A number of Policemen were watching the Proceedings.

† Lit., "Devil's eye." A thing without limit of length or depth is a "Devil's eye."

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rd Day. Let me tell you a little story: There was a certain Moulvi, very learned and pious, who, day and night, was occupied in the praise of God. The Devil was puzzled. Said he, "I can't get hold of this fellow anyhow. Really I shall lose him if I don't look out, and, what is worse, people so look up to and revere him, that the whole country here is growing religious, and, if I cannot show him up, I shall lose the whole country. It really is deuced hard, and, blow me! if I know what to do." One day, however, having put on a wonderful appearance of sanctity, with a beard down to his navel, wearing a huge green turban and a long robe, a rosary in one hand, a staff in the other, and slippers on his feet (*loud laughter*), in the small hours of the night he appeared before the holy devotee: "Peace be to you;" "And to you be peace." "May I hope you are well?" "Whence has your honour come?" The Devil said: "I am Gabriel; our good friend * God has accepted your devotion and is much pleased with you, and has ordered me to wait upon you and give you his best regards and bring you to the seventh heaven. So here I am, and I have brought the heavenly steed (*Boorak*) †; it is at the door." Hearing this, the devotee was rejoiced beyond bounds, and burst out laughing. Nay, he was in such a hurry that he did not properly perform his ablutions, but, combing his beard rapidly and slipping on his robe, he announced that he was ready. The Devil bound a handkerchief over his eyes and mounted him and took him along with him. Jogging on, when they had got to a certain place on the outskirts of the village, the Devil said: "Highness, we have now arrived at the *Sadrat-ul-Muntaha* (i.e., the place beyond which Gabriel could not proceed, when he accompanied Mahomet on his visit to Heaven). I can go no further; from hence other angels will take your worship." Our devotee, in his enthusiasm about the seventh heaven, remained on the heavenly steed, moving slowly about all night, but no Mr. Angel (*Feristah sahib*) came, nor was the glory of God revealed to him. In the morning passers-by who saw their much-venerated devotee in this condition were greatly astonished, and came near him and saw the bandage over his eyes. This they removed, and then the devotee saw that there was neither heaven nor God's throne, nor the *Sadrat-ul-Muntaha*, nor even the heavenly charger, but there, seated on an ass, he was perched on top of an old brick kiln. (*Prolonged cheers and laughter*.)

Friends, this folly on the part of the devotee was solely due to his desire for a visit to heaven being so great that he never stopped to consider that in these days such a visit is impossible. If he had really used his wits, it would have been impossible for the Devil's trick to have succeeded, or for him to have been made such a fool of.

Now, therefore, it behoves us to weigh carefully the proposals of these enemies of our cause, who come in the guise of friends, and to reckon up well the loss and gain of everything. Let it not be that unscrupulous people with deceitful stories leading us away from this devotion to our country's cause, and taking us up the mount of flattery, leave us, at last, perched there upon our own folly, to be the laughing-stock of the world. (*Tremendous cheering*.)

MR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR—(*Barar, No. 259 in list*)—said: Sir,—This is a much humbler proposition than some of those which have preceded it; but it is an eminently practical one, which will come perhaps more immediately home to the hearts of the masses of the people than any other. It will carry the name of the Congress into every homestead. The policeman's is not a very happy lot, and, as we all know, he is more or less abused all over the world; but in India he is simply execrated from one end of the country to the other. In every village, in every town, amongst all ranks of society, high or low, wherever you go, you will find that there is nowhere anyone who has one single good word to say for the policeman—nay, he is hated and detested,—and the reasons are not far to seek. The policeman's duties are such that he ought to be loved by every well-wisher of society. He ought to be the protector of our lives and property, and as such he ought to be almost venerated. But here is the fact: In every village, the person who is most feared—feared even more than the highest official in the district—is the policeman getting Rs. 5 or Rs. 6 per month. The reason is that the law, as it stands at present, invests the policeman with powers so very wide and comprehensive that it is no wonder that, when exercised by men whose salaries range from £4 to £6 per annum! (Englishmen will, I hope, mark this astounding fact) the result should be so very unsatisfactory. Those powers are in several respects such that they could not safely be entrusted to any set of human beings. There are others which can certainly not be rightly entrusted to anyone without proper safeguards and restrictions. And to whom, I ask, are such extraordinary powers entrusted? To men ignorant and illiterate—to men drawn from the lowest ranks of society—men who have no sense of responsibility in regard to their duty (*cheers*), and who are paid the magnificent salary of from £4 to £6 per annum, being actually less than well-to-do people pay their stable assistants,

* Allah Meah, a kind of familiar way of speaking of God.

† The heavenly charger on which Mahomed rode to heaven.

their punka-pullers, or their sweepers. Yet any one of these men, if he takes it into his head to insult or annoy you, or to lower you in the public estimation, can do it, and, practically, with impunity. Is it to be wondered, if, to make a living, their whole energies are devoted, not to the suppression or detection of crime, but to the extortion, under threats, (of what they will otherwise do) of the means for a luxurious livelihood, out of the rest of the community? Some years ago a native gentleman, a very high officer of Government, was dragged from his house in Bombay and walked bareheaded through the streets on his way from his house to the police station, simply because he would not bribe the police to permit him to proceed in a more suitable manner. (*"Hear, hear."*) Many such instances of police iniquity occur almost daily in every part of the country, and during my eight years' experience, as a lawyer in the districts, I have come across cases of police oppression and violence which have made my blood boil within me, and my hair stand on end. I know of cases in which persons have been convicted and sentenced under a wholly trumped-up charge, and the truth only discovered when it was too late. (*"Shame."*) Is there one single Indian here present who cannot, from his own personal experiences, narrate a dozen cases of cruelty, oppression and extortion on the part of these wretches? I shall be told by our adversaries that these our oppressors are our own fellow-countrymen, but this attempt to shift the responsibility is futile. When, before Lord Cornwallis' reform, the English Covenanted Civil Service were paid on the same beggarly scale (considering the positions they occupied) as the Police now are, they were just as wicked and corrupt as our Indian policemen. The fault lies with Government, and with the Government only. They must restrict the arbitrary powers of the Police. They must pay them adequately, and they must put them in charge of officers who care more for truth and justice than for drill and *nakshahs*,* and who really sympathize with and desire truly in their hearts, above all things, the welfare of the people. (*Loud cheers*.)

MR. PRINGLE KENNEDY—(*Behar, No. 1099 in list*)—rose and said: Gentlemen,—The resolution which I rise to support to-day is one, the importance of which yields to no other or to almost no other of the resolutions before you. (*Cheers*.) In spite of what some people seem to think, a native of India does not spend all his days in the law courts, is not always being tried before a judge, with or without a jury, nor is he continually before the High Court on the Criminal Revision side. But the police, like unto the poor, we have ever with us. There is a French proverb, "*La bouche va toujours*," which being translated with its appropriate application means: "*A policeman is always hungry*." (*Laughter*.) He is ready for anything—from a pice to a thousand rupees. His mouth is the most elastic of any in the country. A pice† is not too small to escape his notice, and I believe he would not choke even if he swallowed a crore.‡ (*Laughter*.) Now, as it has been remarked, an ounce of fact is worth a ton of theory. So, to illustrate that, let me give you two stories. The first is concerning a case in which a richer man was accused of a criminal offence by a poorer man. The complainant asked the District Superintendent of Police to investigate the case himself, but he not only declined, but refused to permit first one and then another subordinate to take up the case on the ground that he could not trust them. At last the most honest Sub-Inspector in the division, as he was said to be, was sent to conduct the investigation; and what do you think this most honest man did? Why, after sitting for a few days, and taking a pretty considerable mass of evidence, he sent word to the rich man that he wanted 5,000 rupees; and on this being refused, he asked for less and less, until he came down to 500 rupees; and, when this, too, was refused, he being too lazy to write a fresh report, simply added to it a page, saying that the case was true, though it was difficult to get evidence. (*Laughter*.) Some time after, the Collector of the district told me that he believed the case to be a perfectly true one, as the Sub-Inspector had told him so, but had also added that the rich man had bribed and won over all the witnesses! Then here is another case. Some little time ago I was engaged in a case in which the question arose as to the abandonment of a new-born infant. The mother of the child was dwelling in the house, in the garden of which the infant was found. And you would hardly believe that it took four days before the mother could be found, although she was not a purda-nashin, and although several policemen were in the search, one of them known as a literate policeman, a Mr. Dogberry, and the others illiterate. These latter may well be deemed relations of Mr. Verges. And while these things occur, violent death after violent death occurs in our part of the country, and no one is brought to justice, inasmuch as the Police, instead of detecting crime, cannot get up any case without bringing into it a quantity of false evidence. And then we see, sometimes, the scandal of an Under-Secretary, as was seen two years ago, scolding the High Court, inasmuch as it did not punish crime. Is it any wonder, then, that the policeman is considered, not as a watchdog, but rather as an animal—I will not name which—that has not the reputation of wisdom, or as another animal, whose cunning is its most conspicuous feature? (*Cheers*.)

* Red tape.

† The 1/4rd of a farthing.

‡ One million sterling.

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3rd Day. Now I am a microscopic member of a microscopic minority. (*Laughter.*) My experience is limited. It may be that the entire police of the empire do not ill-treat accused persons (*Cries of "They do, they do"*); that in Bombay and Madras they do not take bribes (*Cries from Madras and Bombay delegates, "They do, they do"*); and that the stories of ill-treatment by them of persons in the Punjab desiring to attend this Congress are but the figments of an excited imagination (*Cries of "No, no; they are true!"*); but to the character and conduct of the Police in my own part of the country I can speak with confidence, and can boldly assert that it leaves almost everything to be desired. (*Cheers.*)

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tration.

We want a Commission to inquire into all this. (*Cheers.*) I recognise that it is an extremely difficult problem. The men's pay, as the last speaker remarked, is ridiculously small, their powers immoderately great, and possibly any alteration in either direction may prove difficult in practice. But I cannot believe that it is beyond the resources of statesmanship, when thoroughly informed as to the facts, which our rulers might be if they appoint a proper Commission. I lay stress on this, for no purely official commission will be of the least use; we must have the Commission mixed (*"Hear, hear," and cheers*) and largely composed of independent non-officials. Otherwise we may be pretty sure that we shall have the old official report, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." (*Cheers.*) We want reform, not a panegyric on existing facts, and if we get the kind of Commission I have suggested we may then, possibly, also get what the country requires. (*Cheers.*)

LALLA JAISHI RAM—(*Punjab, No. 373 in list*)—speaking in Urdu, said: Mr. President and Gentlemen,—After the able speeches of the gentlemen who proposed, seconded and supported this resolution, it is almost superfluous for me to make any remarks on the subject. The Police vagaries and abuses are, however, so notorious that one can hardly avoid making some observations thereon. The law on the police administration is defective, the rules made in accordance therewith are faulty, and the working of the system is highly unsatisfactory. It is not at all uncommon, quite the reverse, to find Police officers grossly abusing their authority. We often meet with instances in which Police officers have fabricated evidence and got up false cases against poor innocent persons. The security, of the people vests in them, but, instead of enhancing that security, it is the Police themselves who are the chief source of the present insecurity of both persons and property.

The Police system is, broadly speaking, an unmistakeable failure, and in support of this assertion I may note that the report of the Public Service Commission which recently met, furnishes important evidence.

With these observations I support the resolution put before the meeting.

MR. HARCHANDRAI VISHNUDAS—(*Sind, No. 242 in list*)—said: It is the part of a policeman to detect crime, but they ought to catch the criminal, and should not lay hold of the wrong person, as they seem to prefer doing. The cry comes up from all parts of India that the existing Police administration in this country is very far from satisfactory. It is true that no institution in this world is capable of absolute perfection, but there are institutions and institutions, and this institution is of such a nature that we must perforce, if we are to have any peace or comfort in life, try to free it, as much as possible, from the taint of evil and from defects of every kind. The Police branch of the service admits of a very great deal of improvement, but the system at present is such that it will hardly lend itself to any of those reforms that we desire. One of its great defects is that the men who constitute the rank and file of the Police department are drawn from the very dregs of the community, and are both illiterate and very badly paid. They have not any such sense of duty as can restrain them from those acts of extortion and oppression which they now commit without any scruple of conscience—without, I really believe, in many cases, realizing that they are doing wrong. It would be better if the Government were to raise their pay, and see that they have some education and some such conscientious feelings as would revolt against gross injustice. It is quite necessary that the continual practice of torture should be put a stop to. There have come within my own observation cases of torture of so revolting and atrocious a nature that I do not like to harrow your feelings by describing them to you. At present, men in the lowest grade of the service have no regular promotion to expect. They are kept on the same pay as long as they remain in the service. Not only ought a far higher class of men to be enlisted, not only ought their initial pay to be raised, so that their service may be worth having which it is not, now unless they extort a good deal of money monthly from the people but fair chances of promotion ought to be open to all of them, so that they may look forward confidently to both better pay and better positions, and obtain them in the course of time, with certainty, as the reward of real merit. (*"Hear, hear."*)

MR. MAHOMED HIDAYAT RASUL—(*Lucknow, No. 466 in list*)—in seconding the resolution, said, speaking in Urdu: Mr. Chairman and brother delegates,—

"All the evils of the world are due to disunion,
But this our grand union here is the gift of Destiny."

Gentlemen, this couplet, full of moral meaning, is the production of my able friend Mirza Machcha Beg, Sitamzarif, who is present here in the capacity of a delegate of the Anjuman-i-Islam, which has delegated the Mirza Sahib and my humble self to this comprehensive and venerable association which bears more than 400 members on its rolls, has deputed thirty distinguished delegates, including three Princes Royal, grandsons of the late lamented Mahomed Ali Shah III. of Oudh—Sheikh Raza Husain Khan Saheb, Taluqdar, Mr. Ali Mahomed Bhimjee, and others—to take part in the proceedings of this Congress (*loud cheers*); and no less than seventy Mahomedan delegates represent at this meeting our own province of Oudh. (*Loud cheers.*) Now, can you say how so many able and distinguished delegates have come to be returned from Oudh, and specially from Lucknow? Gentlemen, I will whisper it in your ears. The truth of it is, that all this good result is due to the kindness of our brethren in the Alighur camp—the opponents of the Congress. (*Loud cheers.*) I assure you that, if our hostile brethren had not made such a grand show of opposition, the Congress would certainly not have been the success that it has been to-day. (*Cheers.*) To my mind, the National Congress is like the vine, which, the more it is pruned, the more it flourishes. (*Cheers.*) There is no doubt that our kind opponents have spared no pains to prune it out of existence; but still the numerous branches which delight the eyes of spectators in this vast hall to-day are, to no small extent, the outcome of their persistent pruning. (*Cheers.*) You do not know how much opposition was raised against the Congress in Lucknow, and you will be sorry to hear what shameful tactics were employed against it. In the first place, the people of Lucknow are, as you know, famous for their intelligence, and no doubt they are intelligent; then, again, there was the "loyal" Rajah Siva Prasad bent on still further developing that abnormal intelligence; and to crown all, there was the co-operation of Sir Syed Ahmed, the evil genius of Mahomedans. (*Loud cheers.*) You can well understand now that, under such a combination, no tactics would be considered too mean to adopt. The first act of faithfulness was, the issuing of the notice to the effect that the Hon'ble Pandit Ajoodhianath had insulted the Mahomedan faith in his speech. Of course, this was the spark designed to set the hearts of the general mass of Mahomedans on fire. There was not a single individual who did not for the time feel a sort of excitement, and this was made the ground for a meeting at the Kaisarbagh, to which all our hawkers of vegetables and butchers were specially invited. But the fun of it was that in that meeting neither the merits of Islam were explained (*Cries of "Shame, shame!"*), nor was it proposed to hang Pandit Ajoodhianath for six months* (*loud laughter*), nor yet were the audience metamorphosed from human beings into—*naturias* (the followers of Sir Syed Ahmed, with their coats, pantaloons, and red Turkish caps). (*Laughter.*) What then, you would ask, was done there? Nothing. Those who attended the meeting found themselves in the position depicted in the well-known colloquy: "Where did you go?" "Nowhere." "What did you bring?" "Nothing." (*Tremendous cheering.*) Of course, the Government was praised in the usual way for introducing telegraphs and railways into the country. And nothing else. (*Cheers.*) Say, Gentlemen, where is the wretch who has ever denied this? (*Cheers.*) Well, this meeting produced two results: On the one hand, the Mahomedans, having seen through their grandly got-up but empty proceedings, became disgusted with the promoters of the meeting; on the other hand, a message was wired to the Sage of Alighur,—*"We congratulate you in that, like the Punjab. Lucknow also has, in all faith, come within the circle of your disciples."* (*Loud laughter.*) And this was the "natural" mistake that tempted the Sage to come again to Lucknow. (*Loud laughter.*) But alas! the second meeting disclosed the true state of things, in which, despite the strongest endeavours, not even three persons and a half could be brought together (*loud cheers*), and the few that assembled fell out amongst themselves, as a providential punishment for their evil actions, and a natural sequence of their traitorship to the country. (*Loud cheers.*) (*Here the President touched the gong.*)

I regret that the time allotted to me is over. (*Cries of "Go on, go on."*) Gentlemen, our opponents may be justly compared to a false witness (*cheers*), in whose heart there still shines the divine light (conscience), but whose lips give utterance to those words only that he has been paid to speak. (*Loud cheers.*) You have heard the narrative of the opposition. Hear for a moment now of the effect it has produced upon us. You will laugh to hear that where there was one Congressman before, there, there are now ten. (*Loud cheers.*) Nay, even our opponents themselves are now secretly in sympathy with us; because, when the fruits of our endeavours begin to ripen, these gentlemen will be the first to stretch forth their hands. (*Vociferous cheers.*) It is for this reason that I have compared them to mercenary witnesses. (*Loud cheers.*) Gentlemen, have delegates from any other part of India been started on their journey amidst the same outburst of enthusiasm and patriotic feeling, with music-playing and flags fluttering in the air, amid shouts of *"Jai Hume Sahib,"* and *"Jai Congress"* (*"Victory to Hume Sahib" and "Success to the Congress"*)—as were the delegates from Lucknow? You will yourself say No. (*Cheers.*) Then why were they so started? Because of the good services of the opposition. (*Laughter.*) I

* A colloquialism.



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cannot here refrain from giving this much praise to the heroes of Lucknow, that from the position which they took up in their own peculiar plucky style in the matter of the Congress, they have never swerved one hair's breadth, despite the virulence and violence of the stupid opposition. (*Loud cheers.*) I have through your indulgence taken so much of your time that I cannot expect more, or else I would have shown that it is not merely deception, but sheer dishonesty to claim for Sir Syed Ahmed the leadership of the Mahomedans. It is very strange that, while all the learned Mahomedans of India, Arabia and Persia unite in denouncing him as an unbeliever, Sir Syed, in his own vanity, should still consider himself the leader of the Mahomedans. As the Persian proverb says, "How bold is the thief who carries a light in his hand?" (*Loud cheers.*)

I will now say a few words in the discharge of my duty of seconding the resolution moved by my able friend, Munshi Mahammad Sajjad Hussain. I fully concur with my able friend in all that he has said about the Police. By ill luck, our own misdeeds, incarnate in the shape of the Police, rule over us. (*Loud cheers.*) No more "faithful" body of men than that could be found in the whole world, who openly fly at the throats of their employers. (*Cries of "Shame! shame!"*) You know whence the Police are paid. From Municipal funds and other miscellaneous sources of revenue. Yet while we ourselves are robbed, our own kith and kin are implicated and disgraced; while those near and dear to us are killed and wounded, we have to provide rich and delicious dishes for the relentless Police. (*Cries of "Shame! shame!"*) You will never hear of any great theft being traced out; but, of course, petty thieves are hunted up. Now, say, in whose greedy maw are buried those big sums; and why are petty thefts of a penny or half-penny belched out? (*Cheers.*) I will not disclose the reason of it. You must guess it for yourselves. (*Laughter.*) In my opinion, investigations are made simply that there may be no mistake in apportioning the shares. (*Vociferous cheers.*) In short, the troubles that the country at large, and specially the gentry, suffer at the hands of the police, are too numerous to be described in such a short time. It is one of those serious evils that admits of no remedy, except a radical reform. In my opinion, Police oppression by itself fully weighs against all our other grievances. I say, and say openly, that the existing Police is a source of great disrepute to Government, and it loudly calls for reform. And now, Gentlemen, I bring my poor discourse to an end, and make room for those able and learned gentlemen, whose eloquent speeches I myself long to hear. (*Cheers.*)

MR. PARTHASARADHI NAIDU—(*Madras, No. 26 in list*)—spoke in Telegu. He said: Mr. Chairman and Brother Delegates,—It is with great pleasure I have come forward to support this very important resolution—a resolution, in my humble opinion, almost more important than all the resolutions that have already been proposed, or any of those that will be proposed, hereafter. In short, this resolution is so important because it concerns all classes, and all creeds and both the rich and the poor amongst these. The dread of the policeman's high-handed oppression is a terror to the young and old, and all alike. Previous speakers have cited instances that have come under their observation to substantiate the statement that the Police department is rotten to the core, and have urged the necessity of urgent reform. I shall just mention two little incidents to illustrate Mr. Kennedy's remark that nothing is too small and nothing too large for them in the way of extortion. A second class police constable of the Madras Reserve Police Force once called on me at my office and asked me for some charity to remove an unclaimed corpse, and I gave him eight annas, believing his statement to be true. Some time after, *i.e.*, on the 28th November last, he called on me again and asked me to help him with four annas to enable him to engage a carriage to go and arrest a thief who had absconded, against whom he said he had a warrant. I refused to give him this, seeing that it was a public duty, and directed him to the Inspector of Police. Subsequently I reported the matter to the Commissioner of Police, and from inquiries instituted many similar cases cropped up against him, with the result that, for having cheated and attempted to cheat me and others by false representations, he was sentenced to seven months' hard labour. This is only an instance of Mr. Kennedy's "hungry men," who constitute the Police force. I will mention another specimen of our good Police's tricks that occurred just before I left Madras. At a great festival in a big temple in Madras, a golden necklace, worth Rs. 700, was snatched away from the person of a native lady in the crowd by some-one who remains unknown. A poor man who chanced to be close by was however arrested, dragged to the station, and every possible search was made by the Station House Officer and others, and yet the lost jewel was not found with the suspected party. The next day the Divisional Inspector called at the station, entered into a room with the suspected party, bolting the door from inside, and in a few minutes came out with the lost jewel, exclaiming exultingly at the top of his voice "Look here, you rascals, here is the necklace which you have not been able to trace out." The Station House Officer and others, who had searched the man beforehand, were simply lost in amazement at this, as it were, *theosophic mystery*. The case was sent up before the Magistrate, who, of course, acquitted the man; and how the Inspector became possessed of the

necklace is still a matter of inquiry. The ever-itching-palmy police-wallahs in the case in question had induced the lady that lost the necklace to give them in writing a promise of Rs. 200 in case the necklace was recovered. Such cases are but samples of what may be seen and heard in the Magisterial Courts everywhere. Most of the murder cases appealed to the High Court reveal startling facts of police oppression, high handedness and torture, and not unfrequently these professional preservers of the peace are sent to the School of Correction. To what is all this owing? The answer is as clear as daylight. The Police Department, constituted as it is at present, consists of men who are, in nine cases out of ten, utterly uneducated and devoid of all moral sense. Under the false theory that physical strength is the sole necessary qualification, all the roughs and blackguards of our slums are enlisted into the police force; and, as a matter of fact, they are so badly paid that no good strong able-bodied man, capable of doing a good day's work elsewhere, and whose character was above extortion and corruption, would ever enlist in the force. In my opinion we ought certainly to subordinate physical strength to brains and heart. The police have not always to do pioneer's work, or sepoy's duty. On the contrary, the bulk of their duties requires intelligence, judgment, tact, and above all integrity. A well-organised police would be more engaged in the prevention than in the detection of crime. The present state of the Department is such that, on the occurrence of a crime, the police spare no pains to bring some man, whether innocent or guilty they seem to care little, into trouble, supplying all the necessary evidence, no matter whether the final result be the conviction of a guilty or an innocent man. They think that the greater the number of the victims they have "run in" the more efficient will their Department and themselves appear in the eyes of the officials and the public. This, so far as the public is concerned, is a sad and serious mistake, and their villainy, in the long run, renders them quite detestable to every one, and utterly discredits the whole Department. I am therefore strongly of opinion that the Police Department must consist of well-paid and educated men, possessing discriminative powers. While we see education spreading everywhere, there is no reason why it should not be more prominently availed of in the Police Department. By so saying I do not mean, for one moment, that feeble, puny men—the victims of over-study—should be enlisted, but the robust amongst the educated should be drafted into this important Department, the pay being so raised as to make it worth the while of such men to serve in it. And certainly such men will not only be able to cope with the *wear and tear* of the Department, but also will be able to understand that they have not a mechanical duty to perform without caution and care, as is now done, and that they are not employed, as our present police seem to fancy, solely to rob and harass the respectable and peaceful sections of the community. In order to induce educated, intelligent and God-fearing men to enlist, the Department must be thoroughly re-organized. Not only must the present emoluments be improved, but the present *uniform* also, and the status of the entire force will then be most willing to join the ranks of the Constabulary, and similarly our B.A.'s, F.A.'s and others will unhesitatingly volunteer for grades like Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors. Unless the Police Department is thus satisfactorily reformed, or in other words, without an honest and intelligent police force, our life and property will never be safe—no not even under the benign administration of our beloved and Gracious Imperial Majesty, the Queen-Empress. (*Loud cheers.*)

BABOO KAILASH CHUNDRA SEN—(*Dacca, No. 1132 in list*)—next rose and said: Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—I come from Eastern Bengal, and, had it not been my desire to place before you certain painful cases of police oppression in certain districts of Eastern Bengal, of which I am a resident, I would not have risen to speak to-day. The Congress is the noblest movement of the age, and one of its *raison d'être* is to give us an opportunity of making known to our rulers our grievances in a constitutional and loyal manner. I hail the day on which the Congress first came into existence. It is not only calculated to enable the natives of the soil to protect their rights and privileges, but it is also one of the bulwarks of defence of British rule in India. (*Cheers.*) Although many able speakers who spoke before me on the police reform did full justice to the subject, still I thought you would be desirous of knowing something about the state of affairs in connection with the police administration in Eastern Bengal, and this is my justification, Gentlemen, in asking your indulgent attention to my few observations on the unsatisfactory state of police administration in our country.

This is a resolution which concerns the masses, who should be allowed to protect their rights, liberties and properties from being encroached upon by police officers, who, having gradually grown corrupt, have become powerful engines of oppression in Eastern Bengal. In order to cite some examples I would draw your attention to a painful case in which I defended the accused, a girl of eighteen, who was accused of having murdered her husband. The case was, with the aid of assessors, tried by the then Sessions Judge of Backergunge, Mr. L. R. Tottenham, who is now one of the Judges

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3rd Day. of Her Majesty's High Court in Calcutta. You will be startled to hear, Gentlemen, that the girl was about to be convicted on her own confession which was extorted from her by the police. It was a confession made partly under a threat of ill-treatment and beating held out by the police officers, and partly under an assurance given her by a Sub-Inspector of Police that she would not get into any trouble of any kind if she would only say what they told her to say.

It was a confession containing long stories as to how she, the accused, alleged that she had committed the murder. Yet when the witnesses for the prosecution were subjected to a sharp cross-examination they were totally broken down, and circumstances of a harrowing character came to light, clearly shewing that the confession was extorted by the Police, and that the charge against her was wholly unfounded.

Some of the circumstances which gave the lie to the confession and proved it to have been extorted were that the wound inflicted on the throat was deeper than the cutting instrument (called a *dhaa* in our part of the country) by which it was alleged to have been inflicted, was long; the curtain within which the accused was alleged to have been asleep when the foul deed of murder was committed did not bear any marks of blood. The man had been murdered somewhere else, and the police officer, instead of bringing the charge home to the real murderer, when he found a difficulty in doing this, charged the poor wife of the deceased with the foul deed. For his credit's sake he had to convict someone, but who he cared not. The result was that the woman's confession was found to have been extorted by the police, and she was acquitted and the police officer suspended. But in how many cases do such fabricated cases pass undetected, and how often are the innocent punished instead of the guilty? There are many other painful cases of police oppression in Eastern Bengal which I could bring to your notice, but, as the time allowed me to speak has expired, I finish my remarks with the earnest request that you will all carry this resolution with acclamation and pray to Government for the appointment of a Commission to institute a searching enquiry into the manner in which the police officers in the different provinces of India are discharging their duties, and to consider whether it is not essentially necessary to remodel entirely the system of filling up the higher appointments, especially in the Police Department, so as to get the best and thoroughly upright men in the police force. (Cheers.) (Cries of "No more speaking. Vote, vote.")

THE PRESIDENT: There appears to be no difference of opinion on this question. Shall I now put the resolution? Are you all agreed? (Cries of "Yes, yes; all, all.") Then, Gentlemen, the resolution stands as follows:—

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

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

MEER WAHID ALI—(Rohilkund, No. 526 in list)—who spoke in Urdu, proposed the resolution as follows:—

He said: The resolution that I have to propose runs as follows:—

"That the Congress having read and considered Resolution IV of the Congress of 1887, to wit—

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

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

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

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

"That, in view of the loyalty of the people, the hardships which the present Arms Act (XI of 1878) causes, and the unmerited slur which it casts upon the people of this country, the Government be moved 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"—

"do now, hereby, affirm the same respectively."

Now there can be no doubt about the advisability, as well as the justice, of admitting native gentlemen to the higher ranks of the Indian Army. Properly trained, they would unquestionably be just as fit for these posts as the European gentlemen who now monopolize them. I do not think I need say more about this. As to volunteering, I think that the people of the country, at any rate the better classes, ought to be permitted to prepare themselves to defend and protect their country and their possessions against any possible foreign invasion. When, too, we reflect upon the enormous cost of each European soldier to the country, something like Rs. 800 yearly for each man, I think the Government might well consider whether they could not, by encouraging volunteering, make the country as safe, if not safer than now, at much smaller cost. Twenty thoroughly effective Indian volunteers, drawn from the fighting races, could be had at the cost of one European soldier, and I believe I am not unreasonable in thinking that ten such volunteers might safely take the place of one European soldier, at any rate to the extent of one-fourth of the British troops now in India. As to the Arms Act, it undoubtedly produces much heart-burning and involves many annoyances, enormous loss of crops, and in some places very considerable loss of life also. Something must be done to mitigate existing evils, and, though I have not thought much about it, I recognize that what is proposed, if it can be practically carried out, would have this effect. I need not, I think, say more. (Cheers.) I commend the resolution to your favourable consideration. (Cheers.)

MR. ALI MAHOMED BHIMJEE—(Lucknow, No. 455 in list)—said: In regard to the question of establishing military colleges, I should like to refer you to the Secretary of State's despatch, dated 26th January, 1886, in which his Lordship says:—

"The position of India in relation to taxation and the sources of the public revenues is very peculiar; not merely from the habits of the people and their strong aversion to change, which is more specially exhibited to new forms of taxation, but likewise from the character of the Government, which is in the hands of foreigners, who hold all the principal administrative offices and form so large a part of the army. The impatience of new taxation, which would have to be borne, wholly as a consequence of the foreign rule imposed on the country, and virtually to meet additions to charges arising outside of the country, would constitute a political danger, the real magnitude of which, it is to be feared, is not at all appreciated by persons who have no knowledge of or concern in the government of India, but which those responsible for that government have long regarded as of the most serious order."

Now, one of the means by which the political danger referred to in this despatch can be removed is the establishment of military colleges and the admission of natives to high military offices; therefore the National Congress, by asking for the establishment of military colleges in this country, will be showing a method of partially removing one of those serious causes of political danger on which the Secretary of State lays so much stress.

I have compared the cost of soldiers in four countries—France, Germany, England and India; and the following is the result, according to an official return published in 1880. No doubt the figures will have slightly varied since then, but it will be found that the cost of our European soldiers in India is even more disproportionately large, now, than it was then. The average cost per soldier in France, with an army of 900,000, was Rs. 185; in Germany, with an army of 1,200,000, it was Rs. 145; in England it was Rs. 277; and in India the average cost of a soldier was Rs. 775. (Cries of "Shame.") Now, Gentlemen, if we were to have military colleges and training schools established in India, and if our own men were to receive the education necessary to render them fit for military service—the less competent in the lower grades, the most able in high military posts—not only would the cost per head be greatly reduced, but the number of imported soldiers might also be greatly reduced. On economic grounds, as well as for the purpose of minimizing that political danger referred to by the Secretary of State, it is necessary, nay imperative, that we should have military educational establishments to qualify our young men for all, alike the higher and the lower, military posts. A native of India, under the present system, may serve for fifty years, and yet he can only rise to be a subadar-major on a paltry salary of Rs. 200 per month, whereas a young sub-lieutenant, coming out straight from England, immediately steps into a salary of over Rs. 300.

The second part of this resolution is that we should be allowed to become volunteers. Is there anything wrong in asking the Government to allow us arms for the purpose of defending our own country and the honour of our families? (Cheers.) Then why should this privilege or right, which has been granted or conceded, take it in which light you will, to Englishmen, be peremptorily denied to us? (Cheers.) We should go on demanding this concession till Doomsday, if necessary, though I hope it will not be necessary to wait quite

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3rd Day. so long. (*Laughter.*) I have confidence in the justice of the English nation and the English Government, and as sure as this Congress is a success and perseveres you will get it. (*Cheers.*) If we are given arms, we will prove, when the time comes, to the Government that we are all loyal and ready to make a brave stand for the defence of the country and English rule.

The last clause of this resolution refers to the Arms Act. Some people really seem to think that we want arms to run amuck, pell-mell, and commit havoc. But we are not madcaps. We do not want arms in order to cause bloodshed. It is simply for the purpose of removing the slur which is cast upon our loyalty, and the invidious distinctions that have been made, that many of us who live in towns ask for this concession. A native of the West Indies, who may very likely be my own servant, may carry arms. But I, his master, may not, because I am a native of India. (*Laughter.*) Surely our good Government will see that this is not only unjust and unreasonable, but necessarily repugnant to our national pride and our best feelings of self-respect. (*Cheers.*)

MR. JADUNATH MAZUMDAR—(*Bengal, No. 1187 in list*)—then rose and spoke, but he was not clearly understood, and none of the reporters took down his speech. He desired such an amendment of the third clause of the resolution as should provide that people should be debarred from the use of arms, not at the discretion of any authority but under fixed rules. He handed in before sitting down the following amendment to be read in place of the third clause: "That, in view of the loyalty of the people and the hardships which the present Arms Act (XI of 1878) entails, the Government be moved so to modify the rules for issuing licenses to possess and wear arms as shall enable all persons to obtain them, unless declared by Government as debarred from possessing and wearing arms for reasons to be specified in the rules and not left to the discretion of the officers issuing them."

But he did not read his amendment, and the assembly, unable to understand what he was talking about, grew impatient, and finally after seven minutes had elapsed, the PRESIDENT asked him to sit down, which he did, expressing dissatisfaction (he subsequently by letter apologized for this). No one seconded his proposal.

DEWAN RAN BIJAY BAHADUR—(*Oudh, No. 519 in list*)—said: Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—It is with great diffidence and hesitation that I rise at this late hour to propose an amendment to the resolution that has been so ably moved and seconded. I hail from the land of the Baboos. You may consider that, because I belong to the Baboo race, I am unwilling to wear arms or to let my children be trained in a military college. But wait a moment. It is certainly my desire to see my countrymen allowed to wear arms, to see my countrymen being trained for a military career, or for the protection of our homes, whenever an emergency may occur. (*Cheers.*) But I wish to point out that this Congress meeting should proceed like practical men, and not ask too much at once, and not by so doing allow it to be said that we are demanding arms simply to depose the English people from their government of the country. (*Cries of "No, no."*) No one in this assembly has the smallest desire to subvert the British power, so let us be extra-cautious not to give any opportunity, by asking too much at once, to any one to impute any such madness to us. So, now, what I say, is, stick to the military colleges and drop the Volunteering and Arms Act for the present. (*Cries of "No, no; never."*) Well, Gentlemen, this is my view, and I propose an amendment. I think it is wise to be on the safe side and not ask too much. Drop the Arms Act, drop Volunteering. (*Cries of "No, no," and some confusion, during which some few further words of the speaker were lost.*)

MR. EARDLEY NORTON—(*Madras, No. 19 in list*)—rose and addressing the speaker said: May I be allowed to ask you, Sir, to be good enough to read out to us your amendment, and let us know exactly what it proposes.

The speaker then handed his amendment to the President, at whose request

PUNDIT AJOODHIA NATH—(*Allahabad, No. 551 in list*)—then read the amendment as follows:—

Proposed that clauses 2 and 3 of the Resolution, now under consideration, referring to Volunteering and to the Arms Act, be omitted."

DEWAN RAN BIJAY BAHADUR—(*Oudh, No. 519 in list*)—then again resumed speaking, this time repeating, most of what he had already said in English, in Urdu.

Finally he asked if any one would second his proposal, but, no one coming forward, and he being answered by loud cries of (*"None, none"*) he sat down.

After this, however, several delegates rose, and, addressing the Chair, begged that the amendment might be explained to them as they did not quite understand it.

THE PRESIDENT, in explanation, said: You know what the resolution is. This gentleman simply wants to have the second and third clauses deleted from the resolution. He wants to drop the questions of the Arms Act and Volunteering altogether for the present, and so he desires that the resolution now before you may conclude at the word "army," which is the last word of the first part of the resolution. Now, does any gentleman wish to second this proposal? (*Cries of "No, no."*) (After a pause, and turning to the late speaker): Then, Sir, I fear that your proposal must be dropped. (*Loud cheers.*)

MR. PRINGLE KENNEDY—(*Behar, No. 1049 in list*)—then rose and said: I, too, have got an amendment to propose, somewhat similar to that which you have just heard, but less extensive in its scope. I propose to leave out the last part only of the resolution, viz., that about the Arms Act. If the resolution had been put in parts, I would have voted against the third altogether. As regards the first part, I look upon a national army as a necessity. India is a continental power, and the country will never be safe until the flower of her youth are able to defend her. (*Cheers.*) As to the volunteers, I would go further. I would make all our young men volunteers, whether they liked it or not. (*Laughter and cheers.*) I would teach them to obey as a necessary preliminary to command. (*Cheers.*) As to the third point, I am thoroughly against it. I believe it is purely a sentimental grievance. (*Cries of "No."*) To ask the Government to repeal the Arms Act because it is a slur on your loyalty is about as unreasonable as to ask to have the sections of the Penal Code, relating to theft, repealed because it is a slur on the honesty of the people. The whole course of modern civilization is against any man wearing arms, except when there is absolute necessity for using them. It has been tried in the army, and a great amount of the crime in the army is simply because they have had arms near them. I do not think that, except for practical purposes, any man should have arms to wear. I should like to say this also in the matter, viz., that if there is any desire for equality, I would rather see Europeans put on the same level as the natives, and be compelled to take out licenses in the same way. Speaking for my own part of the country, if Government were to grant this request, the only consequence would be that, instead of men being charged for hurts and assaults, there would be a great many cases of homicide in the land fights that take place so often. I think I correctly represent the views of my own fellow delegates from Behar (*cheers*) when I say that it is extremely undesirable to allow men generally the use of arms. I have heard the bearing arms talked of as if it were a right. I say it is a right which no man can possibly possess as such. If you can get a better form of magistracy, you will get a better administration of licenses. (*Cheers.*) But if we say that we wish the Arms Act to be removed, we can only say that we desire it on purely sentimental grounds, and I may mention one fact. No one can say that the Marquis of Ripon, though a good friend to India, ever took the slightest step towards removing the Arms Act. You will make people think that you are acting from other motives if you persist in passing this resolution about the Arms Act. (*Cheers.*)

THE HON'BLE MR. K. T. TELANG—(*Bombay, No. 201 in list*)—said: I beg to second the amendment. I entirely agree with Mr. Kennedy in thinking that those of us who ask for this modification in the Arms Act do so for perfectly innocent, and indeed justifiable, purposes. (*"Hear, hear."*) Upon that point I have no manner of doubt whatever. At the same time, I think it cannot be denied that we are asking for it mainly on sentimental grounds. (*"Hear, hear."*) But as a practical body of men dealing with practical affairs of administration, we should not be governed merely by sentimental considerations. You cannot deny that there are some classes of people in the country who are turbulent, and, under the terms of this resolution, as it is framed, by which everybody would be entitled to wear arms, unless specially debarred, it is quite possible that weapons might go into the hands of the turbulent classes, in which case peaceful people might not find themselves in such a position of security as at present. (*"Hear, hear."*) Secondly, the resolution affirms that when the Government does issue an order that certain individuals, or classes of individuals, are not to have arms, they shall state in writing and publish to the world the reasons for withholding them. I cannot agree to throw this burden of stating their reasons upon the responsible executive. It will be found, on further consideration, that the real practical difficulty in regard to the administration of the Act is one which is not created by the Act itself, but by its practical maladministration by individual officers; and the real difficulty in regard to it is not to be met by a general resolution addressed to the Imperial Government, but by special representations to Local Governments in regard to the shortcomings of individual officers to whom the duty is entrusted by Government. (*"Hear, hear."*)

THE HON. P. M. MEHTA—(*Bombay, No. 208 in list*)—said: It is always with the greatest regret that I differ from any view which is taken by my friend Mr. Telang. (*Cheers.*) But I wish to state before the delegates in this Congress assembled the reason why I

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steadfastly support the original resolution placed before you. (*Cheers.*) It is said that the proposition is placed before you simply on sentimental grounds. Perhaps it is so to a certain extent, if you look to the wording of the resolution. But the reason why I support that resolution is a different one. It is not sentimental, but eminently practical, and one of the most vital importance. That consideration is that you cannot, and ought not, to emasculate a whole nation. (*Cheers.*) It may be said that the time may come in future when these restrictions will be removed. But remember that when once the Indian people become emasculated, it will be a very long time indeed before you can get them to recover their manliness and their vigour. (*Cheers.*) That is my ground for supporting the proposition; and I say it is a practical ground. Perhaps, a good many of you remember the case of James II., who, when in his hour of peril, appealed to the Duke of Bedford (whose son had been judicially murdered by the king) for help, to whom the old nobleman replied: "I had once a son whom I could have sent to your assistance. But I have not got him now." In the same way, in some hour of need, India might have to say something similar to England. (*Cheers.*) I entirely recognize all the reasonable, and to a certain extent alarming, difficulties which have been raised, but I say that, if you strive to follow a really far-sighted policy, you will realize from the lessons of History that it can never be wise to emasculate a nation. (*Cheers.*)

RAJAH LUCHMAN SINGH—(*Agra, No. 707 in list*)—then spoke in Urdu. He said: Mr. President and Gentlemen,—The young men of almost every class in this country are certainly anxious that the law which prevents them from wearing arms should be entirely repealed; but such does not seem to me to be the desire of their elders. The Rajputs are a warlike race and lovers of arms, yet even these men, I am sure, do not wish an entire repeal of the Arms Act, but, like sensible men, would join us in requesting only the amendment of certain clauses, which, I feel sure, the Government, assured as it is of our loyalty, will grant, if we put our case properly before them.

I will only add that I cannot accept that English gentleman's* statement that the Indians might as well declare the sections of the Penal Code relating to theft, to be a slur upon their honesty, as the rules laid down under the Arms Act, a slur on their loyalty. Were those sections of the Code made applicable only to us Hindus and Mahomedans, and were all Europeans, Eurasians and other non-Indian men expressly exempted from their operation, then perhaps even that gentleman would agree that they constituted a slur upon the honesty of Indians. It is precisely because those sections apply to everyone, without distinction of nationality or creed, that no one considers them a slur upon our honesty; it is precisely because the Arms Act restrictions apply to nobody, but only to us, that many consider them to involve a slur upon our loyalty. (*Cheers.*)

CAPTAIN HEARSEY—(*N.-W. Provinces, No. 841 in list*)—said: Gentlemen,—I desire to put before you, in plain terms, the danger you are incurring. It is a danger to your homes, a danger to your wives, a danger to your families. This is a proposition of young men who have not seen the difficulties in which this country was involved 30 years ago. There are not perhaps a hundred among you who can remember the troubles that befel this country in 1857. I have done or tried to do my duty here for the last 35 years, and I have shed here my blood for my country and for India (*cheers*), and am willing to do so again, although I am getting old. (*Renewed cheers.*) But that is neither here nor there.

The point is this,—the danger lies in arms being distributed indiscriminately. As Mr. Telang has very justly said, they will get into the hands of the wrong kind of people. Remember what a small thing it was in 1857 that created the disturbance it did. This country—I say it in all kindness, and without any desire to say one word against you—may be likened to a barrel of gunpowder requiring but a spark to ignite it, and then we might have all the trouble over again. (*Cries of "No, no," and "Never."*) I do not say it is likely, but I say there is still a danger, and we ought to keep well on the right and safe side. But I would put it in this way—I would choose rather the lesser evil. I would have the law of licenses applicable to every man in India, whether European or native. (*Cheers.*) I should be a sufferer thereby, for all my family shoot, and I should require to pay for licenses for them. Very well, I am quite willing to do that, rather than there should be any danger to the country. I ask you again, for the sake of generations to come, for the sake of your children and children's children, not to do anything hastily in this matter, but to think the matter carefully over in your minds. (*Cheers.*) Abuses in the administration of the Arms Act there are: injustice to you is no doubt involved in some of the present rules; but are you sure that the resolution you propose is the only or the best way, even, of protesting against what is wrong? Far better drop it at present, and let the subject be more thoroughly threshed out. (*Cheers.*)

* Mr. P. Kennedy.

MR. SURENDRANATH BANERJEE—(*Bengal, No. 1128 in list*)—rose and said: Sir,—
There seems to me to be a fatality connected with my having to come upon the Congress platform for the purpose of replying to objections brought against the passing of this resolution in regard to the Arms Act. Last year at the Madras Congress this question was most carefully threshed out and discussed, and, as the result of these deliberations, we arrived at the resolution we are now asked to re-affirm. Now, I ask, what has happened since then that we should modify, or withdraw from, that position which we occupied at the last Madras Congress? (*Cheers.*) Nothing except a reference made in a speech of the Viceroy, where, replying to our so called demand for representative Government, he also thought it necessary to condemn the Volunteer movement and the request for the modification (repeal he seems to have fancied) of the Arms Act. Repeated reference has been made to sentimental considerations, but sentimental considerations are considerations of the greatest moment to us. (*Cheers.*) We are a sentimental people. (*Cheers.*) The world is governed by sentiment. (*Renewed cheers.*) The greatest events in European and American history have been shaped, and moulded, and guided by sentimental considerations, and it will not be for me to ask you to come down from the lofty pedestal of sentiment to a mere matter-of-fact existence in this world. (*Cheers and cries of "Oh! oh!"*) But it is not merely a sentimental grievance. It is a grievance which is complained of, which is denounced, because it is keenly felt by every peasant and artisan, and every man who desires to protect his life or his property. (*Cheers.*) In the year 1885, when the Conference was held in Calcutta, one of the speakers who delivered an address on this subject, said that in his immediate neighbourhood hundreds of acres of land remained uncultivated in consequence of the depredations of wild beasts, and the question was asked, Why do not your people go in for licenses? But look at the difficulties by which the acquisition of licenses is surrounded. It necessitates a man's absenting himself from his work for days in order to give his attendance at the Courts of Law, and it necessitates the payment, not only of fees, but of *douceurs* to all kinds of people. And, after all, the license only lasts for one year. This tedious and expensive process has to be repeated again and again. These are not sentimental considerations. (*Cheers.*) Brother delegates, you may not feel it yourselves, but you are here, not only to represent yourselves, but the dumb voiceless millions—not only on your own behalf, but on behalf of the voiceless agricultural community,—and what is your next resolution? It is a resolution for raising the minimum of the income tax. You have undertaken to defend the poor and oppressed, and in their name and on their behalf I ask you to support the resolution which has been proposed and seconded. (*Cheers.*) Mr. Kennedy was pleased to say Lord Ripon did not do anything in the matter of the Arms Act. I venture to question Mr. Kennedy's assertion. The Marquis of Ripon did his best to improve the administration of the Act. (*Cheers.*) And we have been confronted with the dark days of the Indian Mutiny. But is not India now completely changed since the Indian Mutiny? Instead of suspicion and distrust, there is this Congress teeming with loyalty, teeming with devotion to our Queen, teeming with patriotism. (*Cheers.*) The times have changed. India of to-day is not the India of the Mutiny. The experiences of the Mutiny are not applicable to the experiences of the present hour; and in the name of our new India of changed circumstances, and of our poor down-trodden countrymen, I ask you to support the resolution. (*Cheers.*)

RAJAH RAMPAL SINGH—(*Allahabad, No. 571 in list*)—then said: Sir,—In rising to address this assembly, I must first express my great regret that I am here to oppose the resolution, and not to support it. Of course it is a very painful duty for me to be compelled to come forward and oppose a resolution. But I think it is a mistaken measure, and one which I think will be fraught with danger to the objects of the Congress. I would heartily support a resolution to grant us the privilege of becoming volunteers; but I, at the same time, with the greatest regret, oppose the third part of the resolution, in which you ask Government to allow you to use arms without any check. (*Cheers.*) It has been said that, for the sake of the dumb millions, we should ask Government to grant us this; but for the sake of these same dumb millions I think that you should not ask it. (*Cheers.*) Really you are making a great mistake. It will rouse the suspicions of the English people, and prevent the promotion of your cause in England. I have always been under that impression, and I strongly support the statements made by the honourable gentleman from Bombay, Mr. Telang. You may amend the Arms Act, but India does not need nor want it repealed. (*Cheers and cries of "We don't want it repealed, we only want it amended."*)

THE PRESIDENT then asked for a show of hands as to whether or not the subject had been sufficiently discussed, and, on the vote being taken, he announced that it appeared that even now there was a desire to discuss the resolution further. There were, he said, eight more resolutions to come before them, and ten persons had already spoken on the one before them. He then took another vote as to whether the question should be put, and, receiving an affirmative answer, Mr. Kennedy's amendment was put and lost.

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Res. VI.
Establish-
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Military
Colleges—
Volunteer-
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Arms Act.

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Res. VI.
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THE PRESIDENT: Then, Gentlemen, I shall now put the original resolution, which will stand as follows:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

“does now, hereby, affirm the same respectively.”

The resolution was then put and carried by a very large majority.

Res. VII.
Reform of
the Excise
and Abkari
Systems.

MR. D. E. WACHA—(Bombay, No. 204 in list)—then rose and said: Gentle- men,—The resolution that has been entrusted to me to propose runs as follows:—

“That, as it is the general belief of the people of this country that the systems of Abkari and Excise now prevailing in India have, despite the well-known benevolent intentions of the Government, permitted, if they have not directly encouraged, a serious increase in the consumption of intoxicants, the Government be respectfully urged to investigate the question, and to adopt such an improved system as shall tend to discourage insobriety.”

I congratulate the Congress on this new departure in its programme. Hitherto the resolutions passed by it have had reference to the political welfare of our countrymen, but I take the resolution just read out to you to be partly political and partly social. It is political so far as it prays the Government to inquire, with the aid of a Commission, which, it is to be hoped, will consist of officials as well as non-officials, into the real condition of the drink traffic, and social so far as it is a practical step in earnest towards the improvement of the masses who contribute largely to the excise revenue. It is not only a general belief, but, I may say, the universal conviction, that the habit of drinking is greatly on the increase; consequently there is a strong feeling that its further growth should be checked betimes, and, so far as my own Presidency is concerned, I can unhesitatingly say that consumption has greatly increased. It has doubled itself during the last few years. I have also watched the course of the drink revenue in the other provinces, especially in Bengal, Madras and the United Provinces, and I regret to have to say that there, too, intemperance is increasing. The evil must, in a large measure, be attributed to the direct action of the State, or, in other words, to the excise policies of the Imperial and Local Governments.

Many of you are, no doubt, aware that the fact of the increase of intemperance in this country was last year brought to the notice of the House of Commons by Mr. Samuel Smith, a well-known friend, who has evinced great interest in the condition of India, and whose sympathies are for the true welfare of us Indians. (Cheers.) Mr. Smith, you may be further aware, is a member who is most careful of the correctness of his facts, so that he was stating the bare truth when he observed in Parliament that the Government of India was pushing on the drink traffic with the view of augmenting the revenue, and his facts were ably supported by the statement of the Revd. M. Evans, a gentleman well known, at least in Bengal, where he has watched the Abkari administration for the last 20 years, and who is now acting as Private Secretary to a distinguished member of Parliament who has been most active in the temperance movement at home, and who has lately been paying attention to the same question in this country, and who is just now sitting among us here. (Continued cheers for Mr. Caine.) It is superfluous to refer further to Mr. Smith's inquiry, in which, he was vigorously

supported by all the temperance organisations and societies in England, headed by the Bishop of London. Neither is it necessary to refer to that other, now well known, debate on the subject in the early part of this year; suffice it to say Mr. Smith's agitation in the House of Commons virtually obliged the Secretary of State for India to direct the Indian Government to enquire into the allegation brought against it, that it was pushing on the drink traffic with the object of increasing the excise revenue. After a prolonged inquiry through the various Local Governments, that Government forwarded a despatch to the Secretary of State in June, 1887, in which it vainly tried to combat the allegation. It was a most unsatisfactory State document, full of gross misstatements and otherwise imperfect in information. But for its unsatisfactory character, I believe that the necessity for the resolution that I have moved might have been obviated. Having given considerable attention to the study of the Abkari administration, I was constrained to criticise that despatch in the form of a pamphlet, a copy of which was officially forwarded to the Secretary of State. The reply was that it was not his province to investigate the two statements of the Bombay Government, on which I had laid special stress, and that I should open communications with that Government, a reply which I considered to be simply fatuous. However, the main fact is this: that on the one hand the Government deny that its excise policy is the principal and direct cause of the increased habit of drinking among the people, and on the other the people stoutly maintain that such is the case. I may give credit to the Government for its benevolent intentions to check intemperance and promote sobriety among its subjects. But all the same it is not at all able to control the excessive zeal of excise officials to net in a larger and larger drink revenue every year by pushing the drink traffic. Under the circumstances, it is needful that the truth should be sifted to the bottom, and the best way to do this is by the appointment of an impartial and unbiassed Commission. What is wanted is not an expansive but a restrictive system of Abkari—a system which shall promote sobriety, and not one which stimulates, intemperance or puts those who never drank spirits in the way of drinking them. We want a policy which shall really be in practice one of maximum of revenue with minimum of consumption. Unfortunately, as matters now actually stand, there is a maximum of revenue and a maximum of consumption. With these few observations I now beg to move the resolution which I have already read to you. (Cheers.)

PANDIT SATTYANAND AGNIHOTRI—(Lahore, No. 344 in list)—then rose and said, speaking in Urdu: Brother Delegates,—I rise with the greatest pleasure to second the resolution proposed by Mr. Watcha. This country is suffering at present from the Abkari plague; liquor is very cheap, and is everywhere to be had, for Government shops have sprung up everywhere, and the consequence is that habits of drunkenness are increasing, and the people, especially the lower classes, are being terribly demoralized. It is in vain that I and others,* whose mission it is to labour for the moral elevation of the people, preach and pray and wear our hearts and lives out in the struggle against vice, so long as the existing system—ever tempting to drunkenness and all the sin and wickedness that this brings in its train—is allowed to continue unaltered. It is ruining the country. Thirty years ago, as I know from older men, drunkenness was comparatively rare, and nearly confined to limited, criminal or very low-caste classes. Fifteen years ago—and here I speak from my own knowledge—when I first commenced my labours, the evil was not nearly so great, and liquor was still avoided by respectable persons. Now drinking has begun to assume terrible proportions. The all Government have no wish to ruin the country; and I feel sure that, when the real state of the case is brought home to them, they will take the matter into their serious consideration, and do their part of the work in remedying this great evil. For our part, we have innumerable societies now all over the country endeavouring to discourage the use of intoxicants, but it is everywhere the existing evil system of excise and Abkari that constitutes our greatest difficulty. I may mention that Lahore had a strong association for combating the spread of drunkenness, which has been still further strengthened by the advice and recent visit of our friend Mr. Caine, whom I see present here now. (Cheers.) These associations are doing good; but it is essential that the Government should strengthen them by amending its own ways, which are, I fear, the root of this great social and political evil. Last October we held in Bengal, as you may remember, a Provincial Congress, and there too a strong resolution, recommending the reform of the existing Abkari system was unanimously passed by the whole 100 representatives sent up by every district in Bengal. Go where you will, to Madras, Bombay, Guzerat—and I have visited most provinces during the last few years—there is the same complaint everywhere,—the Government system of dealing with the liquor question, by which it is evolving a yearly increasing revenue, is demoralizing the country; and it is not too much to say that, if a radical change be not speedily effected in that system, the national consequences will be most disastrous. Gentlemen, I am at one with you in all your proposals,

* He is a well-known Brahmo Missionary—a leading religious and moral reformer in the Punjab.

3rd Day. but my daily personal experiences for some years now lead me to be more earnest and to feel more strongly in regard to this resolution, which I with all my heart commend to your acceptance, than in regard to almost any other, and we have the consolation too of knowing that this, at least, is a resolution, in which our most unscrupulous and unprincipled adversaries cannot, it seems to me, possibly find anything to cavil at.

Res. VII.,
Reform of
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MR. R. D. MEHTA—(Calcutta, No. 1139 in list)—said : Gentlemen,—I am not going to make a speech of any length, but I will tell you that, although the resolution has my entire sympathy and concurrence, I think the wording of it should be modified, and modified in such a manner as to leave no doubt as to its meaning, and in a way that it could be placed before the British public by the Member of Parliament who is with us to-day. Why should we beg the question? Why talk about its being the general belief of the people of this country, &c.? It is not a question of belief, but an established fact, that the consumption of liquor has increased and is increasing. Then why this talk about benevolent intentions? The intention of the Government is said to be benevolent. Benevolent indeed—not only benevolent, but fruitful—revenue-full (*laughter*); very benevolent as far as the Government treasury is concerned, but, as far as the health and morals of the people is concerned, ruinous. (*Cheers.*) The Government has directly encouraged the consumption of drink, and why should we now lay ourselves open to any misconception? We do not want any investigation. We have had too many investigations, and the result is merely delay in carrying out the indispensable reforms. I move, as an amendment, that our resolution on this subject be worded as follows :—

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

I hope, Gentlemen, that you will accept this amendment. It is shorter and more to the point, and it is not open to the misconstructions which the hesitating tone of the original would be certain to invite. The Government have for a long series of years been stimulating drunkenness; let them now encourage sobriety. This is what we mean, and let this be what we say. (*Cheers.*)

MR. J. E. HOWARD—(Allahabad, No. 573 in list)—then said : Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in supporting Mr. Mehta's amendment. I agree with him that the question is one in regard to which we may well be as explicit as possible. I am quite sure that the Government has never designedly encouraged the spread of drunkenness; on the contrary, I believe it has always held before its eyes the principle of "the maximum of revenue with the minimum of drinking." But no impartial man can pretend that hitherto it has been successful so far as the latter clause is concerned; nay, there is reason to fear that we are fast progressing towards a state in which with, possibly, a maximum of revenue there will also be a maximum of insobriety. I cordially join Mr. Mehta in desiring to press clearly upon Government the necessity of reform in these matters.

THE PRESIDENT : Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in informing you that both the proposer and seconder of the original resolution have signified to me their acceptance of Mr. R. D. Mehta's amendment, which has therefore now become the substantive resolution before the assembly.

MR. ATKINS—(Allahabad, No. 579 in list)—then said : I am very glad to have an opportunity of addressing you upon this subject. The proposer of the resolution has said that it is partly political and partly social. Perhaps I may be able to prove to you that it is a great deal more a political than a social question. I may perhaps take the liberty of informing you that for five years I was at the head of the largest teetotal association in this country—the Independent Order of Good Templars; and that body feels very great interest in this resolution, so much so that, were the majority of the members not military men, and therefore unable to take part in this Congress movement, I should have had the honour of appearing at the Congress, not only as a delegate of the people, but also as the representative of this great Temperance Association, which might however well have found a far abler representative. (*Cries of "No!" and cheers.*) The majority of the men in the British Army in India, whose healths are ruined by intemperance, or who are punished for offences committed while under the influence of drink, obtain the liquor from the cheap drinking places, established or maintained under the auspices of the Government Abkari Department, where country liquor is sold. You have already heard from a previous speaker what every English soldier in India costs this country, so you can understand, when soldiers fall sick through drink, or their services

are lost to the State by their being invalided to England, or in other ways, it means a serious loss of public money; and the amount so lost every year is an enormous sum, which of course comes out of the revenues of India, and which ought properly to be set against the revenue that the Government, by its present system of Abkari and excise, is realizing. I therefore consider that I am quite justified in asserting that this resolution is of great political importance (*cheers*); and that the question of an improved Abkari system has even, from this single point of view, a grave political significance. I need scarcely add that, amongst the community generally, an increase in drunkenness involves an increase in crime, an increase in the cost of repressive and adjudicative agencies, and an increase in the danger of the lower classes at some time getting out of hand; and so, from whatever side we look at it, whether where the European soldier or the Indian peasant is concerned, it is certainly quite as much, if not more, of a political than a social question. (*Loud cheers.*)

MR. SABAPATHY MUDALIAR—(Madras, No. 70 in list)—said : Mr. President,—I have the greatest pleasure in supporting this resolution. For ten years I was myself an Abkari contractor, but I gave up this business for the sake of my brethren. (*Cheers.*) So you must give me credit for knowing, perhaps better than most people, the evils entailed upon this country by the excessive drunkenness which is increasing every day (*"Hear, hear," and cheers*) under our existing Abkari system. I cannot, however, state clear facts so as to show directly how this excessive drunkenness is being brought about. It may be due in some measure to our own social customs, and to the want of effective moral training amongst our lower classes, and by no means exclusively to the wrong principles upon which the traffic is conducted by Government. I cannot, with all my experience, speak positively on this point. But, in the resolution, Government is urged to adopt all such measures as lie in their power to relieve their administration from any share it may now have in producing the evil consequences we deplore, and we, on our own part, by temperance associations and by the education of our poorer brethren, will do our best to remove any other causes, if there be such independent of the system in force, of this great and growing curse to the country. I do not think that I need add more to what has already been said, but simply once more commend to your acceptance this resolution. (*Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT : Gentlemen,—As no one else seems to wish to address you, I will, if you approve, now put the amended resolution. (*Cries of "Yes, yes, Vote, vote."*) Very good. Then the resolution will stand thus :—

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

The resolution was then put and carried without a single dissentient voice.

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA—(Allahabad, No. 569 in list)—then rose and said : Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I rise to propose the eighth resolution, which runs thus :—

"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."

I think, Gentlemen, I need hardly say much to commend this resolution to your acceptance. This is, as you all know, specially the respectable poor man's resolution. The other and larger reforms that we are seeking will no doubt conduce as much to the welfare of the poor as of the rich. But the effect of this measure, if the Government would only accept it, would be to relieve immediately a large number of poor but respectable people from injustice and oppression. The Congress will not, I hope, be misunderstood in accepting this resolution. We do not object to the income-tax itself; all that we desire is that the taxable minimum should not be so oppressively low as it is. When Lord Dufferin taunted us, in his postprandial oration at St. Andrew's, with not representing the country, because we did not ask his Lordship to decuple the income-tax, he quite forgot that the first Congress that met at Bombay distinctly stated that, if the then increasing expenditure could not be met by reductions, the necessary additional revenue should be obtained by extending the license-tax to those classes of the community who were till then exempt from its operation. In other words, it was the Congress that first advocated the re-imposition of the income-tax. (*Cheers.*) His Lordship himself complimented the Congress as "that body of intelligent and patriotic men" when he cited their authority in support of his income-tax scheme; but, though we approved and desired the imposition of the income-tax on the rich, or those who could afford to pay it, we did not want it to become an engine for harassing the poor; and if only Lord Dufferin knew half as much as we do of the injustice and oppression practised on the poorer classes of the people in connection with

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this tax, and, Gentlemen, if he knew how wide and deep is the discontent that is consequently spreading in the country, I am sure that, instead of quizzing us as he did for not proposing an increase in the tax, he would have unhesitatingly raised, as we have advised, the taxable minimum to Rs. 1,000. (Cheers.)

The taxable minimum at present is, as you very well know, Rs. 500 (£34), i.e., less than one-fourth of what it is in England (£150). But, as if this were not a sufficient ground for complaint, in actual practice, people whose incomes do not go beyond Rs. 15 a month, or say Rs. 180 (£12) per annum, are often enough taxed as though their incomes reached the legal minimum of Rs. 500. Official apologists may deny that this is a true representation of facts. But I am confident, Gentlemen, that if an honest, independent inquiry were instituted, and the evidence of non-official gentlemen obtained, my assertions would be amply borne out by their testimony. We do not for a moment insinuate that it is the desire of Government that the poor should be thus oppressed, or that the taxable minimum should in practice be reduced so much below the amount fixed by law. The fault apparently rests on the shoulders of those officers who are entrusted with the duty of assessing and collecting the tax. But, Gentlemen, the very perfunctory manner in which revising officers hear and dismiss appeals lends colour to the popular belief that the burdensome oppression and injustice that they groan under is practised with the tacit approval of Government. I shall only quote here one instance to show how unbecomingly the tax is administered, and how some Government officials help, by their thoughtless conduct, to bring our Government into disrepute. Every one knows how poor a man a grain-parcher is. He earns his daily bread by exposing himself to a blazing fire even throughout the hottest months of summer. One would imagine that the tax-collector would pass by such uninviting victims. But that unhappily is not the case. I am sorry to say, and I have it on the best authority, that in some cases the tax has been imposed on even such miserable men as grain-parchers; and what is more painful to have to record is, that the revising officers, instead of exempting such men from payment, have on appeal confirmed the assessment made by their subordinates. In the particular instance that I have just now in my mind, the revising officer ordered the grain-parcher to produce his books, and so prove that his income was not what the assessing officer had imagined it to be. Fancy a grain-parcher keeping books! You might as well expect a beggar selling lucifers in the streets of London to keep books! (Loud cheers.) But this official would insist upon the books being produced, and, that being impossible, as the books had naturally no existence, he compelled the poor man to pay the amount assessed! Tell me, Gentlemen, what can bring Government into greater disrepute than such incidents? And what we therefore pray to Government is, that it may raise the taxable minimum to Rs. 1,000, so that at least persons whose incomes fall below Rs. 500 may be removed sufficiently far from the pale of the tax-collector's harassment. This we urge, Gentlemen, primarily out of regard for the sufferings of the poor, but also in vindication of the good name of Government. (Cheers.) It is needless for me to dilate further on this resolution. I have no doubt that it will meet with your ready approval and, I venture to hope, with the favourable consideration of Government. (Cheers.)

And now, Gentlemen, before I resume my seat, permit me to refer for a moment to a subject which, though not connected with the one entrusted to my humble advocacy, is yet of such vital importance as to justify a momentary digression—I mean the Proclamation of 1858. It is not at all surprising to find speaker after speaker, from our worthy President downwards, referring to that great charter of our rights and privileges. This is the keystone of the arch which supports all our demands. Therein our gracious Sovereign, under whose benign government we assemble year after year to deliberate upon our common wants and to formulate our common grievances,—our gracious Sovereign whose pictures now hang round us, shedding, as it were, some faint reflection of her kindly and motherly influence on our deliberations (loud cheers);—therein, Gentlemen, our most noble Queen of England and Empress of India solemnly extended to us pledges the fulfilment of which we now pray for. I refer to it here simply to denounce with all the strength I can command the false and foolish utterance of a high official that the promises therein made were made more as a matter of policy than in honest good faith. I hold in my hand an extract from Her Majesty's private letter, dated Babelsburg, August 15, 1858, in which Her Majesty gave instructions to Lord Derby to draft that Proclamation, and I will, with your permission, read it to you. (Loud cheers.) It runs thus:—

"The Queen would be glad if Lord Derby would write it (the Proclamation) himself in his own excellent language, bearing in mind that it is a female Sovereign who speaks to more than a hundred millions of Eastern people on assuming the direct government over them, and after a bloody civil war giving them pledges which her future reign is to redeem, and explaining the principles of her government. Such a document should breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence, and religious toleration, and point out the privileges which the Indians will receive in being placed on an equality with the subjects of the British Crown and the prosperity following in the train of civilization." (Loud and continued cheers.)

Who in his senses, Gentlemen, could fail to be struck with the ring of sincerity and beneficence that echoes throughout these sentences? (prolonged cheering) and yet we find some exalted personages foolish enough to cast a doubt on the sincerity of Her Majesty's promises. Well, Gentlemen, perhaps it was to give the lie to such faithless men that the Queen-Empress reiterated her solemn pledges on the memorable occasion of her Jubilee. (Cheers.) In responding to the Bombay Jubilee Address, Her Majesty was pleased to say that "it had always been and would be her earnest desire to maintain unswervingly the principles laid down in the Proclamation published on her assumption of the direct controls of the Government of India." (Cheers.) And, Gentlemen, when we ask for an increased share in the administration of our affairs, whether it be as members of the Legislative Councils or of the Public Service, Civil or Military, what more do we want than that the pledges so graciously given should be as graciously redeemed? And we hope and trust they will be soon redeemed. (Cheers.)

With this slight digression, Gentlemen, for which I need scarcely apologise to you, considering the universal importance of the subject, I beg to invite your acceptance of the resolution that I have had the honour to lay before you. (Cheers.)

MR. T. P. CROWLEY—(Allahabad, No. 555 in list)—said: I have the greatest pleasure in seconding this resolution. Beyond that, I cannot say more on the income-tax. Against the income-tax itself I have no quarrel; but, if it be so adjusted that it involves the harassment of the poor, its incidence must be altered, as is proposed by this resolution. There is no more to be said on this head; but, if the President will give me a few minutes, I will allude to certain past occurrences which may help to encourage us in the great work undertaken by the Indian National Congress. (Cheers and cries of "To the point.") Well, Gentlemen, our opponents tell us that the National Congress will never, never succeed. Let me recall to you that when Wilberforce first brought in his Bill for the abolition of the slave trade, all those who reaped the fruits of this accursed traffic swore by all their false gods and said: "By Heavens, never." But time passed on, and right triumphed, and that infamous practice was abolished for ever, and it was ever and not never, and so will be the success of the Indian National Congress; it will be for ever and not never. (Laughter and cheers.) Then there was the Reform Bill. Have we not read how the old autocrats shook their heads. How they said, Oh, it was outrageous altogether? (Laughter.) How they swore that, even if they had to die on the floor of the House, the Bill should never, never pass. But again time ran on, and the Bill was passed and passed for ever, and so will the triumph of the Congress be for ever and not never. (Laughter and cheers.) Now we come to the repeal of the Corn Laws. It was going to destroy the whole Church and State; it was going to wipe England off from the roll of the nations, and usher in a worse than French Revolution. Never, so long as one drop of blood remained in their veins, would the landed aristocracy permit it. No, never! (Loud laughter.) But again a righteous cause, backed by patience and perseverance, triumphed, and the triumph was for ever, and so will be the success of the National Congress for ever and not never. (Uproarious laughter and cheers.) Now we come to the Bill passed by Mr. Gladstone for the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. The whole army of Tories and Bigots, all poor Ireland's enemies—and alas! she has too many—declared that, though the heavens fell, this awful thing should never be. But the Bill passed and passed for ever, and again the right triumphed and was for ever and not never, and so will the Congress' victories be for ever, and not never! (Renewed laughter and cheers.) If Lord Salisbury only knew the people of India as I have done for forty years, he would know that he is not worthy to loosen the laces of the shoes of many whom he seeks to insult, by taunting them with their colour. (Laughter and cheers.) But don't let us give in to him or those like him, but—let opponents misrepresent and rave as they please—let the Congress be ever and ever and ever! (Loud cheers.)

MR. K. P. VISWANADHA IYER—(Madras, No. 4 in list)—said: I have completely to endorse everything that has been so eloquently said by previous speakers about the income-tax. I agree also with Mr. Crowley that the Congress must be ever, and that we must persevere in the face of all opposition!—for ever and ever if need be. But this is a large question, and the question at present immediately before us is whether the minimum taxable limit under the income-tax arrangement should be raised from 500 rupees to 1,000 rupees, or stand at 500 rupees. I may, before proceeding further, point out that the raising of the taxable limit from 500 to 1,000 rupees means practically, at the existing rate of exchange, raising it from £34 to £68. I can tell you without any hesitation that the working of the Act, if the taxable minimum limit be retained at 500 rupees, will continue to be, as now, highly oppressive. (Cheers.) Fifty years ago, no doubt, an income of Rs. 500 a year might have been a taxable item. Money went much further, wants were fewer, lives simpler; but all this is changed now, and what then was competence is now the barest sustenance. It can surely not be desired that, after Government has introduced so many changes by which the

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3rd Day. conditions of life may be ameliorated and existence made so much fuller, we should now go back to primitive modes of life and be contented with what sufficed us in past times. But that is what is involved in keeping the limit as low as £34, or else it must be admitted that it designedly trenches upon the necessities of existence which the income-tax is professed not to do! What served us years ago cannot be supposed to serve us now. (Cheers.) What were undreamt-of superfluities then are necessities to-day; not only too do we actually need more for ourselves, but we have other and new demands to meet. For instance, we have to educate our children in a manner unheard of in past times, and the expenses of education are yearly increasing, and Government is throwing more and more of the burthen of this, yearly, on the shoulders of us poorer middle-class men. It is the policy of the Government that we should bear the larger part of these burdens, and that a constantly diminishing share of these expenses should be borne by the State. In all ways, therefore, the men with incomes of Rs. 500, and even considerably more, are becoming practically poorer and poorer, and more wholly unfit to be yearly tortured on the income-tax rack. On this ground, amongst others, and there are many others with which I need not trouble you, for they were very fully set forth at the Congress at Madras last year, I support the resolution before you most emphatically.

MR. BAIKUNTHA NATH SEN—(Bengal, No. 1192 in list)—next spoke. He said: Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—A resolution which seeks to raise the income tax taxable minimum, and thus lighten the burthens of the poorest, most hardly worked, and most struggling sections of the middle classes, carries to us—who know the difficulties which beset these unhappy sections of the community—too far advanced to live as the poorer peasants do, too poor to do what they feel to be the simplest justice to their children,—carries, I say, to us its own commendation, and should not require any elaborate arguments to support it. But as I have been called upon by our respected President technically to "support" it, I will endeavour to do so in a few words.

The resolution as drawn sets forth the opinion of the Congress, that the administration of the income-tax is extremely unsatisfactory. But the last Government resolution on the subject in a manner declares it to have been satisfactory. So here we have a conflict of opinions, and I deem it my duty therefore to submit to you a few observations on this point. With every respect for this Government enunciation, and with the greatest deference to the official who drew it up, I am compelled to submit that it has been based on insufficient and inaccurate data. I regret that I have not the resolution at hand to quote the exact words, but I may say that the main grounds on which the Government seem to have inferred the satisfactory character of the income-tax administration were the small number of appeals against assessments, the small number of warrants issued, and the small number of sales carried out for the realization of the tax.

Now the number of appeals preferred is worthless as a criterion of the merits of the administration—firstly, because the expenses of an appeal are almost equal in amount to the tax assessed; secondly, because of the extremely uncertain and, as a rule, discouraging character of the results of such appeals; thirdly, because of the existing universal indisposition to allow the real facts of incomes to be known to the public, which they always must become when appeals are made; and fourthly, because people are afraid of prosecutions under the Stamp Act. As to this latter point, I may note that when, in appeals, books are produced to prove income, these are carefully scrutinized and if in them any transactions can be unearthed in which, under the strictest reading of the law, stamped documents ought to have been used, but by some oversight or failure to realize some special point they have not been used, a criminal prosecution is at once set on foot. In the course of my professional work I have come to know of a large number of criminal prosecutions for alleged evasion of stamp duty, under the Stamp Act, resulting from investigations into income-tax appeals. These four reasons sufficiently explain the great paucity of income-tax appeals, and this paucity therefore furnishes no reason for believing the administration of the tax to have been satisfactory; nay, rightly considered, to those who understand the country and the people it is a significant sign of its utter rottenness. If it were at all healthy, there would be lots of appeals, and that no matter how perfect (humanly speaking) the assessment might be.

As regards the warrants, their smallness in number is equally no proof of the goodness of an assessment. The assessee knows that he will have to pay the costs of the warrant as well as the tax, and therefore of course, at any sacrifice, endeavours to find the money required before a warrant is issued. Moreover, the issue of a warrant lowers a man in the estimation of his fellow-citizens, and this consideration alone makes even the poorest of respectable men anxious to pay up—even if he sells his household utensils—before this indignity can be offered to him. We are very thin-skinned in these matters; but you all know it is a fact, and, being so, the talk about a limited issue of warrants proving anything in favour of the administration is futile.

Lastly, as to the small number of sales. The inference drawn is almost impudently fallacious. If there be a single sale for the realization of the tax, this is sufficient to condemn the administration. Think only what a sale means, you who know how things are managed amongst us. It means that a tax has been imposed upon a man so heavy as to exceed not only all his available means, but all his borrowing powers. What single man amongst us, if he can beg or borrow the money anywhere, will allow his property to be sold in such a case?—sold always for less than half that it will cost him to replace it. Who, if he can by any device avoid it, will add, to his other troubles, the heavy official costs of attachment and sale, and the disgrace before his fellows of these ultimate punitive proceedings? Poor men of good family have committed suicide in such cases, unable to show their faces or again hold up their heads before their fellows after such public dishonour. We know better, perhaps, in big towns, now, but in the mofussil the old ideas still linger.

Few sales, indeed, a criterion of good administration! Every single sale is a record of cruelty and oppression. Every single sale signifies an assessment, not only even a 50 per cent. assessment on the victim's means, but an assessment involving in one fell swoop more than all that he has, or can beg or borrow. (The gong here sounded.) But the President gives the warning—the fatal guillotine, as Mr. Mehta says,* has been adjusted to the throat of my poor discourse; another moment and it will cease to be, and I will now therefore only add that, had Fate, in the shape of our President, been willing to prolong my oratorical existence for only a few more minutes, I would have passed on to the positive side of the question, and shown to you very clearly how, in a dozen different ways, the existing administration of the income-tax is not only unsatisfactory, but in many of its practical details unjustifiable and wholly unworthy of our enlightened and civilized Government. (Loud cheers.)

MR. KRISHNA RAO GOVIND DESHPANDE—(C. Provinces, No. 291 in list)—rose and said: Gentlemen,—I heartily support the resolution before us, but, instead of reiterating the arguments of the able speakers who have preceded me, I will ask you for one moment to consider our position in the Central Provinces. It is, I know, a provincial question which the Congress cannot take up, but still it is a fact that I wish you all to know, because it may be a sort of consolation to all of you to realize that, bad as may be the state of affairs, in this matter of the income-tax, in the rest of India which you inhabit, it is just exactly twice as bad in our poor "Mummalik Mutawassit,"† as we are officially designated in your North-Western Provinces vernacular. You feel compassion for the poor folks amongst yourselves who are taxed down to incomes of £34 a year, but we groan under a supplementary income-tax, called the Pandhri tax, which taxes all incomes between £17 and £34. This is an old native tax, and the peculiar blessedness of our position is, that, while the old native taxes are retained, the modern European taxes are superadded to us. Gentlemen, it is I fear no use, but I desire by these words to protest respectfully against this Pandhri tax, this special income-tax with a taxable minimum of £17 a year, and to express a hope that when the Government raises the income-tax minimum, as we are praying them by the resolution before us to do, they will be good enough to abolish the Pandhri tax altogether, since, unless they do this, we poor Central Provincials, alone of all the peoples of this great Empire, will be none the better. However, I support the resolution, and even should we ourselves gain nothing, we are all brothers, and your gain will be our consolation. (Loud cheers; cries of "Vote, vote.")

THE PRESIDENT: I think I may now put the resolution, which stands thus:—

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 resolution was then put and unanimously carried. The assembly then adjourned to 11 A.M. of the next day.

* Vide ante, p. 31.

† i.e., Central Provinces, in Urdu. The speaker is a Mahratta.

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able mini-
mum to be
raised.

FOURTH DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Saturday, the 29th December, 1888.

4th Day.

Dedication
of a Hall
to the Con-
gress.

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

THE PRESIDENT said: Gentlemen,—The first thing I have to inform you is that we have to-day received an offer from one of our delegates, Mr. Ram Chundra Bahdeva Apte, of a large hall forty feet by twenty-six which he has erected at Ichalkarnagi, in the Southern Mahratta country, as a permanent home for the Divisional Congress Committee, which he proposes now to dedicate formally to the National Congress. (*Cheers.*) If at any time the National Congress itself will take up its abode for a week or for a month or a year at that place, the hall will be placed entirely at the disposal of the Congress. (*Cheers.*) In the meantime it will be the home of the Divisional Committee. I am afraid that the hall is in a part of the country which the Congress as a body is not likely to visit. Nevertheless, it is an evidence of the kindly feeling which animates the donor, and it will be locally useful, and I may add that the donor, who asks your permission to name it the "INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS HALL, ICHALKARNAGI," undertakes to retain charge of it and keep it in repair until such time, if ever, as you may deem it expedient to take it under your own direct charge. (*Loud and continued cheering.*)

PANDIT AJOODHIA NATH—(*Allahabad, No. 551 in list*)—then read the donor's letter to the above effect.

THE PRESIDENT: Is it now your pleasure that this gentleman's kind offer be accepted? (*Loud cries of "Yes, yes," and enthusiastic cheers.*) Then, Sir (turning to Mr. Ram Chundra), I now, on behalf of this Congress, place you in charge of the Ichalkarnagi Indian National Congress Hall.

THE PRESIDENT then proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Ram Chundra for his handsome gift, which was responded to by long-continued cheering.

Letters and
Telegrams
expressing
sympathy
with the
Congress.

THE PRESIDENT then said: The next matter I have to mention is this. We have been receiving simply innumerable telegrams and letters from sympathisers with the Congress, such as Mr. Budrudin Tyabjee, the Hon'ble Raja Peary Mohun Mookerjee, Moulvi Haji Mir Jaffir Ali Saheb, the Hon'ble Forbes Adam of Bombay, Dr. Trailokya Nath Mitter, His Highness the Maharajah of Durbungah, the Rajah of Deveracota, Syed Abdul Bari of Dacca, Soobanjee Nanoobhoy and five thousand Mahomedans of Yeola, the Reverend J. P. Mekee, Rajah Rajendra Narain Deb Bahadur, President, Indian Association, the second Rajah of Calicut, &c., mostly expressing not only sympathy but regret that unforeseen circumstances prevented their personally taking part in this assembly. Some of these I should have liked to read to you, but the time at our disposal is so very limited that I have decided not to read any. For this same reason—the very little further time now at our disposal—I have to state that I have been receiving, in greater abundance than I at all like, notices of resolutions and amendments to resolutions, and I would ask all those who may be now contemplating sending in any more resolutions, or any more amendments, to have mercy upon me and upon their brother delegates, for I am really afraid that we shall not be able to dispose even of all those that have already been sent in. (*Cheers.*)

Res. IX.,
Education.

MR. ADAM—(*Madras, No. 2 in list*)—then rose and said: Gentlemen,—The resolution I have to submit to you is one affecting that special subject, Education, in which I am perhaps more interested than in any other that has come before this Congress. The resolution runs thus:—

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

Gentlemen, this resolution, that I propose, is so very far-reaching that it would be impossible for me, in the limited time at my disposal, to treat it in any detail, and I can therefore only submit to you a few general observations on the subject.

The first point to which I would call your attention is that we urge on Government the desirability of encouraging all branches of education, general as well as technical. The drift of Government policy has hitherto been to divert money granted in support of education into two divergent streams—one flowing towards primary education, the other towards collegiate education. The practical result—I do not say the intended policy, for there seems to have been no policy—has been to leave secondary education very much to chance. It has been either unassisted or assisted in a haphazard way, without reference to any recognised system. I desire next to point out that we desire education to be fostered in all its branches. I impress this on you, because some seem to think the claims of one particular branch of education cannot be urged without a desire to injure some other branch. Those, for example, who are pressing for technical education have not the remotest wish to discourage collegiate education, as I endeavoured to prove to you at some length last year at Madras. What we desire is to extend primary education, to broaden secondary education, and to maintain at the highest now possible, and an ever rising, level, higher education. (*Loud cheers.*)

The next clause contains the reason why this resolution is introduced in its present form this year. Since last Congress a great change has taken place, and Government has not only indicated, but adopted, a retrograde policy. I have no time at command to prove to you from the note of Government itself that its tendency is what I have indicated. You must take it from me that, in the opinion of those who have studied it, the policy marked out is distinctly retrograde. What it will be more useful to do is to prove to you, by a concrete instance, that the note is not a mere *brutum fulmen*, but that the policy shadowed out is to be enforced through the iniquitous engine of the system of Provincial contracts. We have for long been clamouring in Madras for an increased allotment from Imperial revenues, and this I will say that no Government could be more anxious to foster education and devote to it all the money they can than our Government, from the Governor downwards. Well, Sir, they told the Director of Public Instruction that he might budget for an extra lakh this year. He did so. He sent in his budget. It came back with a G. O., stating that Government regretted that it could not fulfil its promise, and the extra lakh must be cut off. What had happened in the interval between the Government's promise and its failure of performance? The Hon. Mr. Westland had paid a visit to Madras. You can draw your own conclusion. This is but one example of the way in which the benevolent intentions of local Governments are frustrated by the imperious demands of the Imperial Exchequer. What then are these local Governments compelled to do? As regards higher education, they are compelled to shut up their High Schools and Colleges; in Madras they have been almost all closed. They commenced with the High Schools. The second grade Colleges have followed suit, and there is no security that the first grade Colleges will not next come. As regards primary education, they are obliged to throw its cost more and more on the local rates. Now, however good it may be, in principle, to look forward to a time when primary education can be supported solely from local funds, that is an ideal of which we can, here, look for the realization only in a distant future.

With regard to the last clause, I desire to point out that it is not, of course, desired that Government should force its control on independent institutions—they are few enough—able to support and control themselves. What is contemplated is that Government should not cease to support and control institutions which without that support and control could not continue to exist, and whose place, if they ceased to exist, could not be supplied by private or local agencies.

Well, Gentlemen, finally, why should you consider it the duty of Government to foster education? We are continually told that we Congress-wallahs are only educated men, and represent only an educated minority. Reproach it is intended to be, though I consider it the highest honour, but, such as it is, remove all grounds for the accusation, for by striving to turn that minority into a majority. But you have a higher reason for desiring the spread of education. Look back and ask what but education has given you all that amount—and it is no small amount—of liberty which you now possess. Education has brought you here, education has taught you the value of representation, and has brought you men fit to act as your representatives. And why, then, should Government recognise it as their duty to foster education? Why, because education, if it has taught you to value liberty, has also taught you the wide gulf that exists between liberty and license; if it has taught you to know your rights, and, knowing, dare maintain, it has taught you how to use and not abuse them; if it has taught you to pray for privileges, it has taught you their value, and inspired you with gratitude and loyalty to the giver. It is owing to education that the old India is being rung out and the new India is being rung in, not as in France, in America, aye in England herself, by the tocsin clang heralding revolution and rebellion, but by the silver chimes proclaiming liberty and law. Education is the fairy prince of the beautiful allegory written, as with prophetic prescience of to-day, by the greatest and sagest poet of our time. Education is the fairy prince who, with his magic touch, has awakened

4th Day. the sleeping liberty of India, and, the sleeper awaking, has formed with her deliverer that
 Res. IX., union which we have to strengthen, more and more, unto the perfect day. How does the
 Education. poet express it ?

And on her lover's arm she leant,
 And round her waist she felt it fold,
 And far across the hills they went,
 In that new world which is the old,
 And o'er them many a shining star
 And many a merry wind was born,
 And streamed through many a golden bar,
 The twilight brightened into morn. (Loud cheers.)

THE HON. K. T. TELANG—(Bombay, No. 201 in list)—said : In rising to second this resolution, I may congratulate the meeting upon Mr. Adam having been able to keep his voice * till the end of his eloquent speech. (Cheers.) I may say that I entirely agree with Mr. Adam in the great importance which he attaches to this resolution, and, although I had the honour of moving the first resolution which has been called the most important one, I, for my part, am prepared to give precedence to the one which has just been moved by Mr. Adam. (Cheers.) The reason is, that I consider that, if the Legislative Councils were reformed and expanded in the way we wish them to be, the *sine qua non* for their proper and satisfactory working is the dissemination of that education which, just now, does not seem to have very good prospects before it. I hope Government will agree with us in thinking that it is its duty to foster and encourage education to the best of its power. (Cheers.) Mr. President, even in the most enlightened countries of Europe, in Germany for instance, where education has been organized and developed, probably, more than in any other part of the world, even in Germany, I say, the Government accepts the duty of fostering and encouraging education, both technical and general, in all its branches. (Cheers.) It is only in this country that the doctrine has recently been gaining ground that this duty does not devolve upon the Government. The doctrine is one which, as far as I am concerned, I entirely repudiate. (Cheers.) I think it is not only an erroneous doctrine, but it is a fatal doctrine to be admitted either by the Government or the people. (Cheers.) I say it is the duty of all Governments, and more of the British Government in India than of any other in the world, to promote education, because here you have a great nation to whom the education most essential to its progress is entirely alien in many respects. It is a kind of education that we in India have never had before, and, as it is admitted on all hands that this particular kind of education, and not our own old indigenous type of education, is essential for our proper national development, it is essential for the British Government, whom Providence has made responsible for this, to do all it can to foster it in all its branches. (Cheers.) I would also say this, that the doctrine which we enunciate in this resolution of ours is a doctrine which has been traditionally accepted by the British Government in the past. It is only now, under stress of circumstances, which it is not necessary to dwell upon, that a new-fangled doctrine is beginning to be enunciated. I say again that I entirely repudiate this doctrine as an erroneous and disastrous one. ("Hear, hear.") In the resolution recently issued by Government they declare that, as soon as they find local bodies to take over the management of schools, they will themselves withdraw from them. I am not against the Government withdrawing from the direct management of educational institutions ; but the limits within which they can at present safely or properly carry out the policy of withdrawal are very narrow indeed. And in order that those limits should become wider than they are at present, in order that the field of private management be more extended than it is now, it is necessary that the Government management in some institutions should continue for some considerable time to come (cheers), because, I say, except on the footing of model institutions managed by Government and surrounded by institutions under private management, India is not likely to make that progress which we all so much desire, and which the Government ought to desire just as earnestly and strongly as we do. There is one other point to which I would refer before concluding my remarks, and that is with regard to the amount of expenditure which the Imperial Government says it will incur for purposes connected with education. Well, all I can say upon that point is, that a Government, which finds money for the very varied activities† (laughter) in which it is engaged in this country, ought not to say that it has not enough to pay for education, considering, especially, what a small proportion of revenue is now devoted to education. It is not more than one per cent. of the Imperial revenue. (Cries of "shame!") When we remember this insignificant proportion, I cannot but express my amazement that there should be any responsible statesman saying that this is an allowance which we ought not to expect to get hereafter. (Cheers.) No reasonable person who

* Mr. Adam was suffering from a very severe attack of bronchitis, and at one period of his speech everyone feared that he would be unable to complete his address. As it was, he said far less than he had, it is believed, intended to say.

† Referring to our perpetual wars and expeditions, Frontier railways and (so-called) defences, trips to and from the Hills and the like.

understands the position of affairs will ever object to the Government allowance increasing from year to year, by leaps and bounds if necessary, considering what the educational institutions in this country have to deal with. If we only look to the example which England herself has set us in this matter, if we look to the tremendous increase in the grants for education since Forster's Act was passed, I think the Government of India will see that their novel doctrine cannot be sustained for a moment (cheers), and is hardly likely to meet the approval of that great British nation to which, as a last resort, we may be compelled to appeal against this threatened systematic scheme for arresting the spread of education, and with it the real progress, in the highest sense of the word, of our country and our countrymen. (Loud cheers.)

MR. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER—(Madras, No. 20 in list)—said : I have much pleasure in supporting this resolution, and in doing so I would only say a few words. Although for special reasons this vast assembly is primarily interested in political reform, still the gentlemen here present are extremely anxious to promote, by all possible efforts, social and moral reform. We have greatly at heart the improvement of the character of our people, the eradication of their old prejudices and crude notions, the modification of our domestic and social institutions, and we want to see many reforms effected in the interest of the moral and material well-being of the people. (Cheers.) But how can we expect all this to be done unless the education of our people is continually improved and expanded? (Cheers.) It may be said that Government does not intend to discourage the progress of education in this country. It only wishes, for financial reasons, to retire from directly controlling it, and contemplates depending upon private and local efforts to supply its place. But, Gentlemen, though the principle involved may be correct, its application to India at present would be, taking the country as a whole, altogether premature. (Cheers.) The condition of this country is not that of European countries, where public spirit has been greatly developed, where there are a large number of wealthy men ready to expend their wealth on altruistic objects, where to aid education is a popular and accepted form of public beneficence, and where, lastly, there already exist such a multitude of highly-educated men that high education practically propagates itself in every direction without its being necessary for the State to foster the process. In this country, more especially in Southern India, there is as yet but little real public spirit ; there are comparatively few wealthy men, and those we have are too many of them chiefly intent on keeping their wealth for their own private purposes ; the endowing of schools and colleges is not a popular form of beneficence, and men of high education, though in the aggregate constituting a very large number, form, as compared with our immense population, but a very small percentage. Under such circumstances, private efforts cannot be expected to do one tithe of what is required. There is, no doubt, another agency which, to a certain extent, has taken the place of Government, and during the past few years has done something to aid the progress of education—I mean the municipal and local boards, which have now the entire charge of elementary and secondary education. (Cheers.) But the resources of these institutions are extremely limited, and they have so many objects to which they are bound by law to devote their funds that these too are wholly unable to do more than a fraction of the work that is necessary, if England is to redeem her pledges and really do her duty by our people. (Cheers.) For just consider these institutions, young and feeble themselves, are responsible for the sanitation, conservancy, communications and hospitals of considerable, often very large, areas, as well as for the education of the inhabitants of these ; and the people are poor, and their revenues small, and of these they can devote at best only a fraction to education : and then in regard to higher education they are helpless, and cannot obviate the evil effects of the policy now newly inaugurated. I shall give an instance. In the district of Madura there has been for many years a Government Second Grade College ; but recently Government resolved to abolish that institution. The people of the place were alarmed; and applied to the local Municipality and District Board to take up the management of the College. They had a meeting, and the result was that the matter was referred to Government. But what did Government do? They said that the municipal and local funds should be devoted to elementary and secondary education, and that higher education did not come within the scope of their operations. The consequence is, the people of the district of Madura have either to go to Madras for their collegiate education, or to have recourse to another college where instruction is given, not commending itself to the religious opinions of the population. Well, that is a real hardship, which is owing to the new policy of parsimony in regard to a matter which should have, more than any other, precedence over mere pecuniary considerations. (Cheers.) There is also another point of view in which this subject can be looked at. Our country is in a peculiar position. At the bidding of an allied but widely differently situated nation, it has to abandon in many matters its old ways, learning, literature, and ideas, and enter upon a new phase of existence. It has to suit itself to the requirements of the latest scientific and artistic developments of European countries, and to remodel all its internal arrangements according to the standards of European civilization

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PANDIT SHEO NARAYAN—(*Punjab, No. 370 in list*): I rise to support this resolution, but my remarks must refer chiefly to the Punjab. (*Cheers.*) In the Punjab, as you are well aware, the Delhi College was abolished, so that at the present moment there is only one College for higher education in the province. The officials of the Department of Public Instruction are adverse to having anything to do with practical education. They fear that by Colleges and higher education they will convert a military race into baboos. (*Laughter.*) But they forget that the people of the Punjab are by no means of a too peaceful character, and that a higher education without, as Mr. Mehta would say, emasculating our people, would render them more reliable and useful subjects. At the same time, a more healthy public opinion is being every day created, and the people are beginning to find out what are the rights as well as the duties of citizenship, and are beginning to agitate for their rights, in this matter of education as well as in other matters. This, however, is what some of the officials do not quite like. (*Laughter.*) You are well aware that there was a time in the Punjab when the Punjab University College was going to be raised to the status of a University. At one city the movement was started by a powerful but limited clique; but, on the other hand, there was the whole body of educated society to oppose it. Ultimately, the University was constituted in such a manner that a fair compromise was arrived at, and higher English education was not dropped altogether, as certain persons desired; so that, although we do not boast of many colleges and schools, we have graduates evolved every year in the Punjab. (*Cheers.*) Still there is only one Government College, and only one self-supporting institution of a high class now existing in the Punjab, and these are utterly inadequate for our provincial educational wants. Like every other part of India, education is being stunted in the Punjab. I may also note that education and schools have in the Punjab, also in certain municipalities, been entrusted entirely to the local and municipal boards; but in these cases, as in Madras, the means available are quite inadequate, and we have so very few educated men as yet that the schools are not well looked after. If anything like justice were to be done to the Punjab, backward as it now is, the Government expenditure on education there ought to be at least doubled. In supporting this resolution, I desire, therefore, to urge that my province will perhaps suffer more than any other if the, as it is utterly inadequate, existing expenditure is to be further curtailed.

PANDIT R. C. GOSWAMI—(*North-Western Provinces, No. 822 in list*)—then spoke in Hindee. He said: Mr. President and Gentlemen,—It is a joyful day in which this great Congress, the Fourth Indian National Congress, meets here in this holy city of Prayag.* By your presence here, it has been transformed from a *Tribeni*† into a *Sahasrabeni*‡ the confluence of a thousand streams of learning and patriotism. Safe

* The ancient and sacred name of Allahabad.

† *Tribeni* the confluence of three rivers, viz., the Jumna, Ganges, and Sarasooti, the latter being, in these latter evil days, invisible to human eyes!

‡ *Sahasra* = a thousand.

in this holy region, this blessed Congress has, day by day, conducted its loyal and virtuous work, replete with future prosperity to India and to England.

The two prime movers in that Anti-Congress clique are a Hindu and a Mahomedan, whose names, as you know them, I will not trouble myself with repeating, the efforts to annoy us, and of our success, proved as this is by this vast meeting of 1,000—yes and far more than 1,000—delegates, Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, Parsees, Sikhs, Jains,—yes, people of all creeds and all colours from every part of the country.

We regret Sir Auckland Colvin's absence from Allahabad and from this great assembly, whose proceedings, had he watched them, would, I am sure, have convinced him not only of our loyalty, but that we are really representatives of all the peoples and races of India.

Last year at Madras we proposed a resolution very similar to that we are dealing with now, which urges the importance of Government aid to, and control over, all existing educational institutions, and the necessity of its increasing and not decreasing the contribution from Imperial funds towards our educational necessities. I cordially support this resolution, for, as ignorance is the root of all evil, so education and true knowledge are the sources of all individual and national advancement. (*Cheers from the N.-W., Oudh and Punjab.*)

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen,—Time is passing. We are all agreed, and, if you permit me, I will now put the resolution. (*Cries of "Yes, yes."*) Well, then, the resolution will stand thus:—

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

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT then said: Some of the delegates have just remembered that this is the birthday of William Ewart Gladstone—(*loud cheers, all rising to their feet, waving hats and handkerchiefs and shouting "Long live Mr. Gladstone," and "Hip, hip, hurrah!"*)—and it is proposed to send to him the following congratulatory telegram: ("Hear, hear," and renewed cheers):—

"To W. E. Gladstone, M.P., Hawarden Castle, from the President of the Indian National Congress.

"Congress assembled at Allahabad from all parts of India, consisting of 1,200 delegates, heartily congratulates you on your birthday, and trusts that you may, by the blessing of God, enjoy many happy returns of the day." (*Renewed cheering.*)

I take it that it is your pleasure that this telegram should be despatched. (*Cries of "Yes" and "At once," and renewed cheering.*)

RAI TEJ NARAYAN SINGH BAHADUR—(*Bhagalpur, No. 1091 in list*)—then rose and said: It is with the greatest pleasure I move this resolution, which runs as follows:—

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

The resolution I offer for your acceptance is one that touches the material interests of the country, and as such calls for immediate support from all classes of the people. (*Cheers.*) It is a subject in regard to which there can be no possible divergence of opinion between one sect or another, or between rulers and ruled. (*Cheers.*) In fact, it is a subject which has already met with some consideration at the hands of the Government. I am, I fear, hardly qualified to deal adequately with so vast a subject in the short time allotted to us, but I have already carefully noted down and arranged my thoughts in regard to it, and I will endeavour to do my best, trusting to your indulgence to supply my shortcomings. (*Cheers.*)

Technical education, Gentlemen, in whichever of its various aspects we may consider it—whether as giving an impetus to the cultivation of art which forms the mainspring

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of civilization, or as creating habits of activity, industry, and self-reliance in a nation, or as opening various departments of business in which people may occupy themselves—constitutes a most useful and vitally important branch of education. This mode of training has evolved in most of the countries of Europe, in America, China and recently in Japan, stupendous industries, which at once mark the stage of high civilization to which each of these countries has attained. In India, Gentlemen, with its educated members by hundreds, sitting quite idle for want of occupation, with many of its avenues leading to honour and distinction, blocked up against the children of the soil, with manufacture at its lowest level—in India, without commerce or trade on any extensive scale, except what is carried on by Europeans; without credit and without capital—in India, with its ever-increasing population depending entirely upon foreign countries for the ordinary decencies of life—in India, with its starving millions that can procure no labour—technical education, if systematically introduced into every province of the land, will be salvation to the people. It will in time stop the ruinous influx of foreign goods into the country, marring the industry of the natives of the soil; it will send the capital of the country to its proper use, that of raising the status of trade and manufacture in the land; it will create a spirit of emulation and enterprise among the people; and indirectly it will serve to improve the moral tone of the people by curing them of their sedentary habits, and that spirit of listlessness and quietism which characterise and form the curse of all Orientals. (Cheers.)

National greatness, Gentlemen, depends upon the character of the individuals of which the nation consists. In proportion as the individuals are active and industrious, the nation will rise in wealth and importance. National character takes its bent to a great extent from the nature of the education that the people receive. Thus education constitutes an important factor in problems involving questions of national greatness and importance. The practical nature of the training that obtains in England and Belgium, and in a less degree in other countries of Europe, has raised these countries during the course of three centuries only to their present pitch of power and prosperity; while India, with its long standing civilization and with its modern advantages of Western education, is a long way behind them in point of national industry and advancement. The reason lies on the surface. The greatness of modern Europe, I may make bold to say, is the outcome of the grand Baconian philosophy which for the first time formulated the doctrine that the end of all knowledge ought to be the promotion of human comfort. Thus it is that, while the system of philosophy perfected in India thousands of years ago has only led the intellectual energies of the people to exhaust themselves in spinning out cobwebs of fine and intricate reasonings and in aiming at things unattainable, at least by ordinary mortals, the grand revolution in philosophy, heralded by that great genius Bacon into England, has during a short period carried the Europeans farthest in the race of social progress and civilization. This utilitarian principle was understood among the Chinese alone of all the Asiatics even before Bacon came into existence, and the Chinese are yet a flourishing people. This ought to convince us that, wherever this principle is followed, it will effect changes for the better, and the experiment as to how it would work in India needs but be given a fair trial, and its success will go beyond our most sanguine expectations. (Cheers.)

Gentlemen, knowledge is power when it is applied to practical purposes. For a people to flourish it is not only necessary that they should possess knowledge, but that they should know the right method of using it. Our close contact with the enlightened people of the West has developed the national intellect in an unusual degree, has made us familiar with Western science, has stocked us with ideas of what conduces to the national welfare and prosperity. But the education that we are receiving must be utilised in order that we may derive benefit from it. Our thoughts must be reduced to action; the science that we have imported must be made to go hand in hand with art. What is as yet only theory must be turned into practice. India protected from external aggression by the strong hands of British authority—enjoying as it does profound peace and tranquillity under the beneficent British administration, with its various races living in perfect harmony among themselves—is in a fit condition to prosper and to improve. The introduction of technical education at this favourable opportunity will lend a powerful stimulus to the latent energy of the people to burst forth in splendid and glorious action. The alarm that now spreads through the length and breadth of the land, that the country is on the very brink of ruin, will subside so soon as it is perceived that the trades and manufactures of the country, which now seem to be at their last gasp, are in a fair way to flourish again. The cry for bread and murmurs of discontent that now prevail will soon give place to the clinking of hammers and anvils—the sure signs of national prosperity.

Now, Gentlemen, it lies with you to set this grand engine in motion, that is, to work out all these important and salutary changes, and I leave it to you, Gentlemen, to consider whether it is not worth the labour of the great Hercules, to whom this Congress has so often been likened both by friends and foes. Our enterprising Parsee brethren

have taken the bull by the horns and have made some steps towards the solution of the question by founding an institution to impart training of a technical character to the youthful members of their community. They are entitled to full credit for their pluck, and the example set by them will doubtless be followed. I shall only beg leave to suggest, Gentlemen, that to render the scheme of introducing technical education into the country, with a view to promoting its welfare, a complete success, funds will have sooner or later to be raised for the support of a band of promising youths of this country in England for a term of years to enable them to perfect themselves in every branch of industry and industrial art after the European methods, so as to be fully able to carry on the arduous task, that will have to be entrusted to them, of reviving art and manufacture in the land. (Cheers.)

At the same time I fully recognize that, with our existing imperfect knowledge of the exact state of all our declining and perishing indigenous industries, the first practical step must be to ascertain this precisely, so that in our new departure we may utilize to the fullest extent all the materials already in existence. Therefore, Gentlemen, it is that I press on your acceptance the resolution that I have already read to you. (Loud cheers.)

MR. ANANDA CHARLU—(Madras, No. 16 in list)—seconded the proposition. He said: Everything that has been said by Professor Adams in support of the resolution which he moved, and by every speaker who has since followed him, forms part of what might be said in commending the motion now before you to your acceptance. The premises have been fully explained to you, the grounds for those premises having also been placed before you, your own mind will readily draw conclusion, and I am here only to announce that conclusion in the terms of this proposition. The proposition commences with an axiom, establishes a postulate, and ends with a problem. (Cheers.) It is an axiom known to every one here that the people of this country are poor. I suppose it is assumed by every one, as a thing which cannot be denied, that the indigenous manufactures should be encouraged. That postulate having been admitted, the problem that is now before us is the practical difficulty of introducing a general system of technical education in this country. This problem is not easy to solve. It will have to be solved with reference to the varying conditions of different parts of the country. What will suit one part may not be found to suit another part. One thing undoubtedly is possible, and that is to open schools; but that is going very little beyond the first stage. You may teach ever so much, but, unless you teach on precisely the practical lines required by the conditions of the time and place, you will effect little. You want a good deal of detailed information before there can be an organized effort made in the interests of technical education. You all know, at any rate many of you must know, that in Madras the Jubilee memorial was the creation of an Imperial Institute ("Hear, hear"), and the funds collected on that occasion are being mainly applied to technical education. But when we have before us the question of a general system of technical education, it is quite clear that the collection of materials must necessarily precede any effort in that direction, and therefore the object of the resolution before you is to ask Government to institute inquiries for the purpose of obtaining all the data and materials that we must have as a foundation on which to base any rational, as opposed to a haphazard, scheme. (Cheers.)

BABOO BEPIN CHANDRA PAL—(Assam, No. 1245 in list)—then rose and said: Mr. President, Brother Delegates,—Coming as a delegate from a part of Bengal, I had, partly from moral considerations and partly from physical necessity, imposed upon myself the golden rule of silence, but I am compelled by force of circumstances to break it now. I feel it to be my honest duty to move an amendment to this resolution—a duty which I owe to myself, to my constituents and to the institution which, under the direction of a benign and overruling Providence, and under the protection of the benign Government whom that Providence has placed over us, has brought together so many of my educated and illustrious countrymen from the most distant parts of the country, in this magnificent hall. But I must, first of all, read out to you the amendment which I want to propose, lest I come to grief like the gentleman who yesterday spoke for full seven minutes (and had, therefore, then to go back to his seat) without telling us what the amendment, which he wished to place before us, really was. This is my amendment:—

"That, having regard to the poverty of the people, the importance of encouraging indigenous manufactures and the migration of population from the congested parts of the country, and the difficulty of practically introducing any general systems of technical education and emigration suited to the requirements of the country with the present imperfect information, Government be moved to delay no longer the appointment of a mixed Commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country, and to consider the question of emigration especially in relation to the working of the existing Acts bearing on the subject."

And, Gentlemen, I owe it to myself to move this amendment, because I feel that, holding the opinions that I do on this subject, it would simply be an act of sheer intellectual recklessness on my part if I were to vote for a resolution which professes to deal

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4th Day. with the poverty question, and yet leaves out of consideration the main cause of this poverty, namely, agricultural depression, caused by the congestion of the agricultural populations in large portions of a pre-eminently agricultural country. I owe it to my constituents in Assam, because ever since I had the honour of first representing them in the Congress, they have, year after year, asked me to press this question upon the attention of my brother delegates; and I owe it to this Congress to move this amendment, because since we met last the Government of India has published a long and exceedingly important resolution, which I hold here in my hand, on this subject of emigration, as a means, as a principal and most effective means, for removing agricultural distress; and the late Viceroy, in his speech at St. Andrew's Dinner, having called the attention of the Congress to this subject, it would be wrong, and a serious neglect of duty on our part, if we were not to pass some opinion on it. It will lead our opponents to say what they have so often said without valid reasons, that "you men of the Congress run after grand ideas and high sentiments, but neglect things nearer home—things which require sound and practical knowledge—things with regard to which the Government is willing and anxious to receive your help and your advice." You are bound, Gentlemen, to take Lord Dufferin at his word; you are bound to take the Government of India, whose opinions the late Viceroy expressed in this matter, at their word, and declare what your opinions and ideas are on this subject. Lord Dufferin having thrown the gauntlet direct at your face, you are bound in duty and in honour to take it up. My friend, Mr. Ananda Charlu, has told you that the poverty of the people of this country is an axiomatic truth; so it is, and so is also the fact that this poverty has been brought about mainly, if not wholly, by the depression of agriculture caused by a congestion of population in the more fertile parts of the country. In Bengal, for instance, in eight districts the average population is 802'66 per square mile of cultivated area; in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh it is 700; in the Punjab it ranges from three to four hundred, and it is said, that even with this comparatively moderate population, "in the most populous districts the capacity of the soil to support the agricultural population has been strained to the utmost." In Madras, out of twenty-one districts, in eighteen, the population ranges from 910 to 877 to each square mile of cultivated area. In Bombay, we are told, "the density of normal population nowhere reached a high figure; but the census taken in that Presidency indicated that in some districts the struggle for subsistence was severe," and the situation in the most fertile districts of the country, it has been declared even by a habitually optimistic Government, "must be perilous." I admit—we are all bound to admit—that the situation is perilous; and we are also bound to admit that emigration is, perhaps, the one remedy for this evil, and we are ready to help the Government in this matter. But what has the Government themselves done to help emigration? There are four kinds of emigration: (1) to the Colonies, (2) to Burma, (3) Inland emigration to Assam, (4) Inland emigration without Government supervision. With regard to Colonial emigration, considering the large areas of culturable land still awaiting in India the hand of the ploughman to bring out an abundant harvest, I do not think it is much needed, and it can never, even if pushed to its extremest limits, afford relief to an even perceptible percentage of our poor. Mr. Ilbert, the late Law Member, said the policy of the Government in this matter of Colonial emigration should be one of "benevolent neutrality." They should neither foster it nor obstruct it. Such was also the opinion of Sir A. Lyall, the late Lieutenant-Governor of these provinces, and I think it is just the position that should be taken by us also in this matter. With regard to Inland emigration (time is passing and I am obliged to hurry on,) under Act I of 1882, which has sent out during the last ten years some 300,000 men and women from Behar, the North-West Provinces, Oudh and Bengal to the tea districts of Assam, it has been described by a Government official—Mr. Porteous, the late Sub-Divisional Officer of Karimganj in Sylhet—as a system that reduces free men and women to a condition of quasi-slavery. The evils that attend this system, the defects in the law that regulates it, and the shameful manner in which even the few benevolent provisions of this law are worked, are too numerous to be mentioned here. The President has already given me warning that my time is up, and I am not going to allow him to deal the fatal double stroke on the gong, but will immediately disappear, only asking others who know the evils of the present systems of emigration, and who feel for the emigrant coolies, to come forward and lay their case before you; and I hope and trust, in the interest of justice and humanity, that you will all accept this amendment and give it your heartiest support. (Cheers.)

MR. ALI MAHOMED BHIMJEE—(Oudh, No. 455 in list)—said: Sir,—Although this resolution of my friend, Mr. Pal, can hardly be called an amendment, it being in fact a new resolution compounded out of the original one, and a different one which Mr. Pal desires to have dealt with, still the subject which he thus includes for our consideration is a very serious one, and deserves our careful consideration. From the reports we have read of the condition of the people who are taken away to other parts of the country, I think that, in the interests of these units of our dumb millions, we should

take some action on this subject; and I think that I shall be only doing my duty to the dumb hundreds and thousands of people who are led away from their homes, on false representations, if, without saying anything further, I second Mr. Pal's proposal and solicit for this proposed resolution your most careful consideration. (Cheers.)

MR. ADAM—(Madras, No. 2 in list)—said: As Mr. Bhimjee has himself admitted, this is no amendment at all. I admit fully, and I am sure all the members of this Congress admit, the immense importance of the subject of emigration. It was most fully discussed by the Subject Committee, and, considering the immense mass of subjects before them, and the general ignorance in regard to this question that prevails amongst us, it was decided that it should not be put forward as the subject of one of their resolutions by the Committee. If, however, the mover of this compound resolution chooses, he may bring forward the emigration portion of it as an independent resolution after all the other resolutions have been disposed of. I do not know the facts, but, supposing all the statements regarding coolie emigration are such as they have been stated by the mover to be, the Commission proposed in my motion could have nothing whatever to do with that subject. (Cheers.) The two subjects are not at all akin, and we must have two Commissions—for the class of men who should sit upon the one Commission will be quite different from the class of men who should sit upon the other. If, therefore, you lump together both the question of emigration and technical education, as is done in the so-called amendment, you will never be able to get on, and it is on this ground, primarily, that I oppose the amendment, without depreciating, in the slightest degree, the importance of the subject which it is framed to bring before us. As Mr. Budrudeen Tyabji, the President of the last Congress, urged at the time, you must not go on moving such amendments to resolutions as would make the resolutions perfectly ridiculous, and it would be ridiculous to ask Government to appoint one Commission to investigate two such utterly distinct questions. If the emigration portions of the amendment are brought forward as a separate motion at the end of the proceedings, and if the Congress decides that it should be discussed and voted upon, then, for my part, I shall not oppose it. But we must not, on any account, mix up the two questions. (Cheers.) I may add that the wording of the latter part of Mr. Pal's resolution, and the peroration of his eloquent speech alike indicate that what he really wants to have investigated is the alleged ill-treatment of the emigrants to Assam. But this is a subject on which we delegates from other parts of India know absolutely nothing, and in regard to which we all, as was urged by an immense majority of the Subject Committee, should feel great hesitation in voting either way. Mr. Pal's resolution was negatived by the Subject Committee, and I must protest against his endeavouring to reintroduce it, by dovetailing it, however neatly, into my resolution on a totally different subject. I repeat the two subjects must be kept distinct. (Cheers.)

MR. ATKINS—(Allahabad, No. 579 in list)—said: Mr. President,—I wish to enquire whether this so-called amendment is not out of order?

THE PRESIDENT: I suppose we must accept it as an amendment.

MR. ATKINS: Well, I was in some doubt as to whether it was an amendment or not. But since you have ruled it to be so, I must accept your ruling. Well, in the original resolution, you ask the Government "to delay no longer the appointment of a mixed Commission to inquire into the present industrial condition of the country." But do you think any good will come of that inquiry? The rider I have to propose is this—

"That the Government be moved to delay no longer the appointment of a mixed Commission to inquire into the present industrial condition of the country, and to establish one or more technical schools in each Presidency."

The mover of the resolution has agreed to that rider. May I obtain the permission of the seconder to it?

MR. ADAM—(Madras, No. 2 in list): No; certainly not.

MR. ATKINS: Well, I am very sorry indeed. There is no doubt technical schools are largely needed in this country. The advantages to be derived from technical schools cannot be over-estimated. There may be a difference of opinion as to the best manner to work them, so as to produce the best results, but that difference of opinion should not operate to prevent their establishment. An academical education is a very excellent thing, but that alone is not sufficient to give a nation wealth and power. The Germans are essentially a very practical people, and that they are so is due to the training they receive. The Universities and Colleges in Germany are very old institutions, for the Continent was the home of learning in the fifteenth century, but it is only since the establishment of technical schools that the Germans as a nation have made any great progress, and so it will

4th Day. be with India. The scholastic institutions in this country will go on turning out students who will have nothing to which they can turn their hands. With the establishment of technical schools, our youths will have an opportunity of acquiring a degree of skill that will serve them in after life and make them better men. If you merely ask for a Commission, the report thereof might possibly be pigeon-holed (laughter), but if you ask for something in a definite manner, you, then, may hope to get a definite reply and secure some definite advance. (Cheers.)

MR. HOWARD—(Allahabad, No. 573 in list)—said: This is a very simple measure before you at this moment, and in seconding Mr. Atkins' rider I will not take two minutes. I wish to press upon you that the additional words which Mr. Atkins has suggested should be added to the resolution, as the subject of technical education is of great practical importance. Mr. Atkins has been a practical man all his life, and knows the urgent need there is for the additional words, because inquiry without action would do no good. What is the use of an indefinite postponement of some measure of practical relief when India's greatest need at the present moment is the teaching of handicrafts? In addition to what Mr. Atkins has said about the importance the German nation attached to the teaching of technical skill in all the arts by which the German nation is fast spreading its commerce all over the world, the Prince Consort, the late husband of the Queen-Empress, taught all his children, the Prince of Wales and all his brothers and sisters, handicrafts of some description or other (cheers), and what Germans found it advisable to teach their Princes is surely necessary in case of men who have to earn their livelihood. (Cheers.) Nor will you become better citizens without having the knowledge of some trade, and even if you do not require to use it for a living, the knowledge would at least keep idle hands from mischief during leisure hours. (Cheers.) I therefore warmly second the rider, as I am certain no resolution of the Congress would go more home to the heart of the Sovereign of our country. (Cheers.)

THE HON'BLE MR. P. M. MEHTA—(Bombay, No. 208 in list)—then said: I would point out that the essence of the rider is already included in Resolution IX, which asks for the fostering and encouraging of education, as well general as technical, and that, further than this, we are really not in a position to go. The rider seems to me inconsistent with the resolution. The resolution asks for enquiry, because we, as a fact, do not know what class of technical schools to establish or how to do it, and the rider proposes, with this, to couple a demand for the immediate establishment of technical schools in every province. ("Hear, hear.") You must either abandon the demand for the enquiry, or you must give up the demand for the immediate establishment of the schools in every Presidency. The two demands are inconsistent, and cannot be coupled in one and the same resolution. (Cheers.)

THE REV. RAMCHANDER BOSE—(Oudh, No. 450 in list)—then said: Mr. President and Gentlemen,—In support of the resolution under discussion I have a few observations to make on its theoretical rather than practical bearing. One of the objections advanced against the National Congress is that it peremptorily refuses to discuss and deal with social problems. But the question which is being now discussed is, after all, a social question. Technical education involves a social reform or revolution of gigantic proportions. It will spread correct notions of the dignity of labour—"Hear, hear," and cheers)—raise the industries of the country, from the contempt to which they have been ignorantly consigned, to a position of respectability and influence, and obliterate those of our social distinctions which are fictitious and unnatural. (Cheers.) It will cement class to class, and create that bond of sympathy which will weld the jarring elements of our national life into a compact, homogeneous whole. (Cheers.) It will in this way accomplish a social revolution; nay, it will do something more. It will accomplish a moral revolution of equally gigantic and magnificent proportions. It will effect a salutary change in our national character. Our national character is by no means so dark as it is represented to be by professional detractors. Calm and philosophical observers like Bishop Heber and Principal Kay have noticed therein traits which, in their opinion, Christian nations would do well to imitate. (Cheers.) But it is a fact, which no one present will call in question, that what preponderates in the national character is quiescence or passivity, the active virtues being thrown into the background or remaining in a state of dormancy. These must be awakened and called into vigorous play before we can march forward alongside of the great nations of Europe and America. The virtues we are sadly deficient in are courage, enterprise, the will to do, and the heart to dare—(cheers)—and these, I maintain, will be fostered among us by technical education, and the varied industries that will grow up as the fruits of this. Political questions are inseparably linked to and bound up with social and moral questions. Why? Because life in the first place is a unity. ("Hear, hear.") Our lines of distinction between political, social, and moral life are arbitrarily drawn, as life in its political aspects cannot move forward without causing life in its social and moral aspects to move forward also. Life in one department in motion and in others stationary is an impossibility! In

a similar manner progress is an unity, and our distinctions between material and moral progress are fictitious. When true progress is realized in one department of life, the other departments cannot but be affected by it. Progress is, if you will allow the expression, contagious; and when it affects one portion of life, or one of its sides, it spreads over and exercises a restorative influence over the others also. Some of you are friends and champions of social reform, and you are apt to be impatient because social questions are not discussed in the Congress. Let me advise you to be patient. ("Hear, hear.") Social questions, in some form or other, will come in for discussion, and social reform will emanate from our deliberations. Again, some of you are friends and champions of moral reform, and you are impatient because moral questions are not discussed in Congress. Let me give you the same advice—be patient, and you will by and bye see moral questions discussed here, and a moral influence of the healthiest kind issuing from our association. We have every reason to look forward to the time when the glorious results of our deliberations will be the rectification, not of this solitary evil or that, but of all the varieties of evils under which the country is groaning. (Cheers.)

BABOO BEPIN CHANDRA PAL—(Assam, No. 1245 in list)—then said: Gentlemen,—As I believe that it is in accordance with the general wish of the meeting, I withdraw my amendment with the permission of the President. (Cheers.)

THE PRESIDENT (addressing Mr. Atkins): Sir,—I would ask you to consider whether you might not withdraw your rider, as the essential principle involved in it has been substantially carried before, while your concrete development of this seems to be considered premature.

MR. ATKINS: If you, Sir, think it is premature I will withdraw it, with the consent of my seconder.

MR. HOWARD (addressing the President): Out of deference to you, Sir, I agree to the withdrawal.

THE PRESIDENT: I have, then, only to ask you to vote upon the original resolution, which will run thus:—

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

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

MR. V. M. BHIDE—(Poona, No. 96 in list)—then rose and said: Sir, Gentlemen,—The resolution that I have been asked to propose runs as follows:—

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now come for extending to the major portions of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and to parts of the Punjab and other provinces, a permanent settlement of the land revenue demand."

I must now ask permission, owing to failing health and age, for the remarks which I have committed to writing being read by a friend of mine.

THE PRESIDENT: Under the circumstances I have no objection.

MR. PATWARDHAN—(Poona, No. 150 in list)—then commenced to read Mr. Bhide's remarks, when it at once became apparent that Mr. Bhide did not want the resolution he had proposed, but something different. The assembly objected that a gentleman having proposed a resolution could not go on to argue against it and for something quite different, and Mr. Patwardhan's voice was drowned in the universal laughter that greeted this novel mode of proposing a resolution.

THE HON'BLE KASHINATH T. TELANG—(Bombay, No. 201 in list)—then rose and said: Gentlemen,—I propose that the consideration of this subject be deferred to next year.

MR. V. M. BHIDE—(Poona, No. 96 in list)—said: Gentlemen,—I have no objection. (Loud laughter.)

4th Day.
Res. X.
Industrial
Survey in
view to
Technical
Education.

Proposition in regard to Permanent Settlements.

4th Day. DR. WAZIR ALI—(Behar, No. 1034 in list)—said: Well, I was to have seconded this resolution, but as the proposer has cut the ground from under my feet and left me no *locus standi*, I suppose I must accept the situation. (Cries of "no, no; go on, go on.")

Proposition in regard to Permanent Settlements.

THE PRESIDENT: Order. Gentlemen.—As I understand, this resolution has been withdrawn by the proposer, who has agreed to its consideration being postponed to next year, and who, so far as I can gather, does not himself wholly approve it; we must now go on to the next resolution which I will ask Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee to propose.

(A good deal of noise ensued, a large section of the delegates, as it later appeared, being dissatisfied with this ruling, but this was immediately drowned in the storm of applause that greeted the next speaker when he appeared on the platform.)

Res. XI. Submission of the Resolutions to the Governments of India and England.

MR. W. C. BONNERJEE—(Calcutta, No. 1098 in list)—said: Mr. President and Gentlemen.—We have hitherto been hewing some of the many stones which are still required to crown the splendid, the unique, the marvellous edifice (*cheers*) which the statesmanship of Great Britain has reared up in this country. (*Cheers*.) It is now necessary that these stones should be submitted by us to the chief superintendent of that edifice in this country, and to his official superior in London, in order that they may consider their merit and fitness. (*Cheers*.) Accordingly I have to present for your acceptance the following resolution:—

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

I may say, that this resolution is as of course, and it would not have been necessary for me to detain you a single moment if it had not been for the fact that the concluding portion of it, the portion that is which asks for an enquiry by a Parliamentary Committee, might seem at first sight inconsistent with one of the resolutions which we passed at the Congress of 1885. You will remember that at that Congress we asked that the enquiry into the administration of India, which had been promised by the then Secretary of State for India by means of a Parliamentary Committee, should be made by a Royal Commission consisting of representatives both of England and of this country, and taking evidence both in England and India. (*Cheers*.) But, as the late Lord Beaconsfield once said, many things have happened since then. (*Laughter and cheers*.) It has become unnecessary for the purposes of the resolutions which we have passed here to ask for a Royal Commission. On this occasion we are only asking that if any of the propositions which we are going to lay before the Government requires any further inquiry—in our judgment no inquiry further than what has been already made is necessary—then such inquiry may be made by a Parliamentary Committee. A Parliamentary Committee, as you all know, must come to an end with the Parliament that appoints it, and it must conclude its labours before any very long time has expired. On the other hand, a Royal Commission may go on sitting for years and years, hanging up reforms which have been felt, and declared by you all on behalf of the country, to be absolutely necessary. (*Cheers*.) Many of the resolutions which you have passed deal with matters which may be disposed of in this country by the Government of India, if only the Secretary of State so desires; and the only thing you have asked for which requires the consideration of Parliament is the expansion of our Legislative Councils. That subject has been before the country now for many years, and it is not necessary that any further inquiry should be made.

I hope that, should these proceedings come under the eye of Mr. Bradlaugh (*loud and prolonged cheers*), who has so kindly interested himself in matters connected with India, he will see that we are not in any way throwing overboard the notice of motion which he has given, and which he has promised to bring forward at the next sessions of Parliament. We are only asking him to modify his motion to a certain extent. I hope he will not think that, in asking for a Parliamentary Committee, and not for a Royal Commission, we are guilty of any inconsistency, or are in any way unappreciative of his great efforts on our behalf. (*Loud cheers*.) I know I speak the sense of this vast assembly when I say that we are unfeignedly grateful to him for his masterly and able advocacy of our cause (*cheers*); and we hope that he will be pleased to help us in the future in the direction of the resolution which I have submitted to you. (*Cheers*.)

The reforms, however, for which we have pressed in the preceding resolutions are not by any means the only reforms which are essential for the welfare of India. They are perhaps the simplest, and in regard to them the country is now, most completely, of one mind as to the exact steps that it is necessary for the Government to

take. But there are other great and vital reforms which will sooner or later have to be dealt with if India is to be justly administered, and if even the ultimate interests of the British Empire, as a whole, are to be considered. Such, for instance, as the reduction of military expenditure, and its re-apportionment on a juster basis between England and India, and various other matters with which I need not trouble you now. These are extremely complicated questions, in regard to most of which we, ourselves, lack the detailed practical knowledge essential to the suggestion of definite action, and in regard to these we shall have later to press once more for that Royal Commission which we prayed for in 1885. But at the present moment what we first want is that those simple and clear reforms, which are now fully ready for practical embodiment, should be carried out.

Now, Brother Delegates, one word more and I have done. Do not be cast down do not be disheartened, if immediately you put forward a request it is not granted by those who are responsible for the good government of the country. (*Cheers*.) Be patient, be moderate, be true to your cause and to yourselves. Remember that even now there are many reforms about which large majorities are agreed, which the English people are themselves asking for and which they have not yet got. (*Hear, hear*.) If you are true to yourselves, if you are moderate, if you are reasonable in your demands, and if you go on agitating, agitating and agitating, loyally and constitutionally, believing that the British public—and in that public I include our Anglo-Indian friends in this country—is a truth-loving and a justice-loving public, you will be sure to get what you are asking for in the end. (*Cheers*.) Give a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether, and you will reach the shores of victory in no time. (*Loud cheers*.)

PANDIT BISHAMBHER NATH—(Allahabad, No. 552, in list)—who seconded the motion, said: Mr. President and Gentlemen.—Though I appear before you after a long and bright array of brilliant speakers, and at rather a late stage of the proceedings, I have at least the great satisfaction and honour of holding a junior brief, together with so highly distinguished and eminent a senior from the Bar of the Presidency Court as Mr. Bonnerjee. (*Laughter and applause*.) I do not know whether the conjunction is happy or otherwise, but the conjoint appearance of two persons on the same side, one from the metropolis of India and the other from the North-West, obviously shows that the bonds of mutual union are being drawn closer and tighter by the combined efforts of the promoters of the reform party. Our critics might, perhaps, have said that some of the preceding resolutions, summed up and expressed in this resolution, are the outcome of the heated imaginations of a few spoilt children of British rule; but their adverse criticism will hardly be of much value in the face of the request, expressed in the concluding part of this resolution, for an enquiry by a Parliamentary Committee. Such a constitutional course will be no innovation; on the contrary, it will be quite consistent with the precedent and practice established and recognised on several previous occasions. Such a procedure, if adopted and effectively carried out, will enable the Government to test the legitimate character of the several aspirations of the Congress Party, which I believe to be, with scarcely any exception, fair, reasonable, and well-founded; many of them, resting in a great measure, upon that bulwark of our liberty, our great *Magna Charta*—I mean the Proclamation of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress of India,—which has been so often referred to here by the speakers who have preceded me. The proposed enquiry will, it is to be hoped, help to close the mouths of our opponents and demonstrate that their assertions, that the reform party are bent upon the subversion of constituted authority, are as groundless as they are malicious. Our honourable chief, the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Auckland Colvin, has, in his now historical letter, referring to the supposed impossibility of the creation of a healthy tone of independence in India, been pleased to employ certain figures of speech. Two of them are that an elephant would be out of his element in the mists of Scotland, and that a banyan tree could not grow in Parliament-street. I do not attach much value as arguments to these figures of speech. I think a case that has to be bolstered up by such illustrations very unlikely to secure a verdict, and anyhow had His Honour graciously condescended to honour this vast temple of the People with a visit for a while, he would have possibly been satisfied, by what he witnessed, that the sentiments expressed, in this and other resolutions, are the natural fruits of that noble and healthy spirit of independence by which the peoples assembled here are animated—a spirit developing hand in hand with the most enthusiastic feelings of loyalty and devotion towards Her Gracious Majesty's throne. (*Applause*.) Having made these few remarks, no further display of words by me is, I think, necessary, as my duty here is principally to "ditto to Edmund Burke." I therefore beg to recommend to you the propriety of adopting the resolution which I have had the honour to second. (*Laughter*.) And, Gentlemen, as I am a bit of lawyer, I retire without transgressing the provisions of the Limitation Act so stringently enforced by our worthy President, and wish you all, sincerely and from the bottom of my heart, God-speed and the compliments of the season. (*Laughter and applause*.)

4th Day. Res. XI. Submission of the Resolutions to the Governments of India and England.

4th Day.
Res. XII.
Abrogation
of Laws and
Rules for the regu-
lation of
Prostitution.

("Shame, shame.") I know that when it was reported to Parliament that such a state of things existed, it was disbelieved and denied by the Under-Secretary of State for India, until by clear demonstration it was found to be only too fearfully true. And, Gentlemen, though the C. D. Acts have been repealed, the rules under the Cantonment Acts under which these evil things are done, are still in full force. There are in India over 2,000 young women, so procured, for the hideous purpose alluded to. If the Government thinks it is a medical necessity for such women to be entertained, why do not they import into India for this purpose the countrywomen of these British soldiers? (*Cheers.*) Why should our poor Indian women be sacrificed on the altar they have erected to lust? Let them import Englishwomen, if they dare, for these vile purposes. Or, what would be much better, allow greater freedom in, and even promote, the marriage of these soldiers. Can anyone imagine anything more shocking than this legalized system of prostitution? A body of unfortunate young Indian women kept in a state of moral slavery and annually recruited to supply the supposed carnal wants, not of their own countrymen, whom they can understand, and with whom they have a certain sympathy, for whom it is possible for them to cherish some sort of passion, however degraded, but of the British soldier, whose colour, customs and conduct are all alike repugnant to their natural instincts—a system which all the better men amongst those soldiers protest against and declare to be a mere incitement to the boys, who now-a-days are sent out in shoals, to sin. Surely it is an astounding thing to find such a system legalized by the rules of a Christian nation. It is, to speak metaphorically, a fearful cancer, and one which requires to be not only firmly cut out, but cauterized, so as to prevent its breaking out in another form, under new laws and rules. I believe, through the assistance of our noble Parliament, although that assistance has been impeded by the opposition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, we shall yet succeed. (*Cheers.*)

I have, in concluding, to point out that it is only by acting on the perfectly legal and constitutional lines which we are at present following, that any real reforms can be effected. The process is slow but sure, and believe me that the voice of this great Council of the whole Indian nation, this National Congress, must eventually find an echo in the hearts of the people of England and gain an impartial hearing from our fellow-subjects, the natives of the British Isles, of our great Colonies, of the whole British Empire. (*Cheers.*)

The well-known distich applies to India in its present phase:—

For freedom's battle once begun,
Tho' baffled oft is ever won.

Then to this goal, I say, distant though it yet may seem, advance old Hindustan; close well your ranks! Union masters everything. God save the Queen! (*Loud and continued cheering.*)

MR. HOWARD—(*Allahabad, No. 573 in list*)—then addressed the meeting in Urdu. He said: Gentlemen,—I have been asked to say a few words to you in regard to this resolution relating to the regulation of prostitution by the State. I want you to understand that such an immoral procedure is approved by none of us educated Christians, European or Eurasian, though, it may be, that some military men persuade themselves that it is a good thing for the soldiers. But it is not, it never can be, if ultimate consequences and general results are fairly weighed against momentary gains and particular instances. It is wrong, and a wrong can never bear aught but evil fruit. Nothing can prosper but right. The wages of sin are death, and the outcome of such wicked regulations can be only misery and death. The subject is a shameful one—one difficult even to speak of in a public assembly, and I hope therefore you will pardon my now saying nothing further than this, that I hope you will to a man vote for this resolution.

MOULVI MAHOMED HAFIZ—(*Bengal, No. 1204 in list*)—then spoke in Urdu. He said: Gentlemen,—I am a Mahomedan from Backergunge, a Mahomedan district in Bengal. I bring with me the views of the Mahomedans of that district who were pleased to return me, along with certain Hindu brethren, at no less than twelve meetings held in different parts of that district. Before I support this motion, allow me to make one or two general observations in regard to the attitude of some of the Mahomedans towards the Congress. It will take only a minute to do so. This is the first time that I see the Congress. This imposing sight of so many nationalities being knit together, under the auspices of a beneficent Government, by the sweetest bonds of brotherhood in the noblest work that has ever been given to man to do, overwhelms me with a feeling which it would be impossible for me to describe. If at any time, any sort of misgiving has found any place in my mind, I can assure you, Gentlemen, that misgiving has now vanished, thoroughly vanished for ever, and I shall be glad to labour at this glorious work as long as I live. I wish my Anti-Congress brother Mussulmans of Bengal (and there are some such, though they are far fewer than has been supposed) were here to-day; this august spectacle (and the unselfish unsectarian spirit that pervades this

assembly) would be sufficient answers to all their doubts and difficulties. Gentlemen, some of them are afraid the majority of Hindus will interfere with our religious customs and observances. I, for one, cannot understand what this Congress has to do with our religion or any religion whatever; it is a purely secular association. Then some are afraid of the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils; they say the majority of Hindu members will upset the Mahomedans. May I ask them, will the Government retire as soon as the Councils are reformed, or strike off from its lines of policy the principle of religious toleration which is the sure foundation on which it has been built? Will it strike off this principle, simply to pander to the caprices of Hindus? It cannot, it will not; the executive under our scheme will always possess the right of veto, and be sure they would exercise it if we tried to be unjust to the Hindus, or they to us. But besides all this, I am not so foolish as to suppose that our Hindu brethren will ever seek to meddle with our religion; they are the most tolerant of people, and they never have done so in the past. Are they now, as the result of Western Christian education, to begin it in these latter days, when all bigotry is fast fading away?

Now, Gentlemen, as to this motion, we must most sincerely thank those good people in and out of Parliament for having led the latter to pass their well-timed resolution of June 5th, against State prostitution in India. There cannot be any difference of opinion as to the propriety of this resolution. The action of the House, once the facts became known, was inevitable. The principle of purity will ever triumph over vice, and I doubt not India, noted in the history of the world for its regard for such purity, will heartily co-operate with the effort, which is being made in England, for the abolition of the Governmental subvention of prostitution. With these remarks I heartily support this motion. (*Cries of "Vote, vote; enough! enough!"*)

THE PRESIDENT: Then, Gentlemen, I submit to you the resolution:—

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

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

MR. ANANDA CHARLU—(*Madras, No. 16 in list*)—next rose and said: The resolution which you have now to deal with, and which I have the honour to propose, is a very necessary one, and I will tell you how it is necessary. But first I had better read it out to you, so that you may more readily follow me in my remarks:

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

Many of you have copies of the Madras Standing Congress Committee's Annual Report. In that report you will find an account explaining how this rule was found to be desirable for our guidance there. I may tell you also that that rule was framed in accordance with the wishes of some of our best Mahomedan friends. (*Cheers.*) Mr. Tyabjee (*cheers*), who was our President last year, in course of conversation told us that a resolution of that kind was considered desirable by many of his co-religionists; and other gentlemen, whose names cannot be mentioned without high praise. Mir Hoomayun Jah Bahadoor of the Mysore Regal House and Hajeer Mahomed Abdulla Badshah Thakore Sahib, our Mahomedan Madras Merchant Prince (*cheers*), were a party to this. proposition being adopted by the Madras Standing Committee. Then, as you are probably aware, this resolution was sent round to all the other Standing Congress Committees, and after full consideration approved by them. Outsiders may be surprised at this unanimity, but the reason is to be found in the fact that it is in strict accordance with one of the fundamental principles of the Congress, which is that it shall only deal with those subjects on which a substantial agreement has been come to by the great bulk of the intelligent men in the country. Now of course if either the Mahomedans or the Hindus as a body object, the subject is clearly not one in regard to which a substantial agreement has yet been come to. Now the resolution consists, as you will see, of two provisions and a rider. The first provision provides for no subject being even considered by the Subject Committee if either Mahomedans or Hindus as a body object to the question being discussed. Thus, if any foolish person were to propose that the question of cow-killing should be considered by the Congress (and there was one such person at

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4th Day. NAWAB MAHMOOD ALI KHAN—(*Oudh, No. 421 in list*)—then rose and said, speaking in Urdu: I support this resolution. Some people are kind enough to say that we of the Congress are disloyal. If this were indeed so, it would be a bad thing for England and a very bad thing for India, because we of the Congress mean the bulk of the Indians. (*Cheers.*) But it is not so; we are loyal to the tips of our fingers (*loud cheers*); we do not conspire, we do not plot, we do not speak evil in secret, but we come openly forward and say to our rulers, These things we want, these things we do not like: pray give us the former and do away with the latter. We say this in all respect and we send our prayer home to England, and we say to the English people, These are the promises which our great Empress made to us in 1858: now please see that these promises are made good, and that our humble prayers, for the redress of our grievances, are attended to. Is this disloyalty? Is this sedition? No, Gentlemen, it is the men, be they Indians or Europeans, who are opposing our loyal and constitutional agitation, who, whether they mean it so or not, are really acting disloyally to the interests of both Great Britain and India. (*Cheers.*) May they all soon be wiser, and may the English Government and the English nation come to understand what the real position of affairs is, and do us the kindness and the justice we pray for. (*Cheers.*)

MR. KARANDIKAR—(*Poona, No. 137 in list*)—said: It is with the greatest pleasure that I support this resolution. Since Her Gracious Majesty's Proclamation in 1858 there has been a lapse of 30 years, which is surely a long enough period of development to warrant our expecting that these gracious promises should now bear fruit. When they were first uttered, India hardly realized their magnanimity and beneficence. It is the changes that have occurred during this long interval that impel us now to ask for their fulfilment, and to place these resolutions indicating how we wish them fulfilled before Her Majesty's Government, with the fervent hope that the suggestions therein made may meet with their approval and that of the great British nation generally. (*Cheers.*)

MOULVI MANSUR ALI—(*Delhi No. 411 in list*)—who spoke in Urdu, then said: Gentlemen,—I also warmly support this resolution and endorse every word spoken by the last speaker. What more can we do, as faithful and loyal subjects, than tell our rulers plainly what those grievances are that make the people dissatisfied and beg them to remove them, if they see fitting, by the measures which we propose to them; if not, by such other measures as their greater wisdom may suggest. (*Cheers.*)

MUNSHI SADRUDDIN AHMAD—(*Allahabad, No. 586 in list*)—said, speaking in Urdu: Gentlemen,—I cannot too strongly support the proposal that the resolutions passed by this the Fourth National Congress be submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy for his favourable consideration and for transmission by him to Her Majesty's Government, with the humble prayer of this Congress that the reforms and amendments suggested may be accepted, and that, if necessary, enquiries may be made by Parliament as early as possible. As regards the Anti-Congress movement, whose leaders most falsely call our movement seditious, I would urge on the Government to note as a fact that numbers of the nominal members of that movement are at heart with us, but, fearing the displeasure of the Government and subordinate officials, and thereby loss of favour, join that body. (*Cheers.*) The time at my disposal is not sufficient to allow me to enter into a detailed examination of the objections of our real opponents, yet so much would I say that their arguments are weak and their reasonings fallacious. It may, however, be asked why some few more or less important and titled men have taken upon themselves the unprofitable task of carrying on the opposition. To this I would simply reply by saying that some really misunderstand the question, being old men unable to move with the times, while some are actuated by the vain desire of pleasing the more narrow-minded section of the official classes, and the rest are hankering after titles—Rai Bahadurs, Khan Bahadurs and C. I. Es, &c., which they fancy they will obtain by posing as earnest upholders of existing conditions, and as loyal men, who believe that everything is precisely as it should be. (*Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen,—This is a merely formal resolution, and may now I think be put, without further discussion. (*Cries of "yes, yes; put it."*) It will stand thus:—

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

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

CAPTAIN BANON—(*Punjab, No. 374 in list*)—then rose and said: Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I shall commence by reading to you the resolution which I have been invited to propose. It is as follows:—

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

Gentlemen of this Meeting,—It is needless to say much on this resolution. It is one on which you are asked to pronounce your verdict, whether you approve or disapprove of the steps taken in England to remove a great reproach from the administration of the government of India. In no other country, calling itself civilized, in this Eastern hemisphere are such regulations, for the demoralization of the military, in force, and it is a matter of shame that we should have to talk even on such subjects. The matter appeals so broadly and strikingly to everyone's sense of right and wrong that few words are needed. You know that in England, in the English House of Commons, the Members passed a resolution, without any attempt at debate or objection, condemning these Government regulations, and it is to strengthen the hands of those in England, working for the great moral laws of the land, that you are asked to pass any resolution at all on the subject. It is for you to say, therefore, whether you wish this, shameful practice continued by which men become degraded and women suffer insult. (*Cheers.*)

As this resolution is considered an unsavoury one by our critics, I shall not say much concerning it, nor do I think that much need be said to commend it to your hearty acceptance; but our critics assert that in these Congresses we are totally neglecting all social subjects: this resolution, then, will conclusively prove that such is not the case. Although we cannot take up every social subject, we cannot avoid taking up this matter, as it is a burning question of the day both in England and India, and one affecting all classes of the Indian community. (*"Hear, hear."*) The brightest and purest intellects of England and India have spoken in no uncertain tones regarding it, and have denounced it in unqualified terms, and their opinion has been ratified, without one dissentient voice, by the entire English House of Commons. It would be a matter of extreme regret if, after this sweeping condemnation by enlightened public opinion, this infamous system were allowed any longer to disgrace and pollute our administration. (*Cheers.*) Our critics also taunt us with neglecting to raise our Indian women to their proper position, and with wishing to consign them to one of degrading inferiority. But we deny these sweeping assertions with all the scorn that such falsehoods merit; for in every respectable Indian home* our Indian women are treated with all the respect and tender consideration due to their loving and gentle natures. Although, perhaps, we may have failed to satisfy our critics, and may not even have done as much as we ourselves could wish to educate and refine them, still, at least, we can protest as one man with all the earnestness and warmth of our hearts, and minds, and souls, against the systematic degradation by the authorities of numbers of our Indian women to a state of existence revolting to our common humanity. (*"Hear, hear," and cheers.*) It is said that these infamous regulations are absolutely necessary for the health and welfare of our European Army in India. As a soldier of many years' service, I emphatically deny this. (*"Hear, hear."*) To advance this argument would be to degrade the European soldier below the level of his Indian brother-in-arms, for whom no such arrangements are made, and for whom no such arrangements are considered necessary, although they are compelled to lead the same celibate lives. I myself have borne Her Most Gracious Majesty's commission for many years, and I do not hesitate to say that these infamous regulations are neither necessary nor even desired by the European soldier himself. To assert the contrary is to cast a vile aspersion and foul calumny on one who is in many cases a model of all that a man should be in his moral relations, and who is in no way inferior to his brother in civil life. (*Loud cheers.*)

CAPTAIN HEARSAY—(*N.-W. P. No. 841 in list*)—in seconding said: With regard to the important resolution that I have been called upon to second (for, important it is, as it is for the protection and well-being of our Indian countrywomen), inasmuch as it protests against the social evil, as it appears in its most offensive form in this country, I give it my most earnest and heartfelt support. Nothing can be worse than the laws and rules now still in force, despite the pretence of repealing the C. D. Acts, for, so to say, legalizing in India this leprosy of modern times and of all civilized countries. The social evil is bad enough, as it is, without the legalizing force given to it by the Government of this country, by issuing instructions to their Civil Officers to hunt up eligible prostitutes. I see highly-placed English gentlemen compelled to turn procurers and devote their energies to securing healthy, young and good-looking native women to supply and renew each of the Regimental bazaars of each British Regiment or Company of Artillery, in this country.

* Captain Banon is himself married to a Brahmin lady.

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4th Day. ("Shame, shame.") I know that when it was reported to Parliament that such a state of things existed, it was disbelieved and denied by the Under-Secretary of State for India, until by clear demonstration it was found to be only too fearfully true. And, Gentlemen, though the C. D. Acts have been repealed, the rules under the Cantonment Acts under which these evil things are done, are still in full force. There are in India over 2,000 young women, so procured, for the hideous purpose alluded to. If the Government thinks it is a medical necessity for such women to be entertained, why do not they import into India for this purpose the countrywomen of these British soldiers? (Cheers.) Why should our poor Indian women be sacrificed on the altar they have erected to lust? Let them import Englishwomen, if they dare, for these vile purposes. Or, what would be much better, allow greater freedom in, and even promote, the marriage of these soldiers. Can anyone imagine anything more shocking than this legalized system of prostitution? A body of unfortunate young Indian women kept in a state of moral slavery and annually recruited to supply the supposed carnal wants, not of their own countrymen, whom they can understand, and with whom they have a certain sympathy, for whom it is possible for them to cherish some sort of passion, however degraded, but of the British soldier, whose colour, customs and conduct are all alike repugnant to their natural instincts—a system which all the better men amongst those soldiers protest against and declare to be a mere incitement to the boys, who now-a-days are sent out in shoals, to sin. Surely it is an astounding thing to find such a system legalized by the rules of a Christian nation. It is, to speak metaphorically, a fearful cancer, and one which requires to be not only firmly cut out, but cauterized, so as to prevent its breaking out in another form, under new laws and rules. I believe, through the assistance of our noble Parliament, although that assistance has been impeded by the opposition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, we shall yet succeed. (Cheers.)

I have, in concluding, to point out that it is only by acting on the perfectly legal and constitutional lines which we are at present following, that any real reforms can be effected. The process is slow but sure, and believe me that the voice of this great Council of the whole Indian nation, this National Congress, must eventually find an echo in the hearts of the people of England and gain an impartial hearing from our fellow-subjects, the natives of the British Isles, of our great Colonies, of the whole British Empire. (Cheers.)

The well-known distich applies to India in its present phase:—

For freedom's battle once begun,
Tho' baffled oft is ever won.

Then to this goal, I say, distant though it yet may seem, advance old Hindustan; close well your ranks! Union masters everything. God save the Queen! (Loud and continued cheering.)

MR. HOWARD—(Allahabad, No. 573 in list)—then addressed the meeting in Urdu. He said: Gentlemen,—I have been asked to say a few words to you in regard to this resolution relating to the regulation of prostitution by the State. I want you to understand that such an immoral procedure is approved by none of us educated Christians, European or Eurasian, though, it may be, that some military men persuade themselves that it is a good thing for the soldiers. But it is not, it never can be, if ultimate consequences and general results are fairly weighed against momentary gains and particular instances. It is wrong, and a wrong can never bear aught but evil fruit. Nothing can prosper but right. The wages of sin are death, and the outcome of such wicked regulations can be only misery and death. The subject is a shameful one—one difficult even to speak of in a public assembly, and I hope therefore you will pardon my now saying nothing further than this, that I hope you will to a man vote for this resolution.

MOULVI MAHOMED HAFIZ—(Bengal, No. 1204 in list)—then spoke in Urdu. He said: Gentlemen,—I am a Mahomedan from Backergunge, a Mahomedan district in Bengal. I bring with me the views of the Mahomedans of that district who were pleased to return me, along with certain Hindu brethren, at no less than twelve meetings held in different parts of that district. Before I support this motion, allow me to make one or two general observations in regard to the attitude of some of the Mahomedans towards the Congress. It will take only a minute to do so. This is the first time that I see the Congress. This imposing sight of so many nationalities being knit together, under the auspices of a beneficent Government, by the sweetest bonds of brotherhood in the noblest work that has ever been given to man to do, overwhelms me with a feeling which it would be impossible for me to describe. If at any time, any sort of misgiving has found any place in my mind, I can assure you, Gentlemen, that misgiving has now vanished, thoroughly vanished for ever, and I shall be glad to labour at this glorious work as long as I live. I wish my Anti-Congress brother Mussulmans of Bengal (and there are some such, though they are far fewer than has been supposed) were here to-day; this august spectacle (and the unselfish unsectarian spirit that pervades this

assembly) would be sufficient answers to all their doubts and difficulties. Gentlemen, 4th Day. some of them are afraid the majority of Hindus will interfere with our religious customs and observances. I, for one, cannot understand what this Congress has to do with our religion or any religion whatever; it is a purely secular association. Then some are afraid of the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils; they say the majority of Hindu members will upset the Mahomedans. May I ask them, will the Government retire as soon as the Councils are reformed, or strike off from its lines of policy the principle of religious toleration which is the sure foundation on which it has been built? Will it strike off this principle, simply to pander to the caprices of Hindus? It cannot, it will not; the executive under our scheme will always possess the right of veto, and be sure they would exercise it if we tried to be unjust to the Hindus, or they to us. But besides all this, I am not so foolish as to suppose that our Hindu brethren will ever seek to meddle with our religion; they are the most tolerant of people, and they never have done so in the past. Are they now, as the result of Western Christian education, to begin it in these latter days, when all bigotry is fast fading away?

Now, Gentlemen, as to this motion, we must most sincerely thank those good people in and out of Parliament for having led the latter to pass their well-timed resolution of June 5th, against State prostitution in India. There cannot be any difference of opinion as to the propriety of this resolution. The action of the House, once the facts became known, was inevitable. The principle of purity will ever triumph over vice, and I doubt not India, noted in the history of the world for its regard for such purity, will heartily co-operate with the effort, which is being made in England, for the abolition of the Governmental subvention of prostitution. With these remarks I heartily support this motion. (Cries of "Vote, vote; enough! enough!")

THE PRESIDENT: Then, Gentlemen, I submit to you the resolution:—

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

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

MR. ANANDA CHARLU—(Madras, No. 16 in list)—next rose and said: The resolution which you have now to deal with, and which I have the honour to propose, is a very necessary one, and I will tell you how it is necessary. But first I had better read it out to you, so that you may more readily follow me in my remarks:

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

Many of you have copies of the Madras Standing Congress Committee's Annual Report. In that report you will find an account explaining how this rule was found to be desirable for our guidance there. I may tell you also that that rule was framed in accordance with the wishes of some of our best Mahomedan friends. (Cheers.) Mr. Tyabjee (cheers), who was our President last year, in course of conversation told us that a resolution of that kind was considered desirable by many of his co-religionists; and other gentlemen, whose names cannot be mentioned without high praise. Mir Hoomayun Jah Bahadoor of the Mysore Regal House and Hajee Mahomed Abdulla Badshah Thakore Sahib, our Mahomedan Madras Merchant Prince (cheers), were a party to this proposition being adopted by the Madras Standing Committee. Then, as you are probably aware, this resolution was sent round to all the other Standing Congress Committees, and after full consideration approved by them. Outsiders may be surprised at this unanimity, but the reason is to be found in the fact that it is in strict accordance with one of the fundamental principles of the Congress, which is that it shall only deal with those subjects on which a substantial agreement has been come to by the great bulk of the intelligent men in the country. Now of course if either the Mahomedans or the Hindus as a body object, the subject is clearly not one in regard to which a substantial agreement has yet been come to. Now the resolution provides for no subject being even considered by the Subject Committee if either Mahomedans or Hindus as a body object to the question being discussed. Thus, if any foolish person were to propose that the question of cow-killing should be considered by the Congress (and there was one such person at

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4th Day. Madras), he would be at once silenced under this rule. Then again it may happen that, though no one objects to the discussion of the subject, yet, when, after that discussion, a resolution comes to be framed in regard to it, the conclusion thus arrived at may be distasteful either to the Hindus or the Mahomedans, in which case such resolution would be dropped. You see we want to consult and work together like brothers. (*Loud cheers.*) If we are all agreed on any matter, then we will submit the universal view to Government; but if we cannot come to a substantial agreement amongst ourselves, then we drop the subject until we can. But there is a rider. Our resolutions are before the world; no new comer should join who is not fairly in sympathy with these. Any one who joins us, joins us, broadly, on the basis of these resolutions; and, though we will allow him to rediscuss them if he likes and again take the sense of the assembly in regard to them, we cannot allow him, or any one, to block them. With this explanation I commend this resolution, typical as it is of the true Congress spirit, to your hearty concurrence. (*Loud cheers.*)

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THE HON'BLE PANDIT AJOODHIA NATH—(*Allahabad, No. 551 in list*)—then said: It affords me sincere pleasure to second this proposition. A more pleasant duty could not have been afforded me. (*Cheers.*) It is especially for the satisfaction of those with whom I have spent the greater portion of my life, and with whom I am wholly in sympathy (*cheers*), that this resolution is designed. Hindu and Brahmin as I am, I think so highly of Mussulmans that, were I convinced that I ought to be a Mahomedan, I should be proud to become one. (*Cheers.*) A nobler race I have not seen, a more intelligent people I have not met with. It has ever seemed to me a thousand pities that there should be differences between the Professors of India's two great creeds. For this reason, if for nothing else, I was extremely sorry that so important an element as the Mahomedan should be in any measure lost to us, in our work of considering the question of political reform. (*Cheers.*) If you look at the history of the world, you will find that the sciences and arts of modern Europe have been borrowed largely, or at least were mainly derived, from the Mahomedans. It is sheer nonsense to say the Mahomedans are behind other Indian communities in the field of science and art. I find colleges established and institutions springing up for the welfare of the Mahomedans all over the Empire from one end to the other, yet there are some people who pretend that, in the battle for prominence, the Mahomedans will be behind the other races of India. The Mahomedans are a brave race, a braver than whom could not be found in the world. They have never been found to turn their backs to their enemies. (*Cheers.*) My advice to the Mahomedans is advance, and advance, and advance; excel, and excel, and excel; and go on educating your children, and do not listen to those who in the guise of friends are your worst enemies. (*Cheers.*) Come forward and shake hands with us as friends, and be convinced that we are prepared to meet you *more* than half way. It is with this desire that we have laid this resolution before you. Let us away with old foolish creed differences; as practical men, let us work shoulder to shoulder in those secular matters in which our interests are really identical. It is part of the mission of the Congress to heal all old wounds and bind together all the races of this great empire in one homogeneous brotherhood. Do not keep aloof, be not deceived by false friends who seek their own advantage, Oh! my Mahomedan brethren, in keeping you apart from us, to our and your loss equally; join us—join the Congress in earnest, and see in this resolution a type of the spirit in which we are prepared to requite your trust. (*Prolonged cheering.*)

SWAMI ALARAM—(*Allahabad, No. 591 in list*)—then spoke in Hindee: Gentlemen, —Praise be to Almighty God and our Most Gracious Queen-Empress Victoria that a vast number of people from the various presidencies of all the various castes and creeds are here assembled, unanimous, of one mind, seeking only to do good to their fellows and benefit their country. Differences of opinion, particularly in political matters, is like a cholera plague, and this Congress is the hospital for patients suffering thus, under the able supervision of Mr. Hume, as its doctor. This Congress does not confine its aims to any particular grievance, or religious sect or body, but does and shall continue to represent all reasonable grievances of any class—Hindu, Mahomedan or Parsee. As this is Tribani, or city of three rivers, so also are the three religious bodies of this nation represented here to-day. One day I attended an Anti-Congress meeting, when a Syed said to me: "Your Congress is the right movement, but prematurely put forward by Mr. Hume." I ask you if a sick man will refrain from sending for and obtaining medical advice or postpone calling the medical man till he is too far gone. Will a doctor refuse or postpone his treatment when called? We are the sick men, and call on our doctor, Mr. Hume, to treat us for our ailments; and I am sure nobody will say that we have been unwise in calling him so early. His remedies we know are slow but sure. The Anti-Congress people say we are working against the Government. Now I am reminded of a story which allow me to quote: A certain guru, Lalbujhakar by name, had a large number of disciples (*chelas*). As they were going on their way they saw the footprints of an elephant, which none of them had ever seen before, and they asked their guru

what that was. The guru laughed at *them*, for not knowing, and cried, because he *himself* did not know, but he said, at last, when pressed:—

Bujhey Lalbujhakar aur nai bujhey koey;
Peir men chukki band ker hiranna kuda hoey.
(Lalbujhakar he knows, but no other one knows;
A deer has jumped here with millstones on his toes.)

The Anti-Congressists are Lalbujhakars; one of these is of Benares, and favoured us with his presence here, and another is sitting at Awhur, and these our would-be Gurus' (teachers') ideas in regard to politics and the present state of our country appear to be about as accurate as Guru Lalbujhakar's ideas in regard to the elephant's footprints; and mind, that, all over India, those irresistible elephants' Education and Public spirit are daily leaving their footprints, and the officials, who are now, we see, the *chelas* of these gurus, had better get wiser men to tell them what these really mean. (*Loud cheers.*)

PANDIT SHAM NARAYAN—(*Lucknow, No. 436 in list*)—then spoke in Urdu and said: Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I am glad to support the resolution which has just been moved by my friend Mr. Ananda Charloo, and seconded by my friend Pandit Ajoodhia Nath. The purport of this resolution is that, when the Mahomedan delegates as a body, or the Hindu delegates as a body object to any subject or resolution, that subject shall not be allowed to be discussed by the National Congress, and that resolution shall be dropped. For instance, if twelve hundred Hindu delegates assembled in this Congress desire to discuss any topic, or pass any resolution, and if three hundred Mahomedan delegates object to its being discussed or passed, then that topic or resolution shall be dropped. That is to say, the minority, when composed of all, or nearly all, the representatives of one community, shall have an equal voice with the majority.

The opponents of the Congress, or rather the ill-wishers of the Government, say that, as the number of the Mahomedans is small, the introduction of representative institutions would make the Hindus all-powerful in the country, and the Mahomedan interests would consequently suffer. Now these critics, who are so fond of vaunting their knowledge of history, do not see that history gives a most emphatic contradiction to their baseless and mischievous statements. At one time Scotland and England were politically divided. When the union between the two countries took place, one of the main conditions of the union was that the British Parliament should pass no laws for the sole good of England which would in any way be prejudicial to Scotland, and that the purely Scotch legislation should be carried on with the advice, not of the majority of the House of Commons, but of the majority of the Scotch members. If the majority of the Scotch members did not approve of any Scotch measure, that measure could not be forced upon Scotland by the adverse vote of the House of Commons. In the same way, it is possible to devise some method by which purely Mahomedan interests (supposing that they do really exist) may be guarded against the adverse vote of a Hindu majority.

But I do not believe that any such safeguards will ever be needed in India. Hindus and Mahomedans have become one nation, and I am proud to say that Lucknow is the place where the bond of unity between the two nationalities is probably the strongest. In support of my statement, I may be allowed to refer to the riots on the occasion of the *Mohurrum* and the *Ram Lila* in recent years. These riots took place in a good many of the principal towns of the country. But in Lucknow everything passed off quietly and with perfect harmony. There the Hindus and Mahomedans left the whole thing to the arbitration of Nawab Aga Ali Khan and Sah Kirpa Dayal, and while the Hindus accepted the decision of the Mahomedan Nawab, the Mahomedans agreed to the terms dictated to them by the Hindu Sah. Again, when Nawab Aga Ali Khan of Lucknow executed his will, he made a Hindu gentleman, in preference to any of his Mahomedan relations or friends, his executor. These are instances, I could give dozens of similar ones, which serve to show that in all serious affairs, whether of a private or a public nature, Hindus and Mahomedans repose an amount of confidence in each other incompatible with what is alleged, by some unscrupulous critics, as to the non-existence of a real unity between these two communities.

The Anti-Congresswallahs have been very busy in sowing the seeds of dissension between Hindus and Mahomedans by telling the latter that the former are seeking their selfish ends at their cost, and that if they join the Congress-movement they will be set down as rebels and seditionists. Thanks to the quick intelligence and the robust manliness of the Mahomedans, they have detected the snares and tricks of their false friends and repudiated them, and have come forward to stand shoulder to shoulder with their Hindu friends, to support and advance a movement which, more than anything else, teaches us to trust to the efficacy of constitutional methods and to the justice, the good sense, and the benevolence of the British nation. (*Loud and prolonged cheering.*)

MUNSHI NASIRUDDIN—(*Benares, No. 880 in list*)—then spoke in Urdu as follows: Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I am extremely grateful to you, my countrymen,

4th Day:
Res. XIII.
Subjects or
Resolu-
tions ob-
jected to
by Maho-
medans or
Hindus as
a body.

4th Day. Hindus, Mahomedans and Parsees, for your kindness in favouring us with your presence at this Congress, and permitting me to be of the number. I would ask you to remember Pandit Ajoodha Nath's late speech at Lucknow, the truths of which are clearly before you here to-day. The Mahomedans with the aid of the Hindus ruled over this land for 700 years. Since the reign of Aurungzeb, the oppressor of Hindus, the feelings of the two, Hindus and Mahomedans, have been somewhat estranged towards each other, but the Congress comes to unite us altogether as brothers once more as we were in the good old days before Aurungzeb. (Cheers.) I was elected a delegate at Benares, but I must confess to you that before this I was at one time among those unfortunates, the Anti-Congressmen, but I swear to you I have nothing to do with that body now, but am entirely with you. (Cheers.) Ill winds rose from Aligurh and Benares, and blew over the country, but have subsided and dispersed by this resolution, and I think you feel assured with me that this Congress is on strong foundations and indestructible. (Cheers.)

I welcome this resolution now before us, not because I think it was really needed, not because any educated Mahomedan believes that in secular and political matters our interests can be otherwise than identical with those of our Sikh, Hindu and Parsee brethren, but because, with this resolution in hand, we can convert and reassure many ignorant Mahomedans, who really believe, or half believe, the falsehoods circulated by those who think fit to oppose the Congress. I am sure you will all accept this wise resolution. (Cries of "Vote, vote.")

THE PRESIDENT: There does not seem to be any objection raised by any one to this resolution. ("No, no, none; vote.") So then I will put the resolution, which runs thus:—

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

The resolution was then passed unanimously and with acclamations.

THE PRESIDENT said: Gentlemen,—I find myself in a difficulty about a resolution, viz., that about the permanent settlement, which was withdrawn. I understand that there is a large number of the delegates here who contend that, because the mover or seconder of a resolution, approved by the Subject Committee, chooses to withdraw it, that does not commit the whole meeting to the withdrawal. Whether it does or does not, the fact of keeping silence at the time the proposition was withdrawn puts aside, it seems to me, any claim to resuscitate it. It has, however, been asserted that the withdrawal did not receive the assent of the meeting. I now therefore propose to take a show of hands on the question as to whether this resolution should be re-opened or not.

A large number of hands having been raised in favour of re-opening the resolution, and none against it:—

THE PRESIDENT said: As it seems to be your pleasure that this resolution should be again placed before you, I would ask one of those delegates who concurs in the resolution and wants it to be passed and not something different (laughter) now to propose it. (Cheers.)

MR. J. E. HOWARD—(Allahabad, No. 573 in list)—then moved the resolution. He said: Gentlemen,—I have great pleasure in moving this resolution, to which our respected friend Mr. Bhide proved so unkind a sponsor. It runs thus:—

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now come for introducing into the major portions of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and of the N.-W. P. and Oudh, and into parts of the Panjab and other Provinces, a permanent settlement of the land revenue demand."

You know perfectly well that in Bengal there is a permanent settlement, whereas in other parts of India they revise the settlement every thirty years, and in some parts the period is even less than that. Those of you who know what a permanent settlement means—and there has been one in Bengal for more than two or three generations—will be able to tell whether it has worked for good or for evil. The question, however, is one of the greatest difficulty. I do not know much about it myself; and I leave it to the delegates to say whether, looking at the question from a comprehensive point of view, it would be advisable that this resolution should be carried. I must confess that it is a question bristling with difficulties. If the effect of making a permanent settlement is to be a reduction of

revenue, it will be for the Government of this country to devise other taxes to make up for any deficiency in the land revenue. You may at the same time remember the great maxim of John S. Mill, that the unearned increment of land should not go to individual proprietors, but should belong to the whole people. (Cheers.) It is now for you to consider, with all the wisdom you can bring to bear upon this great question, whether it is wise and proper that this resolution should be carried just now, with such imperfect information as is at present at our command, or at any rate at the command of some of us; or whether it is more expedient that it should be postponed for further consideration. My object in moving this resolution is simply to start a discussion that may throw some light on the subject, and perhaps I have not sufficiently fulfilled the conditions of our respected President, who wanted a mover, who wished to see the resolution passed and did not wish for something different; for, though I cannot say I wish for anything different, neither can I, as at present informed, or rather, wanting in information on the subject as I am, honestly say that I wish to see this resolution passed. But perhaps some one who does really understand the question will, in seconding my motion (which I made merely to secure some discussion of the subject), explain more fully its bearings and the grounds on which the present is fixed upon as an appropriate time for commencing action upon it.

SHEIKH RAZA HOSSEIN KHAN—(Oudh, No. 439 in list)—then said, speaking in Urdu: Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I rise to second this resolution. If the subject of a permanent settlement had not been at all brought before the Indian National Congress, I should have thought that the Congress had not fully performed its duty. The greater part of the population of India is composed of men who have special connection with the tillage of the soil. The main resource of India lies in its agriculture. The best relief for and antidote against the poverty of the people, and the now almost yearly recurring famines are to be found in the introduction of a permanent settlement throughout all those portions of the country which have been long settled. I quite admit that there are portions of the country where population is sparse and cultivation in its infancy, where a permanent settlement would be out of place; but in districts where the population ranges from 500 to 900 per square mile of cultivation, the time has come for fixing the land revenue demand, unless, indeed, in some exceptional localities which railways have not yet approached, and the agricultural value of which we may expect to be materially changed when they do approach it. When I say a permanent settlement, I do not necessarily mean a permanent settlement precisely similar to that in Bengal. In the first place, we are wiser now than we then were. The experience of eighty years has shown us how we can improve on that settlement in many particulars. In the second place, landed tenures vary all over the country, and in each place the permanent settlement must vary accordingly. And again when I say a permanent settlement and speak of a fixity of the Government demand, I do not necessarily mean that that demand should be settled in rupees. On the contrary, I am disposed to believe that it would have to be fixed in terms of quantities of the three or four chief local staples of produce, in regard to which a cash revaluation might be made at intervals of, say, every three, five or seven years, based upon the average local prices of those staples during the preceding period. Thus, if the Government demand in any village were fixed at 50 mds. of wheat, 100 mds. of jowar, 100 mds. of Bajra, 50 mds. of gram, and 50 mds. of urher, this would remain the demand for all time, but every three, five, or seven years, the actual number of rupees would be fixed by a calculation based on the average local price of these articles during the past three, five, or seven years. I can only say that, unless some such fixity is given to the Government demand in our province, cultivation will never keep up with the growth of population. Grant it, and hundreds of thousands of wells will be dug within the first five years, and millions of acres that now yield only small unirrigated crops would yield double and treble the amounts of far more valuable staples. By one way or another, people would manage to put double the amount of manure they now do into the ground. But no great improvement can take place so long as the people are for ever on the look-out for the recurring swoop of the settlement officer to sweep the fruits of their labours into the official net. Mr. Howard spoke of the "unearned increment," which is explained to me to mean, profits that a person has not made for himself, and he tells us that a great political economist tells us this should belong to Government. Well, if this is political economy, our system must be perfection, for at every revision Government appropriates the profits that it never earned, but which the cultivators of the soil have earned. (Laughter.)

Gentlemen, if what I have heard as to the real meaning of the phrase used by Mr. Howard, viz., that it refers to an increased value of lands and produce, owing to the making of railroads and opening out roads and the like is correct, then I say that in the greater part of our provinces no such increased value is any longer to be looked for. The country is as fully populated and as much opened out as it can be, and any improvement in the yield of the land will be due to the landlord putting more capital into it,

4th Day. or the cultivator more labour and neither will ever do this until they get a permanent settlement.

Res. XIV.,
Question of
Permanent
Settlement.

Now I am not pretending that I am prepared with any definite scheme. Our resolution does not put forward anything of the kind; but I do think that the Government should be made aware of the very strong feeling on this subject that pervades the country, and take the matter, which, for some years past it has, as it were, excluded from the sphere of practical politics, anew into consideration, and into consideration with the view to action, and therefore it is that I consider it imperative to pass the resolution which I have had the honour to second.

MUNSHI SHEIKH HUSSEN—(*Bombay, No. 109 in list*)—said: I cordially endorse all that my friend Sheikh Raza Hosein Khan said. As in Oudh so in the Bombay Presidency, a fixity of the land revenue demand has become a necessity. The revision of settlement has thrown back the country for years, and until we get a permanent settlement of some kind, and the ryots feel that they will really enjoy, or that their children will enjoy, the fruits of any sacrifices they make for the land, the land will never yield half what it might, and there will never be any real improvement in agriculture—no, not in any part of the country has a model farm in every village.

KAJAH RAMPAL SINGH—(*Allahabad, No. 571 in list*): I am requested by some of my friends to say something on this important question, and I stand here once more before you in obedience to their request. Gentlemen from Bengal, who have got a permanent settlement, do not know what difficulties we have to face and what oppression we are suffering by being subjected to a thirty years' settlement. (*Cheers.*) The object of the Congress is to unite all gentlemen assembled here in a feeling of mutual sympathy and on grounds of common interests. But if this resolution had been withdrawn without discussion, it would have been the drowning of the voice of a very large number of delegates, simply because they happen to be in the minority. (*Cheers.*) Owing to the system under which the land tax is increased every thirty years, people do not improve their land from fear that the benefit of the improvement will be only reaped by the State. The Proclamation of Her Majesty said that all her subjects in this country would be treated in the same way as Her Majesty's subjects in England. But no land is taxed in England. I had to pay very little for the leasehold of a house in England. The intention of Government is to improve the condition of the people, but the condition of the agriculturists, who constitute the majority of the people, cannot improve so long as there is no permanent settlement, which will not only be advantageous to the landowner, but also, if proper arrangements be made, to his tenants who are really the backbone of the country. (*Cheers.*) I am sure that if the entire population were polled, 70 per cent. would vote for permanence of settlement; and I am also sure that, when we get representative Councils, one of the very first, I might say the first, thing we should all fight for, in all of these, would be the introduction of an equitable permanent settlement into all the thoroughly cultivated and well-advanced portions of the country. We do not wish to take the Government at a disadvantage; we do not expect them to take immediate action on this resolution; but we desire by it to serve them, as it were, with a notice that we are all thinking of this question, and all fully resolved when other simpler matters, as Mr. Bonnerjee explained, are disposed of, to press for a reform in this matter also. Therefore I desired that this subject should come on for discussion, and therefore it is that I still advocate the passing of this resolution, although I perceive that many, while agreeing with us in principle, consider that any resolution on the subject would be premature.

THE HON'BLE MR. TELANG—(*Bombay, No. 201 in list*)—then said: The question of a permanent settlement is one of the highest importance, both to the people and the Government. But I do not think that it is one which should be, as it were, rushed through this Congress. (*Cheers.*) On the contrary, I submit that both we who have assembled in this hall and those who, though elected as delegates, have not been able to attend here, and lastly our constituents who sent us here, should have an opportunity of maturely and gravely considering the question in all its numerous bearings. Now that the question has been reopened by the readmission of the withdrawn resolution, it is for us to consider how we should deal with it. It appears to me that there is a considerable difference of opinion as to the mode in which we ought now to proceed. I do not want to discuss here the merits of the question of a permanent settlement. It is obvious from the show of hands that there is some difference amongst us even as to whether it should be touched at all, and, therefore I think it is desirable that any resolution we may now pass on this most important subject should be such that we ourselves may all be satisfied with it, as well as those not present. (*"Hear, hear."*) It appears to me that, looking to the circumstances under which the question has now been raised, no resolution, whatever it might be, that we came to on the merits of the question, whether favourable or unfavourable to a permanent settlement, would be likely to carry much respect or weight. I fully admit the importance of the question,

but precisely on that account I submit that no decision should be come to in regard to it, without full previous preparation and detailed discussion of it all over the country. Now many of us, most of us, have had no preparation: it was not one of the 13 subjects circulated over the country before we left our constituents. The question has had no definite practical discussion amongst us in most parts of the country. We have all vague general ideas, probably in most cases favourable to the notion, but very few if any of us have really recently studied the question or read up the voluminous literature that exists on a subject which, for the last 40 years, at least, has off and on been under discussion, alike in India and England. I doubt whether there is one single man of marked ability connected with India who has not written something about this question during the last 50 years. We ought at least to read a good deal of what has been written before expressing definite opinions. By all means let us discuss the question; it is one of first-rate importance, but let the whole country that we represent, and we ourselves, be first properly prepared for the discussion. I therefore suggest an amendment as follows:—

"That the question of the introduction of a permanent settlement of the land revenue demand into the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and other Provinces be referred to the several Standing Congress Committees, with instructions to report upon the same, in so far as it affects their respective Circles, to the Congress of 1889."

Then this question can be brought before the Congress in due form for consideration next year. (*Cheers.*) Although I am myself a citizen of Bombay, I happen to know something about the visits, not always very welcome, of the survey officer; and, if I may be permitted to mention a personal circumstance, I may state that in the Council of the Government of Bombay I have myself taken some part in the fight for obtaining some fixity of tenure for the ryots of Bombay. (*Cheers.*) My own inclinations, if you permit me to say so, are in favour of a certain class of permanent settlement. At the same time I admit that there are opposing considerations of the greatest moment to be taken into account, and I am not at present prepared to say that, taking the balance of all those considerations as a whole, the weight, certainly, clearly preponderates on one side or the other; and I desire that any resolution we may come to on this great question should be one which, if I may borrow a phrase of Lord Brougham's, should proceed from this Congress with authority, and be received outside with respect. It should not go out without authority and be returned to the Congress without respect. (*Cheers.*) When we meet again with the reports of all the Standing Committees before us, after having in the meantime ourselves carefully studied all that others have before written on the subject, we shall be in a much better position to decide upon the question, and I have no doubt that any decision which we shall then come to will be loyally accepted by the minority, (*cheers*) should it then prove, which I venture to doubt, that we are unable to arrive at a perfectly unanimous conclusion.

KAJAH RAMPAL SINGH—(*Allahabad, No. 571 in list*)—then said: I have great pleasure in seconding this amendment. (*Loud cheers.*) The question has been too long overlooked by the Congress, and therefore it was that I wished it brought before this assembly. But after Sheikh Raza Husein's eloquent speech, and the discussion that has taken place, I think that the proposed amendment will do all that is required, that is to say, bring the subject definitely within the sphere of our practical politics.

MR. HOWARD—(*Allahabad, No. 573 in list*): Sir,—I am quite prepared to withdraw my motion in favour of Mr. Telang's amendment. I never professed to know much about the question, and, as I explained in moving the original resolution, I merely did so to secure attention to and obtain some discussion of a subject which, however imperfect may be our knowledge of its details, we all realize to be one of the first magnitude.

SHEIKH RAZA HOSSEIN—(*Oudh, No. 439 in list*)—speaking in Urdu, said: We agriculturists probably know already quite as much, if not more, about the subject, than we are ever likely to learn from any official literature, however extensive. For this will be mere theory, whereas we know the practice. At the same time, I agree that the matter is so important that it is well that anything we say in regard to it should have the appearance of being the result of deep deliberation, and so I am quite willing to accept the amendment. At the same time, if we were to deliberate for 50 years, it would not, in the smallest degree, affect my opinion that in my province a permanent settlement is absolutely required, in the interest alike of landlords and cultivators. (*Cries of "Vote, vote."*)

THE PRESIDENT: I shall now put the amendment, which has become the substantive resolution before us by the formal withdrawal (I hope there is no mistake about it this time) (*cries of "No, no; it's all right"*) of the original resolution. It will stand thus:—

4th Day. RESOLVED—"That the question of the introduction of a permanent settlement of the land revenue demand into the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and other provinces be referred to the several Standing Congress Committees, with instructions to report upon the same, in so far as it affects their respective Circles, to the Congress of 1889."

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT: Another resolution, which has been sent in to me supported by a great many names runs as follows:—

"That this Congress do put on record its disapproval of the recent enhancement of the salt tax as involving a perceptible increase to the burthens of the poorer classes, as also the partial absorption, in a time of peace and plenty, of the only financial reserve of the Empire."

Before this resolution is proposed, I wish to state that it came before the Subject Committee and was fully dealt with, and the majority, if not the whole, of the Subject Committee seemed to feel that the question had been dealt with so recently by the Government that it was useless on our part to put it before them for repeal, knowing the circumstances in which the Government are now placed. It is for the consideration of our friends from Madras, at whose instance mainly this resolution is put before the meeting, whether under such circumstances they should do more than merely mention the matter as a grievance. (Cheers.)

The Madras Delegates then, amidst loud cheering, expressed a wish that the discussion of the question should proceed.

THE PRESIDENT: Then I will put it to the assembly. Do you wish this resolution discussed? (Loud cries of "Yes, yes; all, all.") Very well, then I will ask the gentleman who has been noted as proposer to proceed.

MR. NARAYAN VISHNU BAM—(Poona, No. in list.)—said in the vernacular: Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I beg to propose the resolution that our good President has read to you. Here, in Upper India, you have been used to dear salt, and your people eat much less of it and require less of it than ours in the south, and you can hardly realize the terrible hardship involved to our people in paying, now, a two rupees eight annas duty on salt which costs one anna, and on which, not so very many years ago, we paid a duty of only ten annas. I have heard that in Bengal some gentlemen said they approved of the recent enhancement of the salt tax. (Cries of "No, no.") I can only say that all over the south of India it has created more discontent than even the income tax; and in some parts of the south, in the Madras Presidency for instance, this has been aggravated by Government giving a monopoly of the sale to a few men, who have still further artificially raised the price. Gentlemen, the salt tax which presses proportionally more and more heavily on a man the poorer he is, is altogether a bad tax; but if kept at a low limit it is bearable. At its present rate, our poor people cry out dreadfully about it. I do not believe that the Government could be right in raising it as they have done, and I think that we shall be ill discharging our duty as representatives of the people if we do not distinctly put on record our disapproval of the measure. Is there any one here who approves it? Do we not all feel it to be a wrong thing to add to the already crushing poverty of the poorest classes? Let them tax articles of luxury—tax them as heavily as is possible without creating smuggling, but do not let them go on raising a tax on the necessities of life and adding to the burthens of the poor, because it is easy, and they have no voice. Gentlemen, we are the voice of the country, of the poor as much as, nay more than of the rich, for they can speak for themselves; but let us, at any rate, protest on behalf of the poor. Personally there is not one of us here who cares for this increase; it means to most of us a rupee more a year; in the largest households not more than five rupees. But to the very poorest it means eight annas more a year; and let me tell you, Gentlemen, that there are millions on millions to whom that eight annas extra means eight meals less in a year, and that, to people who, even before this enhancement, never got more than one meal in the 24 hours. And, Gentlemen, what we all feel is that, had a terrible war with Russia been raging, had there been some great famine strangling in its deadly grasp huge provinces, there might have been some excuse for this enhancement. But that to do this in normal times, when there were at most only petty wars—and Government always keeps a small stock of these on hand—(laughter), and no famine anywhere, was indefensible. We all feel this, and this is what the resolution says, and this being so, I hope you will support this resolution unanimously. I had much more to say, but the President's warning gong has sounded, and I can only repeat—this is what you mean—this is what you think—then say it, and say it plainly. (Cheers.)

MR. LAKSHMAN DHUNDEV KATRE—(Bombay, No. 230 in list)—then said: Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I come to second and to address you upon the resolution, that has been read by our worthy President, on behalf of the Ratnagari District of the Bombay Presidency. It is a very poor district, the poorest of the whole of the districts in the Bombay Presidency. There the people are all suffering from the great hardship which is caused by the recent enhancement of the salt duty by the Government of India. The people are groaning under the burden, so much so that by the enhancement of the salt tax, that has been made by the Government of India, even the salt that they require for salting their fishes is denied them. The people are groaning, their misery is great, and it is for the Congress to say whether they have some regard for the condition of this people, and pray for the reduction of the duty made by the Government of India. The resolution does not mean the total repeal of the salt tax. We do not at all expect that. The Marquis of Ripon reduced the salt tax, but our late Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, has raised it more and more. Therefore, the present resolution has been submitted to your approval, and in it I heartily concur, though I should have liked to add to it a distinct prayer to Government to reduce the tax and bring it again to what it was at the end of the reign of the Marquis of Ripon. (Cheers.) I was appointed a delegate to this Congress for this special purpose, viz., to submit to you the resolution which has been read just now by our worthy President. (Cheers.)

MR. GIRIJA SHANKAR KASHIRAM DWIVEDI—(Bombay, No. 223 in list)—then spoke in Urdu. He said: Brother Delegates,—We all desire salt to be cheap, for the sake of the poor. We all disapprove the recent increase to the duty. Instead of raising the duty, it should have been lowered. Lord Ripon lowered it, and had he remained here he would have reduced it further. But Lord Dufferin instead of reducing has raised it, because he wanted to annex Burmah, and waste crores up in Afghanistan. Therefore, the whole country is displeased with him, and he is displeased with the country and runs down this Congress, which is the voice of the country. Yes, we disapprove this recent increase to the salt tax. We say it was wrong, and that there was no real justification for it—only a justification that Lord Dufferin himself had made by expenditure which we all disapprove.

Several other delegates then spoke in rapid succession very short speeches, in various vernaculars, all denouncing the recent enhancement of the salt tax; but their names were not recorded, and even the native reporters failed to report them at all, and they have furnished no translation of their speeches, and so there is no record of what they said beyond this, that one and all said they supported the resolution.

All this time loud cries of "Vote, vote;" "We are all agreed, &c.," were going on.

THE PRESIDENT, addressing several gentlemen who had appeared on the platform: Do you wish to oppose the resolution? ("No, no," from these Delegates.) Addressing the assembly: Does any one wish to oppose the resolution? (Loud cries of "None, none." "Vote, vote.") Then I shall put the resolution as follows:—

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

The resolution was then put and carried without a dissentient voice.

MR. A. O. HUME—(Allahabad, No. 6 in list)—who on rising was received with vociferous cheers, again and again renewed, said: I am extremely obliged to you for the very kind manner in which you have received me, and I am only sorry that after all this tremendous fuss I should have only a very small resolution to propose for your acceptance. (Laughter.) Ever since the commencement of the Congress it has fallen to my lot, each year, to move a small formal resolution in regard to the next meeting of the Congress. I may tell you that our friends in the Punjab were extremely anxious to have the Congress next year at Lahore. They were so anxious that the Punjab Delegates here present, some 70 only in number, actually subscribed among themselves Rs. 15,000 last evening as the nucleus of a fund for defraying the expenses of the Congress. (Loud cheers.) It is a sure sign of a man's earnestness when he puts his hand in his pocket (cheers), and Rs. 15,000 is no small sum for only about seventy delegates to subscribe among themselves. (Cheers.) We should have been very pleased to oblige them; but then we have to look all round the country, and consult the convenience of people residing in all parts of India. This year the Bombay and Madras delegates had to undertake a long journey to be present here. If we go to Lahore next year, the journey will be longer by nearly 1,000 miles for the delegates from the Southern Presidencies. We must deal fairly in this matter with all parts of the Empire, so we have made up our minds to hold the next Congress in the Bombay Presidency, leaving

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4th Day. it to the gentlemen of Bombay and Poona to settle among themselves in which of the two places the meeting should take place. I therefore move that the Fifth Indian National Congress—you see we have got to the Fifth—(Loud cheers and laughter)—
 Res. XVI. Next or 5th Congress to meet in the Bombay Presidency. "That the Fifth Indian National Congress do assemble in the Bombay Presidency (either at Bombay itself or at Poona, as may be settled hereafter) on the 26th of December, 1889." (Loud cheers.)

I see that you have accepted our proposal and need therefore trouble you no longer. (Renewed cheers.)

THE HON'BLE P. M. MEHTA—(Bombay, No. 208 in list)—rose and said: I second the motion. I have only one remark to make, and that is, that if it falls to the lot of Bombay to receive the delegates, we shall welcome them in that place right cordially. Remember, Gentlemen, that in coming to Bombay you will be coming to the birthplace on the Congress. (Cheers.)

MR. M. B. NAMJOSHI—(Poona, No. 101 in list)—said: On behalf of the people of Poona I am authorized to say that, if it be arranged to hold the Congress in Poona, they will be only too delighted to receive you in that city. (Cheers.) For myself I say, don't go to Bombay; you have been there once, but come to Poona, which was to and would have been the birthplace of the Congress, but for a slight miscarriage. (Renewed cheers.)

(A delegate here called for three cheers for the Punjab and Sirdar Dayal Singh, a call which was very heartily responded to.)

MR. LAJPATRAI—(Punjab, No. 348 in list)—then rose and said: Gentlemen,—We do not, of course, desire to dispute the decision arrived at by the executive. But I am here to state distinctly on behalf of ourselves, the Punjab delegates, and of our countrymen of the Punjab, that however poor we may be, both in intellect and wealth, we would have received you with open arms, and given you a royal welcome had you decided to come to us next year. (Cheers.) For your sakes, for the sake of the Congress, and for the sake of our common country, if it had been decided to hold the next meeting in Lahore, we should have given you the most hearty and enthusiastic reception, and should have done our best to make you forget the hospitality of Allahabad, Madras and Calcutta in the affectionate entertainment we should have provided for you; and we desire to say this, further, that whenever you choose to throw upon us the responsibility of receiving you, we shall most willingly accept, and unanimously glory in it. (Cheers.)

BABA NARAIN SINGH—(Punjab, No. 356 in list)—then spoke to the same effect in Urdu.

A voice: "Three cheers for the Punjab," and the meeting responded to the call very cordially.

THE PRESIDENT: It is agreed, then, that we meet next year in the Bombay Presidency? ("Yes, yes.") Well, then, I formally put the resolution:—

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

The proposition was then carried unanimously and by acclamation.

MR. W. C. BONNERJEE—(Calcutta, No. 1098 in list)—then rose and said: Mr. President and Brother Delegates,—I, too, have to submit to you a resolution which is formal in its nature. It is that our respected friend and universal leader, Mr. A. O. Hume, (vociferous cheers again and again repeated) be re-appointed General Secretary of the Congress for the year 1889. From the manner in which you have received Mr. Hume's name, it is, I see, absolutely unnecessary for me to say one word in support of my proposition. I will only say this of Mr. Hume, that, notwithstanding the attacks which have been made upon him in the past, and despite any attacks which may be made on him in the future, he possesses, and will continue to possess, our unabated confidence. (Loud cheers.) We owe him a debt of immense and endless gratitude. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) It is a privilege to have Mr. Hume as our General Secretary. (Loud cheers.)

The proposition was received by the vast assembly with the utmost enthusiasm, every one vociferously cheered, and "three cheers for Mr. Hume" were called for by a delegate, and the assembly responded to the invitation right heartily. It was some time before quiet was restored, and then Mr. Telang rose to second the proposition.

HON'BLE K. T. TELANG—(Bombay, No. 201 in list)—rose and said: I have the very greatest pleasure in seconding the resolution which has just now been moved by Mr. Bonnerjee. All the members of the Congress having already expressed their feeling in reference to this resolution, it is unnecessary to say more than this, that it is a great advantage and a privilege to us all to have Mr. Hume as our Secretary. Attacks have been made upon Mr. Hume from high quarters as well as low quarters (cheers and laughter), but in spite of those attacks our confidence in and regard for Mr. Hume continue unabated. (Loud cheers.)

4th Day.
 Res. XVII.
 Reappoint-
 ment of Mr.
 Hume as
 General
 Secretary.

MR. ANANDA CHARLU—(Madras No. 16 in list)—rose and said: I support this resolution with all my heart; Mr. Telang has said, in spite of all the attacks that have been made upon Mr. Hume (cheers), but I regard these attacks as the highest homage that could be paid to him (cheers); it is the only tribute our adversaries could consistently pay to our old friend. (Loud cheers.)

A Punjab Delegate having also supported the resolution in Urdu, it was carried by acclamation amidst continued cheering.

THE HON'BLE PANDIT AJOODHIA NATH—(Allahabad, No. 551 in list)—said: Gentlemen, I hold myself to be a fortunate man in several respects. I am fortunate in that the pleasant duty of receiving you all in Allahabad has devolved upon the Committee over which I have the great, and I fear unmerited, honour to preside. I am again fortunate because the duty of seconding the 14th resolution, which was most congenial to my feelings, devolved upon me, and I am still more fortunate, in that it is now reserved for me to propose a vote of thanks to our honoured President. (An outburst of cheering, which lasted for some time.) Gentlemen, you who, for the last four days, have been witnesses of the good temper and tact, the striking ability and marked kindness, and the entire self-devotion and forgetfulness of self, which have characterised our respected President's discharge of the arduous duty, which the hourly, almost momentary, governance and guidance of a vast assembly like this has entailed, will feel with me that no vote of thanks that we can pass can at all adequately represent the deep obligations under which Mr. George Yule has, during the past week, laid not only all of us here, but the entire country. Still, Gentlemen, this is unfortunately all that we can do at this moment to testify our gratitude, and I shall therefore now ask you to pass this vote of thanks by acclamation and at once.

Vote of
 thanks to
 Mr. Yule,
 the Presi-
 dent.

The whole assembly then rose and carried the resolution by acclamation and with many cheers for "our worthy President."

THE PRESIDENT, who was obviously deeply moved by the extreme cordiality with which the vote of thanks had been passed, then rose and said: I must first unburden myself of the duty which I owe to several gentlemen who have sent me certain applications to allow them to do certain things at the Congress. I am, indeed, very sorry that I have been unable to comply with their requests, not because I thought that there was anything in them improper in themselves, but because it seemed to me that it would be irregular to allow them. For example, there is one gentleman who, in the course of the proceedings, desired to have an opportunity of reciting to you all some verses of his own composition. (Laughter.) I have no doubt that these verses would be well worth listening to. But it would be departing from the order of public meetings to allow such a thing to be done. I hope that that gentleman and others, amongst our visitors, anxious to disburthen themselves, for your benefit, of various kinds of literary productions, will not think me uncourteous for refusing their requests. (Cries of "No, no.") There are other Delegates who have made other applications of a similarly harmless nature, but, yet, as I may phrase it, "out of order," which also I have been reluctantly obliged to refuse.

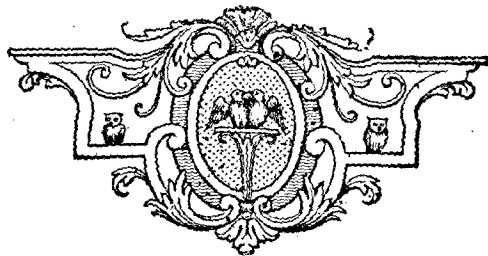
President's
 Concluding
 Address.

Now, Gentlemen, I have to thank you all for the very handsome way in which you have received and carried the resolution which has been proposed by my friend on the left. (Cheers.) It is not always easy to express one's feelings on such occasions, and I sometimes think it is best not to attempt to do so, but simply to adopt the old but simple form of returning thanks, "Gentlemen, I thank you from the very bottom of my heart" (loud cheers), and this I do, now, in all sincerity and truth. I am very glad, indeed, to have rendered any service to the cause of the National Congress. (Cheers.) I believe the principles upon which it is founded are just, good and true; and that in due time its aims will be accomplished. (Loud cheers.) There are many grievances in the country under the present system of government, and these multiply and deepen, for the simple reason that there has been no channel through which they could be adequately represented to the authorities. (Cheers.) In this respect the Congress offers great advantages, and I have paid a good deal of time and attention to the question on which I addressed you in my opening speech, namely, the reform of the Legislative Councils, as being the best of all outlets for the grievances that are scattered over the whole country. (Cheers.) I do not only esteem it to be a proper thing to attach myself to such a Congress, but I also

4th Day. esteem it as an honour. (*Cheers.*) I am sure that, in course of a year or two, or perhaps even before that, the main principles on which the Congress is based will be recognized, not by you and me alone, but by the highest authorities in the land. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

But now to turn to another subject. Our thanks, the best thanks of the Congress, are due to the Reception Committee. You all know what they have done for us, and how well and kindly and lovingly they have done it. Where there have been so many gentlemen rendering such efficient and willing service, it is difficult to specify any names without running the risk of doing some injustice to the others. But there are two or three who have placed themselves in the forefront of the battle; and I may take it, as is usually taken under the circumstances that, when the leaders are thanked, the rank and file are also included in it. (*Cheers.*) First, there is the Hon'ble Pandit Ajoodhia Nath who, assisted by Pandit Bishumber Nath, has worked, night and day, driving the entire train. (*Cheers.*) Then there is Baboo Charoo Chandra Mitter. "Charoo Baboo" must be, by this time, a household word to all of you (*cheers*); but whether to liken him to the fireman or the boiler (*laughter*) I know not; but this I know, that he always has the steam up, let him be called for when he may. (*Loud cheers.*) Next we have Lala Ram Charan, and he, I am sure, has been our wise and courteous guard, taking care, in kindly fashion, of everyone and everything. (*Cheers.*) Lastly there is our good old friend always smiling, always pleasant—I mean Raja Rampal Singh—who is either a first-class passenger or the station master (*laughter*), whichever he and you please (*cheers*), though I am inclined to think he is both! (*Loud cheers.*) The other gentlemen whom I should name are Captain Banon and Pandit Muddun Mohun. (*Cheers.*) I have nothing more to say to you, and I now announce that the fourth sitting of the Indian National Congress is dissolved.

There was much cheering, which continued for some time. Then, three thundering cheers, repeated again and again, were given for the Queen-Empress, and the vast assembly began to disperse; but the majority of the Delegates went on to give cheers, for a variety of people—Mr. Gladstone, Sir William Hunter, Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. Hume, Lord Reay, Lord Connemara, &c.—until someone proposing a cheer for Lord Dufferin, the assembly, or what was left of it, realising the *reductio ad absurdum*, broke into peals of laughter, and finally dissolved, in a state of universal good humour.



APPENDIX I.

LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

FOURTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT ALLAHABAD, DECEMBER, 1888.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	Other Places or Associations for which they were also elected.	How and when elected.
1	Madras	Madras	Black Town 1st Metropolitan.	Mr. A. Sambamurthy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court	.....	Public Meeting, 18th December, held at Pachappa's Hall.
2	"	"	"	Mr. John Adam, M.A. ...	Christian, European.	Principal, Pachappa's College, and Fellow, Madras University, Black Town.	.....	do.
3	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Salla Gurusami Chetty, B.A., B.L.	Hindu	Merchant and Municipal Commissioner, Black Town.	.....	do.
4	"	"	"	Mr. K. P. Viswanatha Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Tondiarpett.	.....	do.
5	"	"	"	Mr. E. Balasundra Mudaliar, B.A.	Hindu.	Secretary, Pachappa's Charity, and Editor of the "Suguna Bodhini."	.....	do.
6	"	"	"	Mr. A. O. Hume ...	Christian, European	Retired Civil Servant, Simla. General Secretary, Indian National Congress, Fellow, Calcutta University.	Allahabad & Calcutta.	Public Meeting, 18th December, held at Pachappa's Hall, Public Meeting, Kayestha Patsala, 10th November, and at a Public Meeting held at Sobhabazar Rajbati, 21st October, 1888.
7	"	"	"	Mr. M. Ramaswamy Naidu	Hindu.	Manager, Tanjore Rama Naidu's Charity; Merchant and Contractor, Black Town.	.....	Public Meeting, 18th December, held at Pachappa's Hall.
8	"	"	"	Mr. T. Kanaya Naidu ...	do.	Dubash of Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co., Tondiarpett.	.....	do.
9	"	"	"	Mr. V. J. Manickavalu Mudaliar.	do.	Printer and Publisher, Black Town.	.....	do.
10	"	"	"	Mr. T. V. Apparow Naidu	do.	Merchant and Trustee of the Southern India Merchants Company (Limited), Black Town.	.....	do.
11	"	"	"	Mr. G. Bakthavachulu Naidu.	do.	Dubash, Messrs. Walker & Co., Madras.	.....	do.
12	"	"	"	Mr. N. Appalaraju Garu	do.	Merchant, Black Town.	.....	do.
13	"	"	"	Mr. K. Nathamuni Naidu	do.	do.	.....	do.
14	"	"	"	Mr. C. Kristnaswamy Pillai.	do.	do.	.....	do.
15	"	"	Egmore 2nd Metropolitan.	Rai Bahadur Salem Ramaswamy Mudaliar, M.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Poonamallee Road, Municipal Commissioner, and Fellow, Madras University.	.....	Public Meeting, Egmore.

* Electoral Divisions are of two kinds, 1st TERRITORIAL, as in England, and 2nd (to secure the representation of Minorities), SECTIONAL, each including a special community, or an Association, Sabha, or Samaj, representing such.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	Other Places or Associations for which they were also elected.	How and when elected.
16	Madras	Madras	Egmore, 2nd Metropolitan.	Rai Bahadur P. Anandachari, B.L.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, and Municipal Commissioner, Poonamallee Road.	Mahajana Sabha, Madras.	Public Meeting, Egmore, and at a General Meeting of the Mahajana Sabha.
17	"	"	"	Mr. C. Sankara Nair, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Egmore, Madras; Fellow, Madras University.	.....	Public Meeting, Egmore.
18	"	"	"	Mr. P. Rajagopalachari, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Egmore.	.....	do.
19	"	"	Triplicane 3rd Metropolitan.	Mr. Eardley Norton, B.A.	Christian, European.	Barrister-at-Law and Coroner of Madras, Dunmore House, The Luz.	Triplicane Literary Society.	Public Meeting, 14th December, and at the Literary Society's Meeting, 17th December, 1888.
20	"	"	"	Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, B.A.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Editor, "The Hindu" (English), daily and "Swadesa Mitran" (Tamil bi-weekly), Triplicane.	.....	Public Meeting, 14th December.
21	"	"	"	Mr. M. Viraraghavachariar, B.A.	do.	Joint Editor, "The Hindu" and "Swadesa Mitran," and Secretary, Mahajana Sabha, Triplicane.	The Mahajana Sabha, Madras.	Do. and at a Meeting of the Mahajana Sabha, 20th December.
22	"	"	"	Mr. S. Subramania Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Triplicane.	Triplicane Literary Society.	Public Meeting, 14th December, and at the Meeting of the Literary Society, 17th December.
23	"	"	"	Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do.	do.	.....	Public Meeting, 14th December.
24	"	"	"	Mr. T. P. Kodandarama Iyer, B.A.	do.	Head Master, A. V. High School, Triplicane.	Triplicane Literary Society.	Do. and Meeting of the Literary Society, 17th December.
25	"	"	"	Mr. S. Varadachariar ...	do.	Printer and Bookseller, Triplicane.	.....	Public Meeting, 14th December.
26	"	"	"	Mr. A. C. Parthasaradhi Naidu.	Hindu.	Editor, "Andhraprakasika," Hindu Press, Mount Road.	The S. I. Brahmo Samaj.	Do., and at a Meeting of the S. I. Brahmo Samaj.
27	"	"	"	Mr. W. Utham Chand Lall.	do.	Landed Proprietor, Triplicane.	Madras Kayestha Sabha of the Triplicane Association.	Public Meeting, 14th December, 1888, and at the Meeting of the Kayestha Sabha.
28	"	"	Mylapore 4th Metropolitan.	Mr. K. P. Sankara Menon, B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Mylapore.	.....	Public Meeting.
29	"	"	Madras Mahajana Sabha.	Mr. M. A. Singrachariar	Hindu, Brahmin.	Cashier, Bank of Madras, Triplicane.	.....	At the General Meeting of the Mahajana Sabha, 20th December.
30	"	"	"	Mr. K. Sanku Wariyar, B.A.	Hindu.	Landholder, Calicut.	.....	do.
31	"	"	"	Mr. Chandragiri Gopala Kristnama Naidu.	do.	Merchant.	.....	do.
32	"	"	Triplicane Association	Mr. T. Balakristna Doss	do.	Landed Proprietor, Triplicane.	Madras Kayestha Sabha of the Triplicane Association.	At the General Meeting of the Kayestha Sabha.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	Other Places or Associations for which they were also elected.	How and when elected.
33	Madras	Madras	Triplicane Association	Mr. S. A. Raja Aiyar ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Member, Triplicane Literary Society, Triplicane.	.....	At the General Meeting of the Literary Society, 17th December, 1888.
34	"	"	"	Mr. T. Rup Lall ...	Hindu.	Landholder, Triplicane.	Madras Kayestha Sabha of the Triplicane Association.	At the General Meeting of the Kayestha Sabha.
35	"	"	Vizagapatam.	Mr. Ram Dass Naidu Garu.	do.	Landholder and Merchant, Vizagapatam.	.....	Public Meeting, 9th December.
36	"	"	"	Mr. Jagannadha Sastri, B. A.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, and Secretary, Mahajana Sabha, Vizagapatam.	Mahajana Sabha of Vizagapatam.	Public Meeting, 9th December, and General Meeting, Mahajana Sabha.
37	"	"	Vizianagaram.	Rao Saheb Vijapurappa Anunta Row Puntulu Garu.	do.	Cashier, Bank of Madras, Bimlipatam; President, Sub-Division Congress Committee; and Chairman of M. C.	Bimlipatam.	Public Meeting, November, 1888, Bimlipatam.
38	"	"	Rajahmundry.	Rao Saheb N. Subba Rao Puntulu Garu, B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, and Municipal Councillor, Rajahmundry.	Cocanada and Ellore.	Public Meetings.
39	"	"	"	Mr. D. Kasi Viswanadham.	Hindu, Komali.	Merchant, Rajahmundry.	.....	Public Meeting.
40	"	"	Nellore	Mr. M. Venkatasulbiah Chetty.	Hindu.	Municipal Councillor, Contractor and Merchant, Nellore.	Venkata-giri Town Hall, and Kavaly Literary Society, and Nellore Young Men's Literary Association.	Public Meetings.
41	"	"	"	Mr. T. V. Venkatarama Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, and District Board Member, Nellore.	do.	do.
42	"	"	Chingleput.	Mr. C. R. Chakrapani Iyengar.	do.	1st Grade Pleader, Chingleput.	.....	Public Meeting.
43	"	"	Chittore (N. Arcot).	Mr. K. Devoo Mudelliar	Hindu.	Merchant and Mirasidar, Kaveripauk, Chittore.	Sri Agilajana Manoramia Sabha, Kaveripauk.	General Meeting of the S. A. M. Sabha, Kaveripauk, 20th December.
44	"	"	"	Mr. T. A. Narasimhachariar.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader, Chittore ...	The North Palar Division & the Chittore Native Association.	Public Meeting of the people of North Palar and at the General Meeting of the Chittore Native Association.
45	"	"	"	Rao Saheb A. Sabba Row.	do.	1st Grade Pleader, Municipal Councillor, District Board Member, and Secy., Hindu and Mahomedan Association, Kurnool.	Madhva Sabha, Tirupati.	General Meeting of the Madhva Sabha, Tirupati.
46	"	"	Cuddalore (S. Arcot).	Mr. T. N. Desikachariar	Hindu, Brahmin.	2nd Grade Pleader, Chedambaram (S. Arcot).	Chedambaram.	Public Meeting.
47	"	"	"	Mr. V. Desikachariar ...	do.	do.	do.	do.
48	"	"	"	Mr. M. Parthasarathy Raju	Hindu, Kshatriya.	Landholder, Member of the Madras M. J. Sabha, President of the Panrutti Public Association, and President, Panrutti Congress Committee, Panrutti, Cuddalore.	Panrutti Hindu Union Association & M. J. D. Society, Vathiredipalayam.	Public and Special Meetings.

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122	Bombay	Poona	Nasik	Mr. Sridhar Gopal Patekar.	Brahmin.	Hindu, Missionary		By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November, 1888.
123	"	"	"	Mr. Janardan Raghunath Nimkar.	do.	District Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Chairman, School Board and Health Committee.	.....	do.
124	"	"	"	Mr. Ram Chandra Gonesh Mundle, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Brahmin.	High Court Pleader, Bombay.	.....	do.
125	"	"	"	Mr. Waman Rao Mahadeo.	Parbhu, Hindu.	Municipal Commissioner, Sinar; District Local Board; Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, & Taluqa Local Board Member.	.....	do.
126	"	"	"	Mr. Kashinath Gopal Deshapande.	Brahmin.	Member of Sinar Municipality.	.....	do.
127	"	"	"	Mr. Anunt Raoji Kawale.	do.	Agriculturist and Vakil.	.....	do.
128	"	"	"	Mr. Vittal Bhikaji Bhide.	do.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Pinpalgaon.	.....	do.
129	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Raoji xirsagar.	do.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Satara and Member of Nasik.	.....	do.
130	"	"	"	Mr. Ramakant Balvant thale.	do.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Yeola.	.....	do.
131	"	"	"	Mr. Parshotam Damoder Barve.	do.	Sirdesham Kha and Member of Yeola Arya Somaj.	.....	do.
132	"	"	"	Mr. Kacheshwar Sakharan Despande.	do.	Mukatiar and Member of Nasik District, Local Board and Taluka Local Board.	.....	do.
133	"	"	"	Mr. Krishna Rao Trimbuk Marathi.	do.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Yeola, and Member of Yeola Municipality.	.....	do.
134	"	"	"	Mr. Kabiroodin Bahar ...	Mahomedan.	do.	.....	do.
135	"	"	Satara	Mr. R. B. Ganesh Pandurang.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Honorary Magistrate, Vice-President, Municipality, Satara.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December, 1888.
136	"	"	"	Mr. R. S. Balvant Shreedhar Saha.	do.	Municipal Commissioner, Satara, Pleader, Secretary, Sarvajanik Sabha.	.....	do.
137	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar.	do.	Pleader, and Secretary, Sarvajanik Sabha.	.....	do.
138	"	"	"	R. S. Laxuman Balvant Mutalik.	do.	Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Inandar.	.....	do.
139	"	"	"	Mr. Mir Mohamed Roshan.	Mahomedan.	Teacher, Satara.	.....	do.
140	"	"	Parsee Community, Satara.	Mr. K. S. Framji Mancherji.	Parsee.	Merchant.	.....	do.
141	"	"	Ashte Taluka Valve.	R. S. Govind Dhondeo Limaye.	Hindu, Brahmin.	do.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November, 1888.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste if any.	Occupation and Address.	Other Places or Associations for which they were also elected.	How and when elected.
142	Bombay	Poona	Ashte Taluka Valve.	Mr. Balvant Narain Tagare.	Brahmin.	Merchant.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November, 1888.
143	"	"	"	Mr. Moorarji Chopadi Sinde.	Maratha.	do.	.....	do.
144	"	"	Karhad (Satara.)	Row Sahib Bhaskar Gopal Savarkar.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Municipal Commissioner, Satara.	.....	By a Public Meeting held at Karodee on the 31st October, 1888.
145	"	"	"	Mr. Mohamed Yusaff ...	Mohamedan.	Trader, Satara.	.....	do.
146	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Purshotam Kelkar.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader.	.....	By a Public Meeting on the 1st November, 1888.
147	"	"	"	Mr. Jaganath Balaji ...	do.	Editor "Chitrogupta."	.....	do.
148	"	"	Tasgaum (Satara.)	Row Sahib Ganapat Rao Yeshwant Joga.	do.	Banker.	.....	By a Public Meeting held at Tasgaum.
149	"	"	"	Mr. Anunt Narain Koulgi-kar.	do.	Editor.	.....	do.
150	"	"	Ahmednagar	Row Sahib Keshava Vishwa Nath Patwardhan, B.A.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Municipal Commissioner and Chairman, Sarvajanik Sabha, Ahmednagar.	Ahmednagar Sarvajanik Sabha.	By a Public Meeting held at Ahmednagar on the 25th November, 1888, and by a Meeting of the Sabha
151	"	"	"	Row Sahib Kashinath Balvant Lunaye.	do.	Editor and Proprietor, "Jagodarsha" newspaper, Municipal Commissioner and Member of the Education Society, Ahmednagar.	.....	do.
152	"	"	"	Mr. Mohun Lal Hiralal...	Hindu, Kayest.	Pleader, & Merchant, Ahmednagar.	.....	do.
153	"	"	"	Mr. Shankar Vinayek Vabhale Kalkarani.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Shopkeeper, Valandar, Kulkarni and Secretary, Sarvajanik Sabha.	.....	do.
154	"	"	"	Mr. Shivaram Ekanath Bharde.	do.	Teacher, Native Institution and Inandar, Ahmednagar.	.....	do.
155	"	"	"	Mr. Shaharao Ram Krishna Moduk.	Christian.	Evangelist	The Nag Christian community.	Do. and special Meeting of the Churches.
156	"	"	"	Mr. Anondorao Maroti Sangle.	do.	do. and Editor, "Dnyanodaya."	.....	do.
157	"	"	Julgaum	Mr. Abaji Ragho Mhalasa	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader, Member of the Municipality and Chairman of School Board.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 26th October, 1888.
158	"	"	Bhusawal	Mr. Chintamon Bapuji Maregaumkar.	do.	Pleader and the Vice-President of the Bhusawal Municipality.	.....	By a Public Meeting held at Bhusawal on the 25th October, 1888.
159	"	"	Dhulia	Mr. Sukharam Ganesh ...	do.	Pleader and Member of the Municipality.	.....	By a Meeting held on the 16th December, 1888.
160	"	"	"	Mr. Vamon Vishun Athavale.	do.	do.	.....	do.
161	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Hanmant.	do.	do.	.....	do.
162	"	"	"	Sheikh Chand, Walad Sheikh Bullan Munjavet.	Mahomedan.	Jagirdar.	.....	do.
163	"	"	Amulner (Khandesh)	Mr. Wassudeo Daji Mathe.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Merchant, Landholder and Banker.		By a Public Meeting.

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Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Name in full of Delegates with honorary titles and scholastic degrees, &c.	Race, Religious denomination, or Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	Other Places or Associations for which they were also elected.	How and when elected.
164	Bombay	Poona	Amulner (Khandesh)	Mr. Ahmed Nurja ...	Mahomedan.	Landholder. ...	.....	By a Public Meeting.
165	"	"	Sholapur	Mr. Mahadeo Ram Chandra Ranade.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Sholapore.	.....	By a Public Meeting held at Sholapur on the 28th October, 1888.
166	"	"	"	Mr. Kashinath Vasudeo Natu.	do.	Banker, Sholapore.	.....	do.
167	"	"	"	Khan Saheb Haji Kazi Sultan Dost Mohamed.	Mahomedan.	Kazi City, Sholapore	Barsi	do. and at a Public Meeting held at Barsi on the 12th November, 1888.
168	"	"	"	Row Bahadur Sakharan Ram Chandra Kirloskar, B.A.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court and Pleader, Sholapore, Bijapore District and President of the Sholapore Municipality.	do. and Bijapore.	do. and at a Meeting held at Bijapore on the 23rd December, 1888.
169	"	"	Pandharpore (Sholapore)	Mr. Narain Apaji Dixit.	do.	Secretary to the Pandharpore Municipality.	.....	By a Public Meeting held at Pandharpore on the 21st October, 1888
170	"	"	Belgaum	Rao Saheb Sadasiva Balkrishna Bhat.	do.	Pleader, Belgaum ...	.....	By a Public Meeting on the 2nd December, 1888.
171	"	"	"	Mr. Ellapa Virappa Jadhava.	Hindu.	do. ...	.....	do.
172	"	"	"	Mr. Shripat Anunt Chatre.	do.	Pleader and Secretary, A. Nyaya Sabha.	.....	do.
173	"	"	"	Mr. Anunt Mungesh ...	do.	Pleader, Belgaum ...	.....	do.
174	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Gangadhar Deshpande.	do.	do. ...	.....	do.
175	"	"	"	Mr. Syed Shamsudin, Walad Bhukhareo.	Mahomedan.	Inamdar, Kolapore...	.....	do.
176	"	"	"	Mr. Rahiman Saheb, Walad Abdool Saheb.	do.	do. ...	.....	do.
177	"	"	"	Mr. Syed Gousheeb, Walad Makhtumsaheb.	do.	General Merchant ...	.....	do.
178	"	"	"	Mr. Abdul Rahman, Walad Dostgeer Saheb Bashvan Peer Zade.	do.	Inamdar, Bastwad ...	.....	do.
179	"	"	"	Mr. Ibrahim Saheb, Walad Hasan Mirja Khateeb.	do.	Honorary Magistrate and Inamdar, Sangli.	.....	do.
180	"	"	"	Mr. Mahamadally, Walad Avaliya Saheb.	do.	Inamdar, Kamkarhatthi.	.....	do.
181	"	"	"	Mr. Abdul Rahman, Walad Mohamed Kareem.	do.	Merchant, ...	.....	do.
182	"	"	"	Mr. Fatchulmulk, Walad Asarkhan Sherkan-wala.	do.	do. ...	.....	do.
183	"	"	Khanapore (Belgaum.)	Rao Saheb Krishnaje Chitamberdao Deshpande.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Inamdar and Member of D. L. Board.	.....	By a Public Meeting at Khanapore.
184	"	"	Sankeswar (Belgaum.)	Mr. Vaman Kalkarni ...	do.	Landholder. ...	.....	By a Public Meeting on the 18th December, 1888.
185	"	"	Sirsi	Mr. Pandappa Rampai ...	Saraswet Brahmin.	Merchant and Local Board Member.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December, 1888.
186	"	"	"	Mr. Anant Narayan Ranade	Brahmin.	Municipal Commissioner.	.....	do.
187	"	"	"	Sitaram Hegde Ramai Hegde.	do.	Rayat. ...		do.
188	"	"	"	Vyankabhatta Venkabhatta Shante.	do.	do. ...		do.

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189	Bombay	Poona	Sirsi	Subbabhatta Deverbhatta.	Brahmin.	Rayat. ...		By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December, 1888.
190	"	"	"	Bhavani Venkabhat Gonapbhatta.	do.	do. ...	.....	do.
191	"	"	"	Rudrappa Veerappa. ...	do.	Arshikeri. ...	.....	do.
192	"	"	Wai Sarvanik Sabha.	Mr. Ram Krishna Madheo Rao Vaidya.	do.	Secretary to the Sarvanik Sabha, Wai Conciliator and Inamdar.	.....	At a General Meeting of the Association held on the 4th August, 1888.
193	"	"	"	Mr. Ram Chandra Krishna Kothawale.	do.	Member, District L. Board, Satara, Merchant.	.....	do.
194	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayak Amrit Pant Deshpande.	do.	Inamdar and Member L. Board.	.....	do.
195	"	"	Inchalkaranjee.	Ramchandra Bahdeva Apte.	do.	Vakil and a Member of the Local A. V. School Committee.	.....	At a Public Meeting held on the 16th November, 1888.
196	"	"	Hubli (Dharwar).	Syed Mahomed Saheb ...	Mahomedan.	... ..	.....	By a Public Meeting held at Hubli.
197	"	"	"	Munshi Hidayatulla ...	do.	... ..	.....	do.
198	"	"	Bijapur	Sitaram Hanmantrao ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Publisher ...	.....	At a Public Meeting held on the 16th December, 1888.
199	"	"	"	Khansaheb Haji Ibrahim Mutwalle.	Mahomedan.	Jahagirdar, Member, District and Local Board, Bijapur.	.....	do.
200	"	"	"	Row Sahib Sheshgir Rayajee.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader and Member, Local Board Bijapur.	.....	do.
201	Bombay	Bombay	Bombay Presidency Association.	The Hon'ble. K. T. Telang, M.A., LL.B., C.I.E.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Member Bombay Legislative Council Advocate, Professor of Law. Fellow of the B. U.	Graduates' Association	At a Meeting of the Presidency Association on the 13th December, 1888, and at a General Meeting of the Graduates' Association.
202	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Sitaram Dikshit, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Solicitor, Bombay. High Court, No. 2, Church Gate Street, Fort, Bombay.	do.	do.
203	"	"	"	Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader and Journalist	.....	At a Meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association held on the 13th December, 1888
204	"	"	"	Mr. Dinsha Eduljee Wacha, B.A.	Parsee.	Merchant. ...	.....	do.
205	"	"	"	Mr. Gonesh Ram Chundra Kirloskar, M.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Bombay.	.....	do.
206	"	"	"	Mr. T. Tookaram Taty	Maharatta	Merchant. ...	.....	do.
207	"	"	"	Mr. Sadanand Trimbak Bhandare.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Head Salesman, Messrs. Wallace & Co.	.....	do.
208	"	"	"	The Hon'ble Pherozshah M. Mehta, M.A., LL.B.	Parsee.	Barrister-at-Law, Member, Bombay Legislative Council.	.....	do.
209	"	"	"	Mr. Dhondu Maraba, Sanzgiri, B.A., LL.B.	Gaud, Brahmin.	Vakil, No. 677, Girgaum, Bombay.	.....	do.
210	"	"	"	Mr. Gobordhan Dass ...	Hindu, Bhatia.	Mill-owner & Chairman to the Khatan Macconji.	.....	do.
211	"	"	"	Mr. Mathura Das Lila Dhur, Shamji, Jadavji Raghuj.	do.	Mill-owner. ...	.....	do.
212	"	"	"	Dr. Sadashiva Waman Kane, L.M.S.	Hindu, Konkoneth Brahmin.	Doctor, Plough Road Market Post, Bombay.		do.

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213	Bombay	Bombay	Bombay Presidency Association.	Mr. Lalla Bhai Ambalal Desai.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader, Rajkot ...	Rajkot.	At a Meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association held on the 13th December, 1888, and by a Public Meeting.
214	"	"	Graduates Association, Bombay.	Mr. Ganesh Krishna Desmukh, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Do., High Court, Land-holder and Zemindar and Editor, "Native Opinion," Bombay.	Ratnagiri, Bassein & Prant Association.	At the Meetings of the Associations and at a Public Meeting of Ratnagiri on 11th November, 1888.
215	"	"	Bombay Dasa Shri-wali Bania Community	Mr. Ramdin Das Keshwaji	Hindu, Bania.	Doctor, Pellow Road, Market Post, Bombay.	Bombay Presidency Association	At the Meeting of the Community and at the Meeting of the Association on the 13th December, 1888.
216	"	"	"	Mr. Ardeshir Kavasjee Setna.	Parsee.	Barrister-at-Law, Ahmedabad.	Do., and Ahmedabad.	At a Meeting at Ahmedabad and at the Meetings of the Community and of the Bombay Presidency Association on the 13th December, 1888.
217	"	"	"	Mr. Dinsha D. Davor ...	do.	Barrister-at-Law ...	Bombay Presidency Association and Bombay Graduates' Association	At the Meetings of the Bombay Presidency Association on 13th December, 1888, and at Bombay Graduates' Association and Bania Community.
218	"	"	"	Mr. Rustam K. R. Cama, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Solicitor ...	do.	do.
219	"	"	Jain Association.	Mr. Wirchand Raghobji Gandhi, B.A.	Jain.	Honorary Secretary to the Jain Association, India, and Articled Clerk to the Government Solicitor.	Bombay Presidency Association	At the Meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association on the 13th December, and at the Public Meeting of Jain Association on 9th December, 1888.
220	"	"	Jain Association.	Fakir Chand Prem Chand Rai Chand.	do.	Exchange Broker ...	.....	By the Meeting of the Jain Association on 9th December, 1888.
221	"	"	"	Manik Lal Ghelloybhoy Javeri.	do.	Jeweller ...	.....	do.
222	"	"	Arya Gannavardhok Sabha, Bombay.	Mr. Chuni Lal Lalubhai Parekh.	Hindu, Bania.	Merchant, Withal Dadi, No. 2. Bombay; Vice-President, Gannavardhok Sabha, Bombay.	Bombay Presidency Association, and Ahmedabad Viramgaum, Lhasna (Kaina).	At the Meeting of Bombay Presidency Association on 13th December, 1888, and at the Meetings of Gannavardhok Sabha, Ahmedabad, Viramgaum and Lhasna.
223	"	"	Audichhy Hitachhoo Sabha, Bombay.	Mr. Girija Shankar Kashiram Dwivedi.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Editor, "Rajya Bhukta" and "Swadhu Misthi," Bombay.	Bombay Presidency Association Audichhy Hitachhoo Sabha, Ahmedabad, Dhocka, Loonawada and Bhavnagore.	At the Meeting of Bombay Presidency Association on 13th December, 1888, and at the Meetings of Audichhy Hitachhoo Sabha, Ahmedabad, Dhocka, Loonawada and Bhavnagore.
224	"	"	Bombay	Mr. Fatehulmulk ...	Mahomedan.	Inamdar. ...	.....	By a Public Meeting.
225	"	"	Jambusar (Bombay.)	Seth Jugmohun Das Vandran Das.	Hindu, Porwad Bania.	Banker, Bombay, the Head of the "Dasa Purwad Bania Community."	Bombay Presidency Association Purwad Bania Community	At the Meeting of Presidency Association on 13th December, 1888, and at the Public Meetings of Jambusar and Purwad Bania Community.
226	"	"	Thana	Mr. Damodor Kashinath Vartak.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Subordinate, Government Pleader, Bassein, Thana District.	Bassein Mahim, Dahan Association	By Public Meetings held at Bassein, Mahim and Dahan in the District on the 18th November, 1888, and at a Meeting of the Thana Association on 2nd December, 1888.

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227	Bombay	Bombay	Thana	Mr. Govinda Rao Babaji Sendi.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Missionary. ...	Bassein Mahim, Dahan Association	By Public Meetings held at Bassein, Mahim and Dahan in the District on the 18th November, 1888, and at a Meeting of the Thana Association on 2nd December, 1888.
228	"	"	Ratnagiri	Mr. Woman Vinayok Showche.	do.	Pensioner, Chairman, City Municipality, Ratnagiri.	.....	By a Public Meeting held at Ratnagiri on 11th November, 1888.
229	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Shastri Bin Ram Chundra Shastri Shewde.	do.	Landlord ...	.....	do.
230	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Lakshman Dhondur Katre.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Ratnagiri; Municipal Commissioner and Member of the District Local Board.	.....	do.
231	"	"	"	Mr. Dhondo Mahadeo Barve.	do.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Dapoli, District Ratnagiri, and Member of the Taluka Local Board, Dapoli.	.....	do.
232	"	"	"	Mr. Mohamed Isab, <i>walad</i> Abdool Karim Lalla.	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Municipal Commissioner and Member of the Local Board.	.....	do.
233	"	"	Kolaba	Mr. Rawji Hari Athaolay.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Editor, "Satyasadhan Newspaper," Alibag.	.....	At a Meeting held at Kolaba on the 16th December, 1888.
234	"	"	"	Mr. Sukhram Parsharam Ghaisas.	do.	Sheristadar, Sir Yyayadhist Janjira.	.....	do.
235	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayak Vasudeo Barve.	Hindu, Brahmin.	District Pleader ...	.....	do.
236	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayak Shevarao Dharkar.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Zemindar Khot and Merchant.	.....	do.
237	"	"	"	Mr. Waman Bapuji Deva.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Landholder & Merchant, Kolaba.	.....	do.
238	"	Kurra- chee.	Sindh Sabha.	Rao Bahadoor Govind-buksh Awatrai.	Hindu, Khetri.	Pleader, Assistant Public Prosecutor, Zemindar, Vice-President, Sukkur Municipality and Member, District Board, Shikarpur.	.....	At a Meeting of the Sabha in November, 1888.
239	"	"	"	Mr. N. Gupta. ...	Hindu.	Editor and Proprietor of the Phoenix, and Municipal Commissioner, Kurrachi.	.....	do.
240	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Pesumul Zokiram.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Sukkur.	.....	do.
241	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Tahilram Khemchand, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Kurrachi.	.....	do.
242	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Harchandrai Vishnudas, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Kurrachi and Member, Taluk Local Board, Kotri, Kurrachi District.	.....	do.
243	"	"	Sukker	Mr. Mulraj Sujan Singh.	do.	Zemindar. ...	.....	At a Public Meeting.
244	"	Guzerat	Kaira and Panch-Mahal.	Khan Saheb Jemadar Yasuf Ali Yacoob Ali, B.A.	Mahomedan.	Landholder, Nao-sar (Native Place Tharda, Kaira Division.	Neriad Association.	Public Meetings held on 16th December and 22nd November, 1888.

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245	Bombay	Guzerat	Ahmedabad.	Rao Sahib Keshavlal Motilal.	Hindu	District Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Ahmedabad.	Nerlad Association.	By two separate Public Meetings held on the 22nd November, 1888.
246	"	"	"	Mr. Kalidas Sankal Chand.	Jain.	Editor and Proprietor of the "Ahmedabad Times."	.....	By a Meeting held on the 22d November, 1888.
247	"	"	"	Mr. Desai Jivanlal Veaj Rai.	Hindu.	.....	.....	do.
248	"	"	Prija Hitabardhuk Sabha, Surat.	Rao Saheb Mohanlal Runchhod Das Jhaviri.	do.	Government Pensioner, Deputy Educational Inspector & Chairman, Congress Committee, Surat.	.....	At the Meeting of the Association on the 9th December, 1888.
249	"	"	"	Mr. Balwant Rao Tripura-shunkur Dave.	do.	District Pleader, Surat.	.. ..	do.
250	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Mancharam Bhagvanjee.	do.	Landholder	Broach.	do. and at a Public Meeting on the 25th November, 1888.
251	"	"	Broach	Mr. Hirvalal Ichhalal Moozoomdar.	do.	Zemindar, Broach	.....	By a Public Meeting on 25th November, 1888.
252	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Keshavram Kasiram.	do.	Government Sub-Pleader, Aukleshur. Chairman, Aukleshur Municipality and Secretary, Congress Sub-Divisional Committee, Aukleshur.	Aukleshur.	By Public Meetings on the 24th and 25th November, 1888.
253	"	"	Gannodoya Sabha, Broach.	Mr. Anupram Mithalal Deenbandhu.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Secretary, "Gannodoya Sabha."	Jambusor.	By a Public Meeting on the 25th November, 1888.
254	"	"	"	Dr. Manilal Mohunlal Jhaviri.	Hindu, Bania.	President, "Gannodoya Sabha," Medical Officer in charge, Kundla Dispensary.	.....	do.
255	"	"	"	Mr. Mahomed Ali Ahmed Ali.	Mahomedan.	Artist and Photographer.	.....	do.
256	"	"	Kattywar	Mr. Vinayakrao Ganapatrao Kolhare.	Hindu, Prabhu.	Barrister-at-law, Rajkot.	Rajkot.	By a Public Meeting on 16th December, 1888.
257	"	"	"	Mr. Sitaram Neelkanta Pundit.	Hindu, Dakshini.	do.	do.	do.
258	"	"	"	Mr. Ghanesham Neelkanta Pundit, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	High Court Pleader, Rajkot.	do.	do.
259	Govt. of India.	Berar.	Amraoti	Mr. Rangnath Narasing Mudholkar, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu, Brahmin.	High Court Pleader, Amraoti.	.....	At a Public Meeting held on the 25th November, 1888.
260	"	"	"	Mr. Antaji Govind Keskar	do.	do.	.....	do.
261	"	"	"	Mr. Wasudev Narain Jog.	do.	do.	.....	do.
262	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Hari Karandikar.	do.	do.	.....	do.
263	"	"	"	Mr. Vishwanath Kashinath Kale.	do.	.....	.....	do.
264	"	"	"	Mr. Rama Chandra Narasinh Mudholkar, L.M.S.	do.	Medical Practitioner.	.....	do.
265	"	"	Ellichpur	Mr. Moro Vishuanath Joshi, B.A., LL.B.	do.	High Court Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Amraoti.	.....	At a Public Meeting held on the 23rd October, 1888.
266	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Keshav Deshapande.	do.	Special Magistrate	.....	do.
267	"	"	Bassein	Mr. Yashavant Vamba Digha.	do.	Pleader, Bassein.		At a Public Meeting.

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268	Govt. of India.	Berar.	Mangrul (Bassein).	Mr. Laxman Atmaram Mahajan.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Merchant.		At a Public Meeting at Mangrul, on the 2nd December, 1888.
269	"	"	Pershad Taluk (Bassein).	Mr. Raja, Udaram Shankar Rao.	do.	Jaghirdar.	.....	At a Public Meeting.
270	"	"	Baldana	Mr. Gopal Waman Bapat, B.A.	do.	.....	.....	At a Public Meeting held at Baldana on the 1st September, 1888.
271	"	"	"	Mr. Dattatraya Vishnu Bhagabat, LL.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court, Akola.	.....	do.
272	"	"	"	Mr. Gulam Ahmad Soudagar.	Mahomedan.	Merchant.	.....	do.
273	"	"	Akola	Mr. Rao Saheb Devarao Vinayak.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader, Akola and Vice-President, Akola Municipality.	.....	At a Public Meeting, 16th October, 1888.
274	"	"	"	Mr. Shankar Govind	do.	Pleader, Akola.	.....	do.
275	"	"	Berar, Sarvajaniak Sobha.	Mr. Pralhad Narayan Jog, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court	.....	At a Public Meeting of the Sabha held on the 28th October, 1888.
276	"	"	"	Mr. Yashavant Govind Keskar.	do.	Editor, "Pramode Sindhu," Amraoti.	.....	do.
277	"	"	"	Mr. Vyankatesh Ramchandra Mudholkar.	do.	Editor, "Vaidarbha of Kola."	.....	do.
278	Central Provinces.	Nagpore	Mandla	Mr. Jagannath Pershad Choudhari.	Kalar.	Zemindar, Maharajpore, C. P., Mandla.	.....	By a Public Meeting, 3rd November, 1888.
279	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Das	Brahmin.	Contractor.	.....	do.
280	"	"	"	Mr. Chowdhari Jagan Nath.	Hindu....	Landlord.	.....	do.
281	"	"	"	Mr. Seth Chedilal	Agarwala.	Municipal Commissioner, and Banker.	.....	do.
282	"	"	Narsingpore Dharam Sabha.	Mr. Ganesh Ram Mantri	Hindu, Brahmin.	Zemindar, and Honorary Magistrate.	.....	Meeting of Dharam Sabha, 24th December, 1888.
283	"	"	"	Munshi Jiwan Lal	Hindu....	Legal Practitioner	.....	do.
284	"	"	"	Mr. Baliram Narayan Deshmookh, B.A.	do.	Landlord.	Malguzari Sabha.	do. and Meeting of the Malguzari Sabha of 12th December.
285	"	"	Nagpore	Babu Bipin Krishna Bose, M.A., B.L.	do.	Advocate, Municipal Member; and Member, Loka Sabha.	Loka Sabha, Nagpore.	By a Public Meeting held in December, and by a Meeting of the Managing Committee, Loka Sabha, Nagpore.
286	"	"	"	Mr. Sham Rao Krishnaji Jackate.	do.	Pleader...	Malguzari Sabha.	Public Meeting of 3rd December, and by the Managing Committee Meeting, 12th December, 1888.
287	"	"	"	Mr. Sada Shiva Jairam, B.A.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Professor, Hislop College, Nagpore.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December, 1888.
288	"	"	"	Mr. Bhagiratha Prosad, B.A.	Hindustani Kalar, Hinduism.	Professor of Mathematics, Hislop College, Nagpore; Municipal Member, Nagpore; Member, Loka Sabha, Central Provinces; Member and Treasurer, Temperance Association.		do.

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289	Central Provinces.	Nagpore	Nagpore	Mr. Martand Bapooji Waikar	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader and Member, Loka Sabha, Nagpore.		By a Public Meeting held on the 3rd December, 1888.
290	"	"	"	Pandit Bapu Rao Dada, M.A.	Mahratta, Brahmin.	Pleader; Secretary, Loka Sabha; Municipal Commissioner; and Landlord.	.....	do.
291	"	"	"	Pandit Krishna Rao Govind Deshpande, M.A.	do.	Professor, Morris College; and Member, Loka Sabha.	.....	do.
292	"	"	"	Mr. Raghoba Rattiram ...	Hindu.	Landlord; Municipal Commissioner, Saoner, District. Nagpore.	.....	do.
293	"	"	Jubbulpore	Baboo Kali Charan Bose	Bengali, Kayasth.	Head Master, Hitkarni School; Editor, "Shubh Chintaka," Weekly Anglo-Hindi Paper.	.....	At a Public Meeting of the inhabitants of the town, consisting of Mahajans, Zemindars, Pleaders & men of other professions and trades, 23rd November.
294	"	"	"	Lala Jankee Prasad ...	Kaistha.	Pleader.	.....	do.
295	"	"	"	Baboo Debi Prasad Chobey	Hindu, Brahmin.	Malguzar and Banker, Jubbulpore.	.....	do.
296	"	"	"	Mr. Gungadhar Chintaman Mandape.	Mahratta Brahmin.	Head Clerk, District Engineer's Office, G. I. P. Railway.	.....	Elected at a Public Meeting, 23rd November.
297	"	"	"	Mr. D. Raghubar Prasad	Brahmin.	School Master.	.....	do., and at a General Meeting held on 5th December, 1888.
298	"	"	"	Mr. Bihari Lal, B.A. ...	do.	do.	.....	By a Public Meeting, 23rd November.
299	"	"	"	Mr. Lakshmi Narayan Agnihotri.	do.	do.	.....	do.
300	"	"	"	Baboo Purna Chandra Mukerjee	Hindu.	Pleader...	.....	do.
301	"	"	"	Rajah Aman Singh ...	do.	Landlord.	.....	do.
302	"	"	Hoshangabad.	Mr. Prag Chand Chowdhury	do.	Zemindar.	.....	By a Public Meeting on 9th October.
303	"	"	"	Pandit Sukhdeo Prasad...	Brahmin.	Pleader, Hoshangabad.	.....	do.
304	"	"	"	Mr. Jagan Nath Prasad	do.	Pleader, Hoshangabad; Member, District Council; and Secretary, Loka Sabha and Bipra Sabha.	.....	do.
305	"	"	"	Baboo Hari Dass Gosh, M.A., B.L.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Pleader.	.....	At a Meeting on the 16th December, 1888.
306	"	"	"	Babu Kalli Dass Chowdhury, B.A.	Hindu...	Pleader, Landholder; Secretary, Standing Congress Committee and Branch Loka Sabha.	Harda.	Do., and Meeting on the 6th November, 1888.
307	"	"	Sohagpore.	Mr. Kashi Ram Tiwari...	do.	Landlord.	.....	By a Public Meeting on 18th December, 1888.
308	"	"	Burhanpore (Nimar.)	Mr. Luxmon Moreshewar	Hindu, Brahmin.	Public Preacher; Agent, Berar Agricultural Association.		do.
309	"	"	"	Mr. Ram Chandra Bapuji	Hindu...	Malguzar; Member, Loka Sabha.		do.

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310	Central Provinces.	Nagpore	Dungargarh.	Mr. Purshotum Mudhro Rao Rajalwar.	Brahmin.	...		At a Meeting, 9th December, 1888.
311	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Rao Hari Mankeshwar.	do.	Contractor and Pleader, Khaigarh State, Dungargarh.	.....	do.
312	"	"	Rajnundgaon (Raipur.)	Mr. V. Sarangpani Moodliar	Hindu.	Contractor; Manager, Bolaram Dass' Press	.....	At a Public Meeting.
313	"	"	Khandwa	Babu Hari Dass Chatterji, M.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader; Secretary, Branch Loka Sabha and Branch Standing Congress Committee.	Burhanpore.	At Meetings held 22nd and 29th November.
314	"	"	Saugor	Seth Mohan Lall ...	Hindu.	Banker and Mahajan Tahsil Khurai	.....	By a Meeting held on the 12th December, 1888.
315	"	"	"	Seth Luchmi Chund ...	do.	do.	.....	do.
316	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Lakshmana Shrikhande.	do.	Legal Practitioner ...	.....	By a Meeting held on 6th November, 1888.
317	"	"	"	Baboo Kali Prossono Mookerji, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader and Member, District Council, Saugor.	...	do.
318	"	"	"	Baboo Tara Prassanna Sen, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Vaidya.	Pleader, Saugor, and Vakil, High Court, Calcutta, and Hony. Magistrate, Howrah.	Saugor Hita Sabha.	Public Meeting held on the 6th November, 1888, and Meeting of the Hita Sabha.
319	"	"	Wardha	Mr. Wasdeo Krishna Abhyankar.	Hindu Mahratta, Brahmin.	Malguzar; Cultivator; and Secretary, Local Board.	.....	By a Public Meeting of voters elected by three Tahsils of Wardha District, 20th December.
320	"	"	"	Mr. Keshavrao Mahadev Kavle	do.	Pleader, Member of Municipality and District Council, & Vice-Chairman of District Council, Wardha.	.....	do.
321	"	"	"	Mr. Luxman Govind Deuskar.	do.	Cultivator and Pleader, Member of Municipality of Arvi District, Wardha; Member of District Council.	.....	do.
322	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Vaman Kelkar, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader, Member of Municipality.	.....	do.
323	"	"	"	Mr. Washudeo Rao Pranipe	Hindu...	Pleader, Wardha ...	.....	do.
324	"	"	Harda	Pandit Narayan Rao Govind Paroolkar.	Brahmin.	Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate; President, Harda Municipality, and Vice-President, Loka Sabha, Nagpore.	.....	By a General Meeting, 6th November, 1888.
325	"	"	"	Pandit Sadashiva Kam Chandra Patwardhan.	do.	Pleader, Proprietor and Editor of the "Nyayodha," Zemindar and a Member of Municipality, Harda.	.....	do.
326	"	"	"	Pandit Bhikaji Vinayak Naik.	do.	Zemindar; Secretary, Harda Branch of Loka Sabha, Nagpore.		do.
327	"	"	"	Pandit Raghu Nath Rao Vama Kakera.	do.	do.		do.

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328	Central Provinces.	Nagpore	Harda	Pandit Balwant Rao Ganesh Naik,	Brahmin.	Zemindar ; Secretary, Harda Branch of Loka Sabha, Nagpore.		By a General Meeting 6th November, 1888.
329	Govt. of India.	"	Central India Association, Mhow.	Babu Mohendra Nath Chatterjee.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader, Mhow, Central India.	.....	By a General Meeting held on the 20th December, 1888.
330	"	"	"	Kesho Sakhran Bapat ...	do.	Teacher, 1st Assistant, Khan Bahadoor, Edulji Pestonji's School, Mhow.	.....	do.
331	"	"	C. I. Association, Indore.	Lala Dharama Chandra ...	Jain.	Photographer, Indore	.....	do.
332	Punjab	Lahore	Lahore	Mr. Golak Nath Chatterjee, B.A.	Christian	Professor, Govt. College.	Indian Christian Association of Lahore.	Elected 23rd Nov., 1888, and 17th Dec., 1888, respectively.
333	"	"	"	Lala Narain Dass ...	Abloo-wa-ly.	Pleader, Hoshiarpur	.....	do.
334	"	"	"	Mr. I. C. Sarkar, C.E. ...	Christian.	Landholder in Oudh ; Retired Executive Engineer, S. P. D.	.....	At a Public Meeting, 21st Dec., 1888.
335	"	"	"	Mr. Sangam Lall, LL. ...	Hindu.	Pleader, Lahore ...	.....	Public Meeting held on 23rd Nov., 1888.
336	"	"	"	Mr. Nund Lall ...	do.	Cloth Merchant Lahore.	.....	do.
337	"	"	"	Baboo Kali Prosonno Roy, M.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Pleader, Chief Court	Lahore Indian Association.	Do., and by a Meeting of the Association.
338	"	"	"	Mr. Bhagat Ram ...	do.	Barrister-at-Law, Lahore.	do.	do.
339	"	"	"	Mr. Lakshmi Narain, M.R. A.S., F.S.A.	Hindu, Kayasth.	do.	do.	do.
340	"	"	"	Mr. Charles Golak Nath, B.A., LL.B.	Punjabi, Christian.	do.	do.	do.
341	"	"	"	Sirdar Dyal Singh Majethia.	Sikh.	Jageerdar, Lahore ; Amritsar ; President, Indian Association, Lahore.	do.	do.
342	"	"	"	Lala Kanhaiya Lall ...	Hindu, Bhatta.	Pleader, Chief Court	do.	do.
343	"	"	"	Mr. Nathu Ram ...	Agarwal-la.	Editor	.....	Public Meeting, 23rd Nov., 1888.
344	"	"	"	Pandit Sattya Nand Agnihotri.	Devo Dhurmo.	Editor, and Missionary of the Devo Dhurmo Mission.	.....	do.
345	"	"	"	Dr. Perambund ...	Khetri, Arya.	Surgeon-Dentist, Lahore.	.....	do.
346	"	"	"	Baboo Jogendra Chandra Basu, M.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore ; Vice-President, Indian Association.	.....	do.
347	"	"	"	Mr. Balmokund ...	Khetri	Merchant, Lahore ...	.....	do.
348	"	"	Hissar	Lala Lajpat Rai ...	Hindu, Bania.	Pleader, Hissar ...	.....	By a Public Meeting on the 12th Dec., 1888.
349	"	"	"	Lalla Chhahil Dass ...	do.	Banker, Hissar ...	.....	do.
350	"	"	"	Lalla Gauri Sankar ...	do.	Rais, Hissar ...	.....	do.
351	"	"	"	Lalla Churamoni ...	do.	Pleader, Hissar ...	.....	do.
352	"	"	Ferozepore	Lalla Dindjal ...	Kaystha, Aryan.	Pleader, Ferozepore		23rd Dec., 1888, at a Public Meeting.

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353	Punjab	Lahore	Ferozepore	Pandit Moolraj ...	Brahmin, Aryan.	Pleader, Ferozepore ; and Municipal Commissioner.		23rd Dec., 1888, at a Public Meeting.
354	"	"	Amritsar.	Lala Shahoo Nath ...	Hindu, Khetri.	Merchant, Amritsar, Punjab.	.....	Public Meeting, Dec. 12th, 1888.
355	"	"	"	Bhai Harnam Singh ...	Sikh.	Private Service ...	.....	do.
356	"	"	"	Bhai Narain Singh ...	do.	Pleader, Amritsar ; Municipal Commissioner ; Inspector, and Indian Law Publisher.	.....	do.
357	"	"	"	Mr. Balmakund ...	Hindu, Khetri.	Private Service, care of Veroo Mull Kapoor, Kutra Churt Singh, Amritsar, Punjab.	.....	do.
358	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Singh ...	do.	Shawl Merchant ...	.....	do.
359	"	"	Gurdaspur	Mr. Ram Saran Dass ...	do.	Gurdaspur, Pleader	.....	By Public Meeting on the 2nd Nov., 1888.
360	"	"	"	Mr. Guru Charan Dass ...	do.	Pleader ; President, Gurdaspur Municipality.	.....	do.
361	"	"	Hoshiarpur	Shaik Umr Baksh, B.A.H.A.	Mahomedan.	Pleader.	.....	Elected at a Public Meeting, 15th Dec., 1888.
362	"	"	"	Mr. Davee Dial ...	Agurwala, Bania, Bishmoo faith.	Pleader, Hoshiarpur.	.....	do.
363	"	"	Gujranwala.	Lala Dhuni Ram, B.A. ...	Khanna, Khetri.	Govt. College, Lahore.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 9th December, 1888.
364	"	"	"	Mr. Kahan Chand ...	Hindu.	Pleader, Gujranwala.	.....	do.
365	"	"	"	Mr. Chuni Lall ...	do.	Mukhtar, Gujranwala.	.....	do.
366	"	"	"	Mr. Jivan Kishen ...	do.	Pleader, Gujranwala.	.....	do.
367	"	"	"	Moulvi Muhammed Mahbub Alam	Mahomedan.	Editor, "Vaisa Akbar"	.....	do.
368	"	"	"	Mr. Sardari Mal ...	Hindu ...	Pleader, Gujranwala.	"Aror Bans" of Gujranwala.	Do., and at a Meeting of the Aror Bans of Gujranwala held on the 22nd Dec., 1888.
369	"	"	Jullundur	Bakshi Sohan Lal ...	Hindu ...	Pleader.	.....	At a Public Meeting on the 2nd December, 1888.
370	"	"	"	Pundit Sheo Narayan ...	Brahmin Fundit, Kashmiri.	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab.	.....	do.
371	"	"	"	Pundit Devi Chund ...	Brahmin.	Pleader, Chief Court.	.....	do.
372	"	"	"	Mr. Madan Gopal ...	Hindu, Khetri.	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab.	.....	do.
373	"	"	Dharamsala.	Bakhshi Jaishi Ram ...	Hindu.	Pleader, Chief Court, and Zemindar.	.....	At a Public Meeting held on the 1st December, 1888.
374	"	"	"	Captain A. T. Banon ...	English, Christian.	Zemindar, Kooloo-Kangra, and late Bengal Staff Corps.	.....	Public Meeting held on the 1st December, 1888.
375	"	"	"	Lala Thakoor Dass ...	Abloo-walay.	Pleader, Chief Court, Dharamsala, Kangra.		do.
376	"	"	Umballa	Lala Murli Dhar ...	Hindu.	Pleader.		At a Public Meeting.

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377	Punjab	Lahore	Umballa	Lala Than Singh ...	Hindu.	Contractor. ...		At a Public Meeting.
378	"	"	Ludhiana	Khocaja Abad Shah ...	Mahomedan.	Merchant. ...	.....	By Public Meeting held on the 12th December, 1888.
379	"	"	"	Sheikh Ahmadjan ...	do.	do. ...	.....	do.
380	"	"	"	Mr. Durga Dat ...	Hindu, Agarwalla.	Pleader, Jullundur. ...	.....	do.
381	"	"	"	Syed Sardar Ali Sahib ...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner.	.....	do.
382	"	"	"	Syed Jati Shah Sahib ..	do.	do. ...	.....	do.
383	"	"	"	Sheik Sharfuddin ...	Mahomedan.	Journalist, Editor and Managing Proprietor, "Moshiri Hindi" Press, Ludhiana.	.....	do.
384	"	"	Dera-Ismail-Khan.	Mr. Jhinda Ram ...	Hindu, Khetri.	Pleader, Chief Court, Dera-Ismail-Khan, and Secy., Congress Committee, Dera-Ismail-Khan.	.....	Public Meeting held on the 19th Dec.
385	"	"	"	Mr. Hira Nand ...	Arya.	Mukhtar. ...	.....	do.
386	"	"	"	Mr. Assa Nand ...	do.	Mukhtar of a Rais ...	.....	do.
387	"	"	"	Kazi Abdul Ghofoor ...	Mahomedan.	... ..	.....	do.
388	"	"	Multan	Baba Parduman Singh ...	Sikh.	Pleader, Multan ...	.....	In a Public Meeting on 7th Dec., 1888.
389	"	"	"	Mr. Chetan Anand, B.A.	Arya.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner.	.....	do.
390	"	"	"	Pandit Jamayat Rai ...	Brahmin.	Priest and Municipal Commissioner.	.....	do.
391	"	"	Rawalpindi.	Mr. Hans Raj Sawhuj ...	Khetri, Arya.	Pleader, Chief Court, Rawalpindi.	Rawalpindi Association, Rawalpindi Sukhvaik Sabha.	By Public Meeting on 14th Dec., 1888, and Meetings of the Associations.
392	"	Delhi	Delhi	Lala Gopal Rao ...	Hindu, Agarwal.	Banker. ...	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December, 1888.
393	"	"	"	Lala Girdhari Lal ...	Hindu, Vaish.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	.....	do.
394	"	"	"	Lala Pyare Lal ...	Jain.	Vakil, High Court...	.....	do.
395	"	"	"	Lala Jugal Kishore ...	Hindu, Kayesth.	Pleader, Chief Court	.....	do.
396	"	"	"	Babu Hem Chander Sen, L.M.S.	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner, Delhi.	.....	do.
397	"	"	"	Mr. Umrao Mirza Hairat.	Mahomedan.	Author of several vernacular books.	.....	do.
398	"	"	"	Moulvi Sayad Moulana Abu Mansur, Imam-i-fani Manazra (order of Mejd.)	Mahomedan.	Author of several religious books.	.....	do.
399	"	"	"	Mr. Mohammad Ismail	Mahomedan.	Proprietor of landed property, Delhi.	.....	do.
400	"	"	"	Moulvi Syad Nasrat Ali...	Mahomedan, Syad.	Editor of "Nasrutul-Akbar," Delhi.		do.
401	"	"	"	Mr. Kedar Nath ...	Hindu, Vaish.	Pleader, Delhi. ...		do.

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402	Punjab	Delhi	Delhi	Lala Girdhari Lal ...	Hindu, Khettry.	Pleader, Chief Court.		By a Public Meeting on the 19th December, 1888.
403	"	"	"	Mr. P. C. Mukerji, M.A.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Professor of Physical Science, St. Stephen's College, Delhi.	.....	do.
404	"	"	"	Kanvar Badhri Krishen...	Hindu.	Rais and Pleader ...	.....	do.
405	"	"	"	Mir Yakub Ali ...	Mahomedan.	Special Pleader and Proprietor of landed property, Faridabad, Delhi District.	.....	do.
406	"	"	"	Lala Durga Prasad ...	Hindu, Vaish.	Banker ...	.....	do.
407	"	"	"	Lala Shambhoo Dial ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Delhi. ...	.....	do.
408	"	"	"	Lala Sanwal Das ...	do.	Cloth Agent, Chandni Chowk.	.....	do.
409	"	"	"	Lala Ramsur Das ...	do.	Pleader, Gurudaspore	.....	do.
410	"	"	"	Lala Damodar Das, B.A.	Hindu, Vaish.	Banker ...	.....	do.
411	"	"	"	Moulvi Mansur Ali ...	Mahomedan.	Proprietor of the Nasrut-ul-Akbar.	.....	do.
412	N.-W. P. & Oudh.	Lucknow.	Lucknow.	Pundit Luchman Prosad	Brahmo.	Preacher. ...	.....	do.
413	"	"	"	Mr. Thaker Prosad ...	Hindu, Kayastha.	Pleader. ...	.....	do.
414	"	"	"	Munshi Mahomed Ibrahim.	Mahomedan.	Draftsman. ...	Unjuman Mohamadi.	do.
415	"	"	"	Hakim Mahomed Askari	do.	Physician. ...	.....	do.
416	"	"	"	Lala Surjoo Prosad ...	Hindu.	Service. ...	.....	do.
417	"	"	"	Babu Bissonath Rai ...	do.	Government Pensioner and House Proprietor.	.....	do.
418	"	"	"	Babu Kali Dass Sircar ...	do.	Do. ...	.....	do.
419	"	"	"	Nawab Kasim Ali Khan	Mahomedan.	Wasikadar, & Rais.	Unjuman Mohamadi.	do.
420	"	"	"	Mirza Abbas Hossein ...	do.	Rais, ...	.....	do.
421	"	"	"	Nawab Mahmood Ali Khan Bahadoor.	do.	Rais, Rampore, uncle of the present Chief.	.....	do.
422	"	"	"	Sheikh Ashgar Ali ...	do.	Merchant. ...	.....	do.
423	"	"	"	Babu Ishri Doyal ...	Hindu, Kayastha.	Vakil. ...	.....	do.
424	"	"	"	Pundit Sree Kissen ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Rais. ...	.....	do.
425	"	"	"	Nawab Ahmud Hossen Khan.	Mahomedan.	Wasikadar, & Rais...	.....	do.
426	"	"	"	Munshi Abdool Rahman	do.	Trader. ...	.....	do.
427	"	"	"	Munshi Ashraf Ali ...	do.	Rais. ...	.....	do.
428	"	"	"	Babu Bhuban Mohan Banerjee, B.A.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Professor of Science and Mathematics, Christian College.	.....	do.
429	"	"	"	Babu Bepin Behary Bose, M.A.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court....	Refa-i-am Association	do., and a Meeting of the Association.

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430	N.-W. P. & Oudh.	Lucknow.	Lucknow	Babu Bhubon Mohun Roy	Hindu.	Merchant, Secretary, Brahmo Samaj.	Refa-i-am Association.	At a Public Meeting held on the 19th December, and a Meeting of the Association.
431	"	"	"	Babu Sreeram, M.A., B.L.	do.	Zemindar, Vakil, High Court; Public Prosecutor, Oudh, Judicial Commissioner's Court; Secretary, Refa-i-am Association; & Municipal Commissioner.	do.	do.
432	"	"	"	Babu Ram Gopal Vidyanta.	do.	Assistant Engineer, Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway, and Director, Upper India Couper Mills Company, Limited.	do.	do.
433	"	"	"	Babu Bansi Lal Singh ...	do.	Zemindar, Vakil, High Court; Chairman of the Board of Directors of Upper India Couper Mills Company, Limited.	Refa-i-am Association, and Khetri and Saratswati Sabha.	Do., and at a Meeting of the Khetri and Saratswati Sabha.
434	"	"	Refa-i-am Association, Lucknow.	Munshi Mahomed Sajjad Hosein.	Mahomedan.	Zemindar, Editor & Proprietor, "Oudh Punch."	Jalsa Tehzeeb.	By a Meeting of the Association.
435	"	"	"	Mr. Hamid Ali Khan, F.R.A.S., M.R.A.S.	do.	Barrister-at-law, Magdhar, Amroha District, Vice-President, Refa-i-am Association, and Municipal Commissioner.	.....	do.
436	"	"	"	Pundit Sham Narayan Musladan.	Hindu.	Zemindar	.....	do.
437	"	"	"	Pundit Bishan Narayan Dar.	do.	Barrister-at-law and Secretary, Kashmiri National Club.	.....	do.
438	"	"	"	Nawab Ahamad Ali Khan	Mahomedan.	Wasikadar, & Rais...	.....	do.
439	"	"	"	Sheikh Raza Hossein Khan.	do.	Ellakadar, Municipal Commissioner, Life President, Refa-i-am Association.	.....	do.
440	"	"	"	Mir Sadik Hossein ...	do.	Rais.	.....	do.
441	"	"	"	Munshi Mahomed Mirza Jan.	do.	do.	.....	do.
442	"	"	"	Mirza Nadir Hossein alias Munnay Aga.	do.	do.	.....	do.
443	"	"	"	Sheikh Mahomed Ahsan Hossain Khan.	do.	do.	.....	do.
444	"	"	"	Sheik Mahomed Yusuf Hossain Khan.	do.	do.	.....	do.
445	"	"	"	Maulvi Mohamed Serajuddin.	do.	do.	.....	do.
446	"	"	"	Nawab Hashmut Hossein Khan.	do.	Wasikadar, & Rais...	.....	do.
447	"	"	"	Syed Hadi Hossain Khan	do.	do.	.....	do.
448	"	"	"	Mr. Yusuf Ali Khan ...	do.	do.	.....	do.
449	"	"	"	Munshi Mahomed Abdool Baseer.	do.	Assistant Secretary, Refa-i-am Association.		do.

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450	N.-W. P. & Oudh.	Lucknow.	Rafai-am Association, Lucknow.	Rev. Ram Chander Bose, M.A.	Christian, Protestant.	Missionary, Methodist Mission, Lucknow.	Bengal Christian Conference and Bengal Christian Alliance.	At the Meeting of the Rafai-am Association, and at the Meetings of the Bengal Christian Conference and Bengal Christian Alliance.
451	"	"	"	Nawab Mahomed Mirza	Mahomedan.	Rais.	.....	By a Meeting of the Association on the 19th December, 1888.
452	"	"	"	Nawab Baker Mirza ...	do.	do.	.....	do.
453	"	"	"	Nawab Mahomed Taki Ali Saheb.	do.	do.	.....	do.
454	"	"	"	Mirza Mahomed Kasim...	do.	do.	.....	do.
455	"	"	Anjuman Mahamadi, Lucknow.	Khuaja Ali Mahomed Bhimjee.	do.	Late Manager, Indore Cotton Press.	.....	By a Meeting of the Anjuman on the 23rd December, 1888.
456	"	"	"	Munshi Mohamed Amir Ahmed.	do.	Secretary, Anjuman Mahamadi, Lucknow.	.....	do.
457	"	"	"	Nawab Baker Mirza ...	do.	Rais.	.....	do.
458	"	"	"	Prince Alijah Mirza Mahomed Hossein Ali Khan Bahadoor.	do.	Wasikadar.	.....	do.
459	"	"	"	Prince Sikundar Hadur Mirza Mahomed Ahmed Ali Bahadoor.	do.	do.	.....	do.
460	"	"	"	Prince Nawab Jafer Ali Khan Bahadoor.	do.	do.	.....	do.
461	"	"	"	Nawab Mobarak Hossain Khan.	do.	do.	.....	do.
462	"	"	"	Nawab Valayet Hossain Khan	do.	do.	.....	do.
463	"	"	"	Nawab Ali Mahommed Khan.	do.	do. and President, Anjuman Mahamadi.	.....	do.
464	"	"	"	Mirza Masum Ali ...	do.	Wasikadar.	.....	do.
465	"	"	"	Mirza Mahomed Murteza alias Machu Beg	do.	Rais.	.....	do.
466	"	"	"	Munshi Mahomed Hidayat Rasul.	do.	do.	.....	do.
467	"	"	"	Moulvi Golam Mahomed Mohadis.	do.	do.	.....	do.
468	"	"	"	Khuaja Syud Fareedudin.	do.	do.	.....	do.
469	"	"	"	Sheikh Husammuddin	do.	do.	.....	do.
470	"	"	"	Aga Syud Mehdi Raza ...	do.	do.	.....	do.
471	"	"	Khetri & Saratswati Sabha, Lucknow.	Munshi Gunga Prasad Varma.	Hindu.	Editor and Proprietor, "Hindustani," Managing Proprietor of the "Advocate," Municipal Commissioner and Secretary, Oudh Standing Congress Committee.	.....	By a Meeting of the Khetri and Saratswati Sabha.
472	"	"	"	Mr. Kedar Nath ...	Hindu, Khetri.	Vakil, N.-W. P., High Court.	.....	Do., and at a Public Meeting.
473	"	"	"	Mr. Luchmon Dass ...	do.	do.	.....	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Name in full of Delegates with honorary titles and scholastic degrees, &c.	Race, Religious denomination, or Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	Other Places or Associations for which they were also elected.	How and when elected.
474	N.-W. P. & Oudh.	Lucknow.	Khetrio & Saratswati Sobha, Lucknow.	Mr. Ram Dass Varma	Hindu, Khetry.	Banker, Zemindar, Editor, "Dinkar Prakash."	.....	By a Meeting of the Khetrio and Saratswati Sobha, and at a Public Meeting.
475	"	"	"	Mr. Raja Ram Varma ...	do.	Banker, Treasurer, Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway	.....	do.
476	"	"	"	Pundit Gyaneshwarjee ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Priest and President, Khetrio and Saratswati Sabha.	.....	do.
477	"	"	"	Pundit Shew Nath Misser	do.	Do., and Assistant Secretary, Khetrio and Saratswati Sabha.	.....	do.
478	"	"	Jalsa Tahzib, Lucknow.	Pundit Jagat Narain Mulloh, B. A.	do.	Pleader, Vice-Chairman.	.....	By a Public Meeting and Meeting of the Association.
479	"	"	"	Pundit Suraj Narain Bahadoor.	do.	Secretary, Jalsa Tahzib.	.....	do.
480	"	"	Young-men's Association, Lucknow.	Mr. L. B. Bose ...	Christian.	President, Young-men's Association, Lucknow.	.....	Do. and Meeting of the Association.
481	"	"	(Kakari), Lucknow.	Munshi Hamiduddeen ...	Mahomedan.	Rais Kakari. ...	.....	By a Public Meeting.
482	"	"	Fyzabad	Mr. Gokul Chand ...	Hindu, Khetry.	Zemindar, Pleader, Honorary Magistrate, Vice-Chairman of Municipal and District Board.	.....	do.
483	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Singh ...	Hindu, Vaish.	Banker, Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner.	.....	do.
484	"	"	"	Babu Ram Saran Dass, M.A., M.A.S., and Fellow, Allahabad University.	Hindu, Kayastha.	Zemindar and Secretary, Oudh Commercial Bank; President, Anjuman Tahzib; Municipal Commissioner and Honorary Magistrate.	.....	do.
485	"	"	"	Munshi Salig Ram, B.A.	do.	Zemindar & Pleader.	.....	do.
486	"	"	"	Munshi Baluk Ram ...	do.	do.	.....	do.
487	"	"	"	Mr. Rugha Nundun Bajpai.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Government Pensioner.	.....	do.
488	"	"	"	Sheikh Kedar Bux ...	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Honorary Magistrate, Vice-Chairman, District Board, and Municipal Commissioner.	.....	do.
489	"	"	"	Munshi Imtiaz Ali, B.A.	do.	Pleader. ...	.....	do.
490	"	"	"	Sardar Salig Singa ...	Sikh.	Talukdar. ...	.....	do.
491	"	"	"	Mr. Monohur Lall Manocha.	Hindu.	Pleader, Secretary, Municipal Board.	.....	do.
492	"	"	"	Pundit Bisseswar Nath Hangel.	do.	Pleader and Zemindar, Akbarpur.	.....	do.
493	"	"	Bara Banki	Moulvi Mahomed Nasim, B.A.	Mahomedan.	Pleader. ...	.....	do.
494	"	"	"	Mr. Panna Lall ...	Hindu, Khetry.	do. ...	.....	do.
495	"	"	"	Pundit Parmeshiri Dass	Hindu, Brahmin.	do., and Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner.		do.

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496	N.-W. P. & Oudh.	Lucknow.	Bara Banki	Mr. Brij Mohun Lal ...	Hindu, Kayastha.	Pleader. ...		By a Public Meeting.
497	"	"	Sitapur	Munshi Murli Dhur ...	do.	do. and Municipal Member.	.....	do.
498	"	"	"	Pundit Makhun Lal ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader. ...	.....	do.
499	"	"	"	Mr. Hur Gobinda Doyal, M.A.	Hindu, Kayastha.	Govt. Pleader. ...	.....	do.
500	"	"	"	Mr. Buldeo Prosad ...	Hindu, Khetry.	Vakil, High Court, and Hony. Magte.	.....	do.
501	"	"	"	Seth Changa Mall ...	do.	Banker. ...	.....	do.
502	"	"	"	Mr. Kanhya Lall ...	Hindu, Vaish.	Pleader. ...	.....	do.
503	"	"	"	Pundit Suraj Prosada ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Religious Teacher. ...	.....	do.
504	"	"	"	Mr. Pitam Roy ...	Hindu, Kayastha.	Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate, and Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board.	.....	do.
505	"	"	"	Mr. Chotey Lall, M.A.	do.	Vakil, Secretary, Municipal Board and Hony. Magistrate.	.....	do.
506	"	"	"	Pundit Hurshai ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pensioned Sub-Judge.	.....	do.
507	"	"	Kheri	Syed Mahomed Ibrahim Khan.	Mahomedan.	Talookdar. ...	.....	do.
508	"	"	"	Hafiz Syad Jamaluddin...	do.	Muafidar. ...	.....	do.
509	"	"	"	Kazi Zamin Ali ...	do.	Zemindar. ...	.....	do.
510	"	"	"	Sheikh Mahomed Hossain	do.	Merchant. ...	.....	do.
511	"	"	"	Pundit Burma Nand ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Banker. ...	.....	do.
512	"	"	"	Seth Dwarka Dass ...	Hindu, Khaitria.	Do. and Zemindar and Municipal Member.	.....	do.
513	"	"	"	Mr. Sheo Bux Roy ...	Hindu, Vaish.	Pleader and Zemindar.	.....	do.
514	"	"	"	Pundit Lalta Prosad ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader. ...	.....	do.
515	"	"	"	Babu Kumar Chunder Bhattacharjee.	do.	do. ...	.....	do.
516	"	"	Partabgarh	Raghubans Sahai ...	Hindu, Kayastha.	Pleader, Partabgarh, Oudh.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 7th December, 1888.
517	"	"	"	Syed Alim Saheb ...	Mahomedan.	do. ...	.....	do.
518	"	"	"	Syed Moulvi Mir Mahomed Saheb.	do.	do. ...	.....	do.
519	"	"	"	Dewan Ran Bijay Bahadur Singa.	Hindu, Chattr.	Talookdar, Koodhora.	.....	do.
520	"	"	"	Bakshee Uday Dham ...	Hindu, Kayastha.	Service, Partabgarh.	.....	do.
521	"	"	Rampore	Lala Ramdial ...	do.	Zemindar and Karinda to His Highness Raja Rampal Singh Bahadoor.	.....	By a Public Meeting.
522	"	"	"	Munshi Jumna Prosad Saheb.	Hindu.	Zemindar. ...	Partabgarh.	Do., and by a Public Meeting held at Partabgarh on the 7th December, 1888.

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523	N.-W. P. & Oudh.	Lucknow.	Kalakanker	Pundit Ram Lal Munshi	Hindu.	Karinda to His Highness Raja Rampul Singh Bahadoor and Zemindar.		By a Public Meeting on the 9th December, 1888.
524	"	"	Rai Bareilly	Meer Khadim Hossain ...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar, Rai Bareilly.	.....	By a Public Meeting.
525	"	"	Ajodhia	Babu Charu Chunder Ghosh.	Hindu, Kayastha.	Private Medical Practitioner and Municipal Member.	Anjamani Tahzib.	Do., and at a Meeting of the Association.
526	"	"	Moradabad	Meer Wahid Ali Rizwi...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar.	.....	By a Public Meeting on the 19th December, 1888.
527	"	"	"	Moulvi Sahebuddin Khan	do.	Service.	.....	do.
528	"	"	"	Pundit Banwari Lal Misra.	Hindu.	Proprietor, "Sitara Hind" Newspaper.	.....	do.
529	"	"	"	Mr. Amba Pershad ...	do.	Editor, Jama-ul-ulam.	.....	do.
530	"	"	"	Babu Narendra Chunder Bose.	do.	Vakil.	.....	do.
531	"	"	"	Lala Kunj Behari Lal ...	do.	Editor, "Churpooz" Newspaper.	.....	do.
532	"	"	"	Pundit Pertab Kishen Aga	do.	Proprietor and Editor "Rabber" Newspaper, Moradabad.	.....	do.
533	"	"	Arya Somaj, Bijnour.	Pundit Radha Kishen ...	do.	President, Arya Somaj.	.....	At a Meeting of the Somaj on the 18th December, 1888.
534	"	"	Bijnour	Jaikaj Singh ...	do.	Pleader, Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner.	.....	By a Special Meeting held on the 29th December, 1888.
535	"	"	Bareilly	Mr. Badri Nath Chaturvedi, M.A.	Brahmin.	Professor, Mathematics and Physical Science, Ramsay College, Almora, Kumaon.	.....	At a Public Meeting held at the Town Hall on the 6th December, 1888.
536	"	"	"	Lala Narain Dass ...	Agarwala.	Banker.	.....	At a Public Meeting held on the 5th December, 1888.
537	"	"	"	Munshi Thakur Pershad	Hindu, Kayastha.	Zemindar, Editor, "Dabubai Kuisri," & Municipal Commissioner.	.....	do.
538	"	"	"	Babu Preo Nath Bannerjee.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, N.-W. P.	.....	do.
539	"	"	"	Pundit Chedda Lal, B.A.	do.	Zemindar.	.....	do.
540	"	"	"	Mr. Seeta Ram ...	Hindu, Kayastha.	Contractor, Firm of Messrs. Sectaram and Co.	.....	do.
541	"	"	"	Mr. Tribani Sahai ...	do.	Pleader.	.....	At a Public Meeting held in the Institution.
542	"	"	"	Babu Baldeo Pershad ...	do.	do.	.....	do.
543	"	"	"	Mr. Behary Lal Mookerjee.	Hindu, Brahmin.	.....	.....	do.
544	"	"	"	Babu Kali Prosonno Bannerjee.	do.	Vakil.	.....	At a Public Meeting held at the Town Hall on the 6th December, 1888.
545	"	"	Shahjehanpur.	Babu Baiconto Nath Sircar.	Hindu.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Shahjehanpur.		By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December, 1888.
546	"	"	"	Pundit Bisheshur Nath Bham.	do.	Vakil.		do.

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547	N.-W. P. & Oudh.	Lucknow.	Shahjehanpur.	Munshi Bukhtawar Singh	Hindu.	Zemindar, Printer and Publisher and Editor, "Arya Durpan" & "Ayna Riazi."		By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December, 1888.
548	"	"	"	Babu Hur Govind Banerjee.	do.	Retired Deputy Collector.	.....	do.
549	"	"	"	Lala Seeta Ram ...	do.	Contractor.	.....	do.
550	"	"	Faridpore	Mr. Angan Lal ...	do.	Zemindar.	.....	At a Public Meeting held on the 6th December, 1888.
551	N.-W. P.	Allahabad.	Allahabad	The Hon'ble Pundit Ajoodhianath.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P., Member, Legislative Council, N.-W. P. & Oudh, Vice-President, N.-W. P. & Oudh Association, President, Congress Reception Committee, and Fellow, Calcutta and Allahabad Universities.	N.-W. P. & Oudh Association	By a Public Meeting held at Kayastha Patshala on the 10th November, 1888, and at a General Meeting of the N.-W. P. and Oudh Association on the 22nd December, 1888.
552	"	"	"	Pundit Bishambher Nath	do.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P., President, N.-W. P. and Oudh Association and Vice-President, Congress Reception Committee.	do.	do.
553	"	"	"	Rev. David Mohun ...	Christian.	Pastor, Muirabad, Vice-President, N.-W. P. and Oudh Association.	do.	do.
554	"	"	"	Mr. D. Banerjee ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Barrister-at-Law.	do.	do.
555	"	"	"	Mr. T. P. Crowley ...	European, Christian.	Of the firm, Messrs. Crowley and Co., Mechanical Engineers & Contractors, and Member, Municipal Board.	do.	do.
556	"	"	"	Pundit Mati Lal ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W.P., Secretary, N.-W. P. and Oudh Association.	do.	do.
557	"	"	"	Munshi Jwala Prosad ...	Hindu, Kyasth.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P. and Zemindar.	do.	do.
558	"	"	"	Pundit Sundar Lal, B.A.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P. & Fellow, Allahabad University.	do.	do.
559	"	"	"	" Nawal Behari Bajpai.	do.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P.	do.	do.
560	"	"	"	Mr. Roohun Lal ...	Hindu, Kyasth.	Barrister-at-Law.	do.	do.
561	"	"	"	" T. N. Ghose ...	do.	Pleader, Member, Municipal Board, and Secretary, Allahabad Jubilee Club.	do.	do.
562	"	"	"	Pundit Joy Krishna Vyas	Hindu, Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner.	do.	At a Ward Meeting at Ahia-pur in the Town of Allahabad on the 21st December, 1888.
563	"	"	"	Babu Durga Charan Banerji, B.A.	do.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P.	do.	do.
564	"	"	"	Lala Bhowani Prosad ...	Hindu, Khettri.	Banker.		do.
565	"	"	"	" Giridhari Lal, B.A.	do.	Licensed Translator, High Court, N.-W. P.		do.

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566	N.-W. P.	Allahabad.	Allahabad	Munshi Kashi Prosad ...	Hindu, Kyasth.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P., Secretary, Madhya Hindu Samaj and N.-W. P. and Oudh Association.	N.-W. P. & Oudh Association, and the Madhya Hindu Somaj.	By a Public Meeting held at Kayastha Patshala on the 10th November 1888, and at a General Meeting of the N.-W. P. & Oudh Association on the 22nd December, 1888, and at the Meeting of the M. Hindu Somaj on the 27th November, 1888.
567	"	"	"	Pundit Lakshmi Narain Vyasa.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Vaidya; President, Hindu Samaj, Allahabad.	do.	do.
568	"	"	"	Munshi Madhava Prosad	Hindu, Kyasth.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P. and Zemindar.	do.	do.
569	"	"	"	Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, B.A.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Editor of the "Hindustani," Joint Secretary, Congress Reception Committee, Allahabad.	do.	do.
570	"	"	"	Babu Charoo Chundra Mittra.	Hindu, Kyasth.	Pleader, Zemindar, Senior Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board, Allahabad, and Secretary, N.-W. P. and Oudh Association.	do.	do.
571	"	"	"	Rajah Rampal Singh ...	Hindu, Khetri.	Rajah of Rampore, Oudh, Honorary Magistrate, Member, Municipal Board, Vice-President, Madhya Hindu Somaj, and Secretary, Reception Committee.	Do., and Partabgarh	Do., and at a Meeting held at Partabgarh.
572	"	"	"	Dr. S. P. Roy, M.B., M.R.C.S.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner and Chemical Examiner, Municipal Board, Allahabad.	N.-W. P. & Oudh Association, and Rajshahye.	By a Public Meeting held at the Kayastha Patshala on the 10th November, 1888, and at the General Meeting of the Association on the 22nd December, 1888, and by a Public Meeting held at Beaulia in Rajshahye.
573	"	"	"	Mr. J. E. Howard, F.S.S., L. & A.	European, Christian.	Barrister-at-Law, President, Anglo-Indian and Eurasian Association, Allahabad.	.....	By a Public Meeting held at Kayastha Patshala on the 10th November, 1888.
574	"	"	"	Lala Ram Charn Das ...	Hindu, Khetry.	Banker, Landholder, Honorary Magistrate, and Junior Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board, Allahabad.	.....	do.
575	"	"	"	Mirza Nowazish Hosein	Mahomedan.	Zemindar and Mill Owner.	.....	do.
576	"	"	"	Mir Fazal Ali Khan ...	do.	Ilaqidar.	.....	do.
577	"	"	"	Moulvi Mahomed Hosein	do.	Moulvi.	.....	do.
578	"	"	"	Mr. R. A. Fairlie ...	European, Christian.	Agent, Uncovenanted Service Bank, and Member, Municipal Board, Allahabad.	.....	do.
579	"	"	"	Mr. F. T. Atkins ...	European, Christian.	Managing Director of the Railway Service Press, and the "Morning Post," and President, United Railway and Government Servants Association.		do.

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580	N.-W. P.	Allahabad.	Allahabad	Lala Ganesh Prosad ...	Hindu, Vaishya.	Banker & Zemindar		By a Public Meeting held at Kayastha Patshala on the 10th November, 1888.
581	"	"	"	Lala Raja Ram ...	do.	Do., Zemindar and Member, Municipal Board.	.....	do.
582	"	"	"	Mr. Khushwaqt Rai ...	Hindu.	Barrister-at-Law. ...	.....	do.
583	"	"	"	Dr. Abinash Chandra Banerji, L.M.S.	do.	Medical Practitioner.	.....	do.
584	"	"	"	Mr. H. P. Niblett ...	European, Christian.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P.	.....	do.
585	"	"	"	Lala Raj Bahadoor ...	Hindu, Kyastha.	Pleader.	.....	do.
586	"	"	"	Munshi Sadruddin Ahmed.	Mahomedan.	Zemindar.	.....	Public Meeting.
587	"	"	"	Pundit Ram Prassanna Achari.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Religious Teacher ...	.....	Public Meeting, 22nd December, 1888.
588	"	"	"	Lala Kanhya Lal ...	Hindu, Agarwalla.	Banker.	.....	Ward Meeting at Sawaldas-ka-Kacha, 21st December, 1888.
589	"	"	"	Lala Doorga Prosad ...	Hindu, Khetry.	Cloth Merchant.	.....	do.
590	"	"	"	Lala Raghu Nandan Lal	Hindu.	Mahajan, Ward No. 5	.....	Ward Meeting at Matiganj, held at Gokuldas Tejpal Dharmasala on the 10th December, 1888.
591	"	"	"	Swami Ala Ram ...	do.	Religious Teacher, Ward No. 5.	.....	do.
592	"	"	"	Lala Jaggonath Prosad ...	do.	Mahajan, Ward No. 5	.....	do.
593	"	"	"	Ramlal Pragwal ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Priest, Ward No. 5	.....	do.
594	"	"	"	Lala Mathura Prosad ...	Hindu, Bania.	Chowdhuri and Landowner, Ward No. 5.	.....	do.
595	"	"	"	Lala Ganga Prosad ...	do.	Banker & Zemindar, Ward No. 5.	.....	do.
596	"	"	"	Sitaram Pragwal ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Priest, Ward No. 5...	.....	do.
597	"	"	"	Babu Ashutosh Mookerji	do.	Contractor and Member, Municipal Board, Ward No. 5.	.....	do.
598	"	"	"	Moulvi Mazher Ali ...	Mahomedan.	Muktesar, Ward No. 5	.....	do.
599	"	"	"	Lala Suraj Prosad ...	Hindu, Kyastha.	Pleader, Ward No. 6	.....	Ward Meeting held at Daraganj, on the 9th December, 1888.
600	"	"	"	Pundit Madhoram Tiwary	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pundit, Ward No. 6	.....	do.
601	"	"	"	Mohunt Janki Dass ...	Hindu, Byragi.	Mohunt, Ward No. 6	.....	do.
602	"	"	"	Lala Gonesh Dass ...	Hindu, Bania.	Banker, Ward No. 2	.....	Ward Meeting held at Katra, on the 23rd December, 1888.
603	"	"	"	Pundit Raj Nath ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Munsarim (Jeypore) Ward No. 2.	.....	do.
604	"	"	"	Babu Gopal Chandra Bose.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Government Pensioner, Ward No. 2.	.....	do.
605	"	"	"	Munshi Bunk Behari Lal, B.A.	do.	Licensed Translator and Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P. Member of Municipal Board.		do.

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606	N.-W. P.	Allahabad.	Allahabad	Lala Raudhan Lal	Hindu, Kyastha.	Muktear, Ward No. 2		Ward Meeting held at Katraon on the 23rd December 1888.
607	"	"	"	Babu Ambica Charan Mozoomdar, B.A.	do.	Teacher, Ward No. 2	.....	do.
608	"	"	"	Lala Mata Doyal	do.	Muktear, Ward No. 2	.....	do.
609	"	"	"	Babu Basanto Behary Ghosal.	Hindu, Brahmin.	House Owner, Ward No. 2.	.....	do.
610	"	"	"	Mr. Joel David	Christian.	Superintendent, Bible and Tract Depository, Allahabad, Ward No. 2.	.....	do.
611	"	"	"	M. Rabhir Hosein Khan	Mahomedan.	Zemindar, Duriabad, Allahabad.	.....	By a Meeting held at Duriabad, in Allahabad, on the 15th December, 1888.
612	"	"	"	M. Mahomed Hosein Khan.	do.	do.	.....	do.
613	"	"	"	M. Ali Muhammad Khan	do.	do.	.....	do.
614	"	"	"	M. Nazar Hossein Khan	do.	do.	.....	do.
615	"	"	"	M. Salamat Khan	do.	do.	.....	do.
616	"	"	"	M. Ali Naki Khan	do.	do.	.....	do.
617	"	"	"	Syed Mazher Hossein Khan.	do.	do.	.....	no.
618	"	"	"	M. Nadad Hossein Khan	do.	do.	.....	do.
619	"	"	Allahabad City.	Lalla Munni Lal Kapur	Hindu, Khetry.	Mahajan, Ward No. 4	.....	Ward Meeting held at Gangodas-ki-Chowk on the 16th December, 1888.
620	"	"	"	" Mahadeo Prosad Kapur.	do.	do.	.....	do.
621	"	"	"	" Shital Prosad	do.	Muktear and Zemindar, Ward No. 4.	.....	do.
622	"	"	"	" Mahadeo Prosad	do.	Tent Merchant, Ward No. 4.	.....	do.
623	"	"	"	Pundit Ram Narain Proha.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Priest, Ward No. 4	.....	do.
624	"	"	"	Pundit Sheo Narain	do.	do.	.....	do.
625	"	"	"	Lala Mohun Lal Tandan	Hindu, Khetry.	Contractor, Ward No. 4	.....	do.
626	"	"	"	Pundit Brojo Mohun Dube.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Cloth Merchant and Zemindar, Ward No. 4.	.....	do.
627	"	"	"	Pundit Balmukund Bhatt	do.	Trader, Ward No. 4	.....	do.
628	"	"	"	Lala Chunni Lal	Hindu, Khetry.	Banker, Ward No. 4	.....	do.
629	"	"	"	Rai Bhagwati Narain	do.	Zemindar, Ward No. 4.	.....	do.
630	"	"	N.-W. P. and Oudh Association	Babu Ratan Chand, B.A.	Jain.	Vakil, High Court, President, Graduate Association, N.-W. P. and Oudh.	.....	By the General Meeting of the Association held on the 22nd December, 1888.
631	"	"	"	Mr. William Digby	European, Christian.	Journalist, Indian Political Agency, 25, Craven Street, London.	.....	do.
632	"	"	"	Babu Jogendra Nath Chowdhuri, M.A., B.L.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P.		do.
633	"	"	"	Pundit Baldeo Ram Dave	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader		do.

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634	N.-W. P.	Allahabad.	N.-W. P. and Oudh Association	Babu Ram Kishore Lal	Hindu, Kyastha.	Honorary Magistrate, Retired Moonsiff.		By the General Meeting of the Association held on the 22nd December, 1888.
635	"	"	"	Munshi Mathura Prosad	do.	Pleader & Zemindar	.....	do.
636	"	"	"	Lala Datti Lal, B.A.	Hindu, Khetry.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P.	.....	do.
637	"	"	Madhya Hindu Somaj.	Pundit Balkrishno Bhatt	Hindu, Brahmin.	Editor, "Hindu Pradipa."	.....	By a General Meeting of the Somaj held on the 27th November, 1888.
638	"	"	"	Mr. Gokul Prosad, M.A.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Rais.	.....	do.
639	"	"	"	Babu Shama Charan Mookerji.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader.	.....	do.
640	"	"	"	Pundit Deoki Nandan Tewari.	do.	Proprietor & Editor, "Pryag Somachar."	.....	do.
641	"	"	"	Mr. Mohesh Prosad	Hindu, Kyastha.	Pleader.	.....	do.
642	"	"	"	Babu Parbutty Charan Chatterji, C.E.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Do., and Civil Engineer.	.....	do.
643	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Moreshwar Same, M.A.	do.	Private Tutor.	.....	do.
644	"	"	"	Lala Mulraj	Hindu, Kyastha.	Pleader.	.....	do.
645	"	"	"	Pundit Gangadhor Rao Goray.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Service.	.....	do.
646	"	"	"	Babu Hari Mohun Roy, B.A.	do.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P.	.....	do.
647	"	"	"	Dr. Brojendra Nath Banerji, L.M.S.	do.	Medical Practitioner.	.....	do.
648	"	"	"	Pundit Bany Madhub Bhattacharji.	do.	Government Pensioner, Honorary Magistrate, and Member, Municipal Board.	.....	do., and at the Meeting held at Kayastha Patshala on the 10th November, 1888.
649	"	"	"	Srimant Swami	Hindu.	Religious Teacher.	.....	do.
650	"	"	Peoples' Association	Munshi Mule Narain	Hindu, Khetri.	Rais and Zemindar.	.....	By a General Meeting of the Association held on the 23rd December, 1888.
651	"	"	"	Babu Annoda Prosad Banerji.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader, and Secretary, Peoples' Association.	.....	do.
652	"	"	"	Dr. Tincourree Mukerji, L.M.S.	do.	Medical Practitioner.	.....	do.
653	"	"	"	Mr. Lal Behary Lal	Hindu, Khetri.	Head Accountant, Allahabad Bank, and Chairman, Peoples' Association.	.....	do.
654	"	"	"	" Govind Prosad	do.	Deshi Tejarut Company.	.....	do.
655	"	"	"	" Madho Prosad	do.	Pleader.	.....	do.
656	"	"	"	Mr. Nadir Hossein Khan.	Mahomedan.	Landowner.	.....	do.
657	"	"	"	Pandit Kripa Sanker	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader.	.....	do.
658	"	"	Reform Association.	" Suraj Nath	do.	Talookdar.	.....	By a General Meeting of the Association held on the 20th December, 1888.
659	"	"	Native Christian Community.	Mr. Jacob Simeon	Christian.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P.		At a General Meeting of the Community held in Divinity School on the 29th December, 1888.

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660	N.-W. P.	Allahabad.	Medara, (Allahabad.)	Munshi Ahmed Hossein	Mahomedan.	Zemindar.		By a Public Meeting held on the 18th December, 1888.
661	"	"	"	Sheikh Mahomed Fazil ...	do.	do.	.....	do.
662	"	"	"	" Raziuddin ...	do.	do.	.....	do.
663	"	"	"	Hafiz Kumruddin ...	do.	do.	.....	do.
664	"	"	"	Chowdhiri Rashiuddin ...	do.	do.	.....	do.
665	"	"	"	Sheikh Zahiruddin ...	do.	do.	.....	do.
666	"	"	"	Hafiz Amir Hasan ...	do.	do.	.....	do.
667	"	"	"	Hafiz Sajjad Hossein ...	do.	Darvesh.	.....	do.
668	"	"	Cotiva, (Allahabad.)	Thakur Jagat Bahadur Singh.	Hindu, Chattri.	Zemindar.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 11th December, 1888.
669	"	"	"	Thakur Anant Bahadur Singh.	do.	do.	.....	do.
670	"	"	Alamchand, (Allahabad.)	Mir Abul Hossein ...	Mahomedan.	do.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th December, 1888.
671	"	"	Kara (Allahabad.)	Mir Nur-ul Hossein ...	do.	Service & do.	.....	By Public Meeting, 14th December, 1888.
672	"	"	"	Shah Mahomed Naki ...	do.	Zemindar.	.....	do.
673	"	"	"	Syed Mahomed Taki ...	do.	do.	.....	do.
674	"	"	"	Mir Golam Mustafa ...	do.	Service & do.	.....	do.
675	"	"	Ujehini, (Allahabad.)	Mir Mahomed Hadi ...	do.	Muafidar	.....	By Public Meeting, 16th December, 1888.
676	"	"	"	Mir Golam Mahomed ...	do.	Zemindar.	.....	do.
677	"	"	"	Hakim Gazafir Hasan ...	do.	Service & do.	.....	do.
678	"	"	"	Shah Mahomed Yunus	do.	Zemindar.	.....	do.
679	"	"	Janka (Allahabad.)	Hafiz Amiruddin ...	do.	Trader.	.....	Public Meeting, 19th December, 1888.
680	"	"	Kon (Allahabad.)	Sheikh Abdul Rahim ...	do.	Service and Zemindar.	.....	Public Meeting, 18th December, 1888.
681	"	"	Hasseinpur (Allahabad.)	Haji Abdul Rahim ...	do.	Zemindar.	.....	Public Meeting, 17th December, 1888.
682	"	"	Kyhatta (Allahabad.)	Munshi Bhyrava Sinha Varma.	Hindu, Chattri.	Service.	.....	Public Meeting, 23rd December, 1888.
683	"	"	Agra.	Pandit Kanta Proshad ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader, Agra.	.....	At a Public Meeting held on the 16th December, 1888.
684	"	"	"	Thakur Umrao Singh ...	Hindu, Rajput.	Zemindar, Agra.	.....	do.
685	"	"	"	Pandit Chotey Lal Sarma, M.A.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Professor, Guzrat College, Ahmedabad, Kalachin ghât, Agra.	.....	do.
686	"	"	"	Mr. Ganga Proshad ...	Hindu, Kyastha.	Pleader, District Court, Agra.	.....	do.
687	"	"	"	Babu Jumna Das Biswas	Hindu.	Pleader, Editor of the "Nasim Agra" and Municipal Commissioner.		do.

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688	N.-W. P.	Allahabad.	Agra.	Lala Mathura Das Chowdhury.	Hindu, Chattri.	Teacher, Municipal Commissioner, and Director of Agra Mill Company, Limited.		At a Public Meeting held on the 16th December, 1888.
689	"	"	"	Thakur Zaher Singh ...	Hindu, Rajput.	Landholder, Rais, Vazarpur, Agra.	.....	do.
690	"	"	"	Lala Shanker Dyal, B.A.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P., Agra.	.....	do.
691	"	"	"	Lala Nehal Chand ...	Hindu, Khettry.	Accountant Unconvenanted Service Bank, Municipal Commissioner and Vice-President, Khettry, Hitkari, Sabha, Agra.	.....	do.
692	"	"	"	Hakim Mushraff Hossein.	Mahomedan.	Physician, Agra.	.....	do.
693	"	"	"	Mir Ezzat Ally ...	do.	Muktear, Agra.	.....	do.
694	"	"	"	Nawab Mahomed Ali Mirza.	do.	Rais, Agra.	.....	do.
695	"	"	"	Nawab Nanna Mirza ...	do.	do.	.....	do.
696	"	"	"	Lalla Harnarayan ...	Hindu.	Bankar and Jeweller.	.....	do.
697	"	"	"	Meah Kanja Buksh ...	Mahomedan.	Proprietor of a press, at Mandhi, Agra.	.....	do.
698	"	"	"	Pandit Jaggan Nath ...	Hindu.	Rais and Vakil.	.....	do.
699	"	"	"	Lalla Dwarka Das ...	do.	Vakil, Municipal Commissioner, and Manager, Bidya Dharam Varthani Patshala, Agra.	.....	do.
700	"	"	"	Sheikh Mahomed Ali ...	Mahomedan.	Mukhtear, Reasut Ava, Agra.	.....	do.
701	"	"	"	Rai Sohan Lal ...	Hindu, Kyastha.	Rais and Zemindar, Agra.	.....	do.
702	"	"	"	Swamy Nangal Giri ...	Hindu.	Religious Teacher ...	.....	do.
703	"	"	"	Lalla Kuar Pal ...	do.	Banker and Trader.	.....	do.
704	"	"	"	Lalla Punna Lal ...	do.	Landholder.	.....	do.
705	"	"	"	Munshi Shafatulla ...	Mahomedan.	Rais, Agra.	.....	do.
706	"	"	Agra City.	Pandit Kashi Nath Chaturvedi.	Hindu.	Agra College.	.....	do.
707	"	"	"	Rajah Luchman Singh.	Hindu, Rajput.	Zemindar, Rais and Retired Deputy Collector, Agra.	.....	do.
708	"	"	"	Munshi Mahomed Golam Sarver Khan.	Mahomedan.	Muktear, Agra.	.....	do.
709	"	"	"	Pandit Gopi Nath.	Hindu.	...	.....	do.
710	"	"	"	Thomas Carr Morton.	European, Christian.	Pleader, Civil lines, Agra.	Muttra.	do., and at Muttra.
711	"	"	Agra Khettry Community.	Mr. Murlidhar.	Hindu.	Head Master, Victoria College, Agra and President, Khettry Hitkari Community, Agra.		By a Meeting of the Community, held on the 16th December, 1888.

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712	N.-W. P.	Allahabad.	Bah, Sham-sabad, Iradat Nagar, Agra.	Mr. Ramprashad, B.A.	Hindu, Arya, Vaisya.	Pleader, Civil Court, Agra.		By Public Meeting.
713	"	"	"	Pundit Hurra Dhar. ...	Brahmin.	Pleader. ...	.....	do.
714	"	"	"	Mirza Valayat Ali Beg.	Mahomedan.	Rais, Zemindar and Pensioner.	.....	do.
715	"	"	Cawnpur.	Babu Tryloknath Bannerjee.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 23rd December, 1888.
716	"	"	"	Sheik Ali Ahmed. ...	Mahomedan.	Merchant. ...	.....	do.
717	"	"	"	Moulvi Mahammad Nabeh.	do.	Pleader. ...	.....	do.
718	"	"	"	Syed Ali Hossein Moulvi.	do.	Service. ...	.....	do.
719	"	"	"	Moulvi Jamilooddin. ...	do.	Pleader. ...	.....	do.
720	"	"	"	Moulvi Abdul Jalil. ...	do.	Do., and Merchant.	.....	do.
721	"	"	"	Hakim Fakharool Hosain.	do.	Physician. ...	.....	do.
722	"	"	"	Munshi Tasaddooq Hosain.	do.	Merchant. ...	.....	do.
723	"	"	"	Moulvi Karim Dadkhan.	do.	Teacher. ...	.....	do.
724	"	"	"	Moulvi Aboo Said Khan.	do.	Priest. ...	.....	do.
725	"	"	"	Moulvi Mahomed Sana-uddin.	do.	Merchant. ...	.....	do.
726	"	"	"	Mr. Bansi Dhar. ...	Hindu.	Rais. ...	.....	do.
727	"	"	"	" Nanak Chand. ...	do.	do. ...	.....	do.
728	"	"	"	Lala Shib Narain. ...	do.	do., and Merchant.	.....	do.
729	"	"	"	Mr. Shib Prasad. ...	do.	Merchant. ...	.....	do.
730	"	"	"	Babu Khetter Nath Ghose.	do.	Government Pensioner and Pleader.	.....	do.
731	"	"	"	Sheik Karim Bux Hafiz.	Mahomedan.	Merchant. ...	.....	do.
732	"	"	"	Dr. Maundhar Pershad Tewari, L. M.S.	Brahmin Kanoujia.	Medical Practitioner.	.....	do.
733	"	"	"	Dr. Mohendra Nath Ganguli, L. M.S.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner and Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board.	.....	do.
734	"	"	"	Pundit Pratap Narain Misra.	do.	Editor of the "Brahman."	.....	do.
735	"	"	"	Pundit Hirdenarain ...	Hindu, Kashmiti.	Pleader, Secretary, Hindu Somaj.	.....	do.
736	"	"	"	Pundit Prithi Nath. ...	do.	Vakil and Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board.	.....	do.
737	"	"	"	Pundit Janki Nath. ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader and Zemindar.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 24th December, 1888.
738	"	"	"	Lala Pirbhu Diyal. ...	Bhargava.	Proprietor and Editor "Shoola Toor."	.....	do.
739	"	"	"	Lala Shew Ram Marwari	Hindu, Bania.	Proprietor of the Firm of Narva Ram Seva Ram.		do.

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740	N.-W. P.	Allahabad.	Cawnpore	Rai Chedi Lal Bahadoor	Hindu.	Rais ...		By a Public Meeting held on the 24th December, 1888.
741	"	"	"	Mr. Bisheshwar Nath	do.	Zemindar. ...	.....	do.
742	"	"	"	Lala Gaya Pershad ...	do.	Rais, Banker, Municipal Commissioner.	.....	do.
743	"	"	"	Moulvi Mahomed Ashraf	Mahomedan.	Pleader and Zemindar.	.....	do.
744	"	"	"	Pundit Dharam Narain	Hindu.	Banker and Zemindar.	.....	do.
745	"	"	"	Munshi Bhup Narain ...	do.	Country Produce Merchant and Proprietor of "The Merchant."	.....	do.
746	"	"	"	Shahzada Mirza Farrukh Shah	Mahomedan.	Wasikadar, Rais ...	.....	do.
747	"	"	National League, Cawnpur.	Mr. Ram Chandra, B.A.	Hindu.	Pleader and Banker.	.....	By a Meeting of the League.
748	"	"	Bithoor	Pundit Gur Baksh Singh	do.	Zemindar and Editor, "Bharatvarsa"	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 6th December, 1888.
749	"	"	"	Pundit Ram Narain Bajpai	do.	Zemindar and Manager "Bharatvarsa."	.....	do.
750	"	"	Saharanpur.	Munshi Ram Chandra, M.A.	Hindu, Kaystha.	Resident, Saharanpur.	.....	At a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December, 1888.
751	"	"	"	Lala Madan Mohan Lal, B.A.	Hindu, Agarwala.	Teacher. ...	.....	do.
752	"	"	"	Mr. Dharm Das Suri	Khatri, Theist.	Pleader, Saharanpur.	.....	do.
753	"	"	"	" Joti Pershad ...	Hindu, Bhargava.	Judge's Court Pleader.	.....	do.
754	"	"	"	Lala Moorari Lal ...	Khatri.	General Agent. ...	.....	do.
755	"	"	"	Munshi Nazir Hasan ...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar. ...	.....	do.
756	"	"	Etah	Seth Kishan Lal ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Banker, Sakit, District, Etah.	.....	By a Public Meeting.
757	"	"	Etawah	Pundit Baldeo Prasad ...	do.	Physician ...	.....	do.
758	"	"	"	Pundit Kashi Nath ...	do.	do. ...	.....	do.
759	"	"	Mainpuri	Babu Krishna Gopal Sanyal, B.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, Mainpuri, and Vice President, District Board, Mainpuri.	.....	By a Public Meeting, held on the 16th December, 1888.
760	"	"	"	Pundit Dammi Lal Choubey, B.A.	do.	Vakil, High Court, and Member, Municipal Board, Mainpuri.	.....	do.
761	"	"	"	Babu Noni Lal Bannerjee	do.	Pleader, Mainpuri ...	.....	do.
762	"	"	Meerut	Mr. Prahlad Singh ...	Hindu.	Zemindar and Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P.	.....	By a Public Meeting held at Meerut on the 16th December, 1888.
763	"	"	"	Lala Govinda Prashad ...	do.	Pleader. ...	.....	do.
764	"	"	"	Lala Badri Prashad ...	do.	do. ...	.....	do.
765	"	"	"	Mohant Brimha Atal ...	do.	Zemindar. ...	.....	do.
766	"	"	"	Chowbey Radhe Lal ...	do.	Pleader. ...		do.
767	"	"	"	Dr. Guruprosanna Ray, M.B.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Medical Practitioner.		do.

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768	N.-W. P.	Allahabad.	Meerut	Mr. Pyari Lal	Jain.	Barrister-at-Law.		By a Public Meeting held at Meerut on the 16th December, 1888.
769	"	"	"	Lala Jia Lal	do.	Banker.	.....	do.
770	"	"	"	Qazi Mohamed Ismail	Mahomedan.	Imam Musjid.	.....	do.
771	"	"	"	Moulvi Ahmed Hasan Shankat	do.	Editor and Proprietor of "Shahna Hind," Meerut.	.....	do.
772	"	"	"	Mr. Raghubir Saran	Hindu.	Pleader and Zemindar.	Hassur.	do., and at a Public Meeting at Hassur.
773	"	"	"	Chaudhari Dorga Sing	do.	Zemindar.	do.	do.
774	"	"	"	Mr. Mallu Mal	do.	Pleader.	do.	do.
775	"	"	"	Mr. Shimbhu Nath Bhargo, B.A.	do.	Vakil, High Court....	do.	do.
776	"	"	"	Pundit Mathura Das	do.	Zemindar.	do.	do.
777	"	"	"	Lala Mahtab Rai	do.	do.	do.	do.
778	"	"	"	Seth Govind Prashad	do.	do.	do.	do.
779	"	"	"	Pundit Ram Prashad, M.A.	do.	Pleader.	Deshmiti Sabha.	do., and by a General Meeting of the Sabha.
780	"	"	"	Munshi Ajudhya Prashad	do.	do.	.....	do.
781	"	"	Farakhabad.	Lala Durga Pershad Rastog.	do.	Land-holder, Municipal Commissioner.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 12th December, 1888.
782	"	"	"	Pandit Gopal Rao Hari Chaturvedi.	do.	Secretary Vaidic Somaj.	.....	do.
783	"	"	"	Pandit Ram Narain Missr.	do.	Stores Clerk, District Traffic Superintendent's Office.	.....	do.
784	"	"	"	Chowbay Makhan Lall	do.	Pleader, Chhabra Mao.	.....	do.
785	"	"	"	Mr. Suraj Pershad	do.	Contractor and General Merchant.	.....	do.
786	"	"	"	Mr. Badri Pershad	do.	Head Clerk, District Traffic Superintendent's Office.	.....	do.
787	"	"	"	Pandit Soonder Narain Mushram.	do.	Banker.	.....	do.
788	"	"	"	Pundit Mudun Lall	do.	Private service Muhul-lah Khotramba.	.....	do.
789	"	"	Vaidic Somaj, Farakhabad.	Munshi Chintaman	do.	Bookseller.	.....	By a General Meeting of the Somaj on the 12th December, 1888.
790	"	"	"	Seth Sawa Ram	do.	Banker, Member Municipal Board, and Hon. Treasurer, Vaidic Somaj.	.....	do.
791	"	"	Chhabra Mao (Farakhabad.)	Pandit Ajudhya Pershad	do.	Pleader, Zemindar and Member, Local Board.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 13th December, 1888.
792	"	"	Kanoj (Farakhabad.)	Munshi Mahomed Mashuk Ali.	Mahomedan.	Zemindar.	.....	do.
793	"	"	"	Munshi Mahomed Alam	do.	do. and Vakil and Member, Local Board.	.....	do.
794	"	"	Fategarh (Farakhabad.)	Lalla Sarup Narain	Hindu.	Pleader, District Court Fategarh.	Kanoj and Farakhabad.	do. and Meeting held 16th December.

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795	N.-W. P.	Allahabad.	Pilakhana (Farakhabad.)	Pundit Sohan Singh Chaturvedi	Brahmin.	Zemindar.		By a Public Meeting.
796	"	"	Aligurh.	Choudheri Faiz Bux	Mahomedan.	Zemindar Monza Jamka Tahsil Khair	.....	do.
797	"	"	"	Hafiz Mahomed Abdurrahim.	do.	Pleader.	.....	do.
798	"	"	"	Sheik Nemat Hossein Mutwalli.	do.	Munafidar.	.....	do.
799	"	"	"	Moulvi Mahomed Yakub Khan.	do.	Zemindar, Kasgunj.	.....	do.
800	"	"	"	Moulvi Mahomed Nurullah Khan.	do.	do.	.....	do.
801	"	"	"	Babu Ashutos Bhattacharji, B.A.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 20th December, 1888.
802	"	"	"	Babu Jwala Pershad Chatterji, B.A.	do.	do.	.....	do.
803	"	"	"	Babu Jogendra Nath Chatterjee.	do.	Vakil, High Court.	.....	do.
804	"	"	"	Munshi Tota Ram	Hindu, Vaisya.	Pleader.	.....	do.
805	"	"	"	Mr. Kuber Nath	Hindu, do.	Contractor and Zemindar.	.....	do.
806	"	"	"	Thakur Makhan Singh.	Rajput.	Zemindar.	.....	do.
807	"	"	"	Babu Kalyan Singh	do.	do.	.....	do.
808	"	"	"	Sheik Banda Ali	Mahomedan.	Service.	.....	do.
809	"	"	"	Munshi Gouri Shunker Sahai.	Hindu.	Pleader.	.....	do.
810	"	"	"	Mr. Jani Ballabh Shunker	do.	Banker, Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner.	.....	do.
811	"	"	"	" Jani Chandra Shunker.	do.	Banker and Zemindar.	.....	do.
812	"	"	"	" Lajja Shunker	do.	do.	.....	do.
813	"	"	"	" Pacholi Gunga Shunker.	do.	Banker.	.....	do.
814	"	"	"	Lala Radhica Proshad	do.	Lace Manufacturer.	.....	do.
815	"	"	"	Babu Kedar Nath Chatterjee, B.A.	do.	Pleader.	.....	do.
816	"	"	Muttra	Rev. J. E. Scott, P.H.D.	American, Christian.	Representing the American Methodist Mission.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th December, 1888.
817	"	"	"	Mr. R. A. Morton	do.	Pleader.	.....	do.
818	"	"	"	Lala Jagannath Prosad.	Hindu...	do., and Indigo Merchant, Muttra.	.....	do.
819	"	"	"	Lala Jagannath Prosad Bhargobha.	do.	Indigo Merchant and Zemindar.	.....	do.
820	"	"	"	Pundit Bishambher Nath	do.	Trader.	.....	do.
821	"	"	"	Munshi Tribhuban Nath	do.	Landholder and Merchant.	.....	do.
822	"	"	Brindaban	Pundit Radha Charan Goswami.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Shebait of a Brindaban Temple, Religious Teacher.	Muttra ...	do., and at Brindaban on the 21st December, 1888.

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823	N.-W. P.	Alahabad.	Brindaban	Babu Satya Chandra Mukerjee, M.A.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, N. W. P., Southern Suburbs, Calcutta.	Muttra.	By a Public Meeting held at Brindaban, on the 21st December, 1888.
824	"	"	"	Pundit Thakur Proshad.	do.	Trader.	do.	do.
825	"	"	"	Pundit Radhe Lal Swarna Jyotishi.	do.	Religious Teacher	do.	do.
826	"	"	Banda	Seth Shiam Karan	Hindu, Gujrati Bania.	Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, and Member, District Board, Banker and Landholder.	do.	By a Public Meeting held on the 25th November, 1888.
827	"	"	"	Dube Chandi Din	do.	Honorary Magistrate, Senior Vice-Chairman, Municipality Banda, Member of Agricultural and Commercial Department, and Member of District Board, and Land Owner.	do.	do.
828	"	"	"	Chowdhari Mohesiri Din	do.	Municipal Commissioner, Member, District Board, Landlord, Banda.	do.	do.
829	"	"	"	Awasthi Sundar Lal	do.	Landlord, Municipal Commissioner, Banda.	do.	do.
830	"	"	"	Hafiz Alayar Khan	Mahomedan.	Pensioner, Tahsildar, Sub-Registrar, Honorary Magistrate, and Zemindar.	do.	do.
831	"	"	"	Munshi Mata Prashad	Hindu Kyasth.	Muktear, Secretary, Municipal Board, Superintendent, Kayestha Sabha, Banda, Secretary, Bar Association, Municipal Commissioner, Zemindar.	do.	do.
832	"	"	Umari...	Dr. Damri Lal Tewari	Hindu, Brahmin.	Assistant Surgeon.	do.	By a Public Meeting held at Umari, on the 10th December, 1888. The Rajah of Chandia presided.
833	"	"	Jhansi	Behary Lal Mahore	Hindu.	2nd Teacher, City High School.	do.	By a Public Meeting held at Jhansi on the 19th December, 1888.
834	"	"	"	Shankar Sahai	do.	Pleader.	do.	do.
835	"	"	"	Pundit Prayag Das	do.	Zemindar and Mooktar.	do.	do.
836	"	"	"	Pundit Deoki Nandan	do.	Contractor.	do.	do.
837	"	"	"	Gopi Singh	do.	do. and Zemindar, and Banker.	do.	do.
838	"	"	Kumaon (Almora).	Pandit Bachaspati Pant	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader, Almora.	do.	By a Public Meeting held on the 20th December, 1888.
839	"	"	"	Sheikh Manulla	Mahomedan.	General Merchant.	do.	do.
840	"	"	Nainital	Pundit Jwala Dutt Joshi	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P.	Almora	do., and at Nainital, on the 14th December, 1888.

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841	N.-W. P.	Alahabad.	Dehradun	Captain Andrew William Harsey.	European, Christian.	Retired Officer, H. M. S., Kheri, Lucknow, Oudh.	Kheri	By a Meeting held at Dehradun on the 17th December, 1888, and at a Meeting held at Kheri.
842	"	"	"	Lala Gopal Krishna	Hindu, Khetri.	Jeweller.	do.	By a Public Meeting held on the 17th December, 1888.
843	"	"	"	Pandit Jyotis Swarupa	Arya, Kyasth.	Pleader, District Court, Dehradun.	do.	do.
844	"	"	"	Lala Radhe Lal	Hindu, Vaisya.	Banker and Zemindar	do.	do.
845	"	"	"	Pundit Anand Narain	Kashmiri.	Pleader, Dehradun	do.	do.
846	"	"	"	Mr. V. A. Chety	Hindu, Vaisya.	do.	do.	do.
847	"	"	Chakrata (Dehradun)	Babu Raghuvar Dyal Sundhel.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Rais.	do.	By a Public Meeting held on 21st December, 1888.
848	"	"	Bulandshahar.	Pundit Ratan Lal	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader, Bulandshahar.	do.	By a Public Meeting.
849	"	"	"	Thakur Mahabeer Singh	Hindu, Khetri.	Zemindar, Chandooch, Jahangirabad, Bulandshahar.	do.	do.
850	"	"	Jahangirabad, Geroohobami Sabha, Bulandshahar.	Lalla Bishan Singh	Hindu.	do.	do.	By a Meeting of the Sabha on the 18th December, 1888.
851	"	"	"	" Firoho Lal	do.	do.	do.	do.
852	"	Benares	Benares	Vindhya Nath Jha, B.A.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Zemindar, Durbhanga District.	do.	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th December 1888.
853	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Narayan Singha.	do.	Talukdar, Gazipur and Rais, Benares.	do.	do.
854	"	"	"	" Brijraton Dass	Gujrati Bania.	Banker, Chowkhunba, Benares.	do.	do.
855	"	"	"	Pundit Vishwanath Misra	Hindu, Brahmin.	Land-holder, Benares.	do.	do.
856	"	"	"	Mr. Kandhya Singh	Sikh.	Merchant.	do.	do.
857	"	"	"	" Hari Das	Hindu, Khetri.	do.	do.	do.
858	"	"	"	Mr. A. T. Mudalier	Hindu.	do.	do.	do.
859	"	"	"	Revd. Kashi Nath Datta	Christian.	Missionary and Head Master, L. M. College.	do.	do.
860	"	"	"	Babu Abinashi Lal	Hindu, Khetri.	Zemindar and Banker.	do.	do.
861	"	"	"	Pundit Ram Chandra Naik Kalia.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Banker and Zemindar, Dasaswamedh, Benares.	do.	do.
862	"	"	"	Mr. Bunsidhar	Hindu, Khetri.	Banker, Benares.	do.	do.
863	"	"	"	" Chottey Lal	Hindu, Vyasa.	Merchant, Benares.	do.	do.
864	"	"	"	" Madho Dass	do.	Banker and Zemindar and Hon. Magistrate, Benares.	do.	do.
865	"	"	"	" Ram Narayan Dass	do.	Zemindar, and Government Pensioner, Benares.	do.	do.

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866	N.-W. P.	Benares	Benares	Dr. Shiyam Kishan Singh, L.M.S.	Hindu, Vyasa.	Medical Practitioner, Benares.		By Public Meeting held on the 16th December, 1888.
867	"	"	"	Pundit Uma Shanker Dubey.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Land-holder, Benares	.....	do.
868	"	"	"	Babu Upendra Nath Basu, B.A.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Pleader and Zemindar, Benares.	.....	do.
869	"	"	"	Mr. Kanaya Lal Das, B.A.	do.	Trader and Landholder, Benares.	.....	do.
870	"	"	"	" Dawlut Chund ...	Jain.	Banker and Jeweller, Benares.	.....	do.
871	"	"	"	" Faquir Chand ...	do.	do. ...	.....	do.
872	"	"	"	Babu Ram Kali Chowdhry.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pensioner, Municipal Commissioner and Hony. Magistrate, Benares.	.....	do.
873	"	"	"	" Lakshman Das ...	Hindu, Vyasa.	Zemindar, Banker and Hony. Magistrate, Benares.	.....	do.
874	"	"	"	Chowdry Ram Prasad ...	do. ...	Banker and Zemindar, Benares.	.....	do.
875	"	"	"	Syed Nazir Ali ...	Mahomedan.	Pleader, Benares ...	.....	do.
876	"	"	"	Mirza ...	do.	Teacher, Benares ...	.....	do.
877	"	"	"	Imdad Hossein ...	do.	Rais, Benares ...	.....	do.
878	"	"	"	Nawab Syed Hossein Askari Khan.	do.	Pleader and Zemindar, Benares.	.....	do.
879	"	"	"	Shaik Gaus Ally ...	do.	Vakil and Zemindar, Benares.	.....	do.
880	"	"	"	Lala Vendheswari, B.A....	Hindu, Kyastha.	Pleader, Benares ...	.....	do.
881	"	"	"	Shaik Nasir Uddin ...	Mahomedan.	Late Private Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja of Balrampur, K.C.S.I., now Pensioner.	.....	do.
882	"	"	"	Shaik Altaf Hossein Rangin.	Mahomedan.	Zemindar and Merchant and Proprietor of the Rais-i-Azam, Benares.	.....	do.
883	"	"	"	Munshi Roghunundun Proshad, B.A.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Pleader, Hony. Secretary, District Board, Municipal Commissioner and Landholder, Benares.	.....	do.
884	"	"	"	Munshi Sadho Lal ...	Hindu.	Banker, Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner and Hony. Magistrate.	.....	do.
885	"	"	"	Dr. Chunnee Lal ...	do.	Medical Practitioner.	.....	do.
886	"	"	"	Thakur Sampat Ram ...	do.	Landholder and Banker.	.....	do.
887	"	"	"	Pundit Vidyapat Tewari	Hindu, Brahmin.	Zemindar.	.....	do.
888	"	"	"	Thakur Basant Ram ...	do.	Banker.	.....	do.
889	"	"	"	Rai Sham Kishen ...	Hindu, Vyasa.	Rais, Zemindar, Banker and Hony. Magistrate, Benares.		do.

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890	N.-W. P.	Benares	Benares	Mr. Shunker Lal ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Zemindar, Benares ...		By a Public Meeting held on the 16th December, 1888.
891	"	"	"	Babu Mukshada Dass Mitter.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Zemindar and Rais, Benares.	Bengalitola Association.	Do., and at a Meeting of the Association on the 21st December, 1888.
892	"	"	"	Mr. Bisseswar Pandya	Hindu, Brahmin.	Land-holder, Jeweller, Benares.	do.	do.
893	"	"	"	Babu Niranjon Mookerjee	do.	Ex.-Minister, Rewah, Benares.	do.	do.
894	"	"	"	" Annoda Charan Dutt, B.A.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Pleader, Naradaghat, Benares.	do.	do.
895	"	"	"	Pundit Chowan Lal Jyotishi	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Benares.	Sujan Samaj.	At a Public Meeting on the 16th December 1888. and by a General Meeting of Samaj on the 23rd December 1888.
896	"	"	"	Mr. Joykissen Dass ...	Hindu.	Banker and Zemindar, Bulanala, Benares.	do.	do.
897	"	"	"	" Bishun Pant Rajwade.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Teacher, Benares ...	do.	do.
898	"	"	"	" Damodar Dass, B.A.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Benares.	do.	do.
899	"	"	"	" Brindabon Behary	Hindu, Khattri.	Pleader and Landholder, Benares.	do.	do.
900	"	"	"	" Behari Lal ...	do.	Merchant, Benares ...	do.	do.
901	"	"	"	Pundit Beni Ram ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader, Benares ...	do.	do.
902	"	"	"	" Mangalram ...	do.	Banker.	do.	do.
903	"	"	"	Babu Jogendra Nath Ghose, B.A.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Pleader ...	do., and Allahabad Modhya Hindu Samaj.	do., and at a General Meeting of the Samaj on the 23rd December, 1888.
904	"	"	"	Pundit Ranga Nath Row	Hindu, Brahmin.	Manager, Kanara Swami Mat, Kathara-ghat, and Assistant School Master, Town High School, Benares.	Kumbaconum.	By Public Meetings held on the 16th and 21st December, 1888 and at Kumbaconum on the 18th December, 1888.
905	"	"	"	Mr. Shama Dass ...	Hindu.	Banker and Zemindar, Benares.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 21st December, 1888.
906	"	"	"	Lala Narsingh Dass ...	do.	Pleader, Benares ...	.....	do.
907	"	"	"	Pundit Munna Lal ...	do.	do. ...	.....	do.
908	"	"	"	" Vijaya Nandji. ...	do.	Pundit, Benares ...	.....	do.
909	"	"	"	Babu Ram Krishna Varma	do.	Editor and Proprietor, "Barat Jewan," Benares.	.....	do.
910	"	"	"	Pundit Jagat Narain ...	do.	Religious Teacher, Benares.	.....	do.
911	"	"	"	" Ganga Dhar Upadhyaya.	do.	Banker, Benares.	.....	do.
912	"	"	"	" A. Krishna Swamy Aiyar.	do.	Landholder and Pundit, Benares.	.....	do.
913	"	"	"	Chowdhry Mohammad Resa Khan.	Mahomedan.	Zemindar, Benares...		do.
914	"	"	"	Kazi Syed Jawad Hossain	do.	do. ...		do.

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915	N.-W. P.	Benares	Benares	Sheik Nisar Ali ...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar, Benares ...		By a Public Meeting held on the 21st December, 1888.
916	"	"	"	Mir Nasir Ali ...	do.	Teacher, Shiwalla, Benares.	.....	do.
917	"	"	"	" Akbar Ali ...	do.	Zemindar, Benares...	.....	do.
918	"	"	"	Shaik Qasim Ali ...	do.	Legal Practitioner and Landholder, Benares.	.....	do.
919	"	"	"	Syed Muzafar Hussein ...	do.	Muafidar, Benares ...	.....	do.
920	"	"	"	Moulvi Zair Hussein ...	do.	Teacher, Benares ...	.....	do.
921	"	"	"	Mirza Hossain Ali Beg.	do.	Physician, Benares.	.....	do.
922	"	"	"	Babu Kailas Nath Mookerjee.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pensioner, Benares.	.....	do.
923	"	"	"	Hakim Wali Mahomed...	Mahomedan.	Physician ...	.....	do.
924	"	"	"	Babu Bhuvon Mohun Sen	Hindu.	Homoeopathic Practitioner, Benares.	.....	do.
925	"	"	"	" Chintaman Mookerjee, B.A.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Teacher, T. College. Panday-ke-Houly at Benares.	Bengalitol Association.	do. and at a Meeting of the Association held same day.
926	"	"	"	" Ram Mohun Day, B.A.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Pleader, Gurrooreswar.	Bengalitol Association, Benares.	do.
927	"	"	"	Munshi Mahomed Karim Khan.	Mahomedan.	Landholder, Benares.	.....	By Public Meeting of 21st December, 1888.
928	"	"	"	Prince Mirza Mahomed Abid Bukht Bahadoor.	do.	Prince, Mogul Imperial Family, Pensioner, Benares.	.....	By a Public Meeting on 23rd December, 1888.
929	"	"	"	Panda Jokhram ...	Hindu.	Priest, Benares ...	.....	do.
930	"	"	"	Prince Mirza Farkhinda Bukht Bahadoor.	Mahomedan.	Prince, Mogul Imperial Family, Pensioner, Benares.	.....	do.
931	"	"	"	Syed Laakut Ali ...	do.	Service. ...	.....	By a Public Meeting on the 22nd December, 1888.
932	"	"	Taluka Surajpore, Benares.	Mr. Basdeo Narain Singh.	Hindu	Taluqdar, Surajpore, Benares.	.....	By a Public Meeting in November, 1888.
933	"	"	"	" Mukhteshwar Roy	do.	Pleader and Zemindar, Surajpore, Benares.	AryaSamaj, Azimgarh.	Do. and at a Meeting of the Samaj.
934	"	"	"	" Gauri Shanker Singh.	do.	do. ...	do.	do.
935	"	"	"	Munshi Hira Lal ...	do.	do. ...	do.	do.
936	"	"	"	" Basdeo Sahai ...	do.	Second Master, C. M. School, Azimgarh.	Do. and Madhya Hindu Samaj, Allahabad.	Do. and at a Meeting of the M. H. Samaj on the 23rd December, 1888.
937	"	"	Gorakhpur	Gorakh Prosad ...	Hindu, Kyastha.	District Court, Pleader, Gorakhpur.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 13th November, 1888.
938	"	"	"	Lalla Modhuvan Dass ...	do.	do. ...	.....	do.
939	"	"	"	Pandit Chunder Sikhar Dhar Misra.	do.	Zemindar, Ratnawala. Post Office, Bagha, District Champaran.		do.

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940	N.-W.P.	Benares	Gorakhpur	Mr. Tara Pershad, M.A.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Pleader, Gorakhpur.		By a Public Meeting held on the 13th November, 1888.
941	"	"	"	" Lachhmi Charan ...	do.	Vakil, High Court, and Member of the Municipal Committee, Gorakhpur.	.....	do.
942	"	"	"	" Chhutu Lal ...	do.	Pleader and Landholder, Gorakhpur.	.....	do.
943	"	"	"	" Bishun Singh ...	Hindu, Kshatriya.	Barhi Post Office, Landholder, Gorakhpur.	.....	do.
944	"	"	Balna Bidyadhar Bar-dhini Sabha.	Pundit Ram Charitra ...	Hindu, Brahmin	Zemindar, Balna, Post Office, Rigauli.	.....	By a Meeting of the Sabha on the 29th November, 1888.
945	"	"	Ghazipur.	Munshi Oodit Narain Lal	Hindu.	Zemindar, Pleader, Ghazipur.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December, 1888.
946	"	"	"	Pundit Kawaleswar Prasad Misra.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader, Ghazipur.	.....	do.
947	"	"	"	Mohamed Usmani Khan	Mahomedan.	Pleader and Landholder, Ghazipur.	.....	do.
948	"	"	"	Babu Devendra Nath Sen, B.A.	Hindu	Pleader, Judge's Court, Ghazipur.	.....	do.
949	"	"	"	" Jagat Narain Sinha	do.	Taluqdar and Rais, Ghazipur.	.....	do.
950	"	"	"	Pundit Shri Nath Dube...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Taluqdar and Municipal Commissioner, Ghazipur.	.....	do.
951	"	"	"	Babu Sital Singh ...	Hindu, Khetri.	Pleader, Ghazipur, Landholder and Member, District Board.	.....	do.
952	"	"	"	Haji Abdulmoghani ...	Mahomedan.	Landholder, Indigo Planter, Member, District Board and Municipal Commissioner.	.....	do.
953	"	"	"	Pundit Arjun Pandey ...	Hindu	Agriculturist and Pleader.	.....	do.
954	"	"	"	Babu Bhola Nath Rai, B.A.	do.	Landholder and Pleader.	.....	do.
955	"	"	"	Mahomed Quasim ...	Mahomedan.	Pleader, Ghazipur ...	.....	do.
956	"	"	Ballia.	Mr. Nandan Prasad ...	Hindu, Kyastha.	Pleader. Ballia, and Agriculturist.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 21st December, 1888.
957	"	"	"	" Ram Kumar Lal	do.	Pleader and Zemindar, Ballia.	.....	do.
958	"	"	"	" Parameswari Dayal	do.	Pleader and Zemindar and Agriculturist, Ballia.	.....	do.
959	"	"	"	" Devi Prasad ...	do.	Pleader, Ballia, and Municipal Commissioner.	.....	do.
960	"	"	Doaba (Ballia.)	" Radha Mohun Prasad, Pande, Rais Baiya.	Hindu	Zemindar, Baiya, Ballia.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 22nd November, 1888.
961	"	"	Azimgarh City.	Moulvi Abdulghafoor ...	Mahomedan.	Pleader, Surajpore ...		By a Public Meeting.

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1012	Bengal	Behar	Bankipur.	Babu Shew Shunkur Sahai.	Hindu Kyastha.	Pleader and Zemindar, Bankipur.	Behar Peoples' Association	By a Public Meeting of the 5th Dec. and at the Meeting of the Association on the 2nd December, 1888.
1013	"	"	"	Babu Purnendu Narain Singh, M.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, Bankipore.	do.	do.
1014	"	"	"	Pandit Joy Narain Bajpai	Hindu, Brahmin.	Banker and Zemindar, Patna City.	do.	do.
1015	"	"	"	Babu Narain Prosad, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Khetttriya.	Vakil and Municipal Commissioner.	do. and Patna City.	do. and at a Meeting held at Patna City on the 9th December, 1888.
1016	"	"	"	Babu Gura Prasad Sen, M.A., B.L.	Hindu, Vaidya.	Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner Editor, "Behar Herald," Vakil, Bankipur.	do. and Vicrampur.	do. and at a Meeting at Vicrampur.
1017	"	"	"	Babu Bishembhar Singh	Hindu.	Zemindar and Cultivator, Chintamun Chock, Mokamah, Zillah Patna.	Mokamah.	Public Meetings held at Bankipore on the 5th and at Mokamah on the 7th December, 1888.
1018	"	"	Suniti Sancharini Sabha, Bankipore.	Babu Anupnarain, B.A.	Hindu Kyastha.	Zemindar and Secretary "Suniti Sancharini Sabha," Bankipore.	.....	At a Meeting of the Sabha on the 2nd December, 1888.
1019	"	"	Behar Arya Samaj.	" Akhouri Luxminarayan, B.A.	do.	Zemindar and Secretary "Arya Samaj," Bankipore.	.....	At a Meeting of the Samaj in November 1888.
1020	"	"	The Progress Club, Bankipore.	" Thakur Prosad, B.A.	do.	Banker and Zemindar, Gya.	.....	At a Meeting of the Club held on the 6th December, 1888.
1021	"	"	Patna City	Babu Gopal Chand Choubey.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Zemindar and Mahajan.	.....	At a Public Meeting held at Patna on the 9th December, 1888.
1022	"	"	"	Dr. Mohendra Nath Chakrabutty.	do.	Doctor, Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner, Patna City.	.....	do.
1023	"	"	"	Babu Raja Ram	Hindu, Agarwalla.	Zemindar, Banker, and Indigo Planter, Patna City.	Bankipur.	Do., and at Bankipur on the 5th December, 1888.
1024	"	"	"	" Grijapat Sahai	Hindu, Kyastha.	Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate and Member, District Board, Patna City.	do.	do.
1025	"	"	Mokameh Peoples' Association.	" Sital Prosad Singh.	Hindu, Bhavan.	Zemindar and Secretary, Mokameh Peoples' Association.	do.	At a General Meeting of the Association on the 7th December 1888, and at Bankipur on the 5th December 1888.
1026	"	"	Hazaribagh.	Mirza Imdad Ali	Mahomedan.	Landholder, Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Hazaribagh.	Hazaribagh Association	By a Public Meeting held at Hazaribagh on the 7th November, 1888, and at a General Meeting of the Association.
1027	"	"	"	Munshi Golab Chand	Hindu, Kyastha.	Pleader, Landholder, Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Member, District Committee, Education Committee; Vice-President, Hazaribagh Association, Hazaribagh.	do.	do.

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1028	Bengal	Behar	Hazaribagh.	Rai Jadu Nath Mookerji, B.L.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Vakil, Honorary Magistrate, Vice-Chairman, Municipality, Member, District Committee, Member, Education Committee, President, Hazaribagh Association, Hazaribagh.	Hazaribagh Association	By a Public Meeting held at Hazaribagh on the 7th November, 1888, and at a General Meeting of the Association.
1029	"	"	"	Babu Hari Churn Mittra, M.A., B.L.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Vakil, Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Vice-Chairman, District Committee, Member, Education Committee, Vice-President, Hazaribagh Association, Hazaribagh.	do.	do.
1030	"	"	Giridi, Hazaribagh.	Munshi Gowri Prasad.	do.	Manager, Raj Palgunj, Giridi, E.I.R.	.....	By a Meeting held at Giridi on the 23rd October, 1888.
1031	"	"	Monghir.	Babu Shewnunden Prosad Singh.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Monghir.	.....	By a Public Meeting held at Monghir on the 19th December, 1888.
1032	"	"	"	Moulvi Abdul Rahman Khan.	Mahomedan.	do.	.....	do.
1033	"	"	Jamulpore Association (Monghir.)	Babu Harendra Chundra Talookdar, B.L.	Hindu Kyastha.	Pleader, Jamalpore.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 10th December, 1888.
1034	"	"	Gya.	Mahomed Wazir Ali Khan Lodi, L.M.S., F.S.S.	Mahomedan.	Private Medical Practitioner, Secretary Rate-payers' Association, Member of Gya Gorakhini Sabha.	.....	By a Public Meeting held at Gya on the 25th November, 1888.
1035	"	"	"	Kazi Maqbool Ali.	do.	Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate, M. L. Board, Gya.	.....	do.
1036	"	"	"	Babu Drigpal Lal.	Hindu.	Zemindar and Banker, Gya.	.....	do.
1037	"	"	Tikari (Gya.)	Babu Bhagwat Sahai, B.A.	do.	Head Master Tikari School, Tikari, Gya.	.....	At a Public Meeting held on the 5th December, 1888.
1038	"	"	"	Babu Nundo Kishore	do.	Zemindar, Tikari, Gya.	.....	do.
1039	"	"	"	Pundit Shew Narain Bajpai.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Tikari, Gya.	.....	do.
1040	"	"	Baidyanath (Deoghur.)	Babu Jogendra Nath Bose	Hindu, Kyastha.	Journalist.	.....	At a Public Meeting held at Baidyanath on the 27th October, 1888.
1041	"	"	Chupra	Babu Bunsidhur Gupta	Hindu, Vaidya.	Pleader, Honorary Magistrate, Member, District and Local Boards, Municipal Commissioner.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 4th December, 1888.
1042	"	"	"	Babu Raghu Nath Prosad	Hindu.	Zemindar, Chupra.	.....	do.
1043	"	"	"	Moulvi Syed Mahomed Nagy.	Mahomedan.	do.	.....	do.
1044	"	"	"	Babu Choob Lal	Hindu.	Do., and Pleader, Chupra.	Behar Arya Samaj	Do., and at the Meeting of the Samaj.
1045	"	"	"	Babu Raghubans Sahai, B.A., B.L.	do.	do.	Arrah.	By a Public Meeting held at Chupra on the 4th December, 1888, and at a Public Meeting at Arrah.
1046	"	"	Rivelgunj (Sarun).	Lala Januki Prosad	do.	Cultivator		By a Public Meeting in December, 1888.

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1047	Bengal	Behar	Rivelgunj (Sarun).	Babu Tara Kanta Chakrabutty.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Cultivator		By a Public Meeting in December, 1888.
1048	"	"	"	Sheik Abdool Hossein ...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar	.....	do.
1049	"	"	Muzafarpur	Mr. P. Kennedy, M.A., B.L.	European, Christian.	Pleader, Muzafarpur, and Editor, "Tirhoot Courier," and Roy Chand and Prem Chand Scholar.	.....	At a Public Meeting on the 9th December, 1888.
1050	"	"	"	Babu Ishri Prosad ...	Hindu.	Banker and Zemindar	.....	do.
1051	"	"	"	Babu Jogodis Kumar Mookerjee.	do.	Zemindar and Honorary Magistrate, Muzafarpur.	.....	do.
1052	"	"	"	Moulvi Syed Ahmed Hossein.	Mahomedan.	Zemindar & Pleader	.....	do.
1053	"	"	"	Babu Urjoon Dass ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Muzafarpur.	.....	do.
1054	"	"	"	" Kunj Lal ...	do.	Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate and Banker.	.....	do.
1055	"	"	"	" Rameshwar Narain Mahtha.	do.	Do., do., do., Municipal Commissioner, and Proprietor of the "Tirhoot Courier."	.....	do.
1056	"	"	"	Moulvi Zahiruddin Ahmed	Mahomedan.	Pleader and Zemindar	.....	do.
1057	"	"	"	Syed Afzul Hossein ...	do.	Muktar and Manager, "Tirhoot Courier."	.....	do.
1058	"	"	"	Babu Sorashi Churn Mitter, B.L.	Hindu.	Pleader	.....	do.
1059	"	"	"	Babu Mungul Prasad ...	do.	Zemindar	.....	do.
1060	"	"	"	" Hari Har Prasad ...	do.	do.	.....	do.
1061	"	"	"	" Jogeshur Prosad Singh.	do.	Do., and Member, Sooniti Sancharini Sabha.	.....	do., and at a Meeting of the Sabha on the 2nd December, 1888.
1062	"	"	Shahabad	" Baij Nath Singh ...	Hindu, Khetriya.	Zemindar and Member, District Board, Shahabad.	.....	At a Public Meeting on the 2nd December, 1888.
1063	"	"	"	" Chaturbhuj Sahai ...	Hindu, Kyastha.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Arrah, and Zemindar.	.....	do.
1064	"	"	"	" Kandhji Sahai, B.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, Arrah, Vice-Chairman, Arrah Board, Zemindar and Member, District Board.	.....	do.
1065	"	"	"	" Shyamolanand ...	do.	Pleader, Arrah, Landholder, Municipal Commissioner, Member, Local Board, Arrah, and Member, District Board, Shahabad.	.....	do.
1066	"	"	"	" Ramjanun Singh ...	Hindu, Rajput.	Zemindar and Merchant, Arrah.	.....	do.
1067	"	"	"	" Jadubans Sahai ...	Hindu, Kyastha.	Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner, and Pleader, Arrah.	.....	do.
1068	"	"	"	Mr. W. M. Reid ...	European, Christian.	Zemindar, Arrah	.....	do.
1069	"	"	"	Babu Thakur Prosad Sinha.	Hindu.	Zemindar & Banker, Arrah.	Ghazipur.	do., and at a Meeting held at Ghazipur on the 5th December, 1888.

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1070	Bengal	Behar.	Buxar (Shahabad)	Baboo Hurdhyan Singh ...	Hindu.	Zemindar, Pleader, Member, Local Board, Buxar.		At a Meeting held at Buxar.
1071	"	"	"	" Raghu Nandan Prosad.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.	.....	do.
1072	"	"	Dumraon (Shahabad).	" Brojendra Kumar Bose.	do.	Head Master, Domraon School.	.....	By a Public Meeting on the 23rd December, 1888.
1073	"	"	"	" Radha Kishun Lal	do.	Muktear, Domraon...	.....	do.
1074	"	"	"	Mr. Omrao Ali ...	Mahomedan.	Inspector, Raj Schools, Domraon Division.	.....	do.
1075	"	"	Durbhunga.	Babu Mitterial Chowdhari	Hindu.	Zemindar, Durbhunga	.....	Public Meeting held at Durbhunga on the 9th December, 1888.
1076	"	"	"	Qazi Farasatali ...	Mahomedan.	do.	.....	do.
1077	"	"	"	Moulvi Mahammad Ishaque Khan.	do.	Zemindar, and Honorary Magistrate, Durbhunga.	.....	do.
1078	"	"	"	Shah Wazarat Ali ...	do.	Zemindar, Durbhunga	.....	do.
1079	"	"	"	Moulvi Ally Hossain ...	do.	do.	.....	do.
1080	"	"	"	Shamsul Huq ...	do.	do.	.....	do.
1081	"	"	Dinapore	Babu Madho Lal ...	Aryan, Vedic Religion.	Merchant, Municipal Commissioner, Dinapore.	.....	By a Public Meeting on the 4th December, 1888.
1082	"	"	"	Roy Lakshmi Narayan Siuba.	Aryan Kyastha.	Zemindar and Secretary, Congress Committee.	.....	do.
1083	"	"	"	Syed Sharfuddin ...	Mahomedan.	Barrister-at-Law, Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner, Vice-Chairman, District Board, Chairman, Local Board, Dinapore, Bankipur.	Bankipur.	do., and at Bankipur on the 5th December, 1888.
1084	"	"	"	Sayad Abdool Hamid, B.A., B.L.	do.	Zemindar, Member, District Board, Vice-Chairman, Local Board, Chairman, Municipality, Khagaul, Pleader, Bankipur.	do.	do.
1085	"	"	Bhagulpore	Babu Ladhi Mohan Ghose	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner, Bhagulpore.	.....	At a Public Meeting held on the 15th December, 1888.
1086	"	"	"	" Soshi Bhusan Mookerjee.	do.	Pleader, Bhagulpore.	.....	do.
1087	"	"	"	" Moti Lal Misser ...	do.	do.	.....	do.
1088	"	"	"	Munshi Elahi Buksh ...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar, Bhagulpore	.....	do.
1089	"	"	"	Babu Upendra Chandra Singh.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Naga House, Chaunpong, Bhagulpore.	.....	do.
1090	"	"	"	" Tarini Prasad ...	do.	Pleader, Bhagulpore, Member, District Board, Municipal Commissioner, and Honorary Magistrate.	.....	do.
1091	"	"	"	Rai Tej Narayan Singh, Bahadoor.	do.	Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate, and Merchant, Bhagulpore, and 9, Kipon Street, Calcutta.	National Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta.	do., and at a Meeting of the Chamber of Commerce.

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1092	Bengal	Behar.	Purneah	Babu Nanak Prasad ...	Hindu.	Zemindar, Pleader, Vice-Chairman, Purneah Municipality & Secretary, Congress Committee, Purneah and Member, District Board.	Kishengunj.	At a Public Meeting held at Purneah on the 1st December, 1888, and at Kishengunj on the 27th November, 1888.
1093	"	"	"	" Parbutty Churn Dass.	do.	Pleader, Purneah, Member, District Board, and Municipal Commissioner, Purneah.	do.	do.
1094	"	"	"	" Sheo Prasad ...	do.	Zemindar, Purneah...	Brarea.	At a Public Meeting at Purneah on the 1st December, 1888, and at a Meeting at Brarea.
1095	"	"	"	" Jogendra Nath Mukerjee, M.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, Purneah ...	do.	do.
1096	"	"	"	Mir Jowhar Ali ...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar, Purneah District.	do.	do.
1097	"	Calcutta	Southern Suburbs of Calcutta.	Mr. George Yule ...	Englishman, Christian.	Merchant, 7, Clive Row, Calcutta.	Indian Association.	By a Public Meeting of the residents of the Suburbs held at Bhawanipore on the 1st December, 1888, and by a General Meeting of the Association.
1098	"	"	Bengal National League.	Mr. W. C. Bonnetjee ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Barrister-at-Law, Fellow, Calcutta University, 6 Park Street, Calcutta.	.....	By a Public Meeting held at Shobhabazar Rajbati on the 21st October, 1888.
1099	"	"	British Indian Association.	Babu Rajkumar Sarvadikari, B.L.	Hindu ...	27, Mott's Lane, Calcutta. Editor, "Hindu Patriot." Fellow, Calcutta University.	.....	At a Committee Meeting of the Association held on the 12th December 1888.
1100	"	"	"	Mr. J. Ghosal ...	Hindu, Brahmin.	Zemindar and Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Kasia Bagan Garden House, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.	Bengal National League, and Joyrampore, Association.	do., and at a Public Meeting held at Shobhabazar Rajbati on the 21st October, 1888, and also at a Meeting of the Joyrampore Association on the 20th October, 1888.
1101	"	"	"	Babu Mohesh Chander Chowdhry.	Do. Vaidya.	Zemindar, Merchant, and Pleader, Fellow Calcutta University, High Court, 10, Harrington Street, Calcutta.	Bengal National League.	At a Committee Meeting of the Association on the 12th December, 1888, and at a Public Meeting held at Shobhabazar Rajbati on the 21st October, 1888.
1102	"	"	"	Rai Parvati Shunker Chowdhury.	do.	Zemindar, Post Teota, via, Shivalya, 50, Durmahatta Street, Calcutta.	Manickgunge.	At a Committee Meeting of the Association on the 12th December, 1888, and at a Meeting held at Manickgunge.
1103	"	"	"	Babu Nobin Chand Bural	Hindu ...	Solicitor, 10, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.	.....	At a Committee Meeting of the Association on the 12th December, 1888.
1104	"	"	"	" Saligram Singh, B.L.	Hindu, Rajput.	Vakil, High Court, Presidency Magistrate, and Zemindar, Calcutta.	Bankipore.	Do., and at a Public Meeting held at Bankipore, on the 5th December 1888.
1105	"	"	"	" Jogendra Chandra Ghose	Do. Kyastha.	Zemindar, 14, Pudma Pooker Street, Kidderpore, Calcutta.	Southern Suburbs of Calcutta.	At a Committee Meeting of the Association held on the 12th December, 1888, and at a Public Meeting held at London Missionary Institution, Bhowanipore, on the 1st December 1888.

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1106	Bengal	Calcutta	Bengal National League.	Babu Narendra Nath Sen	Hindu, Vadya.	Proprietor, and Editor, "Indian Mirror," Attorney-at-Law, & Honorary Presidency Magistrate, and Municipal Commissioner, 74, Dhurmo-tollah Street, Calcutta.	Indian Association and Central Bengal Union.	At a Public Meeting held at Shobhabazar Rajbati, on the 21st October, 1888, and at a Meeting of the Indian Association, and also at a Meeting of the Central Bengal Union.
1107	"	"	"	Maharaj Kumar Neelkrishna Deb Bahadoor.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Zemindar, Shobhabazar Rajbati, Calcutta, Honry. Magistrate.	Indian Association and its Tamlook Branch, Agarpur Association, Ichapur Reform Association, on the 2nd December, 1888, at a Meeting of the Ichapur Reform Association, on the 9th December, 1888, at a Meeting of the Najra Natra Ustica, Meeting of Gopalpur, Joy nagore, Rate-payers' Association Meeting, at a Meeting of the Bharat Barsa Arya Dharmo Procharini Sabha, on the 12th December, 1888, at a Meeting of the Chittagong Association, and also at a Meeting of Khirpai, on the 14th November, 1888.	At a Public Meeting held at Shobhabazar Rajbati, on the 21st October, 1888, at a Meeting of the Indian Association, on the 25th December, 1888, at a Meeting of the Agarpur Association, on the 2nd December, 1888, at a Meeting of the Ichapur Reform Association, on the 9th December, 1888, at a Meeting of the Najra Natra Ustica, Meeting of Gopalpur, and Joynagore Rate-payers' Association Meeting, at a Meeting of the Bharat Barsa Arya Dharmo Procharini Sabha, on the 12th December, 1888, at a Meeting of the Chittagong Association, and also at a Meeting of Khirpai, on the 14th November, 1888.
1108	"	"	"	Maharaj Kumar Benoya Krishna Deb Bahadoor.	do.	Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner.	do.	do.
1109	"	"	"	Babu Gopal Chandra Mukerji.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Editor, "Songbad Probhakar," 40, Sankor Halder's Lane, Ahiritolla, Calcutta.	Agarpur Association, and Ichapore Reform Association.	By a Public Meeting held at Shobhabazar Rajbati, on the 21st October, 1888, and at a Public Meeting at Agarpur Association, on the 2nd December, 1888, and also at a Meeting of the Ichapore Reform Association held on the 19th December, 1888.
1110	"	"	"	" Bijoy Lal Dutt ...	Hindu, Kyastha.	Zemindar, Bhowanipore, Calcutta, Arbalia, 24-Purgunnahs.	Arbalia Bikashini Sabha.	At a Meeting held at Shobhabazar Rajbati, on the 21st October, 1888, and at a Meeting of the Arbalia Bikashini Sabha.
1111	"	"	"	Mr. Mono Mohun Ghose	do.	Barrister-at-Law, 4, Theatre Road, Calcutta.	Joyrampore Association.	By a Public Meeting held at Shobhabazar Rajbati, on the 21st October, 1888, and at a Meeting of the Association on the 20th October 1888.
1112	"	"	"	Babu Moti Lal Ghose	do.	Editor, "Amrita Bazar Patrika," &c. Zemindar, and Member, District Board, Calcutta, 2, Anonda Chandra Chatterjee's Lane, Bagbazar, Calcutta.		By a Public Meeting held at Shobhabazar Rajbati on the 21st October 1888.
1113	"	"	"	" Pasupati Nath Bose	do.	Zemindar, 65, Bagbazar Street, Calcutta.		do.

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1114	Bengal	Calcutta	Bengal National League.	Mr. Nagendra Nath Ghose.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Editor, "Indian Nation," Barrister-at-Law, Municipal Commr. & Honorary Magistrate, 43, Bancharam Aukoor's lane, Calcutta.		By a Public Meeting held at Sobhabazar Rajhati on the 21st October, 1888.
1115	"	"	"	Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose, M.A., B.L.	do.	Attorney-at-Law, 14 Balaram Ghose's Street, Calcutta.	.....	do.
1116	"	"	"	" Nolin Behary Sarkar	do.	Merchant, Secretary, India Club, 21, Beadon Street, Calcutta.	.....	do.
1117	"	"	"	" Poolin Behary Sarkar.	do.	Merchant, 21, Beadon Street, Calcutta.	.....	do.
1118	"	"	"	" Jogendra Chandra Bose, B.A.	do.	Editor, "Shurobhi and Potaka," 33, Bechoo Chatterjee's Street, Calcutta.	.....	do.
1119	"	"	"	" Mohini Mohun Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Attorney-at-Law, 10, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.	.....	do.
1120	"	"	"	" Radha Ramon Kar	Hindu, Kyastha.	Contractor and Trader, 10, Shambazar Street, Calcutta.	.....	do.
1121	"	"	"	" Jogendra Krishna Bose.	do.	35-1, Raja Novokrishna's Street, Calcutta.	.....	do.
1122	"	"	"	" Radha Govind Kar, L.R.C.P., etc.	do.	Medical Practitioner, 107, Shambazar Street, Calcutta.	.....	do.
1123	"	"	Indian Association.	Kumar Satyabadi Ghosal	Hindu, Brahmin.	Zemindar, Bhukailash	.....	At a General Meeting of the Association.
1124	"	"	"	Babu Upendra Nath Mookerjee, B.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, 31 Sitaram Ghose's Street, Calcutta.	.....	do.
1125	"	"	"	Babu Debendra Chandra Ghose, B.A., B.L.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Senior, Government Pleader, Honorary Magistrate, 24 Pergunnas, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.	.....	do.
1126	"	"	"	Babu Khetra Mohun Das	Christian.	Pleader, 16 Simla Street, Calcutta.	.....	do.
1127	"	"	"	Mr. Ananda Mohun Bose, M.A.	Hindu.	Barrister-at-Law, Fairy Hall, Dum-Dum, 24 Pergunnas.	Rohora Branch, India Association, Mymensingh Association, Noakhali.	do., and at a General Meeting of the Rohora Branch, Indian Association, on the 18th November, 1888, and at a General Meeting of the Mymensingh Association, on the 9th December, 1888, and at a Public Meeting held at Noakhali.
1128	"	"	"	Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee, B.A.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Editor of the "Bengali" and Principal, Ripon College, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner, and Secretary, Indian Association, Calcutta.	Moulvi-bazar, Sylhet, Dhubri, Rohora Branch, Indian Association.	At a General Meeting of the Association, and at Public Meetings held at Moulvi-bazar, Sylhet, Dhubri, and also at a General Meeting of the Rohora Branch, Indian Association.

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1129	Bengal	Calcutta	Indian Association	Babu Krishna Kumar Mittra, B.A.	Hindu.	Editor, "Sanjibani," 4, College Square, Calcutta.	Mymensingh Association, Tangail Association, Sankrail Hita-dhini Sabha, Krishnagar Indian Association.	At a General Meeting of the Association, and at a Meeting held at Mymensingh Association on the 9th December, 1888, and at Sankrail Hita-dhini Sabha on the 16th December, 1888, Krishnagar Indian Association on the 26th December, 1888, and also at a Meeting of the Tangail Association.
1130	"	"	"	Babu Umesh Chandra Dutt, B.A.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Principal, City College, 13 Mizapore Street, Calcutta.	Central Bengal Union, Joynagore Association.	At General Meetings of the Indian Association, Central Bengal Union and Joynagore Association.
1131	"	"	"	Babu Dwarka Nath Gangooly.	Hindu.	Assistant Secretary, Indian Association, 62, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.	Bikrampore (Dacca) and Tez-pore Ryots' Association.	At a General Meeting of the Association and at a Meeting held at Bikrampore on the 15th December, 1888, and at a General Meeting of the Tez-pore Ryots' Association.
1132	"	"	"	Babu Kailash Chandra Sen, L.L.	Hindu, Vadya.	Pleader, 24-Purgunnas, Zemindar, Dacca. 164-3 Maniktolla Street, Calcutta.	Bikrampore Association.	At a General Meeting of the Association and at a Meeting of the Bikrampore Association held on the 15th December, 1888.
1133	"	"	"	Babu Jagodis Chandra Lahiri.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, 101, College Street, Calcutta.	Majdia Mahajany Sabha, Kissengunj Indian Association.	At a General Meeting of the Association and at Meetings held at the Majdia Mahajany Sabha and Kissengunj Indian Association.
1134	"	"	"	Rai Jotindra Nath Chowdhury, M.A., B.L.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Zemindar, Taki. 24-Purgunnas, Buranagore.	Taki Branch, Indian Association, Baranagore and Kassi-pore Sreepore Hita-dhony.	At a General Meeting of the Association, and at Meetings of the Taki Branch Indian Association and of the Baranagore, Kassi-pore and Sreepore Hita-dhony.
1135	"	"	Bengal Christian Alliance.	Babu Kali Charan Banerjee, M.A., B.L.	Christian	Vakil, High Court, 81, Baranasy Ghose's Street, Calcutta.	Indian Association and Bengal Christian Conference.	At a General Meeting of the Alliance on the 14th December, 1888, and at a General Meeting of the Indian Association and at a Meeting of the Bengal Christian Conference.
1136	"	"	"	Dr. K. G. Sarkar, M.B., L.R.C.P.	do.	Physician, 19 Mott's Lane, Calcutta.	.....	do.
1137	"	"	Bengal Christian Conference.	Babu Joy Gobind Shome, M.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, 16, Simla Street, Calcutta.	Indian Association.	At a General Meeting of the Bengal Christian Conference, and at a General Meeting of the Association.
1138	"	"	Students' Association.	Babu Tara Prosonna Mittra.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Secretary, Ripon College, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.	Rajpore Improvement Association.	By a General Meeting of the Student's Association, and at a Meeting of the Rajpore Improvement Association.
1139	"	"	Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.	Mr. R. D. Mehta	Parsee	Merchant, 55, Canning Street, Calcutta, Honorary Magistrate.	Indian Association.	By General Meetings of the National Chamber of Commerce and of the Indian Association.

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1140	Bengal	Calcutta	Bengal National Chamber of Commerce.	Kumar Rameswar Malia	Hindu, Brahmin.	Zemindar and Colliery Proprietor.	Howrah and Ranigunj Peoples' Associations.	By a General Meeting of the National Chamber of Commerce, and by a Meeting of the Howrah Peoples' Association and also of the Ranigunj Peoples' Association on the 1st December, 1888.
1141	"	"	"	Babu Janki Nath Roy	Hindu.	Banker and Zemindar. Vice-President. National Chamber of Commerce.	.....	By a General Meeting of the National Chamber of Commerce.
1142	"	"	Metropolitan Union, Bengal, Calcutta.	Babu Amrit Lal Dass	Hindu.	Landholder, Sub-Editor, "Shomeprokash" 12, Guruprasad Chowdhury's Lane, Calcutta.	.....	By a General Meeting of the union on the 29th November, 1888.
1143	"	"	Police Court Pleaders' Association, Calcutta	Mr. J. K. Bose	do.	Pleader, High Court, 5, Mohendro Bose's Lane, Calcutta.	Ichapore Reform Association.	By a General Meeting of the Ichapore Reform Association on the 9th December, 1888, and by a General Meeting of the Pleaders' Association.
1144	"	"	East Bengal Association, Calcutta.	Babu Kassy Kinkor Sen, L.L.	Hindu, Vaidya.	Talookdar, District Dacca.	.....	By a General Meeting of the Association in December, 1888.
1145	"	"	Bar Association Sealdah, Suburb of Calcutta.	Babu Nil Moni Dhor, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Pleader, Sealdah, 94, Serpentine Lane, Calcutta.	.....	By a Meeting of the Association on the 19th December, 1888.
1146	"	"	South Suburbs of Calcutta.	Pundit Pran Nath Saraswati, M.A., B.L.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta. Municipal Commissioner.	.....	By a Public Meeting of the Residents of the South Suburbs on the 1st December, 1888.
1147	"	"	"	Babu Umakally Mukerji	do.	Do., 12, Pudma Pooker Street, Calcutta.	.....	do.
1148	"	"	"	Babu Benod Lal Sen	Hindu, Vaidya.	Native Physician, 10, Kallighat Road, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.	.....	do.
1149	"	"	"	Babu Tarapado Ghose	Hindu, Kyastha.	Zemindar, 14, Pudma Pooker Street, Kidderpore, Calcutta.	.....	do.
1150	"	"	"	Babu Mohendra Lal Sen	do.	Land Proprietor, Rushapagla, and Taligunj P. O., Calcutta.	Rushapagla Improvement Association.	Do. and at a General Meeting of the Association on the 6th November, 1888.
1151	"	"	"	Babu Biprodas Banerji	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader, Honorary Magistrate, and Editor, "Sohochur."	Barasat and Chittagong.	At a Meeting of the residents of the South Suburbs on the 1st December, 1888, and at a Meeting of the Barasat Public, and also at a Meeting held at Chittagong on the 4th December, 1888.
1152	"	"	Northern Suburbs of Calcutta.	Babu Kiron Chandra Ray	Hindu, Kyastha.	Zemindar, Narail, Cassipore.	Branch Indian Association, Narail.	By a Public Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Northern Suburbs of Calcutta in November and by a Meeting of the Association in December.
1153	"	"	do., and (Nynan.)	Babu Hari Dass Bose	do.	Jute Merchant, Mohunbagan, Calcutta.	.....	Workmen's Meeting at Nynan.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	Other Places or Associations for which they were also elected.	How and when elected.
1154	Bengal	Calcutta	Dum-Dum and the adjoining villages in the 24 Pergunnas District	Babu Mon Motho Nath Mookerji	Hindu, Brahmin.	Kadihati, Dum-Dum, Calcutta.	.....	By a large Public Meeting of the Villagers on the 16th December, 1888.
1155	"	"	Taki, Branch, Indian Association.	Babu Mohit Chunder Bose, M.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta, and now Resident of Baranagur.	.....	By a General Meeting of the Association on the 18th November.
1156	"	"	Howrah Branch Indian Association.	Babu Monmotho Nath Banerji	Hindu, Brahmin.	Landholder, Shibpore, Howrah.	.....	By a Meeting of the Association.
1157	"	"	Howrah Pleaders' Association.	Babu Hari Mohun Mookerji.	do.	Pleader, Howrah.	.....	do.
1158	"	"	"	Babu Ramdoy Malia, L.L.	do.	do.	.....	do.
1159	"	"	Howrah Peoples' Association.	Babu Narasina Datta, B.L.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Vakil, High Court, Notary Public, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner, Howrah, Panchanantola.	.....	By a General Meeting of the Association on the 1st December, 1888.
1160	"	"	"	Babu Upendra Nath Mitra, B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Notary Public, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner.	.....	do.
1161	"	"	"	Babu Umbica Charan Ghosal.	Hindu.	Law Agent	.....	do.
1162	"	"	Hooghly	Babu Amoy Nath Bose	Hindu.	Landholder, Khulsi, British Chander-nagore, District Hooghly.	.....	By a Public Meeting 10th December, 1888.
1163	"	"	"	Babu Romesh Chandra Mandal.	do.	Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate, Chinsurah.	Balasore National Society and Well-wishing Club, Chinsurah.	do., and by a Meeting of the National Society on the 23rd November, 1888, and by a Meeting of the Well-wishing Club.
1164	"	"	"	Babu Mohendra Nath Ray, M.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, Calcutta High Court, and Honorary Magistrate, Howrah.	Howrah Peoples' Association.	By a Public Meeting held on the 10th December, 1888, and by a Meeting of the Association on the 1st December, 1888.
1165	"	"	"	Doctor Syud Mahomed Hashun Gouse.	Mahomedan.	Hakim, Chinsurah, Hooghly, 70, Bentinck Street, Calcutta.	Well-wishing Club, Chinsurah.	By a Public Meeting held on the 10th December, and by a Meeting of the Club.
1166	"	"	Parwasthali, (Burdwan.)	Babu Mohima Nath Ray	Hindu.	Inspector, Pikeparah Estate, Parwasthali, Burdwan.	.....	By a Public Meeting held at Parwasthali in December, 1888.
1167	"	"	Calna Branch, Indian Association, (Burdwan.)	Babu Bisnu Charan Banerji.	do.	Merchant, Calna Street, Burdwan, Municipal Commissioner.	.....	At a General Meeting of the Association.
1168	"	"	Ahmedpore, (Burdwan.)	Babu Srish Chunder Chowdhury, M.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, Landholder, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.	Indian Association, Tamlook.	By a Public Meeting at Ahmedpore and General Meeting of Tamlook Association.
1169	"	"	"	Babu Sree Pada Chowdhury.	do.	Landholder	.....	By a Public Meeting held at Ahmedpore.
1170	"	"	Nuddea	Babu Akhoy Kumar Mukerji, B.L.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader, Krishnaghur, Municipal Commissioner, Krishnaghur.		At a Public Meeting held the 19th December, 1888.

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1171	Bengal	Calcutta	Krishnagar, (Nuddea.)	Babu Jadu Nath Chatterji, B.L.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader, Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate and V. C. Municipality, Krishnagar.		At a Public Meeting held at Krishnagar, on the 26th December, 1888.
1172	"	"	"	Babu Prasanna Chunder Rai, M.A., B.L.	Hindu, Chhettri.	Zemindar and Indigo Planter, Kuralgachi, P. O., Chundipore <i>Vis</i> Kissengunj.	.....	do.
1173	"	"	"	Babu Abhoya Nund Rai	Hindu, Brahmin.	Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner, Honorary Magistrate, and Member, Local Board, Krishnagar.	.....	do.
1174	"	"	"	Babu Nafer Chander Pal Chowdhry.	do.	Zemindar, Merchant, Indigo Planter and Tea Planter, Natudoha.	Chooadanga and Meherpore.	do., and at the Public Meetings held at Chooadanga, and at Meherpore.
1175	"	"	"	Babu Basanta Kumar Chatterji, B.L.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Krishnagar and Member Nuddea District Board.	Khustia Branch Indian Association, Poradaha Branch, Indian Association, and Joyrampore B. I. Association.	By a Public Meeting held at Krishnagar on the 26th December, 1888, at the General Meeting of the Khustia B. I. Association, on the 23rd November, 1888, at a General Meeting of the Poradaha B. I. Association, and also at a General Meeting of the Joyrampore Association on the 20th October, 1888.
1176	"	"	Ranaghat, (Nuddea.)	Babu Banku Behary Singh	Hindu,	Merchant, Habibpore, Ranaghat Sub-Division, Nuddea.	Kissengunj Mahajani Sabha.	By a Public Meeting held at Ranaghat on the 2nd December, 1888, and at a General Meeting of the Sabha.
1177	"	"	"	Babu Bepro Das Mukerji	Hindu, Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.	Branch Indian Association, Ranaghat.	By a Public Meeting held at Ranaghat on the 2nd December, 1888, and at a General Meeting of the Association.
1178	"	"	"	Babu Akshai Kumar Ghose.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Assistant Sale Master Messrs. Graham & Co., Calcutta.	do.	do.
1179	"	"	Chagdoha (Nuddea.)	Babu Karuna Nidhan Ghose.	do.	Contractor and Secretary, Ranaghat Shuhrid Library, Ranaghat.	.....	At a Public Meeting held at Chagdoha on the 9th December, 1888.
1180	"	"	"	Babu Akshai Kumar Mitter.	do.	Talookdar, Jasta, Chagdoha.	Ranaghat.	do., and at a Public Meeting held at Ranaghat on the 2nd December, 1888.
1181	"	"	Majdeah, (Nuddea.)	Babu Nanda Gopal Bhaduri.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Landholder and Merchant.	Kissengunj Mahajani Sabha.	At a Public Meeting held at Majdeah and by a General Meeting of the Sabha.
1182	"	"	"	Babu Pulin Behary Lahiri	do.	Pleader, Krishnagar.	do.	do.
1183	"	"	Katdoha Association (Nuddea.)	Babu Nitya Nand Bose, B.A.	Hindu, Kyastha.	Teacher, Katdoha School, Paradoha P. O., Nuddea.	.....	At a Meeting of the Association on the 8th December, 1888.
1184	"	"	Kushtia Branch, Indian Association, (Nuddea.)	Babu Chand Mohun Moitra.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Government Pensioner, Hizlabut, Kushtia, Nuddea.	.....	By a Meeting of the Association on the 23rd November, 1888.
1185	"	"	Moheshpore, (Nuddea.)	Babu Jadu Bhuban Bhaduri, B.A.	do.	Head Master, Higher Class English School, Jessore.		By a Public Meeting held at Moheshpore.

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1186	Bengal	Calcutta	Indian Association, Jessore.	Babu Kali Nath Mookerji, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Vakil Landholder, and Honorary Magistrate, Jessore.		At a General Meeting of the Association on the 9th December, 1888.
1187	"	"	"	Babu Jadu Nath Mazumdar, M.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil and Talookdar, Jessore.	.....	do.
1188	"	"	"	Babu Preo Shanker Ghose	do.	Landholder	.....	do.
1189	"	"	Indian Association, Magurah, (Jessore.)	Babu Ambica Charan Sarkar.	do.	Vice-Chairman, Local Board, Magurah, Member, District Board, Jessore, and Honorary Magistrate, Magurah.	.....	At a General Meeting of the Association on the 16th November, 1888.
1190	"	"	"	Babu Bhubanananda Chakrabutty.	do.	Medical Practitioner, Member Local Board, and Honorary Magistrate, Magurah.	.....	do.
1191	"	"	Jiggergacha Ryots' Association, (Jessore.)	Babu Neel Kumal Dass	do.	Assistant Auditor, E. I. Railway, 32, Raja Rajbullah's Street, Calcutta.	.....	At a Committee Meeting of the Association.
1192	"	"	Moorsheadabad Association.	Babu Baikuntha Nath Sen, B.L.	do.	Vakil, Zemindar Berhampore, Moorsheadabad, Chairman, Berhampore Municipality, Honorary Magistrate and Chairman, Moorsheadabad Association.	.....	By a Committee Meeting of the Association.
1193	"	"	"	Babu Hamendra Nath Sen, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Berhampore	.....	do.
1194	"	"	"	Babu Prosanna Kumar Gupta, B.L.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	.....	do.
1195	"	"	"	Babu Sree Nath Pal, B.L.	do.	do., and Zemindar, Berhampore.	.....	do.
1196	"	"	"	Babu Mirtonjoy Bhattacharjee.	do.	Assistant Engineer, Berhampore, Moorsheadabad.	.....	do.
1197	"	"	"	Babu Bijoy Krishna Maity, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Honorary Magistrate, Berhampore, Moorsheadabad.	.....	do.
1198	"	"	"	Rev. C. N. Banerjee, B.A.	Christian.	Missionary of the London Missionary Society, Municipal Commissioner, President, Berhampore Total Abstinence Society, Berhampore, Moorsheadabad.	.....	do.
1199	"	"	Birbhoom	Babu Chandra Nath Chatterji, B.L.	Hindu.	Vakil, Zemindar, Vice-Chairman, District Board, Birbhoom.	.....	By a Public Meeting.
1200	"	"	"	Babu Dhono Krishen Ghose, M.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, Zemindar, Chairman, Municipality, Suri, Birbhoom.	.....	do.
1201	"	"	Rungpore Branch, Indian Association.	Babu Janaki Ballav Sen	do.	Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner, Member, District Board.	.....	By a General Meeting of the Association held on the 26th November, 1888.
1202	"	"	"	Babu Hem Chandra Mitter, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Judge's Court and Secretary Rate-payers' Association, Rungpore.	Rungpore Rate-payers' Association.	do., and at the Meeting of the Rate payers' Association on the 18th November, 1888.

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1203	Bengal	Calcutta	Saidpore (Rungpore.)	Babu Biroja Mohon Chowdhury.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Kamar-pookur, Rungpore, and Member, District Board.	Nelpa-mari.	By a Public Meeting held at Saidpore on the 28th November, 1888, and at Nelpamari on the 25th November, 1888.
1204	"	"	Backergunge.	Moulvi Mahomed Hafiz...	Mohamedan.	Zemindar	.....	At a Public Meeting held at Backergunge on the 9th December, 1888.
1205	"	"	"	Babu Hari Kant Sen	Hindu.	Secretary to the Loan Office, Secretary to the Peoples' Association, Barisal.	.....	do.
1206	"	"	Barisal Peoples' Association (Backergunge.)	Aswani Kumar Dutt, M.A., B.L.	do.	Landholder, Barisal, Chairman, Barisal Local Board, V. C. Barisal Municipality, Member, Backergunge District Board, and Secretary Barisal Peoples' Association.	(1.) Pherozepore. (2.) Bhola Sub-division. (3.) Patuakhali Sub-division. (4.) Haibutpore. (5.) Lata. (6.) Rahmutpur. (7.) Goda. (8.) Keara. (9.) Jhalokati. (10.) Baesan. (11.) Backergunge.	(1.) At a General Meeting of the Barisal Peoples' Association on the 16th December, 1888. (2.) By a Public Meeting at Pherozepore on the 16th December, 1888. (3.) By a Public Meeting of the people of the Bhola Sub-division on the 13th December, 1888. (4.) do. of the Patuakhali Sub-division on the 13th December, 1888. (5.) By a Meeting at Haibutpur on the 16th December, 1888. (6.) By a Meeting at Lata on the 15th December, 1888. (7.) By a Public Meeting at Rahmutpur on the 16th December 1888. (8.) By a Public Meeting at Goda on the 18th December, 1888. (9.) By a Meeting at Keara on the 14th December, 1888. (10.) By a Public Meeting at Jhalokati on the 16th December, 1888. (11.) By a Public Meeting at Baesan on the 19th December, 1888. (12.) By a Public Meeting of the residents of Backergunge held at Barisal on the 9th December, 1888.
1207	"	"	Farridpore Peoples' Association.	Babu Pyari Lal Roy, B.L.	Hindu.	Vakil, Barisal and Zemindar, Farridpur, Honorary Magistrate, and Municipal Commissioner, Barisal.	Backergunge.	At a Public Meeting of Backergunge held in Barisal on the 9th December, 1888, and at a General Meeting of the Farridpore Peoples' Association.
1208	"	"	"	Babu Giriya Sunker Mazumdar.	do.	Zemindar and Pleader, High Court, Calcutta.	Arkandi and Rooderca.	(1.) By a General Meeting of the Peoples' Association. (2.) By a Public Meeting at Arkandi. (3.) By a Public Meeting at Rooderca.
1209	"	"	Madaripore Peoples' Association.	Babu Amrit Lal Ray Chowdhury.	do.	Zemindar, Madaripore.	.....	By a General Meeting of the Association on the 27th November, 1888.
1210	"	"	Farridpore.	Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar, M.A., B.L.	do.	Zemindar and Pleader, Chairman, Municipality, Member, District Board and Honorary Magistrate.	(1.) Madaripore. (2.) Bhatsa. (3.) Rudrapore. (4.) Pinjon. (5.) Amgram.	(1.) By a Public Meeting held at Farridpore on the 14th December, 1888. (2.) By a Public Meeting held at Madaripore on the 27th November, 1888. (3.) By a Public Meeting held at Rudrapore on the 5th December, 1888.

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	Bengal	Calcutta	Farridpore				(6.) Farridpore Peoples' Association. (7.) Manikdoha Hit-shadhoni Sabha. (8.) Farridpore Suhrid Sabha. (9.) Bhanga Peoples' Association. (10.) Gopalgunj Association.	(4.) By a Public Meeting held at Pinjon on the 29th November, 1888. (5.) By a Public Meeting held at Amgram on the 11th December, 1888. (6.) At a General Meeting of the Farridpore Peoples' Association on the 14th November, 1888. (7.) At a General Meeting of the Sabha on the 2nd December, 1888. (8.) At a General Meeting of the Suhrid Sabha. (9.) At a General Meeting of the Bhanga Peoples' Association on the 9th December, 1888. (10.) At a General Meeting of the Gopalgunj Association.
1211	"	"	Rajshahye	Babu Nil Moni Chowdhry.	Hindu.	Superintendent and Agent, India General, Steam Navigation Company, Honorary Magistrate.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 2nd December, 1888.
1212	"	"	"	Abdur Rahman, B.A.	Mohamedan.	Teacher, Madrassa, Member of Municipal and Local Board.	.....	do.
1213	"	"	"	Rajah Shoshi Shekorashwar Roy.	Hindu.	3, Manicktolla Street, Zemindar of Tahirpore, Rajshahye.	.....	do.
1214	"	"	Pubna	Mr. A. Chowdhury, B.A., LL.B. (Cantab) M.A., (C.U.)	do.	Barrister-at-Law, Calcutta and Zemindar, Pubna.	.....	At a Public Meeting held at Pubna.
1215	"	"	Pubna Branch, Indian Association.	Babu Mohini Mohun Chuckerbutty, M.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Pubna.	Rungpore Branch, Indian Association.	By a General Meeting of the Association held on the 16th December, 1888, and at a Meeting held at Rungpore Branch I. Association on the 25th November, 1888.
1216	"	"	Bagirhat (Khulna.)	Babu Bepin Behary Roy	do.	Pleader, Bagirhat, Khulna District.	.....	By a Public Meeting held on the 14th December, 1888.
1217	"	"	Khulna	Babu Ambica Charan Sen, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Khulna, Municipal Commissioner, Member, District Board and Chairman, Local Board, Khulna.	Khulna Peoples' Association, Bagirhat Peoples' Association, Senhati Peoples' Association.	By a General Meeting of the Khulna Peoples' Association. By a General Meeting of the Bagirhat Peoples' Association on the 14th December. By a General Meeting of the Senhati Peoples' Association.
1218	"	"	Bogra Peoples' Association.	Babu Pyaree Sunker Das Gupta, L.M.S.	do.	Medical Practitioner, Bogra, Municipal Commissioner and Honorary Magistrate.	.....	By a General Meeting of the Association.
1219	"	"	Dacca	Babu Brojendra Kumar Roy Chowdhury.	do.	Zemindar, Banker, Bahiati, Dacca, Municipal Commissioner, and President Peoples' Association, Dacca.	.....	By a Public Meeting.
1220	"	"	"	Babu Sarat Chandra Gupta.	do.	Pleader, District Judge's Court, Dacca, Chairman, Local Board, Naraingunge, and Member, District Board, Dacca.		do.

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1221	Bengal	Calcutta	Dacca Bar Association.	Babu Ishwar Chandra Ghose, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Dacca.	...	By a General Meeting of the Association.
1222	"	"	"	Babu Trilokya Nath Bose, B.A., B.L.	do.	do.	...	do, and at a Public Meeting held at Dacca.
1223	"	"	Vicram-pore (Dacca.)	Babu Ishwar Chandra Das, B.L.	do.	do., Chairman Dacca Municipality, Honorary Magistrate, Member, District Board, Secretary to the Peoples' Association, Dacca.	...	do.
1224	"	"	Midnapore.	Babu Navokumar Mittra	Hindu.	Pleader, Judge's Court, and Member, District Board, Midnapore.	...	By a Public Meeting on the 2nd December, 1888.
1225	"	"	"	Chowdhury Jogendra Nath Mallick.	do.	Zemindar, Midnapore.	...	do.
1226	"	"	"	Babu Bhuboneshwar Mitter.	do.	Medical Practitioner, 12, Radha Nath Bose's Lane, Goabagan, Calcutta.	...	do.
1227	"	"	"	Babu Ishan Chandra Bose	do.	Rent-free Landholder, Midnapore.	...	do.
1228	"	"	"	Babu Ashutosh Ghose ...	do.	Zemindar, Raj Villore, Pingla P. O., Midnapore.	...	do.
1229	"	"	"	Babu Narain Prasad Dutt	do.	Pleader, Ghatal, Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Chairman & Secretary to the Indian Association, Ghatal.	...	do.
1230	"	"	Khirpai Indian Association (Midnapore.)	Babu Rameshwar Mandal, B.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, 164, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.	...	By a General Meeting of the Association on the 19th December, 1888.
1231	"	"	"	Babu Raghu Nath Dass, M.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader and V. C. Municipality, Midnapore.	...	do.
1232	"	"	Chittagong Association.	Babu Ananda Charan Dhur, B.A.	do.	Zemindar, Chandanparah, Chittagong town.	...	By a General Meeting of the Association on the 4th December, 1888.
1233	"	"	"	Babu Tara Charan Mukerji.	do.	Native Physician ...	...	do.
1234	"	"	Chandpore (Tipperah.)	Babu Kritanto Kumar Bose, M.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.	...	By a Public Meeting held in November.
1235	"	"	Commillah Peoples' Association (Tipperah.)	Babu Shiv Nath Misser	do.	Banker, Commillah.	...	By a General Meeting of the Association.
1236	"	"	"	Babu Annunda Chandra Roy.	do.	Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner, Tipperah.	Moradnagore.	do., and at a Public Meeting held at Moradnagore.
1237	"	"	Muktagacha (Mymensingh.)	Babu Kally Nath Ghosal	Hindu.	Municipal Commissioner, Muktagacha.	...	By a Public Meeting held on the 16th December, 1888.
1238	"	"	"	Babu Sreenath Roy, B.L.	do.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Mymensingh.	...	do.

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1239	Bengal	Calcutta	Mymensingh Association.	Babu Radha Ballabh Chowdhury.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Sherpore, Vice-Chairman, Local Board, Member Mymensingh District Board, Secretary, Sherpore Landholders' Association, and Secretary, Victoria Academy, Sherpore, Mymensingh.	Landholders' Association, Sherpore.	By a General Meeting of the Association on the 9th December, 1888, and at a General Meeting of the Landholders' Association on the 4th December, 1888.
1240	"	"	"	Babu Anath Bandhu Guha B. A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, Talukdar, Honorary Magistrate and Secretary, Mymensingh Association, Mymensingh.	Tangail.	By a General Meeting of the Association on the 9th December, 1888, and at a Public Meeting held at Tangail.
1241	"	"	Hossanpore Association (Mymensingh.)	Babu Harihar Chukerbutty B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil and Zemindar, Mymensingh, and Member, District Board, Mymensingh.	Mymensingh Association.	By a Public Meeting of the Hossanpore Association on the 12th December, 1888, and at a Meeting of the Mymensingh Association on the 9th December, 1888.
1242	"	"	Sherpore Landholders' Association (Mymensingh.)	Babu Kailas Chunder Nag	do.	Talukdar and Vice-Chairman, Sherpore Municipal Board.	...	By a General Meeting of the Association.
1243	"	"	Orissa Association Cuttack (Orissa.)	Mr. Sampson Rout	Christian.	Municipal Commissioner, and Member, Orissa Association.	...	By a Special Meeting of the Orissa Association held on the 16th December, 1888.
1244	"	"	"	Mahomed Altafar	Mahomedan.	do.	...	do.
1245	"	"	Sylhet (Assam.)	Babu Bepin Chandra Pal	do.	Journalist, 13, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.	Shillong	By Public Meetings at both places.
1246	"	"	Nowgong Ryots' Association (Assam.)	Babu Gonesham Baruah	do.	Nowgong, Assam, Cultivator.	...	By a General Meeting of the Association.
1247	"	"	Dhubri (Assam)	Babu Horendra Narain Singh Chowdhury.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Bugribari, Dhubri.	...	By a Public Meeting.
1248	"	"	Shillong (Assam.)	Babu Ram Chandra	do.	Merchant, Shillong	...	By a Public Meeting on the 15th December, 1888.

[The subnoted gentleman also sat as a delegate, but was not really elected, see p. xviii of introductory article: Rajah Siva Prasad, C.S.I., &c., &c., of Benares.]

Although great pains have been taken to make this list complete, there is no doubt that some names will prove to have been unintentionally omitted, in consequence of several delegates having failed to register their names in due form at the Congress. On the other hand several names have been intentionally omitted of gentlemen who did register, because, on enquiry from the local Standing and Divisional Committees, it did not appear that these gentlemen had been duly elected. Of all the 1,248 delegates entered in the list the election was duly verified, but one of these, No. 370, Pandit Shiv Narayan, wrote subsequently a letter to the papers saying that he was a self-constituted delegate. How he came to this conclusion it is difficult to say. As was pointed out in the *Tribune* of the 6th March, he at the Congress recorded himself in the register as elected at a public meeting at Jullundur on the 2nd of December, 1888, and further he held a regular certificate, signed by Pandit Devi Chand, the President of that meeting, that he had been duly elected. He had probably forgotten these facts when he wrote.

It has to be noticed that the same names will be found spelt in several different ways. This is due to the fact that people are beginning to spell their names—family names especially—differently, to distinguish themselves from members of other branches of the family. Thus Bannerjee will be found spelt Bannerjee, Banerjee, Bonnerjee, Bonarjee, &c.; Iyer is spelt Aiyer, Ayer, &c.; Pershad is spelt also Prosad, Proshad, Prasad, &c. Where gentlemen recorded their own names their own spelling has been followed; in other cases the spelling given in the lists of the Standing and Divisional Committees has been adopted.

In the list many gentlemen who are Municipal Commissioners, members of District or Local Boards, Honorary Magistrates, Fellows and Graduates of the Universities, &c., &c., are not entered as such, simply because they themselves in recording their names, &c., failed to note these particulars, and it has been found impossible to supply all these omissions.

APPENDIX II.

SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

FIRST, SECOND & THIRD CONGRESSES.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FIRST CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

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

[Proposed by Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (*Madras*); seconded by Mr. P. M. Mehta (*Bombay*); and supported by Mr. Norendronath Sen (*Calcutta*).]

RESOLUTION II.

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

[Proposed by Mr. S. H. Chiplonkar (*Poona*); seconded by Mr. P. Ananda Charlu (*Madras*); and supported by Mr. J. Ghosal (*Allahabad*).]

RESOLUTION III.

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

[Proposed by the Hon'ble K. T. Telang, C.I.E. (*Bombay*); seconded by the Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer (*Madras*); and supported by the Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji (*Bombay*).]

RESOLUTION IV.

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

[Proposed by the Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji (*Bombay*); seconded by Mr. Vira Raghavacharya (*Madras*); and supported by Mr. D. S. White (*Madras*).]

RESOLUTION V.

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

[Proposed by Mr. Rangaya Nayadu (*Madras*); seconded by Mr. Dinsha Edaljee Wacha (*Bombay*); and supported by Mr. Dayaram Jethmul (*Karachi*).]

RESOLUTION VI.

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

[Proposed by Mr. J. U. Yajnik (*Bombay*); seconded by Mr. S. A. Swaminath Iyer (*Tanjore*); supported by Rao Saheb S. Venkata Subbarayudu Pantulu (*Masulipatan*).]

RESOLUTION VII.

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

[Proposed by Mr. P. M. Mehta (*Bombay*); seconded by Rao Bahadur Krishanji Laxman Nulkar (*Poona*).]

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

[Proposed by Mr. Murlidhar (*Umballa*); seconded by Mr. H. H. Dhruva (*Surat*).]

RESOLUTION IX.

Resolved—That the Indian National Congress re-assemble next year in Calcutta, and sit on Tuesday, the 28th of December, 1886, and the next succeeding days.

[Proposed by Mr. A. O. Hume (*Bengal*); seconded by the Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer (*Madras*).]

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SECOND CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

Resolved—That this Congress of delegates from all parts of India do humbly offer its dutiful and loyal congratulations to Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen-Empress, on the approaching completion of the first half century of her memorable, beneficent and glorious reign, and heartily wish her many, many more, and happy years of rule, over the great British Empire.

[Proposed by Mr. Rahimatulla M. Sayani (*Bombay*); seconded by Lala Murlidhar (*Ambala*); supported by Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (*Madras*), and carried by acclamation.]

RESOLUTION II.

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

Proposed by Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Wacha (*Bombay*); seconded by the Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer (*Madras*); supported by Pandit Prannath (*Lucknow*), and carried by a very large majority.]

RESOLUTION III.

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

[Proposed by Rai Kunja Lal Banerjee, Bahadur (*Calcutta*); seconded by Mr. P. Rangiah Naidu (*Madras*); supported by Mr. Ghanasham Nilkanth (*Bombay*), and carried unanimously.]

RESOLUTION IV.

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

- (1.)—The number of persons composing the Legislative Councils, both Provincial and of the Governor-General, to be materially increased. Not less than one-half the Members of such enlarged Councils to be elected. Not more than one-fourth to be officials having seats *ex-officio* in such Councils, and not more than one-fourth to be Members, official or non-official, nominated by Government.
- (2.)—The right to elect Members to the Provincial Councils to be conferred only on those classes and members of the community, *prima facie*, capable of exercising it wisely and independently. In Bengal and Bombay the Councillors may be elected by the Members of Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce and the Universities, or an electorate may be constituted of all persons possessing such qualifications, educational and pecuniary, as may be deemed necessary. In Madras, the Councillors may be elected either by District Boards, Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce and the University, or by Electoral Colleges composed of Members partly elected by these bodies and partly nominated by Government. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh and in the Punjab, Councillors may be elected by an Electoral College composed of Members elected by Municipal and District Boards, and nominated, to an extent not exceeding one-sixth of the total number, by Government, it being understood that the same elective system now in force where Municipal Boards are concerned will be applied to District Boards, and the right of electing Members to these latter extended to the cultivating class. But whatever system be adopted (and the details must be worked out separately for each province) care must be taken that all sections of the community, and all great interests, are adequately represented.
- (3.)—The elected Members of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws, to be elected by the elected Members of the several Provincial Councils.
- (4.)—No elected or nominated Member of any Council, to receive any salary or remuneration in virtue of such Membership, but any such Member, already in receipt of any Government salary or allowance, to continue to draw the same unchanged during Membership, and all Members to be entitled to be reimbursed any expenses incurred in travelling in connection with their Membership.
- (5.)—All persons, resident in India, to be eligible for seats in Council, whether as electees or nominees, without distinction of race, creed, caste or colour.
- (6.)—All legislative measures and all financial questions, including all budgets, whether these involve new or enhanced taxation or not, to be necessarily submitted to and dealt with by these Councils. In the case of all other branches of the administration, any Member to be at liberty, after due notice, to put any question he sees fit to the *ex-officio* Members (or such one of these as may be specially charged with the supervision of the particular branch concerned) and to be entitled (except as hereinafter provided) to receive reply to his question, together with copies of any papers requisite for the thorough comprehension of the subject, and on this reply the Council to be at liberty to consider and discuss the question, and record thereon such resolution as may appear fitting to the majority. Provided that, if the subject in regard to which the inquiry is made involves matters of Foreign policy, Military dispositions or strategy, or is otherwise of such a nature that, in the opinion of the Executive, the Public interests would be materially imperilled by the communication of the information asked for, it shall be competent for them to instruct the *ex-officio* Members, or one of them, to reply accordingly, and decline to furnish the information asked for.
- (7.)—The Executive Government shall possess the power of overruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council, in every case in which, in its opinion, the public interests would suffer by the acceptance of such decision; but whenever this power is exercised, a full exposition of the grounds on which this has been considered necessary, shall be published within one month, and in the case of local Governments they shall report the circumstances and explain their action to the Government of India, and in the case of this latter, it shall report and explain to the Secretary of State; and in any such case on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretary of State by the overruled majority, it shall be competent to the Standing Committee of the House of Commons (recommended in the 3rd Resolution of last year's Congress which this present Congress has affirmed) to consider the matter, and call for any and all papers or information, and hear any persons on behalf of such majority or otherwise, and thereafter, if needful, report thereon to the full House.

[Proposed by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (*Calcutta*); seconded by Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar (*Bombay*); supported by Mr. Sharfuddin (*Behar*), and carried without a dissentient voice.]

RESOLUTION V.

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

[Proposed by Mr. N. N. Gupta (*Karrachi*); seconded by Mr. M. B. Namjoshi (*Poona*); supported by Kumar Binay Krishna (*Calcutta*), and carried unanimously.]

RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved—That a Committee composed of the gentlemen named in the margin* be appointed to consider the Public Service Question and report thereon to this Congress.

Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji (<i>Bombay</i>).	Mr. Guru Prasad Sen (<i>Patna</i>).
S. Subramania Iyer (<i>Madras</i>).	Pundit Prannath (<i>Lucknow</i>).
Peary Mohun Mookerjee (<i>Calcutta</i>).	Munshi Kashipershad (<i>Allahabad</i>).
Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (<i>Madras</i>).	Nawab Reza Ali Khan (<i>Lucknow</i>).
Babu Matilal Ghose (<i>Calcutta</i>).	Mr. Hamid Ali (<i>Lucknow</i>).
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (<i>Calcutta</i>).	Lala Kanhyalal (<i>Amritsar</i>).
Gangapershad Varma (<i>Lucknow</i>).	Rao Sahib Gungadhar Rao Madhaw Chitnavis (<i>Nagpur</i>).
Ramkali Chaudhuri (<i>Benares</i>).	Mr. Rahimattulla M. Sayani (<i>Bombay</i>).

[Proposed by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (*Calcutta*); seconded by Mr. M. B. Namjoshi (*Poona*); supported by Pandit S. Agnihorti (*Lahore*), and carried unanimously.]

RESOLUTION VII.

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

[Proposed by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (*Calcutta*); seconded by the Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer (*Madras*), and carried unanimously.]

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

[Proposed by Mr. S. A. Saminada Iyer (*Tanjore*); seconded by Mr. H. H. Dhruva (*Surat*); supported by Dr. Trailokyanath Mitter (*Calcutta*), and carried unanimously.]

RESOLUTION IX.

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

[Proposed by Mr. W. C. Bonerjee (*Calcutta*); seconded by the Hon'ble Peary Mohan Mookerjee (*Calcutta*); supported by Munshi Sadho Lal (*Benares*), and carried by a very large majority.]

RESOLUTION X.

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

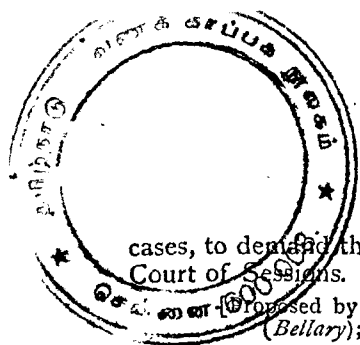
*** REPORT.**

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

- 1.—That the open Competitive Examination be held simultaneously both in India and in England.
- 2.—That the simultaneous examinations thus held be equally open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects.
- 3.—That the classified lists be prepared according to merit.
- 4.—That the Congress express the hope that the Civil Service Commissioners will give fair consideration to Sanskrit and Arabic among the subjects of examination.
- 5.—That the age of candidates eligible for admission to the open Competitive Examination be not less than 19, 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 H. M. only as are residents thereof.

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

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



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cases, to demand that, instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions.
[Proposed by Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose (*Calcutta*); seconded by Mr. T. Chidambara Row (*Bellary*); supported by Khajeh Abdul Aleem (*Dacca*); and carried unanimously.]

RESOLUTION XI.

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

[Proposed by Mr. Daji Abaji Khare (*Bombay*); seconded by Munshi Kashi Pershad (*Allahabad*); supported by Mr. Sri Ram (*Lucknow*), and carried unanimously.]

RESOLUTION XII.

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

[Proposed by Rajah Rampal Singh (*Oudh*); seconded by Mr. R. D. Mehta (*Calcutta*), and carried by acclamation.]

RESOLUTION XIII.

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

[Proposed by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee (*Calcutta*); seconded by Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar (*Bombay*), and carried unanimously.]

RESOLUTION XIV.

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

[Proposed by Mr. A. O. Hume (*Punjab*); seconded by the Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer (*Madras*), and carried by acclamation.]

RESOLUTION XV.

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

[Proposed by Mr. Rangiah Naidu (*Madras*); seconded by Mr. Sorabjee Framjee Patel (*Bombay*), and carried unanimously.]

(Signed) DADABHAI NAOROJI,

President of the Second Indian National Congress.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE THIRD CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

Resolved—That a Committee is appointed, consisting of the gentlemen (marginally enumerated*), to consider what rules, if any, may now be usefully framed in regard to the constitution and working of the Congress, with instructions to report thereon to the Congress, on the 30th instant.

* Messrs. Namjoshi, Chandavarkar, Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, Hajee Mahomed Abdul Shakoor Badshaw Sahib, S. Subramania Iyer, W. S. Gantz, Rangiah Naidu, Surendranath Bannerjee, Trailokhyanath Mitra, Kali Charan Bannerjee, Guru Prasad Sen, Saligram Singh, Ram Kali Chaudhuri, Hafiz Abdul Rahim, Rampal Singh, Pandit Madan Mohun, Ganga Prasad Varma, Bishan Narayan Dar, Hamid Ali, Murlidhar, Satyanand Agnihotri, H. H. Dhruva, W. C. Bonnerjee, Norendranath Sen, Eardley Norton, Joy Govind Shome, Iswari Lal Sircar, G. Subramania Iyer, D. A. Khare, S. A. Saminada Iyer, Sabapathy Mudaliar, A. O. Hume, C. Vigiya Raghava Chariar, Govind Buksh, Karandikar.

instant.

[Proposed by Dr. Trailokhyanath Mitra (*Bengal*); seconded by Mr. Hamid Ali (*Oudh*); supported by Mr. W. S. Gantz (*Madras*), and carried unanimously.]

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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. Ky. P. Somasundaram 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 Guru Prasad Sen (*Behar*); seconded by Babu Jogender Chander 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. Ramasawmi Mudaliar, C.I.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.

