

R. B. Melag

REPORT

OF THE

FIFTH

Indian

National Congress,

HELD AT

BOMBAY,

On the 26th, 27th and 28th of December,

1889.

S O M E
OF
ENGLAND'S PLEDGES TO INDIA.

Act of Parliament of 1833.

That no native of the said territories (India) nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Government (Act 3 and 4, Wm. IV., c. 85, s. 87, 1833.)

Her Majesty's Proclamation in 1858.

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

* * * * *

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

Lord Northbrook on Indian affairs.

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

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

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

Lord Ripon in the Viceregal Legislative Council.

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

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

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

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THE FIFTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

"Now I venture to submit, that what occurred yesterday and to-day is truly typical of the action of this Congress movement, throughout this great Empire. By bringing men of all creeds and classes together on a common platform, and by enabling them to discuss face to face all those questions of domestic politics, which are closest to the lives and hearts of our people, it first brings out into clear relief all differences and doubts that underlaid the old, mutual, class-distrust, that has in the past been India's curse, and then it composes those differences and sets at rest for ever those doubts—except in the minds of perhaps one or two isolated fanatics whose own brethren disown them,—not by an authoritative enactment, not by the power of numbers, but by the arguments of reason and by appeals to that deep-seated, brotherly feeling which we all (when our lower and selfish natures are held in check) which we all, I say, be we Mahomedans, Hindus or what not, do truly cherish in our heart of hearts for all who, born on India's sacred soil, claim India, like ourselves, as their home, their hope, their motherland. (*Loud and continued applause.*)"

(*Speech of the Honorable Pandit Ajoodhianath.*)



It is pleasant, after the senseless opposition that, in past years, we have had to surmount, to be able to record that the fifth session of the Indian National Congress commenced and ended under the happiest auspices, no man, practically, hindering or molesting it. Naturally there were, here and there, a sprinkling of irreconcilables—an Anglo-Indian newspaper or two had their customary, though very subdued and dispirited, jeers, and that paragon of veracity, the Calcutta Correspondent of the *Times*, telegraphed his accustomed batches of fiction—but these were only *rari nantes, in gurgite vasto*, in the full tide of public opinion wholly favourable to the Congress.

After all, a good cause is safe to win all the world over, and marvellous as is the change that a single year has wrought in the position of the Congress, it is only what, sooner or later, was certain to ensue. Still, it is gratifying to know that the tables *have* been turned, and that save "a microscopic minority" none of our fellow-subjects now believe us to be "seditionists" or doubt that our great Congress is working towards the good, alike, of India and England.

Bombay, where the first Congress initiated our great work for the common welfare, was once more the scene of this fifth great gathering. Sir Albert Sassoon, Bart., the head of the Jewish community in India, gave the site, and Mr. Makund's genius, reared on it a vast* temporary hall, intended to accommodate 4,600 persons, but into which some 6,000 people, somehow, succeeded in bestowing themselves. A hall, the quaint

* Including the verandahs or open corridors on two sides, it measured 220 feet by 150 feet and covered 33,000 square feet.

picturesque beauty of which has seldom been equalled and which, when crowded by the brightly clad representatives of all India's multitudinous clans and peoples, presented a spectacle that, for breadth and brilliancy of colouring, has certainly never been surpassed.

Unquestionably Mr. Bradlaugh's kindly presence had contributed in no small degree to the greatness of the gathering, both of Delegates and Visitors. This was his first visit to India—to the Indians, he was still only a name—and yet millions of hearts throbbed with pride and pleasure, when the news was first flashed all over the country that he intended to be present at the then coming Congress. Again, no Englishman living is more trusted or more respected throughout India, than is Sir William Wedderburn, and the news that he had consented to come out to India to preside over the assembly, undoubtedly gave a further stimulus to the country which, having crushed all serious opposition was, to tell the truth, a little lazily inclined. Partly owing to these favouring influences and partly to the great spread during the past year of the Congress idea throughout the country, this last Congress proved to be by far the greatest and grandest assembly yet witnessed—greater and grander, perhaps, than will ever again occur, in our times at least—for the physical difficulties and great expense attending, in India, the transport over the huge distances covered by the Empire of these large numbers of Delegates, and of providing for them a sufficiently large meeting Hall, accommodation, furniture, food, lights, and what not, are so great,* that the Congress was compelled to pass this time a rule (*vide* Resolution XIII. Cl. a.) limiting for the future the number of Delegates from each circle to five per million of the population represented, or in fact, to about 1,000, in all.

The elections commenced rather late, and less care, we regret to say, was taken to collect statistics than in the previous year. Of a great deal of the work, no reliable record could be obtained, as it was done in a very quiet and unobtrusive fashion. Although open opposition had ceased, a considerable section of the European official community and of the Police, who take their cues from this community, were still credited by the people, unjustly as we hope, with nourishing in secret hostile feelings towards the Congress, and the lower classes, especially, thought it prudent to attract as little attention as possible. No groups of delegates were gathered at provincial centres and despatched to the Congress with banners flying and bands playing amidst the cheers of enormous crowds, as on former occasions—probably, three times as many meetings were actually held, but there were fewer, rather than more,

* The brunt of the work on the present occasion devolved upon Mr. Dinsha Eduljee Wacha, the Secretary of the Reception Committee. The Provision Committee also did their work, which was very heavy, both well and economically, and they more especially deserve commendation because they did it, *themselves*, whereas in Bombay the accepted method of doing anything, is to give *some one else* a contract to do it. Many others also in Bombay, like Messrs. Daji Abaji Khare and Motilal M. Munshi, chief of the warders, really did exert themselves when the time came, but our thanks are especially due to two gentlemen from other parts of the country, and therefore in no way bound so to exert themselves. Mr. Ghosal, the Secretary of the Calcutta Standing Congress Committee, who had charge of the Delegates' Registry Office and prepared the voluminous roll of Delegates appended to this report; and Capt. Banon, a delegate from Kangra.

great public meetings, with elaborate speeches and more or less enthusiastic demonstrations. Independent of the fact that amongst the lower classes, at any rate, it was held inexpedient to do anything to excite the supposed latent hostility of the officials, it was felt, amongst the better classes, that anything capable of being construed as a crowing over fallen foes would be inconsistent with our principles. *Debellare superbos, parcere subjectis* is our motto, and while always ready to fight vigorously and hit hard at those who attack us, our chief desire is to live in peace and amity with all men, whether they agree with us, or, have not, as yet, come to grace.

So it resulted that elections at which over 2,500 delegates' (over 1,900 of whom duly took their seats at the Congress) were elected, were carried through with a rapidity and noiselessness, that misled the few Anglo-Indian journalists, with whom the wish was father to the thought, into the idea, (which they industriously disseminated and which we saw no object in contradicting, knowing well what time would bring forth,) that the Congress movement was dying away. They did not reflect—do they ever seriously reflect on *anything*, these good people?—that a train when starting makes a good deal of noise and fuss, but runs along smoothly and noiselessly enough when steam has once been got up and the necessary momentum acquired!

In thousands of villages one or two elders were selected by the people and quietly sent off to meet similar representatives at some neighbouring fair or market, where these again selected two or three from amongst themselves, to attend a sub-divisional meeting, where sometimes delegates were elected but, more often, a few men were picked out to attend a larger and more public meeting. The consequence was that almost everywhere these meetings consisted not, as in past times they mostly did, of all the local inhabitants who could be got together, but to a large extent of people elected as their representatives by the people, or by the representatives of these. As a matter of fact, practically no opposition, worthy the name, was anywhere experienced from the officials. Amongst the people themselves one or two individuals tried to persuade the Parsees, that they were going to hold aloof from the Congress, with the result that they attended in five times greater strength than they had ever previously done, in fact, in numbers quite disproportionate to the size of the very enlightened and wealthy, but still small community that they represented. A venerable Kazi, too, who doubtless in a past historical period did not seem to lag so conspicuously behind his co-religionists in education and intelligence, held a small meeting, of persons, who declared their determination (a wise one, considering what is now-a-days required of Delegates) of not attending the Congress—in reply to which the ablest and most learned Moulvi in Bombay, held a large meeting at which some 500 of the Mahomedans of light and leading in the place attended and elected some score or more of their co-religionists. It was noticed that, although the first meeting was trumpeted over the country and

telegraphed immediately to England, the latter—which really had some little importance, though both of them were mere drops in the ocean—somehow escaped the attention of Anglo-Indian journalists!

Fortunate is the nation, it has been said, that has no history, and fortunate may our Congress be esteemed, that has no more serious, in fact, no other hostile incidents to chronicle in its past year's history than these little episodes. The movement swam on noiselessly, swelling softly like a summer's tide—

“ A tide that moving seemed to sleep
Too full for sound or foam.”

If now the bulk of our quondam, doubtless honest—if at times somewhat captious—critics and opponents, convinced alike of the universal and the beneficial character of the movement, will only join us and aid us, by their advice and example, to make good, better, we, on our side, are equally ready to ignore the past and welcome them with open arms to a share in the good work. A real beginning has been made in this direction; important men like Rajah T. Rama Rao (for six years a member of the Madras Council), the Rev. Mr. Evans, and others, once gravely distrustful of the Congress, having this year appeared amongst its warmest supporters, and our adversaries having disbanded their forces, we on our part have been able to assume that more pacific and unobtrusive attitude which best befits a movement, whose sole object is the common weal. This is all as it should be, but this change of tactics, however delectable, brings with it this disadvantage to the chronicler, that the widespread substitution of private gatherings of representatives for public meetings of the people, leaves him without the requisite data for gauging numerically the extent to which the population took part in the work. Last year we had fairly reliable statistics to show that at least three millions of men, voted, at one stage or other of the proceedings, for the delegates who were elected; this year we can only assert that a *much* larger number took part in the elections; but, whether that number really rose to close on ten millions, as sanguine Congress men, founding their calculations on the facts of their own particular districts, have asserted, or whether it materially exceeded the five millions at which we are inclined to estimate it, no one can certainly say.

Nor indeed, to us here, does it much signify; for assuredly, out of the 40 millions of intelligent, non-starving males, of which the India of the present day is the home—fully 35 millions, whether they voted or whether they remained passive, are with the Congress. Whatever it has been in past days, the movement has now become truly national, and only ignorance (very possibly honest, *bonâfide*, ignorance) of the facts of the *day*, can lead any *truthful* man, to deny that it is so.

This being the case, necessarily, the Congress was a compendium of all the races, castes, creeds, professions, trades and occupations included in

the Empire, and it may seem superfluous to discuss in detail its composition. Still a few words on this subject may not be devoid of interest. The subjoined table will give some idea of how the movement, and with it the number of the representatives, have grown.

PRESIDENCY OR PROVINCE.	NUMBER OF DELEGATES.				
	In Bombay in 1885.	In Calcutta in 1886.	In Madras in 1887.	In Allahabad in 1888.	In Bombay in 1889.
Madras	21	47	362	95	366
Bombay and Sindh	38	48	99	163	821
Punjab	3	17	9	80	62
N.-W. Provinces and Oudh.....	7	74	45	583	261
Central Provinces and Berar .....	...	10	13	73	214
Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Assam	3	240	79	254	165
* Total.....	72	436	607	1,248	1,889

The great distances† that have to be travelled constitute our greatest obstacles, and so it is always the provinces nearest to the Congress site that send the greatest number of delegates. When the Congress first met in Bombay, 38 out of 72 delegates were from the Bombay Presidency; when it met in Calcutta 240 out of the 436 belonged to Bengal; in Madras, 362 out of 607 belonged to that Presidency; in Allahabad 583 out of 1,248 belonged to the United Provinces, and now in Bombay, again, 821 out of 1,889 belonged to the Bombay Presidency. It was *partly* to avoid this disproportion in representation, which—if the country at any time ceased to be as unanimous, as it at present is, on all essentials—might operate inequitably, though chiefly on account of the enormous size to which the assembly was growing, that the Congress has this year decided that in future, each circle is only to send delegates to the number of five per million of the total population included in it.

* These are the numbers of which names and full particulars were in each case recorded. But at each Congress the names of a few delegates escaped record, and at this last Congress 24 more delegates took tickets and paid their fees, than we have recorded in the list.

† An ingenious and pains-taking friend has calculated the actual total distance travelled by the 1889 recorded delegates in coming to and returning from this fifth Congress. Incredible as it may seem, it slightly exceeds two millions of miles! We on a rough calculation of averages (366 from Madras travelled 794 miles each way in all cases, 112 from the Central Provinces 520, 175 from N.-W. Provinces 844, 53 from Oudh 884, 33 from the Benares circle 937, 22 from the Dehli circle 890, 42 from the Lahore circle 1,138, 21 from Behar 1,050, 144 from Lower Bengal and Assam 1,400, &c., &c. each way in all cases) made it only 1,894,000, but his account which calculates the exact distance for each individual is doubtless correct.

As it was, as will be seen from the table given in the note,* the number of delegates per million, though it averaged 9·5 for the entire country, varied from 96·1, and 52·3 in the cases of the Bombay and Poona circles, to 0·9 in Rajshaye, which, besides being very inaccessible, is very backward. Berar, which is not only comparatively close, but traversed from end to end by the G. I. P. Ry. running straight into Bombay, was, so to say, over represented with 37·3 per million—but the province is perhaps richer as regards its agricultural population than any in the Empire. Madras, the Central Provinces, the N.-W. Provinces and the Dehli circles were all fully represented—the rest somewhat inadequately so.

Turning to creeds and religions we find that the representation was more catholic than ever, as the subjoined little table will show :—

CONGRESS OF	DELEGATES.								
	Hindus.	Mahomedans.	CHRISTIANS.		Jains.	Sikhs.	Jews.	Parsees.	Total.
			Europeans and Eurasians.	Indians.					
1885.....	58	2	1	2	1	...	...	8	72
1886.....	387	33	1	5	2	2	...	6	436
1887.....	492	81	10	15	4	...	...	5	607
1888.....	965	221	16	22	11	6	...	7	1,248
1889.....	1,502	254	23	31	31	3	1	44	1,889

Studying this, the philosophical reader may be inclined to remark—"See, my friends, with what little regard to veracity journalism is conducted." The English Press published numerous telegrams, commenting on the entire absence of Parsees; as a matter of fact they were five times more numerous than at any previous gathering, included the majority of the most cultured, and enlightened men in the community, and, the total number of Parsees being only 85,000, they were represented at the rate of 529 to the million!

* CIRCLE.	* Population in millions.	Numbers of Delegates sent.	Number of Delegates per million.
Calcutta (including the Presidency, Burdwan and Chittagong Division Assam and Orissa.)	28·6	102	3·5
Dacca	8·7	15	1·7
Rajshaye	7·7	7	0·9
Bhagulpore	8·1	14	1·7
Chota Nagpore	4·4	6	1·4
Behar	15·1	21	1·4
Benares	9·8	53	5·4
Allahabad	2·9	155	52·5
Oudh	12·2	53	4·3
Delhi	2·0	22	11·0
Lahore	17·0	42	2·4
Kurrachi	2·4	12	5·0
Guzerat	2·9	55	18·3
Bombay	8·1	289	35·1
Poona	6·1	425	69·3
Amraoti	5·7	101	17·3
Nagpore	11·5	111	9·7
Madras	32·0	305	9·5
	198·9	1·89	9·5

* Excluding Native States and allowing for increase of population since the last census, where there are reasons to believe that this has occurred.

Then, again, we were informed by the English papers—we here had not discovered the fact—that the Mahomedans were abstaining from the Congress; whereas we not only had a larger number than at any previous gathering, but, if the circumstances of the case are considered, a far larger proportion of Musalmans than at any other time.

True, at Allahabad we had 221 Mahomedans out of a total of 1,248, or nearly 18 per cent., whereas this year out of a total of 1,889 we have 254, or only 13½ per cent. But then it has to be remembered, that at Allahabad, the populations of Bengal, the United Provinces and the Panjab furnished 917 out of 1,248 delegates, and those populations include 42 millions of our Mahomedans, whereas, this year, the populations of Madras, Bombay, the Central Provinces and Berar, furnished 1,401 out of the 1,889 delegates, and these populations only include 6 millions of Musalmans. In fact, at Allahabad three-fourths of the delegates came from provinces including six-sevenths of the Mahomedans of India, while this year three-fourths came from provinces only including one-seventh of our Musalmans. So that the wonder is, not that we had only 254 this year as against 221 last year, but that, despite the very small proportion of Mahomedans in the populations that chiefly made up this Congress, we had so unexpectedly large a number as 254; a sufficient indication, if any were wanted, of that growing *rapprochement* between the two communities which has ever been one of the objects of the Congress.

It may be added that the lamentable poverty of such a very large proportion of our Musalmans, is an almost insuperable bar to large numbers of them attending, as delegates, at any Congress distant from their homes. This poverty is directly and indirectly due, in a great measure, to their having too much despised Western education, which, whatever its shortcomings, is, in practice, at this present day, one important factor in material progress. Not only are the Mahomedan leaders, therefore, doing their best to disseminate education amongst their co-religionists, not only do the better classes of Hindus in no wise grudge any special facilities for education that Government may afford to the Mahomedans, but amongst the most advanced Hindus it is being seriously considered how the Hindus can best co-operate to place their Musalman brethren on a better footing.

“India,” said a distinguished Hindu recently, “has only two real legs on which to stand, the Musalmans and the Hindus. It is no use developing the muscles of one leg only—you will progress none the more rapidly—both must be strengthened and trained at the same time. This is why I—a Hindu, no doubt, but an Indian before all things—am at this present moment more anxious about Musalman education than that of Hindus. This is why I always rejoice at any special encouragement being given to them, such as Syed Ameer Ali’s elevation to the High Court. Very likely there are a dozen English and Hindu barristers and pleaders in Calcutta who would have made better Judges, but neither the English nor we Hindus now require

any stimulus to education—the Mahomedans do—and they should get it. We Hindus are as much interested in their progress as they themselves *can be*—more, I believe, than they, as a rule, actually *are*.” And these wise and kindly feelings are shared and reciprocated by all the educated Mahomedans—all their real leaders of the present day—and yet it is these Hindus and Mahomedans, who, the veracious English writers on these topics endeavour to persuade the British public, are ready to rush at each other’s throats and would destroy each other but for the wise interposition of British rule !

Of course there are bad characters in every country, and, though we have probably fewer than other nations, we are not exempt from these universal pests, and the fact that now and again some little group of these in some corner of an empire, nearly as large as Europe, get up some trumpety disturbance, in no way affects the simple fact, that broadly speaking the Hindus and Mahomedans are extremely good friends and—realizing that both pay the same taxes, both share in all the good or evil that fate may bring and, in a word, that both stand on the same platform in regard to all secular matters—trouble themselves very little about religious distinctions. Indeed, long before the country was as enlightened as it now is, when the kindly Pax Britanica gave place to the sepoy war, we never heard that the Hindus and Mahomedans flew at each other, but on the contrary we know, that whether they sided with the British or with the king of Dehli and the Nawab of Oudh, they fought side by side, shoulder to shoulder, and stuck to their comrades like true men, without giving a thought to differences of creed.

We have dwelt somewhat at length upon this point, because no more imposing Bogey has ever been evolved from the lurid imagination of the Anti-Indian party, than this purely fictitious scare as to the deadly animosity of Musalmans and Hindus. When all other arguments against conceding to us some modicum of the rights or privileges enjoyed by British subjects elsewhere, fail, as fail they must in the strong light of honest English public opinion, these Black Magicians at once conjure up the spectre of religious antagonism. It is well that all our English friends, and we believe that they are to be counted by the million, should realize, once for all, that this spectre is only a “Pepper’s Ghost,” amusing as a display of perverted ingenuity, but wholly devoid of any reality.

It remains to say a few words as to the composition of this last Congress, so far as the positions, professions, and occupations of the delegates are concerned. And first we must notice that no less than ten lady delegates graced the assembly, one elected by men at a public meeting, the others by various ladies’ associations, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, the Bengal Ladies’ Association, and the Arya Mohila Samaj. They included European and Native Christians, a Parsee, an orthodox Hindu, and three Brahma Samaj ladies. With one exception they were ladies who have for

years done good work for India. It is sufficient to mention Pandita Ramabai's name, which—as well as the good work she is so zealously carrying on—is, we believe, as well known in Europe and America as in India. Miss S. Manockjee Cursetjee, the lady directress of the well known Alexandra Girls' School, whose distinguished grandfather's statue is amongst the ornaments of Bombay, is one of our foremost educationalists. Mrs. Ghosal, better known by her maiden title of Sreemati Swarna Kumari Devi, the grand-daughter of Dwarkanath Tagore, and sister of Bengal's most thoughtful poet, has been for years the editress and chief writer in the *Bharati*, a Bengali magazine for ladies, which has done much to expand the minds and raise the mental standard of our fair sisters in that province. An accomplished English scholar, she has yet preferred to write only in the vernacular, and in that create a suitable literature for her less advanced and non-English educated sisters. The happy wife of Mr. J. Ghosal, than whom a more earnest, indefatigable and self-devoted, if modest and unassuming labourer in the cause of the Congress, all India cannot boast, she ever gratefully acknowledges how much of the high culture she enjoys, she owes to his kindly encouragement and guidance. Miss Jessie Royce Carleton, M.D., a young lady doctor, has realized in practice the Christian Idyl, and is the idol of the people of Umballa, amongst whom she lives and labours, untiringly, by her own choice on the barest pittance, in the purest spirit of Christian love and self-abnegation. Mrs. Gangooli (*née* Kadamini Bose) is the most distinguished lady graduate that has as yet passed out of the Calcutta University. Mrs. Emma Brainerd Ryder, M.D.—who, travelling for health, came to India with Pandita Ramabai—is the organizer of the Sorosis Club, a literary and artistic association for young Indian ladies, which is already doing much good. She has also formed a Woman's Technical Education Association to give some kind of industrial training to young native females, who, left widows and unprovided for, (and who, brought up at Orphanages, or from other causes, have no homes to which to return,) would, (and *do*), in default of some occupation by which to earn an honest livelihood, drift into evil courses. Mrs. Trimbuck (Shevantlibai) Canaran has, with her worthy husband, devoted her entire life to the cause of education, and beginning in an unassuming way now directs, with the happiest results, a whole congeries of schools, day, night and Sunday schools. This lady, though a Christian, as was her father, is of pure Brahmin descent, and, alike physically and mentally, exemplifies the highest type of Aryan. Mrs. Kashibai Kanitkar, an orthodox Hindu lady, is the authoress of the well known Mahrattee life of the late lamented Dr. Anandibai Joshi. She is also joint editress with her husband, Mr. Kanitkar, of the Mahratti magazine the *Manoranjan*, which is doing to a great extent for the Deccan what the *Bharati* is for Lower Bengal, and she is admittedly one of the two most highly cultured ladies in her province. Mrs. Nikambe, of Hindu parentage, the Christian wife of an active and well known minister, has

also specially interested herself in and devoted much of her time to the practical work of education, both secular and religious.

But we must pause nor "further seek their merits to disclose," as these ladies will, we fear, hardly forgive us for having made such public mention of their private affairs ; a liberty on which we should not have ventured were it not essential that the world should realize what manner of women these are who now lead that devoted band of India's daughters, who, at their country's call, are rallying around the standard of the Congress.

As regards the male section of the assembly, it truly included "all sorts and conditions of men." There were seven Princes ; a like number of Sirdars and Chiefs, 2 Rajahs, 10 Nawabs, and 8 Members of Council, past or present. Besides these 269 are recorded as chairmen or members of Municipalities, 185 as chairmen or members of district and local boards, 50 as honorary Magistrates,* a dozen as Fellows of Universities, and 250 odd as graduates of some University ; but a great many delegates entitled to be classed in one or more of these divisions, failed to record the same in their rolls, and so are not included in these numbers. Then as regards professions, there were 23 barristers and advocates, 582 pleaders, 23 attorneys and solicitors, 541 land-holders (*a great* many of them ryots cultivating, under the ryotwari system, their own lands, and so entitled to be classed as Landholders), 41 cultivators, *pur et simple*, 147 bankers and money dealers, 417 merchants, traders, brokers and shop-keepers, 56 belonging to the medical profession, 8 engineers, 9 Christian clergymen and missionaries, 19 non-Christian religious teachers and priests, 104 educationalists, 88 journalists, 10 printers and publishers, and 2 working artizans. It is difficult to conceive any possible body of men more thoroughly representative of the higher, middle and upper lower classes of the Indian community than was this last assemblage.

At 2 p.m. on Thursday the 26th of December, the Congress met, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, and late a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, taking the chair. He welcomed the delegates in an eloquent speech from which we may reproduce a few sentences. He said † :--

"It would be at all times a high pleasure and privilege to receive and welcome so many and such distinguished guests from all parts of the country. But when I remember that, though you may not be the chosen of the people by any scientific mode of election, you virtually and substantially represent them, their wants, wishes, sentiments and aspirations, in all the various ways in which representation manifests and works itself out in the early stages of its progressive development, that pleasure and that privilege are infinitely enhanced. (*Cheers.*) There is, besides, a peculiar zest in our welcome of you ; for in welcoming the Congress to Bombay, we welcome it back to 'its own native land.' (*Cheers.*) I well remember the day, this time four years ago, when, anxiously but hopefully, we launched the Congress on its enterprise, not of supplanting the existing rulers of the country, but of supplementing the endeavours of the best and most sagacious among them by proposing modifications and developments based on our peculiar and native knowledge and information,

* Equivalent to J. P., in England.

† Pages 1-3 of the Detailed Report.

and suggested, gratefully, by that enlightenment and education, which is one of the most precious gifts bestowed upon us by British rule. (*Loud and prolonged cheering.*)”

* * * * *

“ Even the indirect political gains of the Congress have not been inconsiderable. It has brought vividly into clear and emphatic recognition that most important fact of the growth of the national idea amongst us. Despite social and religious differences, we have all begun earnestly to realize that we are fairly on the way to a common national existence, united and bound together by the common political ties of an equal, impartial and enlightened rule.”

* * * * *

“ Gentlemen, in a country so vast and varied as India, it would be impossible, it would be unnatural, to expect perfect and absolute unanimity. (*Hear, hear.*) It is no wonder that we have our halt, our lame, and our blind, and that they should hobble off to what I may call the Indian political cave of Adullam.”

* * * * *

“ We in this Presidency, have also our halt, our lame, and our blind. We also have had our little cave of Adullam. (*Laughter and cheers.*) But I am glad to be able to inform you that we have taken the infection very mildly, and that there is every hope of a speedy and complete recovery. (*Laughter and cheers.*)”

Then referring to the ridiculous charges of disloyalty and sedition brought against the Congress party in its earlier days, and commenting on the utter collapse of these misrepresentations he said :—

“ The Congress has, however, emerged unscathed even from this trial. Never was a greater truth uttered than that to which our esteemed friend Mr. Caine gave utterance, that we of the Congress are more loyal than Anglo-Indians themselves. (*Loud cheers.*) If by loyalty is meant a keen solicitude for the safety and permanence of the Empire, in which, we are firmly persuaded, lie implanted the roots of the welfare, the prosperity, and the good government of the country, then we are certainly more loyal than Anglo-Indians, who do not hesitate, frequently, to subordinate the interests of that safety and that permanence to the seductions of conquest and vainglory, or to the immediate gains and temptations of commercial enterprise. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*)”

“ Therefore it is that all our greetings of welcome go forth to you, and with a full heart we wish you God-speed in your labours. Those labours have for their aim and object measures of which the central idea has been recently admirably summarized by one of the most sober and sagacious of modern politicians, Sir Charles Dilke, when he said that the time had now arrived when it was neither safe nor expedient to continue to carry on the administration of the country by the hands of a secret and irresponsible bureaucracy, and that working on lines already laid down, a distinct step in advance should now be made. The policy of the Congress is thus a policy, not seditious or revolutionary, but ‘ conservative of the public welfare, strengthening the just authority of the British Government, and adding day by day fresh lustre and dignity to the Imperial Crown.’ (*Loud cheers.*) I do not know whether we are doomed to failure or destined to succeed ; but the blessing which rests upon all high and honest endeavour will surely rest upon a mission imposed by duty, sanctified by patriotism and guided by loyalty. (*Cheers.*)”

Then turning to our honoured visitor, Mr. Bradlaugh, he went on :—

“ It has always seemed to me that English strength and greatness consist in nothing so much as in the lofty conception of moral and political duty which illumines the life and career of many an illustrious Englishman. We still mourn the loss of that great and good man whose heart was always with us, and whose voice was always raised for us, during many a long and eventful year. The memory of John Bright is reverently enshrined in our hearts. His place was filled by one whose life has a singular charm for all who prize sober simplicity and nobility of character above rank and riches. I mean Professor Fawcett. (*Cheers.*) The mantle has now descended upon Mr. Bradlaugh. (*Renewed cries of cheers for Mr. Bradlaugh.*) We sincerely and unaffectedly

joined in the general grief at his recent illness, not simply out of selfish fears of losing our chosen champion, but out of that single-hearted feeling of sorrow which all men feel, when peril threatens a life devoted to high and unselfish ends. I know I am not employing the language of exaggeration when I say that our hearts are unutterably stirred within us at his presence among us to-day, restored to health and usefulness. (*Cheers.*) With no particular thoughts of the Congress in our minds, let us wish him that simple welcome which is in all our hearts and the hearts of people all over the country."

He then called upon the assembly to elect their President. Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, one of the leaders of the Calcutta Bar, proposed Sir W. Wedderburn (whose name was received with great enthusiasm), remarking* :--

"If you look back to the Presidents that we have had from 1885, you will see that the selection of Sir William Wedderburn has been arrived at by a sort of logical process. The first Congress in 1885, was comparatively an insignificant one, and you were presided over on that occasion by an equally insignificant individual.† (*Loud cries of 'No, no.'*) The second Congress had the honour of being presided over by one who has devoted the whole of his life to the cause of his country, and who, even in his old age, is at the present moment, appealing to the electors of one of the constituencies of England in order that, if returned to the House of Commons, he may be able still more effectively to serve that country. Can I name Dadabhai Naoroji without calling from you enthusiastic applause? (*Long and loud cheers.*) The third Congress was presided over by a gentleman of the Mahomedan persuasion, who, having distinguished himself at the bar and in public life, was thought to be the fittest man to contradict the rumours that had been sedulously cast abroad that this was a Hindu Congress and that Mahomedan gentlemen had no sympathy with it. The next President ought, according to the process which we followed, to have been a gentleman belonging to the Eurasian community; but at the time when it became necessary to select a President *the* man amongst the Eurasian community whom the whole of this country would have hailed with one voice as President of the Congress, Mr. D. S. White, was lying ill in bed; and while he was in that condition it would have been improper for us to ask any other Eurasian gentleman to take his place. Now, unfortunately, he is no more; and India has lost one of her brightest sons and best patriots in Mr. D. S. White. (*Prolonged cheers.*) Failing Mr. White, we had to go to that other community in India, the Anglo-Indian community, and there we found our late respected President Mr. George Yule. (*Loud cheers.*) Of him I need say no more than this, that having retired to England he is still devoting his time and his money to the furtherance of the cause of the Congress. (*Cheers.*) From the non-official European community to the official European community is but a slight descent (*laughter*), but unfortunately it is impossible for us to get a gentleman at the time actually belonging to the official classes to guide our deliberations. However sympathetic they may be, however much they may wish success to the Congress, the rules of the service to which they belong prevent their publicly joining us and taking a prominent part in our proceedings. But ex-officials do not occupy such a restricted position: they are able to exercise their judgment in matters political. And we have in Sir William Wedderburn an ex-official who has throughout his career in this country, extending over 25 years, shown the deepest sympathy with the aspirations of the people of this country, and who is one of the few men in the service who have had the eye to see and the heart to feel that the Government of India, conducted though it may be upon generous principles, is not all that is required for the best interests of the country, and that its institutions require to be liberalized in order that they may harmonize with the conditions of the present day. (*Cheers.*)"

Seconding the proposal, the Honorable Pandit Ajoodhianath, of the United Provinces Council, said‡ :--

"Permit me to refer to a matter to which my learned leader has referred, namely the unity of the different races and classes of the country. I am a living evidence of that. I am returned not only by Allahabad, but I come before you as one of the representatives—will you guess of whom?—

* Page 3 of the Detailed Report.

† Namely himself.

‡ Page 4 of the Detailed Report.

of the Mahomedans of Bombay. (*Cheers.*) A meeting which has just been held at no great distance from this place, under the presidency of a Mahomedan Moulvi, who is well known for his ability, his knowledge of Mahomedan law and piety, elected me unanimously as one of its delegates. You may take it from me that that meeting was convened by Mahomedans and for Mahomedans only."

Sir William Wedderburn, having been declared to have been duly elected, then delivered his inaugural address. At the very outset he struck a true note when he said* :—

"I will mention this one fact, that I have passed a quarter of a century among you, and during that period of time I have not known what it was to suffer an unkindness from a native of India. During that period I have been in the service of the people of India, and have eaten their salt. (*Loud and continued cheering.*) And I hope to devote to their service what still remains to me of active life."

It is amusing to remark, how often our anti-Indian journalists suggest that Sir W. Wedderburn, Mr. Hume, and other retired Civilians, ought to give up or be deprived of their so-called pensions, because these Reformers contend that the existing Government of India is capable of very material improvement. It seems to be overlooked that, in the first place, these so-called pensions are annuities for which the recipients have paid with their own money, and that, in the second place, even if any part of these came out of the public funds, the duty of these gentlemen, as pensioners, would be to the people of India, to whom these funds belong, and not to any Government who are merely servants employed to administer these funds on behalf of that people.

He then defined and vindicated succinctly the origin, objects and methods of the Congress :—

"I have watched," he said, "from its commencement the movement which has now culminated in the National Indian Congress. And in my humble judgment the movement is unmitigated good, in its origin, its objects, and its methods. As regards its historical origin, we know that it is the direct result of the noblest efforts of British statesmanship: the natural and healthy fruit of higher education and free institutions freely granted to the people of India. Again, what are the practical objects of the Congress movement? They are, to revive the National life, and to increase the material prosperity of the country; and what better objects could we have before us? Lastly, as regards our methods, they are open and constitutional, and based solely on India's reliance upon British justice and love of fair play. Looking back to the history of the movement, there was one critical time in its development: that was about ten years ago. The leaven was then actually at work, though the purposes of the movement were not then so well defined, and it was unwisely sought to deal with it by a policy of repression. The results might have been disastrous. But happily that time of tribulation was cut short by the arrival of the greatest and best of all our Viceroys, the Marquis of Ripon. (*Loud cheers.*) By his wise and sympathetic policy Lord Ripon met and fulfilled the aspirations of the national movement. And on their side the people of India recognised that a government conducted in such a spirit could not be regarded as an alien rule. This was the meaning of the passionate demonstrations at the time of Lord Ripon's departure. You, gentlemen, will correct me if I am wrong in saying that those demonstrations were a popular declaration that on such terms British rule could be accepted as the national Government of the Indian people. (*Long and enthusiastic cheers.*)"

He next summarised admirably the case as it now practically stands between England and India. He remarked † :—

"The case of India in England is really a simple one. The Crown and Parliament of Great Britain have laid down certain broad and liberal principles for the administration of India, and have

* Page 5 of the Detailed Report.

† Page 6 of the Detailed Report.

solemnly pledged themselves that these shall be acted on. With those principles the people of India are fully satisfied. But the difficulty is in the practice. For owing to the necessity of the case the actual administration has to be entrusted to official agents in India. And the problem is, how, under the circumstances, can an effectual control be exercised from England so as to ensure these principles being carried out and these pledges fulfilled? Unfortunately there is one very serious fact which much enhances the difficulty of this problem, and it is this, that in certain important particulars the professional interests of our official administrators in India are in antagonism with the interests of the Indian tax-payer whose affairs they administer. This is a somewhat delicate matter, but it is an important one, and I feel it my duty to speak out clearly. Perhaps also it is easier for me than for most people to speak freely regarding the Indian official class, and that for two reasons. First, because I am deeply interested personally in the honor of that class. (*Hear, hear.*) The Indian Civil Service has been a sort of hereditary calling in our family since the beginning of the century. My father entered the Civil Service in 1807; and my eldest brother followed him, until he lost his life in the Bengal mutinies. I came out shortly afterwards so that we are identified with what may be called the Indian official caste. The other reason is, because my complaint is against the system; not against the men who carry it out. On the contrary, it is my deliberate belief that the Indian Civil and Military services have never been surpassed for honest hard work and unselfish devotion to duty. (*Cheers.*) Such being the case, I have no hesitation in repeating that the interests of the Indian services are in great measure antagonistic to the interests of the Indian tax-payer. The main interests of the Indian tax-payer are peace, economy, and reform. But all those are necessarily distasteful to the civil and military classes. A spirited and well-equipped army naturally desires, not peace, but active service. And who can reasonably expect officials to love economy, which means reduction of their own salaries; or reform, which means restriction of their authority? (*Cheers and laughter.*) It cannot be expected that as a class our official administrators in India will work for peace, economy, and reform. But this very fact makes all the more urgent the necessity for a control in England which shall be both vigilant and effectual."

He proceeded to show that, as a matter of fact and practice, no control whatsoever now existed in England; and he explained how, by the transfer of the Government of the country from the East India Company to the Crown, the whole of such control as then existed, and which even a hundred years ago, Burke and Fox had denounced as inadequate, had disappeared, and happily illustrated, by two typical instances, how injuriously to India's interests the existing system operates. The whole passage, which is too long for reproduction here, should be studied in the original.*

Then reviewing our modern organizations, the Congress itself, the English Congress Agency, with its Committee (including men of all parties), the nucleus of an Indian Parliamentary party, he augured favourably of their combined efforts and commended the resolve of the Congress to send to England certain chosen representatives to plead India's cause.

"You will know," he said† "well how to address those great audiences, appealing fearlessly to the highest motives, and calling on the people of England to perform their trust and duty towards the unrepresented millions of India: appeals to unselfishness, to justice, and to humanity will ever find a sure response from the great heart of the British people. (*Cheers.*)"

Lastly, he appealed to the English in India, too many of whom, united by race bias with the Bureaucracy, are out of sympathy with the movement.

"In conclusion, I would like to address a few words to those of our English friends who distrust the Congress movement. The promoters of the Congress profess strong attachment to British rule. And I would ask, is there any reason to doubt this profession? (*No, no.*) Have

* Pages 6, 7 of the Detailed Report.

† Page 8 of the Detailed Report.

those men any interests antagonistic to our rule? (*No, no.*) Remember that the originators of this movement are educated men, trained up by us in a love of freedom and free institutions. Is it likely that these men should wish to exchange the rule of England, the freest and the most enlightened country in the world, for that of Russia, which is one of the most barbarous and retrograde? (*Cheers.*) I remember being much struck with the remark of a native friend of mine with reference to Russian advances. He said to me, 'If India is lost, we are the chief losers; you can go to your ships and will be safe in your distant homes. We, on the other hand, should lose all: our country, our liberties, and our hopes for the regeneration of our race.' Perhaps some of our doubting English friends will say, 'We attach more importance to deeds than to words.' I think we can point also to deeds. It is well known that in all schemes for the invasion of India the Russian Generals depend for success on a hoped-for rising of the native population. In 1885 they appear to have put this idea to the test by a pretended advance. Had this move been followed by any signs of sympathy, or even by an ominous silence of expectancy throughout India, Russia would have rejoiced, and we should have felt our position weakened. But India does not treat England's difficulty as her opportunity. On the contrary, there went up on all sides a patriotic cry, led by the native press, calling on all to join with men and money, and make common cause against the common foe. (*Cheers.*) I think also the action of the Congress, when calmly viewed, will be seen to point in the same direction. *The man who points out the rocks and shoals towards which the ship is moving, is the friend of the captain, not the enemy.** And that is the light in which the Government should regard the criticisms of the Congress. The moderate reforms proposed by the Congress will all tend to make the people of India more prosperous and more contented, and will thereby strengthen the foundations of British rule. (*Cheers.*) And here I would specially invite our English commercial friends to join with us in our efforts to increase the material prosperity of the country. At present owing to the poverty of the people the trade is nothing in comparison with what it ought to be. This is an argument which has been effectively pressed by our veteran leader Dadabhai Naoroji. He has pointed out that our Australian Colonies take English goods at the rate of £17 or £18 per head per annum, whereas poor India can only take at the rate of eighteen pence a head. If, by releasing him from his bonds of debt, and placing him in a position to exercise his industry, we could make the ryot moderately prosperous, how great would be the benefit to English trade! If the Indian customer could take even £1 a head, the exports to India would exceed the exports to all the rest of the world put together. I would therefore say to our mercantile friends, help us to make the ryot prosperous, and your commercial business will soon increase by leaps and bounds."

The address concluded amidst a storm of applause, rarely witnessed even in our Congress, where people express very freely both their approbation and the reverse, and then the Hon'ble Pundit Ajoodhianath, on behalf of the Allahabad Standing Congress Committee, tendered a donation to the funds of the Bombay Reception Committee, and a silver Cutch work salver to the President, as a memento of his "presidency of this Fifth Indian National Congress." Following him, Mr. Nagpurkar presented a copy of his last novel, "The Old Palace," to the President, and the profits, thus far derived from its sale, to the English Agency Fund, and—finally—the Subjects Committee was elected.

This is a most important body, for with it, it rests to decide not only what subjects shall primarily be brought before the Congress, but the exact wording of the resolutions in regard to these, which are to be submitted to the Congress. Its members are elected by all the delegates; all those from each Congress circle, electing a sufficient number to represent fully the views of all its various sections. Long prior to the Congress the several Standing Congress Committees after consulting their divisional Com-

* The italics are ours.

mittees, communicate to the Reception Committee, the subjects that, in their respective circles, the people desire should be discussed, and the Reception Committee, compile all these suggestions into a programme, including all those subjects of which several Committees have advocated the discussion, and send it round again to all the Standing Congress Committees, who thus come fully prepared for the greater portion, at any rate, of the work likely to be taken up. This programme, though of course a good deal modified, and at times materially added to in the Subjects Committee, constitutes the basis of their discussions. The Committee varies a little in size from year to year, and this year, including the President and General Secretary, who sit on it, *ex-officio*, consisted of 109 members.

The Committee having been elected, the President adjourned the assembly till 1 p.m. of the following day, and the audience, dispersing, left the Committee to their deliberations which, we may mention, were carried on until late in that evening, and again the next morning until a few minutes before the Congress re-assembled.

Next day, the first business on the list was a proposal that the President, should, on behalf of the entire Congress, present an address to Mr. Bradlaugh. Mr. Mehta thus explained* the matter :—

“ I think I truly represented the public feeling, yesterday, when I spoke in the terms I did about Mr. Charles Bradlaugh. (*Loud cheers.*) Telegrams and addresses have been pouring in from all parts of the country, from every nook and corner, with requests that we should present them to him. I think, gentlemen, you will agree with me that it would be a matter of physical impossibility to present all those addresses to Mr. Bradlaugh. It would occupy us I think, I may say, at least a week, if not a fortnight. (*Laughter.*) It has occurred to many of the leading delegates that instead of pretending to present to him all these hundreds of addresses, separately, they should all be laid together on a large table and taken as read, and that at the time when those addresses are thus laid before Mr. Bradlaugh, one brief address on behalf of this Congress, representing as it does the public opinion of the whole country, should be read and presented to him.”

The proposal was unanimously agreed to, and the address was, after the close of the Congress, duly presented.†

Then the President introduced the subject of the Reform the Legislative Councils. He said ‡:—

“ As you are aware, a draft Bill has been prepared by Mr. Bradlaugh (*cheers*), and has been circulated throughout the whole of India. We have all seen it, and I think we have all read it. That Bill embodies in legal form what was believed to be the view of the Congress, so far as its opinion had been expressed up to the time that this draft was prepared. Mr. Bradlaugh's wish was to ascertain, upon certain important points, the still more mature opinion of the people of India. I think I may say on his behalf that none of the provisions introduced into the Bill were introduced because he personally wished those provisions to be contained in it. [Mr. BRADLAUGH: *Hear, hear.*] The Bill was only drafted to put into a clear and tangible form what was supposed to be the general wishes of the people. In dealing with the subject, therefore, it is not now proposed to bring forward draft sections or draft clauses prepared in legal phraseology—that is not what is required—but to state in particular and general terms certain important principles which it is desired should be embodied in the Bill.”

* Pages 12, 13 of the Detailed Report. † *Vide* p. 85 of the Detailed Report. ‡ Page 13 of the Detailed Report.

Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill had been most earnestly considered and discussed all over the country—perhaps more earnestly than any other document ever was—it had been translated into many vernaculars and every section and every clause had been jealously scrutinized. With the greater part of the Bill, based as it was on the resolutions of earlier Congresses, every one was agreed. But on one important point, the opinion of the Congress, as a whole, was no longer what it had been three years previously. The reason is not far to seek. The principle of allowing the members of the Legislative Councils to be elected by the members of Municipalities, Local Boards, Chambers of Commerce, Trades and Planters' Associations, and similar organizations, Graduates of Universities, &c., which the Bill embodied, and which had been prominently put forward at the Calcutta Congress, when the Congress party consisted largely of these, had gradually ceased to be generally acceptable as more and more of the entire population became absorbed in the party. The whole question had been re-discussed, and, taking the empire as a whole, an immense majority were of opinion that a different and wider basis must be adopted for our electoral system. Accordingly, the following skeleton scheme*, for the reorganization of the Councils on an elective basis, had been worked out, to indicate the leading principles on which the election of members to the Councils should be based.

"(1.) *The Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils to consist respectively of members not less than one-half of whom are to be elected, not more than one-fourth to sit ex-officio and the rest to be nominated by Government.*

"(2.) *Revenue districts to constitute, ordinarily, territorial units, for electoral purposes.*

"(3.) *All male British subjects above 21 years of age possessing certain qualifications and not subject to certain disqualifications (both of which will be settled later) to be voters.*

"(4.) *Voters in each district to elect representatives to one or more electoral bodies, according to local circumstances, at the rate of 12 per million of the total population of the district, such representatives to possess certain qualifications, and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.*

"(5.) *All the representatives thus elected by all the districts included in the jurisdiction of each electoral body, to elect members to the Imperial Legislature at the rate of 1 per every five millions of the total population of the electoral jurisdiction, and to their own Provincial Legislature at the rate of one per million of the said total population, in such wise that whenever the Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus are in a minority, the total number of Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus, as the case may be, elected to the Provincial Legislature, shall not, so far as may be possible, bear a less proportion to the total number of members elected thereto, than the total number of Parsees, Christians, Hindus or Mahomedans, as the case may be, in such electoral jurisdiction, bears to its total population. Members of both legislatures to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.*

"(6.) *All elections to be by ballot.*"

The scheme is extremely simple. In each district all male British subjects of 21 years of age and upwards, possessing certain qualifications and not subject to certain disqualifications, will elect by ballot a certain

* Pages 18, 14 of the Detailed Scheme.

number of men to represent that district. The number will depend on the size of the district ; if it contains a population of a quarter of a million, they will elect three, if half a million six, and so on. The Representatives thus elected, by all the districts in any circle, province or presidency, as Government may arrange, will meet together and elect members for their Provincial Council and for the Imperial Council, in such wise that for every million of population that these Representatives represent, they will elect one member to their Provincial Council, and for every five millions, one to the Imperial Council. These Representatives must necessarily be a body of picked men—the average voter may not be a good judge as to who would make the best member of Council, but he knows well who the men in his own district are who bear the highest characters for ability, public spirit and rectitude of conduct, and he will assuredly, in nine cases out of ten, elect these. The Representatives will therefore include all the best men in the circle, and these may, with absolute safety, be trusted to pick out for the Councils the men who will there most truly and effectively represent the views and wishes of the people of the Province. Some presidencies, like Bengal, are very large—some like Bombay (with Sindh) very scattered—and it may, in practice, prove inconvenient to make *all* the Representatives of the entire Presidency assemble in one place ; and, so, a provision is made by which in such cases Government can divide the territory into two or more circles, and allow the representatives of each to meet separately and elect their due proportion of members. Of course this is only a skeleton, and therefore the provisions which would appear in the Act, as to the treatment of fractional parts of millions, and five millions, &c., &c., are omitted. So, too, though they were separately discussed and settled, are the qualifications requisite for, and the disqualifications which should debar from, becoming Voters, Representatives and Members of the Provincial and Imperial Councils respectively. These are, after all, only matters of detail ; what the country thinks on these points will be embodied in Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill, but if in England it be held that in any case the qualifications are pitched too high, or too low, or that the disqualifications are unnecessary or insufficient, the needful modifications can be made without affecting the principle of the Bill.

Two more points of principle, however, are embodied in the scheme: one, that all elections are to be by ballot ; the other that, for the protection of minorities, wherever Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians or Parsees are in a minority, they shall be entitled to have at least as many members on the Provincial Council, as they are entitled to by their numerical strength. The best men, Christians, Mahomedans, and Parsees, and Hindus in the Punjab where these latter are in a minority, attached no great importance to this clause, believing, and as we think correctly, that the best men will be elected without any reference to caste or creed, but the general sense of the country is in favour of the rule, and it is conceivable, though improbable, that occasions might arise when it would prove really useful.

This then was the scheme which Mr. Eardley Norton had been deputed to propose, which he did in a long and eloquent speech, which should be read *in extenso*,* though we will here reproduce from it one or two passages. x

“To-day,” he remarked, on rising, “I speak to you as an accredited representative of the people addressing nearly two thousand other accredited representatives of the country. We have lived to see the great elective principle, at least in its inception, being slowly carried out in the fruition of time, until, year after year, from the original number of 72, with which I believe the Congress began in this very city, we are assembled to-day in numbers which, I think, I may fairly say, defy criticism. (*Hear, hear.*) We have been told† that we have come back to the birth-place of this institution a discredited and a hopeless set of men. (*Loud cheers and laughter.*) It does not truly look much like this; a grander, a more enthusiastic assemblage, I venture to say that none here have ever witnessed either in India or Europe.”

He next gracefully referred to our honoured visitor.

“I am speaking,” he said, “in the presence of another gentleman, a Member of that House of Commons to whose intervention we look, and possibly to whose intervention alone we look, for reform and for assistance. (*Cheers.*) He is a man of the people speaking for the people, who comes to us with all that immense dignity and with all that immense power which lie behind the suffrages of the English nation. (*Cheers.*) And we are proud, as our address will hereafter show, to think that we have, as our Champion in the House of Commons, a man who, by a dauntless and unconquerable Championship of the truth, has earned the position which he holds alike in their affections and in ours. (*Loud cheers.*)

Reviewing the main features of the scheme he dwelt upon the importance of the elective system.

“The first section incorporates the great living principle for which, for the last six or seven years, we, the voiceless people of India, Europeans and Natives alike, have been contending; I mean the great living principle of election. I would ask you to believe in and to hold fast to that principle, and to take care that nothing is introduced into this Bill (it certainly will not be introduced by Mr. Bradlaugh) which in any way interferes with or improperly limits the operation of this great living principle.”

* * * * *

“Gentlemen, provided you religiously adhere to that essential principle; provided you are never seduced into departing from it; provided that no matter what proportion is given to you of the election in your respective Councils, you stand and insist upon the right to have your own share in it absolutely free (*cheers*); provided you insist that there shall be no Government manipulation in your one-half—that Government shall not touch it, either directly or indirectly, undisguised or disguised—so long as you do that, you will be certain, in the long run of years, to work out for yourselves your own political emancipation.”

* * * * *

“Looking round wherever you will either at the Supreme Council at Calcutta or at those bodies of men who are designated, I don’t know why, the Legislative Councils in the Provincial Jurisdictions—(*laughter and cheers*)—looking wherever you will, I think we are all agreed that, so far at any rate as the real wants of the people are concerned, they are practically, absolutely useless, and are mere shams. (*Cheers.*) Into such bodies of men we wish to introduce the quickening principle of election by the people, and all that we ask for is that, whatever may be the total number, hereafter of the members of the Imperial Council at Calcutta or of the Local Provincial Councils elsewhere, we shall have one-half of such bodies to do with as we choose. Now, gentlemen, if that is conceded to us—and I regret that there has been a recent departure from the more liberal principles which were enunciated by our late Viceroy upon this question—if that principle be conceded to us,

* *Vide Detailed Report*, pp. 13-18.

† By the *Pioneer*, an anti-Indian organ of the official classes, published at Allahabad.

I think we may safely expect that the peoples of this country will take a new departure, certainly in their moral, probably in their physical happiness. We shall have the right, to control ourselves ; we shall have the right, to a certain extent, to control our taxation ; we shall have the right, to criticise the Budget ; and last, but not least, we shall have the glorious privilege of interpellation. (*Cheers.*) A right which, if properly applied, will inure to the enormous benefit both of the rulers and of the ruled. (*Cheers.*)”

He explained the adoption of an indirect form of Representation to the Councils, saying* :—

“ Having disposed of the principle of election in the first clause, the resolution goes on to deal with the question of who shall be the voters, in other words the original electors, and the scheme which has eventually, I am glad to say, received the unanimous acceptance of the whole Congress Committee, is shortly this. Representation direct from the people into the Council, is no doubt theoretically right and it is a sort of representation which we, who are Europeans, and you who have been brought up in the traditions of the English people, would, alike, be glad to receive. (*Cheers.*) But, gentlemen, we must limit our desires and our requests by the circumstances amidst which we find ourselves placed ; and we have heard, in that informal Committee which met a few days before the Congress assembled, from the lips of one who speaks upon this point with a peculiar emphasis, that any such proposal emanating from the Congress in India, asking the people of England to give us direct representation from the people, is sure to meet with an absolute and flat denial. Under such circumstances it would be useless for us to persist in that scheme, and I am glad therefore to think—although possibly some enthusiast may hereafter rise to propose an amendment, on this point, to my resolution—that the scheme has been abandoned—for the time being only, remember—because, as I have suggested, we shall have got the thin end of the wedge in. (*Cheers.*) In the course of years the time will come when no man, and no living set of men, shall any longer deny us that right. (*Cheers.*) But, for the time being, we have elected to abandon it and I am glad to think that this resolution will practically meet with the unanimous consent of all. (*Cheers.*)

Incidentally he referred to the scheme which had in the earlier Congresses found favour in the eyes of many, but which, when carefully examined, had been almost universally abandoned, viz., of allowing the members of Municipalities and Local and District Boards to elect the members of the Councils. As public opinion now stands, the country would prefer to have no reform in the Councils, to one based on any such deceptive system. We say deceptive, because, as a matter of fact, taking the country as a whole, fully three-fourths of these gentlemen are either Government nominees or are elected by such, and because the Government has, in each of the acts under which these bodies are constituted in the several provinces, reserved to itself power to abolish summarily any or all of them, without assigning any reasons, by a simple notification in the *Government Gazette*. “ So that,” as Mr. Norton remarked, “ this sort of thing may happen,”

“ If, once, one of us were elected, say for some particular district by some particular Municipal Board, and if in the course of two years he made himself obnoxious to the Government because he always advocated the rights of the people as against the exceptional privileges of the officials, on coming up at the end of that time for re-election such a one might find his constituency absolutely vanished ; and in answer to the query ‘ What has become of my constituency ? ’ The only response would be this, probably from the lately deceased Chairman, ‘ Sir, we have expired in consequence of a notification in the *Government Gazette*.’ (*Laughter and cheers.*) Surely that is not the sort of electorate, to which it is either right or advisable that we should entrust our franchise.”

Moreover the constituencies thus formed would be so limited in numbers that official pressure could easily be brought to bear on them and the entire object of the reform defeated.

In conclusion referring to the scheme as a whole, he said * :--

" We claim for it two merits which nothing can take from it, the merit that it is a scheme which has taken two great principles into consideration, and purposes to embody these two great principles in an Act of Parliament, namely, first, the great principle that we are to introduce for the first time in Indian political history the principle of election by the people, and, secondly, that we have taken into consideration and respected the question of the representation of the minorities of this country. (*Cheers.*)"

In seconding the question, the Honorable Pandit Ajoodhianath remarked† in reference to the happy change that has taken place in our position :—

" In those days we were, it was alleged, a set of rebels. Stuff and nonsense. (*Laughter and cheers.*) We are the most loyal people on the face of the earth. (*Renewed cheers.*) We are those who have ever been worshippers of our Sovereign ! Our friends knew well the hollowness of this libel on us, and they have now, I fancy, dropped it. They know that we have always said that the British Government was a very good Government. All that we added was that if it were a little more open to conviction, a little less distrustful of the people and a little less expensive (*laughter*) it would be still better. (*Cheers.*) This, we then thought, this we still think, and therefore desire to effect a distinct improvement in the administration of the country by associating in it our best men, who really do understand, which even our best rulers do not, how and where, exactly, the shoe pinches."

He went on to " set before " the Congress

" Three facts which almost mathematically demonstrate the necessity of this primary reform that we are seeking. I shall first take the Viceregal Council ; under the Indian Council's Act, by virtue of which these Councils are constituted, every member, official and non-official, has the right and privilege of introducing any Bill that he pleases into the Council. It may be thrown out by the votes of the majority, or, it may be vetoed by Her Majesty's Government ; but no one under the British House of Parliament, you would have thought, would venture to interfere with this privilege of a British subject explicitly conferred by an Act of Parliament. But I am sorry to say that the authority of Parliament does not, it would seem, go for much in India. There is a rule—you may take it from me—that before any Bill is introduced into the Council of the Viceroy the subject of the proposed Bill must be communicated to the Secretary of State for India (' *shame !* '); even after this communication the poor Bill cannot be introduced unless the Secretary of State and the Government, here, both say ' yes, ' or do not say ' no, ' to it, within a certain period ; I believe two months. [A DELEGATE : Six months.] Some one says six months but I believe the time is not so long as that. When you come to realize that there are commonly, on an average, only 14 meetings of the Viceregal Council held in Calcutta, you can very well imagine the result of this restriction. That is fact Number one. (I do not believe in generalities, but I believe in facts.) The next fact is that for the greater part of the year the Viceroy's Council sits at Simla, and that at Simla no non-official member as a rule is present, because of the trifling allowance, some six hundred pounds I think, allowed to each non-official member each season, and which the Government cannot, it says, afford to give twice in the year so as to secure the attendance of the non-official members at the Simla Session also. Would you be surprised to learn that during this greater part of the year legislation is carried on without any non-official members in much the same way as if the Council were sitting in Calcutta with its full legal complement of non-officials ? The third fact is that for the last two years no single meeting of the United Provinces' Council has been held at Allahabad. In thinking of that, no milder word has occurred to me to describe our supposed Government by Councils than that of

* Page 18 of the Detailed Report.

† Page 18 of the Detailed Report.

' farce ; ' my friend Mr. Norton says it is a ' sham, ' but English is a foreign language to me (*laughter*), and I am not quite sure of the difference between a ' *sham*, ' and ' a *shame*, ' and I will adhere to my own epithet ' a farce ; ' and, truly, for India a melancholy one ! "

Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar followed in a very plain-spoken speech, which, by the sustained applause it elicited, manifestly found an echo in the hearts of the entire audience. The speech was short, and we reproduce the greater portion of it :--

" Gentlemen," he said,* " I am glad that this year the National Congress is going to deal in a practical spirit with the scheme for the reformation of the Legislative Councils—I believe that that is the most important question that could be brought before us ; and upon the settlement of this great question, upon the lines that have just been indicated by Mr. Norton, depend not only the success of India's just demands but also the permanence of the British Indian Empire. (*Loud cheers.*)"

* * * * *

" We have been appealing to our Government here, and Government has up to this time turned a deaf ear to our appeals. But in England rest assured, gentlemen, that if the English people and the English Parliament are in full possession of the facts, they will grant to you readily, promptly and cheerfully a concession which will be simply an act of justice and the redemption of a sacred pledge given long ago by our Sovereign to the people of this country. (*Prolonged cheers.*) We hear that there is a scheme in contemplation by the Indian Office on the lines suggested by Lord Dufferin or even less liberal ones. That scheme involves the expansion of the Councils, but upon the basis of nomination. Well, gentlemen, I think that we are all agreed that no reformed Councils are worth having which are founded on such a basis. The chief plank of the Congress platform, is the *elective* principle, and we are not going to be satisfied with a thing that will be a snare, a mockery and a delusion, leading men to believe that they have something which they do not really possess. What we want is not sham, but reality ; not shadow, but substance ; not nomination which is another name for deception, but representation which is the essence of political reform. (*Prolonged cheers.*) The time at my disposal is very short, and there are many points in connection with this subject that it is impossible for me to deal with. (*Go on.*) I remember a remark of Sidney-Smith's to the effect that of all ingenious instruments of despotism, he most commended a popular assembly in which the majority of members were paid, and by their free speeches made the people believe that they were a free people. I believe this remark is peculiarly applicable to the Indian Legislative Councils wherein the majority of the members are undoubtedly the paid servants of the State, and in which a set of nominated Indian members (entirely at the mercy, so far as their seats are concerned of the Government) are allowed to make a pretence of free speeches and free criticisms and take up quasi independant attitudes in order to make the people believe that they are free, and that their voice is listened to in all matters affecting their welfare. Now I think, gentlemen, that if the Government is going to settle this question it ought to settle it in an honest and straightforward manner. If the Government really means what it so often and so loudly professes, viz., that in all matters of our country's legislation it desires to consult the people of the country, then I think the principle of election is the only principle upon which any reform worthy of the name can be based. But if the Government despite its professions, really in its heart means ' No, we do not at all want to consult in anything the views of the people, we wish to do exactly what we like, and yet keep them quiet ' if it thinks that it can legislate for us and base the foundations of secure government in this country upon popular mistrust, upon suspicion and upon fear, then I must say that the system of nomination is a most ingenious instrument for carrying out that design (*cheers*), and all I would add is, *Respice finem!* (*Loud cheers.*)"

Next came the Rev. Ramchander Bose, for the reproduction of whose admirable little address no apology is needed :--

" Allow me," said he,† " whose knowledge of politics is below zero to make a few general remarks on the Resolution under consideration. The Resolution is, I maintain, a complete and triumphant reply to all the objections that have ever been advanced or ventilated by the opponents of the

* *Vide* Detailed Report, p. 19.

† *Vide* Detailed Report, p. 20.

Congress. The Resolution in the first place shows that we are not doctrinaires or manipulators of impracticable theories and romantic or quixotic notions. We have again and again been charged with the folly of elaborating an ideal scheme of Government without the slightest regard to the conditions of life in India, and of striving to force it upon the acceptance of responsible officers. The Resolution before you gives the lie to this accusation inasmuch as it proposes only such moderate expansion of the existing machinery of State as is absolutely demanded by the altered state of the country. (*Cheers.*) In the second place the Resolution proves that we are not revolutionists, for it shows plainly that evolution not revolution is our object. (*Loud cheers.*) The Resolution proves that we are not demagogues, that we are not flattering the masses of our countrymen with an idea of their importance, disproportionate to their present state of culture, or inspiring amongst them hopes that cannot possibly be realized without ruining the country. Our object is their gradual elevation by means of the best type of political culture. (*Hear, hear.*) In the last place, we are accused of being conceited and being ridiculously self-assertive, of being impatient of sound counsel, and lastly of being unwilling to be led. The Resolution shows that we are being led by superiors. The framer of the Bill on which the Resolution is mainly based is an Englishman; our illustrious President is an Englishman, and he who is the heart and soul of the movement, our General Secretary, is also an Englishman. (*Prolonged cheers.*) We have our own strong irrepressible yearnings for a freer and higher political life, but as to the best and wisest modes of attaining this, we have committed ourselves to their guidance, believing that they will conduct us safely, in due time, to the green pastures of political emancipation. (*Loud cheers.*)

“ One more objection I shall take notice of before I conclude. It has been said ‘ you are mad after the politics of the country, but you leave the morals of the country untouched.’ Do we leave the morals of the country untouched? (*Loud and prolonged cries of ‘ No, no.’*) That is just the question. Neither the sphere of sociology, nor the sphere of morals has been left unaffected by the Congress. This year we have received applications from ladies for permission to appear as delegates; and they have been elected and are here now to grace our assembly; this shows that even the cloistered chambers of the Zenana have been thrilled by the Congress idea, and, that we, as a nation, are awakening to broader views of woman’s capacities and woman’s mission. Nor has the region of morals been left untouched by the Congress. The civic virtues to which ancient Rome owed her ascendancy and world-wide domination are being matured amongst us; and that virtue, sir, which is the parent of all virtues, from which every virtue emanates and into which every virtue may be resolved—I mean the virtue of self-sacrifice—is being generated amongst us. (*Cheers.*) Bombay had never distinguished itself, by such a splendid display (a display of outlay of money, of energy and of time), as we see around us to-day, for a national cause. This ancient land of religious pilgrimages, this land of religious self-denial, has never witnessed so many streams of self-sacrificing pilgrims, coming from so many centres of influence and covering such distances, as have united here in a volume of homage to the National Congress movement. (*Loud cheers.*)

“ The activity of the movement has left its mark on the surface, so to speak, of every department of life; and I have only to repeat what I said last year, viz., that partial reform, such as is directly aimed at by the Congress, is sure to effloresce or expand into universal reform. (*Prolonged cheers.*)”

Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, the editor-in-chief of the *Hindu*, a daily and also weekly paper, published in Madras, and one of the most thoughtful, earnest and moderate of Indian journals, next rose to support the scheme. He said* :—

“ First of all, sir, the principle that was most predominant in our minds was this, that, whatever we may ultimately arrive at, no measure that we might now put forward, before the Congress, should be obnoxious to the criticism that it aimed—even to any slight extent—at transferring the power of ultimate control from the Government of India, representing Great Britain, to the hands of the native community of this country. The next principle we had in mind was this, that it must be a feasible, a practical, and a simple measure; it must be one that could be worked out

without detriment to the interests of the country, and without detriment to the supremacy of British power in this country. There is another principle which we bore in mind, and it was this, that it should be a measure which would give to a large section of the people—a large number of our countrymen—a substantial measure of political power.”

* * * * *

“ You will remember that according to the Bill framed by Mr. Bradlaugh (and which, except in those few points in which it is at variance with our present scheme, the country has unanimously accepted), the Supreme Government in this country has had reserved to it full power of control over half the number of the members in the Council ; this half will consist of either its servants or its nominees, the other half alone is to be elected by the people : and although the Council will be expanded, and the elected members of Council will exercise some influence in the financial arrangements, and also enjoy the right of interpellation, still the Governor-General in Council will retain the absolute power of vetoing any or every decision arrived at even by the majority of the Council. This is considered necessary in order to secure our first principle that the representatives of the nation shall not in any degree take away from the Government of India the final power of control. At the same time we are anxious that this measure should not be a sham, and result in giving no additional political influence to the people. Therefore we have insisted on the principle of election as the essential feature of our scheme.”

* * * * *

“ The chief feature of the measure is the institution of an intermediate electorate between the people and the Government. I think that that kind of intermediate electorate is most desirable, if not necessary, under the circumstances of the country. The Congress, as my predecessors have said, think that if any system of direct representation could be allowed, under any reasonable conditions, direct representation would have constituted the best basis possible for our scheme ; but I am not sure that even amongst our own countrymen there are not many who would disapprove of any scheme which would give the power of direct election, by ordinary voters, to seats in Council. But when besides this we were told that any measure of direct representation would certainly be unacceptable to the English Parliament, our duty clearly was to leave that out of consideration and see what else could be substituted for it. Now our present proposal, while doing away with that bugbear of direct representation and proposing a more moderate measure, also gives the people I think more substantial political advantages. It provides for the education of a large number of people in the affairs of the country. If we had direct representation we should have had only voters, who, no more than in England, could be expected to be profound politicians, and an hundred or so members of Council. But under our present scheme we shall have some thousands of representatives between the voters and the members of Council, who must necessarily train themselves in public affairs and create year by year a wider field from which the members of Council can be selected.”

* * * * *

“ It must be borne in mind, too, that our scheme has this great advantage that it provides for the members of the Council being elected by a picked body of gentlemen who will be the leaders of the native community in every district. That provides a guarantee that the members elected to the Council will be members who owe their position to their intelligence, integrity, and social position and influence in the native community, and not to mere demagogic gifts.”

An Assam delegate, Mr. Bepin Chunder Pal, after thanking* Mr. Bradlaugh on behalf of his constituents for his exertions in championing “ the down trodden slave† population ” of his province, and remarking that he exemplified in his life the lines,

“ I live for the cause that lacks assistance,
I live for the wrong that needs resistance
I live for the future in the distance
And the good, that I can do.”

* Page 22 of the Detailed Report.

† These words are much too strong, but the condition of the coolies in Assam is one calling for early action by the Government. Unhappily in his case as in numbers of other vitally important, provincial and even imperial questions, there is very little hope of any effective or equitable action until the people of India are really represented on her Councils.

concluded his speech, supporting the scheme, in the following words :—

“ I should like to say is that the scheme submitted here before you is, it seems to me, in some senses even more perfect than the system of Parliamentary representation in England. Of course, I speak subject to correction, but I scrutinized the rolls of the electors of Great Britain and Ireland, and I found, it seemed to me, that more than one-fourth of the general population were unrepresented : and there is absolutely nothing in the British constitution that provides for the representation and protection of the interests of this large and influential minority. But we have done so, in our scheme, in a double way, both by leaving the Government to provide for it by nomination, and by the minority clause of the scheme laid before you. With these words I support the resolution and I hope you will carry it unanimously. (*Applause.*)”

A Panjab delegate, Lalla Lajpat Rai of Hissar, also supported the scheme and remarked* :—

“ I may say that in accepting this resolution, you will have the gratification of precisely giving effect to the words and wishes of Sir Syed Ahmed, who in 1864 looked hopefully forward to the time when the Legislative Councils of India would include representatives from every district and division. (*Cheers.*) There is one other point to which I wish to refer, and that is the protection of the interests of Mahomedans in the measure now before us. In 1884 when Sir Syed Ahmed went to Lahore, he delivered a speech in which he defined the word Hindu as including both Hindus and Mahomedans, and said that he would make no distinction between Hindus and Mahomedans so far as political privileges were concerned (*cheers*), because we required no such distinction. But though we concur in his sentiments, though we hold that, we are *all*, Hindus, Parsees or Mahomedans, equally truly represented, be our elected members Mahomedans, Parsees or Hindus, because we are all one people and one nation, still we fear lest in some cases, minorities, in whom this feeling of Indian brotherhood is not yet as fully developed as it will be a few years hence, might have doubts, and think themselves unrepresented, if men of their own special section did not sit upon the Councils and so, though in reality the thing is not needed (for we are all one), we have specially provided so that all such minorities shall necessarily be represented by men of their own particular sections. This will show how sincere we are in guarding not only the real interests but even the possible prejudices of our Mahomedan brethren, and how careful we are to look to the interests of all minorities in every part of the country. I am a Hindu ; in the Panjab the Hindus are in a minority and so far as I am concerned, I should be quite content to be represented by any good Mahomedan or Sikh member—but others may not share this view—and hence the minority clause in that scheme which has been laid before you, and which I commend to your acceptance from the bottom of my heart. (*Cheers.*)”

Then followed Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who first pointing out that of the *four points* for which the Congress has been contending, the Government had virtually admitted the propriety of conceding, partially at least, ~~these~~, viz., the expansion of the Councils, the discussion of the Budget and the right of interpellation, went on to say† :—

“ The only vital point of difference between us and Government now, therefore, is with regard to the manner of appointing members to the Council. The Government wish to nominate all the members, and we ask for the privilege of electing half of them. How evidently simple and just our prayer ! How utterly indefensible the unwillingness of Government to grant it ! (*Cheers.*) You know, gentlemen, that in the reformed Councils the Government will be exactly what they now are, the final arbiters of all questions that may be brought before the Council. Even in cases where the majority of the members are opposed to any measure and vote against it, the Government will still possess the power to veto their decision, and carry things entirely according to their own will and pleasure. In other words, they will occupy the position of a judge in deciding all questions affecting our purses, our character, in fact our whole well-being. The sole privilege which we are praying for is to be allowed to choose our own counsels to represent our case and condition fully before them.

* Detailed Report, p. 23.

† *Ibid* pp. 23, 24, 25, of the Detailed Report.

And the Government seem unwilling to allow us even that ! (*Shame.*) They say they will appoint counsels of their own choice to plead our cause. Now, gentlemen, we thank them for this overflow of kindness towards us (*laughter*), but we feel, and we have good reasons to feel, that we should be much better off if they allowed us to exercise our own discretion in the choice of the counsels, who are to plead our cause, defend our rights, and protect our interests. (*Cheers.*) The Legislative Council is the great tribunal before which measures of the greatest possible moment, affecting not only ourselves, but even our posterity, are continually coming up for decision, and justice requires that before the Council passes its final judgment upon them, we should be allowed to have our say with regard to them through our chosen and accredited representatives. We do feel, gentlemen, and feel strongly that we should no longer be debarred from exercising this simple and rightful privilege. The privilege of selecting one's own counsel is not denied even to the most abandoned of criminals under the British rule. Why then should it be denied to the loyal and intelligent subjects of Her Gracious Majesty ? When a jury is being empanelled, the judge asks the person whose fate is to be decided by that jury, to say if he has any objection to any person composing it, and in case he has any such objection that person is removed from the panel. But the Government of India and our Secretary of State—if the reports published in the newspapers represent their views faithfully—seem unwilling to allow the vast millions of Her Majesty's subjects in this country any voice whatever in the appointment of persons who decide questions which concern not merely any one man or any set of men amongst them, but the entire nation of them and their posterity. Could there be anything more in conflict with reason and justice ? (*Loud cheers.*)

“ If, gentlemen, the choice of Government in the selection of non-official members had, even generally, been exercised in a manner tending to promote the interests of the people we might not have been so anxious to burden ourselves with the responsibility of electing our representatives ourselves. But unhappily, as you know, in a large majority of cases, their choice has been exercised in favour of persons who have proved to be the least qualified or willing to advocate the interests, and plead fearlessly for the rights, of the people, nay, not unfrequently, in favour of persons whose presence in the Council has helped to contribute to the miseries of the people. We would much rather that there were no non-official members at all on the Councils than that there should be members who are not in the least in touch with the people (*hear, hear*), and who being ignorant of their true conditions and requirements, betray a cruel want of sympathy with them in heedlessly supporting measures which tend to increase suffering and discontent among them.

“ I will recall to your mind only two instances to illustrate what I have said. A couple of years ago, you remember, the Government was driven by reason of its excessive and, as we think, wasteful military expenditure to find some fresh means of increasing its revenue and it resolved upon drawing the required money from the poor, the class least able to offer any resistance or protest. (*Shame.*) The question came up before the Legislative Council and unofficial honorable members, the so-called representatives of our people, so far from protesting against the proposal, gave their ready consent to it. Some of these gentlemen even went the length of declaring that the enhancement of the duty on salt would not inflict any hardship on the poorer classes of the people. (*Shame.*) Now, gentlemen, these big honourable gentlemen enjoying private incomes and drawing huge salaries may find it hard to believe that the addition of a few annas every year to the burdens of the poor, can cause any serious hardship to them. But those who know in what abject misery and pinching poverty our poorer classes generally exist, know how painfully the slightest increase in their burdens presses upon them. But these honorable members were pleased to say ‘ the people will not feel the increase in the tax.’ (*Shame.*)

“ I will remind you of only one more case. You remember a few months ago the Government again found itself badly in want of money. Those who regulate their income by their expenditure, and not their expenditure by their income, must frequently find themselves in that unhappy position. It became necessary to raise more revenue and after misappropriating the Famine Insurance Fund, and mulcting the provincial Governments (thereby starving education and arresting progress in all directions) Government, then resolved again on squeezing something more out of the poor. It resolved to reimpose the Patwari Cess on the ryots of the North-West Provinces and Oudh. Now you may know that when the Government of our good Lord Ripon had (*cheers*), by a cessation of war and warlike operations (*hear, hear*), effected a saving in the public expenditure, and desired to give relief to those

who most needed it, they found after inquiry that the Ryots of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh stood most especially in need of some relief, and they remitted the Patwari Cess to the extent of 20 lakhs. But the Government of Lord Lansdowne has this year reimposed that same Cess upon them ! See, I beseech you, gentlemen, what gross injustice has been perpetrated in the reimposition of this Patwari Cess ? The Patwari Cess was remitted seven years ago, but the poor ryots have had to pay it, it seems, all the same, year after year. (*Shame.*) It was said that the Cess had been amalgamated with other taxes and could not be separated from them. If the money had had to go to the coffers of the Government, such a plea would never have been listened to for a moment. (*Hear, hear.*) But it was the poor ryot who was concerned, the plea was allowed to hold good, the Talukdars and Zemindars were thus allowed to enjoy the entire benefit of the measure which the Government of Lord Ripon had passed in the interests of the ryots ; and it is now on this very plea that the remission of this Cess did not benefit the ryot, that the Patwari Cess has been reimposed, not on the Zemindars, but on the poor ryot, whereby he is now compelled to pay the Cess twice over, for no other fault of his than that he is poor and helpless. (*Loud cheers and cries of 'Shame, shame.'*)

“ The Hon'ble Mr. Quinton, who represented the Government of Sir Auckland Colvin at the Viceroy's Council, said in his speech on the subject that the consent of the Talukdars of Oudh had been obtained to the measure. Fancy, gentlemen, the justice of adding to the burthens of the ryot on the strength of the consent of the Zemindar ! But that was not all. There were other honourable members present in the Council, who said that the reimposition of the Cess would not add much more than about 12 annas a year to the load of taxation on the ryot, and they said it was so slight a sum that the ryot would not feel the pressure at all. Well, gentlemen, it is sinful to desire unhappiness to any one. But when I hear these honourable members assert with cruel levity of heart that the addition of a few annas a year to the burthens of the insufficiently fed and clothed poor, whether it be in the shape of the Salt Tax or the Patwari Cess, will not increase their wretchedness and misery, I feel tempted to exclaim with old Lear :—

‘ Take physic pomp,
Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel
That thou may'st shake the superflux to them
And show the heavens more just.’

If these gentlemen had to live, even for a day or two, on that coarse unpalatable diet which is the best our poor, often starving, can command in the brightest times, and if they had to brave the cold of our up-country winters without all those warm and soft clothings, they themselves luxuriate in, they would understand what hardship the enhancement of the Salt Tax and the reimposition of the Patwari Cess entails upon the people. (*Prolonged cheers.*) There are hundreds of thousands of ryots at this moment in the North-West Provinces and Oudh who cannot buy sufficient cloth to cover even the upper half of their bodies properly, to protect themselves and their children from the piercing chill and cold of our northern winter nights ; and remember, you gentlemen of the south, that the times are far more relentlessly severe with us there than with you here. (*Hear, hear.*) These miserable people cover themselves, their wives and children, when the season becomes very severe, with grass at night, and when the intensity of the cold drives away sleep, they warm themselves by burning some of this very grass. And even that is now and then taken away from them for feeding the cattle of the officials on tour. (*Shame.*) Such is the condition of the people to whom the honorable member of the Viceroy's Council said that an increase of 12 annas a year in their burthens would not mean any serious hardship ! Do you think, gentlemen, such members would be appointed to the Council if the people were allowed any voice in their selection ? (*No, no, never !*) And even if they were, by some mistake, once appointed, would they not be scornfully rejected at the next election ? (*Yes, yes.*) But such men *are* appointed at present to the great disgust of the people, and the people are forced to submit to their legislatorship. (*Prolonged cheering.*)”

No apology seems requisite for this lengthy quotation, for certainly no speech from first to last, more truly, if simply, expressed the universal feelings of the middle classes, throughout the empire, on all the various topics touched upon. It could boast no rhetorical graces—it was no impassioned

burst of oratory—it was a simple matter of fact statement, but one that so entirely coincided with the opinions of the audience that it was received throughout with tokens of assent and approval such as greeted only a few of the other addresses. ✓

Of these few the very next was one, but Mr. Surendranath Banerjee is a practised orator and ever carries his hearers along with him. He said* :—

“SISTER AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—I think it will be admitted on all hands that we, the supporters of the Indian National Congress, are now entering upon what may be regarded as the most important stage in the history of the Congress movement. (*Hear, hear.*) The storm of opposition by which we were so fiercely assailed a year ago has now disappeared, and has dissolved itself into those primitive elements of isolated hate and individual despair which originally gave rise to it. The atmosphere around us is now clearer and serener. (*Cheers.*) We are now passing from the critical into what may be called the constructive stage in the history of the Congress movement. And Mr. Bradlaugh's draft Bill is at once the token, the symbol, and the herald of the new epoch which is dawning upon us. (*Cheers.*) I rejoice to note that you have resolved to devote your attention, this time, principally to this great question of the reform of the Legislative Councils. The reform of the Councils lies at the root of all other reforms. If you get that, you get everything else. On it depends in one sense the entire future of the country and the future of our administrative system. (*Hear, hear.*)

“There is nothing which we so heartily deplore, nothing which we so strongly condemn, nothing which seems to us to be in such utter conflict with the fundamental principles of political economy, the maxims of common sense, and even the ordinary considerations of prudence and righteous administration, as the enhancement of the salt duties. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*) Is it conceivable that, if the people of this country had the slightest control over the deliberations of the Supreme Council, if the Council had even affected to be guided by the semblance of public opinion, a law of this kind could have been passed to the prejudice of the voiceless peasantry of the country? (*'No, no,' and applause.*) Now, I would appeal to my brother delegates, especially those who come from Bombay, and I would ask them to say whether if they had the smallest representation of the wealth, the culture, and the intelligence of this great Presidency in the Supreme Legislative Council, the Mamlatdars' Bill would have been passed in the way that it was passed. (*Loud applause.*) Turning to my brother journalists (*hear, hear, and cheers*) who are present here, I would ask them if the Official Secrets' Act would have been smuggled through the Legislative Council in the way that it was done, if they had any influence over the deliberations of that body? (*'No, no,' and loud applause.*) Gentlemen, our Legislative Councils are so many farces (*'Yes, yes,' and cheers*); magnificent nonentities, gilded shams which may delude children, but cannot deceive sensible men like ourselves, who have grown into the adolescence of vigorous manhood. (*Loud applause.*) India, sir, is now changing, and we are changing with the times (*'Yes, yes,' and loud cheers*), and the new-born circumstances of modern India demand that our Legislative Councils should be adapted to our present needs and wants.

“Gentlemen, you must have all read the minute of Lord Dufferin on the expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils. At that time there was no Official Secrets' Act (*laughter*), and the Despatch was accordingly published.† I wish to speak of Lord Dufferin with the utmost possible show of consideration. (*Laughter and applause.*) I remember, very well remember, the time when my distinguished friend (Mr. A. O. Hume) behind me (*loud cheers*) with a faltering hand and a trembling heart sketched out the faint and meagre outlines of a scheme for the reform of our Councils. (*Loud applause.*) It was a dream, the Old Man's Hope‡ (*hear, hear*), but it is now about to be realized, to his great and undying glory, and the happiness of the countless millions of my own countrymen. (*Loud applause.*) The question has indeed reached a practical stage. It is no

* Pages 25 and 26 of the Detailed Report.

† In Mr. Surendranath's own paper, “THE BENGALÉE.”

‡ “THE OLD MAN'S HOPE” is the name of a pamphlet which helped, *inter alia*, to inaugurate the Congress movement.

longer in the region of vague and nebulous abstractions. I mean no disrespect to the late Viceroy when I say that he was no friend of the Congress movement, and that he was not sympathetic towards the aspirations which it represents. But even he, such as he was, was so influenced by the growing efflux of public opinion, that he felt himself called upon, as much in the interests of the people of this country as for the credit and good name of the English Government (*hear, hear,*) to recommend the reform and the reconstitution of the Councils. He suggested the expansion of the Legislative Councils, and the reconstitution of the Provincial Councils upon a partially elective basis. (*Hear, hear.*) Then came Lord Lansdowne, and I need hardly say that I desire to speak with the utmost possible respect and deference of the august representative of her most gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress, our Sovereign. Lord Lansdowne declared from his place in the Vice-regal Council that he was prepared to reform the Councils, to widen and to extend their functions. (*Hear, hear.*) But unfortunately, there is a rift in the lute. (*Loud laughter and cheers.*) His Excellency is ominously silent with regard to the recognition of the elective system in the constitution of the Councils. (*Laughter.*) I desire to repeat what has been so eloquently said here on this platform by my friend, Mr. Bishan Narayen Dar, that no reform of the Councils will ever be regarded by the country as satisfactory which does not provide for a truly representative element in their constitution. (*Loud applause.*) Nothing indeed, has been done, so far as we are aware, to give effect to Lord Lansdowne's declaration or to the recommendations of Lord Dufferin. All Governments, whether Liberal or Conservative, are slow to move in the path of reform. *Quies non movere*, is their motto. (*Laughter and cheers.*) They will let things alone. They will not move except under the irresistible pressure of public opinion. (*Loud applause.*) If our Government will not move, we can at any rate do so. (*Hear, hear, and loud applause.*) Our champion on this platform (*cheers*) has already taken the first step in this direction by his draft Bill. (*Loud cheers.*)"

Then touching lightly on the more prominent features of the scheme, he concluded, amidst a perfect storm of applause, with the following words* :—

"Such is our scheme, and such are our proposals. And we commend them to the care of our friend on the platform (*hear, hear*), the Champion of Indian interests in the House of Commons. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*) We wish him 'God-speed' in his noble work for the good of India. (*Loud applause.*) The prayers of a nation attend him to his Western home. (*Loud cheers.*) Illustrious, indeed, is the muster-roll of those great Englishmen who, having consecrated their lives to the cause of India, have won an undying place in the grateful recollections of our people. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*) Fawcett and Bright are dead and gone (*cheers*), but their names are embalmed in our memories (*loud cheers*), and will be bequeathed as pious legacies to after-generations. (*Loud and continued applause.*) And, sir, if I am permitted to take a glance into the future and to anticipate the verdict of history, this I will say with confidence that in the coming times no English name will occupy a higher, a worthier, a more affectionate place in our grateful recollections than that of Charles Bradlaugh. (*Loud cheers that continued for some minutes.*) We have great confidence in him. (*Applause.*) We have great confidence in the justice and generosity of the English people (*loud cheers*), and above all we rely with abounding faith upon the liberty-loving instincts of the greatest representative assembly in the world (*cheers*), the palladium of English liberty, the sanctuary of the free and the brave—the British House of Commons. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*) When before such an assembly our prayer is pressed by such a man (*cheers*), there can come but one response which, I am confident, will be in accord with the great traditions of the English people, and will serve to consolidate the foundations of British rule in India and to broaden it upon the affections of a happy, prosperous, and contented people. (*Loud applause which continued for several minutes.*)"

Thus far no dissentient voice had been raised, but now objections and amendments, good signs of the healthy character of the discussion, began to pour in. The first to come forward was a gentleman, who having married

* *Vide* p. 27 of the Detailed Report.

the most distinguished lady graduate of the Calcutta University, has apparently forgotten that all our Indian women do not, unfortunately, occupy quite so high a platform. He proposed the omission of the word male from the 3rd Clause, the effect of which would have been to confer the franchise on many millions of women. Even our staunchest Conservatives had no serious objection to the admission to the Congress, as delegates, of some of those distinguished ladies who by their labours of love have endeared themselves to many hearts and by their strenuous efforts for the people's good are already casting a reflex glory on our country, but even the most advanced of our Radicals feels and knows that the great bulk of our women, at least 99,999 in every hundred thousand, are as yet, unhappily, owing partly to want of education and most especially to the secluded lives they lead, wholly unfitted to exercise the franchise, intelligently or usefully, and the amendment was therefore, practically, unanimously negatived. There was a strong feeling that some of our most eminent lady workers, whose capacities have been demonstrated by their works, ought to be associated in our Congress, and might, possibly, hereafter be usefully elected, in some special cases, as members of Council, but this was a widely different thing from conferring the franchise, generally, on several millions of women, not one in a hundred thousand of whom could possibly, in consequence of the wholly secluded lives they lead, exercise it to any real advantage. Rambuksh, the fairly well-to-do cultivator, S. Pillay, the artizan, and Chandideen, the petty shopkeeper, thanks to the recent great diffusion of elementary political education, know, just as well as our worthy President, that peace, reform and economy are what the country and they, as units of that country's population, need, and will vote straight enough for those whom they believe will advocate and make a fight for these, but, as yet, the spouses of these good men know only of the "Kangress" as a newly discovered divinity to whom the occasional offering of a few flowers may not be inexpedient.

The next amendment was proposed by Mr. Tilak* on behalf of the great and educated Deccan community. Their view was that instead of allowing the electoral bodies to elect both the members of the Provincial and the members of the Imperial Council, they should elect the former only, and leave these to select the latter amongst themselves. The amendment was ably moved† and seconded, but it in no way commended itself to the bulk of the delegates and was emphatically negatived.

Mr. Kaliprasanna Kavyabisharad, an agnostic, then proposed that for the word "*Christians*" in Cl. 5, the words "*Europeans, Eurasians, and Native Christians*" should be substituted. This gentleman's contention, so far as could be gathered from his very brief speech, was that there might "be‡ people amongst Europeans, for instance, who are not at

* Mr. Tilak is one of some ten devoted gentlemen, connected with the Fergusson College of Poona, who deliberately putting aside the prizes that the learned professions offer to such men, have settled down on the smallest pittances on which they can support themselves and their families to promote by their personal exertions the education of their countrymen.

† *Vide* pp. 28, 29 of the Detailed Report.

‡ See p. 29 of the Detailed Report.

all Christians," and that these ought to have fair play. Whether he contemplated having members in Council specially to represent the 20 or 30 Europeans, who amongst a population of 200 millions "are not at all Christians" he omitted to explain. His seconder, however, Mr. N. Subramanyam, an Indian Christian, put it on different grounds.

"I can," he said,* "without enumerating them, imagine—and I think you can imagine—that the interests of Europeans, Eurasians, and Native Christians may not in all cases be precisely the same; on that account alone I will second the amendment which has been proposed."

This amendment met the same fate as its predecessors amidst a great deal of, politely suppressed, laughter.

The Rev. R. A. Hume then proposed that the minority clause should be omitted, the interests of minorities being left to be protected by the Government to whom the nomination of one-fourth of the members of the Councils, was by the scheme, reserved. Mr. Hume is the much loved and respected pastor of the large Christian community of Ahmednager, where he was elected. In proposing the amendment he admitted that he was in doubt whether the time had quite come for this, but said that as his constituency was unanimous on this question, he felt bound to bring forward the amendment on which they laid much stress "the more so because it represents the principle that must more and more dominate this movement, namely, that it is safe to trust the people." He went on to say †:—

"In a country with the past history of India, with its divisions caused by language, by race, by religion, and other things, it is most natural that those communities which are in a minority should fear lest, if this power of representation were given to the entire community, they might be overlooked. This is a reasonable fear; at the same time if we have in a large sense the right and the qualifications for asking the Government to endow us with the privilege of electing representatives, we ought to be able—and I verily believe that in a considerable measure we are able—to take care that even as regards minorities we are properly represented, without such safe-guards as are attempted in the original Resolution. It is a pleasure to one who like myself comes from another part of the world for a particular purpose, to say that I have always found it safe to trust the people. (*Hear, hear.*) I for one should always expect that to be true, and so to my mind the wisest policy ever is to trust the people. Even if in a particular case at a particular time I, or those in whom I am especially interested, may not get the full representation to which in our judgment we are entitled, yet on the whole we ought to secure it by our public spirit, by our freedom from prejudice, our freedom from all restrictions, and we should be ready even to take less, than we might otherwise be entitled to, in order to set a good example, in order to emphasize a righteous principle and help on this great cause. However, I think we can hardly expect that this large Congress of communities, in its present position, should be prepared entirely to accept this proposition, yet I feel it a pleasure to follow the request of my brother delegates and to say that I believe, that certainly in such parts of the country as I live in, it is safe and it is right, without such safe-guards, to trust the people to give even the minorities a fair representation; and when they are not fairly represented, as may sometimes be the case, to trust the wise Government under which we live to make up such deficiencies by nomination and not further seek to emphasize and keep alive distinctions which ought not, longer, to exist. (*Cheers.*)"

He was ably seconded by Mr. Hardeoram Haridas, a Hindu of Bombay, who referring to what Mr. Norton had said in his opening speech, remarked ‡:—

"I quite agree with Mr. Norton that minorities should be represented. At the same time I beg to differ from him, inasmuch as I do not agree with him that minorities are not represented if

* See p. 29 of the Detailed Report.

† See p. 30 of the Detailed Report.

‡ Detailed Report, p. 31.

the principle, of insisting on the same proportion of Parsees, Hindus, Musalmans, amongst the members, that exists in the population they represent, is disallowed. To recognise such a principle would be very bad policy. We do not want sectional differences in the Legislature; we do not want a Legislature for Parsees separately, for Hindus separately, for Jews separately, for Mahomedans or for Christians separately. The business of the Legislative Council has nothing to do with these matters. I do not see how the question of a man being a Mahomedan or a Hindu has any relation to the question of the Salt Tax for example. For my part I would rather be represented by a European like Mr. Bradlaugh, by a European like Sir William Wedderburn, or any other equally good and able gentleman, than by nine-tenths of my Hindu brethren. If we make these divisions in caste or religion I do not know where they will land us. There are so many sections amongst the Hindus themselves, and we may have to look to the several creeds existing amongst them; and then the Jains would want to be represented separately, the Sivites would want to be represented separately, the Jews would want to be represented separately, and I do not know where we should be carried. By allowing these caste or creed representatives to be brought into the Legislature you will be strengthening the hands of our opponents. Again, the spirit of the Congress as shown in its literature has been from the beginning against any such distinctions of caste and creed. (*Cheers.*)”

Mr. Eardley Norton, as the original proposer of the section, replied. He contended that the minority clause was a necessity :—

“It is impossible,” he argued, “to shut our eyes to the fact that not merely does a racial distinction exist, to a marked degree, but that here, also, are very great differences of opinion on matters theological. Now I would put aside for one moment the question of theological disputes. But imagine this amendment accepted; imagine the safe-guard as to minorities withdrawn, and imagine, as may well be, that some great wave of a political crisis should sweep over the country when Mahomedans would stand on the one side and Hindus on the other. What would then become of the Mahomedans? With all the best and most Christian-like intentions on the part of the Hindus, human passion would assert itself; and when you came to the question of counting heads or hands, the Hindus would forget all about this theoretical universal brotherhood and make it a point to see that no Mahomedan should be returned. (*No, no.*) Perhaps it may not be so in your opinion, but it is so in mine. I put it upon no grounds of theological dislike; but in these great crises men lose their heads and, in their effort to obtain some particular object which they desire, they sacrifice, rightly or wrongly, everything else. Such a state of things may well arise here, and if it does, I think you will agree with me that it would be most deplorable indeed, if the proposed safe-guard should be taken away and Mahomedans and Parsees and Europeans should find themselves without the power of getting into Council. We have been discussing this matter on the grounds of the elective principle, and we have said that we intend to have that principle, pure and undiluted; but my reverend friend’s amendment cuts it away, because it says that if a sufficient number of Mahomedans are not returned the deficiencies are to be filled up—by whom?—not by the people but by the Government. I beg his pardon! The Government, I understand, are to use their nominations to fill up these so-called vacancies or deficiencies. The Government will not have sufficient nominations at their disposal. The time might arrive when the Hindus might reject all these various communities and Government would not then have enough seats to represent all classes other than the Hindus. (*Cries of ‘No, no, never.’*) Lastly, I am satisfied that no measure which does not contain such a proposal as this contains, will commend itself either to the Government here or the Government at home. No; let us insist upon proportional representation, leaving it to Government to strengthen this from its nominations in the case of any section where this seems, to it, needful.”

It was the last argument that, we believe, carried the day. As far as could be judged, the majority alike of Christians, Parsees, Hindus and Mahomedans attached very little importance to the minority clause, and would (as was stated very distinctly later, when a subsequent amendment was being discussed) gladly have dispensed with it; but it was felt uni-

* *Vide pp. 31, 32 of the Detailed Report.*

versally that if the Governments of India and England attached weight to it, it ought certainly to be adopted. No one objected to it except as tending to the possible revivification of those divided counsels that have, to a great extent, disappeared, but it was felt to be superfluous, and alien to the spirit of union now abroad in the country. Still all were agreed that if its retention would tend to satisfy any doubts that the authorities entertained, it would be preferable to retain it, and so the amendment was negatived.

Then ensued one of the most interesting episodes in the day's debate, a Mahomedan gentleman rising to propose, that instead of the population proportion minority clause, it should be laid down that in all the Councils there should always be as many Musalman as Hindu members.

This amendment was put forward in a very aggressive and defiant speech, and commended itself, broadly speaking, to no one, Mahomedans or Hindus. A considerable number of the Mahomedans were disposed to go with the speaker so far as the matter went, but, except one other gentleman, no one sympathized in the manner. It must, however, be borne in mind that amongst our Mahomedans we have still a few men who, living wholly in the glories of the past, honestly believe the Mahomedans to be, not merely the equals, which with education they certainly might be, of all the other races in the world, but greatly their superiors. Also amongst our Mahomedans we have a certain number of jingoes, and Munshi Hidayet Rasul, who proposed the amendment, in a marvellously eloquent and aggressive Urdu speech (to which his English translation,* very much toning down the vehemence of his expressions, does but scant justice) is both a jingo and a firm believer in the vast intrinsic superiority of the Musalmans.

It was a remarkable proof of the sprit of tolerance that animated the Congress, that from the moment this amendment was proposed, no Hindu, Parsee or Christian, despite the violence of the speaker's tone, took any part in the debate. It seemed to be felt that it was a matter chiefly affecting the Mahomedans, and that these had best be left to argue it out amongst themselves. Absurd and unreasonable as the proposal was, considering that the Hindus are at least three times as numerous as the Mahomedans, there is little doubt that had these latter as a body, asserted its justice or propriety, the rest of the Congress, in deference to their views and believing that Hindus may be just as well represented by good Mahomedans as by good Hindus, would have accepted the proposal. But the great bulk of the educated Musalmans, and necessarily] it is those who chiefly attend our Congresses, are quite on the same level as the educated men of other races, and hence as a body the Mahomedans would have none of this amendment.

Mr. Syed Hamid Ali, a Musalman barrister, at once rose to repudiate it, and the whole question at issue is so ably and succinctly dealt with by him, that we may advantageously reproduce the greater part of his

* Pages 32, 33 of the Detailed Report.

speech. He began to explain that he himself though elected by the Mahomedan community of Lucknow, had also been elected by and was "in an equal degree a trusted representative of the Hindu community."

"Before I proceed," he* continued, "to consider the amendment and point out the fact that it is based upon a mistaken notion of the principles which ought to and do guide our scheme of representation, permit me to say that we are all endeavouring to create an United India and to form ourselves into one nation so far, at the least, as our political rights and wants are concerned. We do not come here to spread disunion and disagreement as this amendment, which implies a want of confidence in our Hindu brethren, is certainly calculated to do, especially when brought forward in speeches of the tone to which we have listened. I do not wish to call in question the motive of the gentleman who moved the amendment. However indiscreet and unbecoming his language (*hear, hear*), I trust that it has been with the best of motives that he has taken this step. I am willing to assume that he has been actuated by a sincere and honest desire to protect, as he understands them, the interests of the Mahomedans, and benefit them by his advocacy. Let none think, my Mahomedan brethren, that I myself am impelled by any other desire, when I tell you that I honestly believe that while no good can come out of demanding or even obtaining an equal number of Musalman members on the Legislative Councils, you will necessarily rouse suspicion regarding your relations with and intentions towards your Hindu brethren, by attempting thus, without any just cause or reason, to violate the principle of population on which our entire scheme of representation has been based, in furtherance of, what some of you suppose to be, your own special class interests. (*Hear, hear.*)

"Moreover, you directly incite other communities, who are now perfectly satisfied with the scheme as propounded, to make similar preposterous claims. If you disregard the population standard—if you say no matter if the Hindus number fifteen crores and we only five, we will have as many members in the Councils as they—why, by a parity of reason, or unreason, should not the Parsees, the Jains, the Sikhs, the Europeans, the Eurasians, each and all claim to have as many members in the Councils as you or the Hindus? Gentlemen, the thing is absurd. (*Cheers.*) You must adopt some standard as a basis for a scheme of representation and on the whole that of population is the fairest for all and certainly the most favourable to us. If instead of population, property or education were selected as the basis, we should be far worse off—but one of these three must be adopted, and adhered to, or the absurd result I have just indicated to you is arrived at.

"But the fact is that the amendment is based upon a wholly mistaken and baseless fear, that if the Hindus exceed the Mahomedans in Council they will carry all before them and injure Musalman interests. Now in the first place—as has been said at least an hundred times since this Congress first met—there is no such a thing in the ordinary secular matters that come before the Councils, as Hindu interests and Mahomedan interests—our interests⁷ in all such matters are absolutely one and undivided. But even if there were separate Mahomedan interests,—and I, as a Mahomedan, truly wonder what they can be—how could the Hindus in the Council, even if they were 5 to 1, as compared with the Mahomedans, and even if they wished it—which long experience has convinced me that they do not—how could they injure these interests? Are there not to be European and Eurasian members, amongst those elected, besides Sikhs and Parsees in some Provinces? Are not one-fourth of the members to be officials who sit *ex-officio* and one-fourth to be nominees of Government, amongst whom probably there would be some Mahomedans? Are all these going to combine with the Hindus to deal unjustly with the Mahomedans? It is absolutely absurd—in the first place the educated Hindus have never—and all history is my witness—attempted in any way to injure the Mahomedans—and you will only have educated Hindus elected to the Council—men of light and leading—and in the second place even if they wished it ever so, our legislative scheme renders it absolutely impossible for them to do anything of the kind. (*Loud cheers.*)

"This amendment then is calculated to create disunion and breed mutual distrust, it is absolutely illogical and leads, if accepted, to a palpable absurdity, and it is based upon a purely

* *Vide Detailed Report, pp. 34, 35.*

mistaken fear, ungenerous and unreasonable in itself and originating in an inexcusable ignorance of what is, and is not, possible under our scheme for the reform of the Legislative Councils which has now been, in all essentials, before the country for the last four years. I trust therefore that you will unanimously reject it. (*Loud cheers.*)

This seemed fairly conclusive, but it in no way satisfied Syed Wahid Ali Rizwi, from Moradabad, who instinct with all the fire and eloquence of the old Arab blood, rose, as he said, to carry the matter a step or two further. When he commenced, out Heroding Herod, the general idea was that he was merely burlesquing with the view of showing up the ridiculous side of Munshi Hidayet Rasul's amendment, but it soon appeared that he was entirely in earnest, and his speech is so characteristic of the, now daily diminishing, section of our Musalman brethren to which he belongs, that we reproduce* it, *in extenso*, interruptions and all; for human nature is human nature all the world over, and even Hindus with all their tolerance, and love of hearing both sides of every question, will not quite cheerfully sit quiet under contemptuous and disparaging remarks.

"I do not rise now," said this gentlemen, "to second or support the amendment proposed by Munshi Hidayet Rasul, which stipulates for an equal number of Mahomedans and Hindus, on all the Councils, but to go a step or two beyond his contention. To my mind his contention that the number of Mahomedans should only equal that of the Hindus is far from satisfactory and by no means what a due regard for Mahomedan interests and the interests of the country demand.

"Taking this Congress as a whole, I can hardly allow to it the title of National—('Why, why!') It is much more of a Hindu than a Mahomedan Congress; whereas if it is to be truly national and adequately represent the best portion of the nation, it ought to be far more Mahomedan than Hindu. (*Cries of 'No, no, nonsense—why?' and considerable interruption.*)

"THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen, silence please. One of the things we want to show the world is that we are able to hear the other side. ('Quite so, but he must be decorous—he must not insult us.') Well, well, gentlemen, the more disagreeable are the things said, the more patiently let us listen—I am sure this gentleman has something he wishes to say, even though he may not put it with much consideration for the feelings of others—and you will, I am sure, set him a better example, by letting him say what he has to say without interruption.

"SYED WAHID ALI RIZWI, resuming: As I was saying, to be truly national, this Congress ought to be far more Mahomedan than Hindu, and indeed, had the Mahomedans, as a whole, taken to the Congress as the Hindus have there would this day be present more Mahomedans than Hindus—for the Mahomedans are far more independent, energetic, and self-helpful than the Hindus, and if their 50 millions believed in and supported the Congress as the 200 millions of Hindus do, you would have here this day, believe me, many more Mahomedans than Hindus, whereas I do not believe that we have here even one Mahomedan to every five Hindus.

"Mr. President, the design of the Congress is doubtless good enough—I have no quarrel with its fundamental idea, which is to give scope for the full expression of the views and wishes, the wants and aspirations of the Indian Nation—but what I say is that despite all the efforts of the Hindus, to raise aloft and decorate and glorify this great work, it yet remains, and must remain, until the Musalmans fully espouse the cause, a mere dead body—it will be for the Musalmans to breathe life into it, and they must constitute its main-spring if success is to attend its career.

"Gentlemen, I must emphatically assert that without the hearty support of those true Musalmans, who represent the generations and dynasties of the old Islamite conquerors, and who are mainly now to be found in the North-West Provinces, Oudh and the Punjab, the Congress will come to nothing, now or hereafter; but if these descendants of our great warriors of the past once side, in earnest, with the Congress, then undoubtedly this will triumph. For it is on these that the British Government relies—never has that Government ceased to understand how much it owes to these

* Vide pp. 35, 36 of the Detailed Report.

loyal, statesmen-soldiers, the true supporters of its widespread Indian Empire. Not only has it ever sympathized with these, but it has sacrificed its own interests to uphold these brave hands who fight for Britain's Empire in every moment of need and peril.

“ The support of these high class Mahomedans will lift the Congress, to something like that high position that the Mahomedans occupy on the platform of the world's nationalities, where they stand elevated to a dignity and grandeur to which the Hindus have never had any pretensions since they were conquered by the Mahomedans, and were thus so reduced and lowered that they are now naturally unfit to execute higher duties and perform the greater works of the present day. (*Cries of 'No, no—bosh !' Nonsense !'*)”

“ Mr. PRESIDENT—If now you ask how I prove the great superiority of the high-class Mahomedans over the Hindus, my reply is simple. In the total population only one-fifth are Mahomedans, and amongst the Mahomedans so-called, only one-fifth are of the real blood, the pure descendants of the Arabs, Moguls and Afghans. So that of the typical Musalman, there are but ten millions against two hundred and forty millions of the rest of the population, and yet this ten millions furnishes more officers in the higher grades of the Political, Military and Civil branches of the Administration than the whole of the rest of the population—in other words every true high-class Mahomedan is as valuable to the State as any 25 of other races, castes and creeds. (*Laughter.*)”

“ Now if India is to be represented let her be represented by her best and not by her inferior races, and in accordance with these views and out of regard to the past glories of our great and ancient race, I call upon this Congress to rule, not that there shall always be as many Mahomedans as Hindus in Council, but that there shall always be *three* times as many Musalman as Hindu members. (*Laughter and cries of 'Ten, ten.'*)”

Before he concluded, the humour of this marvellous self-assertion had quite mastered the greater portion of the Congress, and from having been rather annoyed at the studied insolence of the speaker's remarks, they appeared, before he sat down, to have quite accepted the thing as a real bit of fun.

Many of the Mahomedan delegates, however, felt apparently annoyed that any of their co-religionists should put forward such demands, and especially in such a tone. Syed Mir-uddeen Ahmed Balki gravely condemned the amendment, and we may quote the following passage from his speech. He said* :—

“ Gentlemen, if I allowed my natural impulses to guide my actions, or selfishness to enter my head and heart, then of course I should support this amendment,—nay, I might even go the length of proposing with the last speaker that there should be three times as many Mahomedans as Hindus on the Councils, or go a step further and insist that none but genuine Mahomedans should be returned to the Councils ; that Mahomedans only should legislate for the whole of India ; and that all the Indian subjects of Her Majesty should be bound to observe such laws. But, gentlemen, are such natural impulses and such selfishness justifiable under the present circumstances of the country ? Or does the Mahomedan sense of justice prompt us to entertain such unworthy thoughts ? No ! We Mahomedans of India are the subjects of the same British Government under whose paternal care Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees, Christians and all the various castes and communities of the country thrive alike. And just as our rights and privileges are inseparably connected with the country and the Government, so are those of the Hindus, Parsees, Christians and all the rest of our fellow-subjects. Then does our Mahomedan sense of justice make us ignore everybody's rights save our own ? Every creed and caste has the same immutable right of representation on the Council that we Mahomedans have. And in my judgment nothing can be more just and fair than the principle of election according to numerical proportion. O ! my Mahomedan brethren, I quite endorse what you say as to our unimpeachable loyalty to the Government and that we will stand by it through thick and thin. Undoubtedly we Mahomedans are bound by our religious tenets to obey and submit to our sovereign. It is our duty absolutely to obey the ruling power of the day. But, O

* See pp. 36, 37 of the Detailed Report.

my co-religionist brethren, you are now assembled in the *National Congress* : you are praying the Government jointly to give us all those political rights and privileges which you respectfully ask for. It is not that the Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians and Parsees are going to ask for these privileges separately, each for himself. We have assembled here for one common object, and that object is a secular and not a religious one. We standing here on a common political platform appeal to the British nation's sense of justice to permit us, their Indian follow-subjects, to enjoy something of the rights and privileges which have made them what they are. On such an occasion Mahomedans cannot call themselves Mahomedans ; nor Hindu, Hindu ; but rather forgetting all differences of creed, caste and colour we should call ourselves *Indians*. Undoubtedly every one present seems to feel so, or else why should he be here in this national assembly ? And on an occasion like this any vaunting of our own particular merits any ostentatious display of our own loyalty, as if we only were loyal, seems to be absolutely out of place ; though it might be proper when we go to ask the Government for anything concerning the Mahomedans only."

Munshi Naseeruddin Ahmed followed, very frankly rebuking the proposers of the two amendments. He remarked* :—

" I regret that Mr. Hidayet Rasul and Mr. Wahid Ali should have put their amendments before you with such violence and with such a lack of common courtesy. The amendment is opposed to the first principles of our scheme of representation, for why should five crores of ourselves have the same number of representatives as fifteen crores of Hindus ? But the proposal itself was a fair enough subject to submit quietly to the Congress for calm consideration, not to be thundered out at its head, with denunciations and empty vaunts. (*Cheers.*)

" Mr. Hidayet Rasul has talked much of the honour of our nation. I only know one nation in India, the Indians—all in fact who are born and bred there—and in this too I have the countenance of Sir Syed Ahmed, who though he may not, at one time, have favoured the Congress, knew well what he was speaking of when he laid this down distinctly, that here in India there was only one nation, the Indians, let them be Mahomedans or Hindu. (*Cheers.*) But if by our nation, Mr. Hidayet Rasul means our co-religionists, then let me tell him that it is not by vain boastings, or loud swaggerings about our valour, that our honour is to be preserved, but by showing that we are at least as reasonable, earnest and considerate of the feelings of others as the professors of other creeds and faiths,

" He has told us that five crores of Musalmans think precisely as he does—for the honour of my people I am bound to say that there are not five lakhs who think as he does and certainly not five thousand educated Mahomedans, in the whole Empire, who would have put forward *any* proposition, let alone this amendment, in the same unseemly and unbecoming manner. And now, gentlemen, as regards the merits of the amendment, I can tell you that not one in ten of the Mahomedans here present, believe in it one bit—mind, I do not say we should not like it—if you kindly chose to concede it to us, we should doubtless be very pleased and grateful—just as if I were partner of a one-fourth share in a village and my co-sharer who owned three-fourths were to say, 'never mind, let us share the profits equally.' Of course, I should be glad—of course I should think him a very liberal and good friend—but I should never presume to ask for such a thing—never delude myself with the belief that I had any right to it. So here, we Musalmans shall rejoice if, as a mark of your confidence in and love for us, you were to concede to us an equal number of representatives in the Council—but none of us, at least who are sane and in the possession of our full senses, are going to pretend that we have any right to this. We shall certainly not vote against it—why should we prevent your making us this concession of you like—but neither shall we, I believe, with very few exceptions, vote for it.

" The whole thing lies in small compass—there are brave Hindus and wise Hindus, as well as brave Musalmans and wise Musalmans, and I as a Mahomedan am certainly not going to say that we are so much better than the Hindus, that they with fifteen crores to represent shall, necessarily, have only as many representatives as we with five crores to represent. (*Cheers.*) It is the whole nation that elects—not a particular community—and the election of representatives is not based upon the majority or minority of a particular community in any particular province. I myself would con-

* *Vide pp. 37 and 38 of the Detailed Report.*

tentedly have left out the minority clause, being certain that, in the long run, when the system comes to be thoroughly understood, the best men, those who will strive most earnestly for the good of the people, will be elected, no matter whether they are Mahomedans or Hindus or members of any other of the smaller communities. But the Congress, as is well known, out of deference to the views, of some of my co-religionists, have inserted this clause so as to make sure that, even at the first, Musalmans, despite the fact that they are somewhat backward in English and general education, shall always be in the Councils, in at least as large a proportion to, the total number, as the population they may be supposed to represent especially, bears to the total population. What can be fairer? Other far smaller communities, Parsees, Christians, Jains, Sikhs, Jews, here represented, are quite content with this. What grounds have we Mahomedans for complaining? (*Cheers.*)

The rest of his speech, too, is excellent and may be read with profit. The last sentence was vigorous :—

“I utterly oppose this amendment—and to you two or three men who are pressing it on, at whose instigation you best know, I say that this assembly is not so foolish as to scatter this nose-gay of union, which has been bound by the threads of love and common interests and sympathy by all the races of this land, simply to gratify the arrogance, or worse, of men whose action is founded not on reason, but impulse, not on a regard for the welfare of the whole country, but on a narrow and selfish view of what they mistakenly fancy are their own class interests. (*Loud cheers.*)”

It elicited a rejoinder on the following day from Munshi Hidayet Rasul, clever enough in its way, but in a style that is not appreciated in the Indian National Congress. Several other Musalman delegates also spoke. Mr. Cumroodin Furrukhai, expressed* disagreement with Syed Wahid Ali, but recommended the adoption of Hidayet Rasul's amendment, as a graceful concession by the Hindus which, looking to the backwardness of the Mahomedans in English education, would not, he conceived, be unfair to either party. Munshi Sheikh Hussein, in a voice of marvellous power (he is a public preacher), preached the doctrine of good-will between all classes and creeds most eloquently, but in the end was understood to recommend the Hindus to concede, what he thought would re-assure and please so many of his co-religionists. Mr. Hidayet Buksh, of Dacca, strongly opposed the amendment. This latter was then put to the Mahomedans only, when out of 254, only 39 voted either way, 16 for and 23 against the amendment. It was then put to the whole Congress, and the amendment negatived by an overwhelming majority, most of the Mahomedan delegates this time voting against it. We may add, though we shall refer to it again, in due course, later, that next day, after having discussed it amongst themselves during the evening, all the Mahomedans, except Munshi Hidayet Rasul and Syed Wahid Ali, had come round to the view that the minority clause, as framed, was perfectly fair, and that even these two, while saying that their private convictions remained unchanged, declared that in deference to the opinions of their co-religionists, they also accepted it.

The Resolution as a whole, as originally proposed, was passed, and the Congress adjourned to the next day.

* See his speech, p. 39 of the Detailed Report.

When the Congress re-assembled, on the morning of the 3rd day, the first business dealt with was an Omnibus resolution, as it was called, reiterating the conclusions, on a number of points, of previous Congresses. There are a number of questions in regard to which public opinion, throughout India, is now absolutely unanimous. These questions have been brought up in Congress, time after time, and there discussed and re-discussed ; they have been canvassed at thousands of public meetings and speechified upon till they have become positively threadbare ; they have been taken up in hundreds upon hundreds of newspapers, published in all the vernaculars of India, and threshed out to the last grain, and there is scarcely a hamlet, in most parts of this country, in which the grey beards have not talked them over, night after night, till they have become, even for the youngsters, household words. Some of the more important of these questions were thus summarised in the Resolution laid before the Congress :—

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

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

“ (b) *the expediency of extending into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, the system of trial by jury ;*

“ (c) *the necessity of withdrawing from the High Courts, the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal by juries ;*

“ (d) *the necessity of introducing, into the Code of Criminal Procedure, a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions ;*

“ (e) *the highly unsatisfactory character of the existing system of Police Administration in India, and the absolute necessity of a fundamental reform therein ;*

“ (f) *the expediency of both, establishing Military Colleges in India, whereat the Natives of India, as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army, and of authorising, under such rules and restrictions as may seem necessary, such a system of volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country, as may qualify them to support the Government in any crisis ;*

“ (g) *the extremely unsatisfactory character of the Income Tax Administration, especially as regards incomes below rupees one thousand, and the expediency of raising the taxable minimum to this amount ;*

“ (h) *the extreme importance of increasing, instead of diminishing, as the present tendency appears to be, the public expenditure on education in all its branches, and the necessity, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of the appointment of a mixed commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country ;*

“ (i) *the impolicy and injustice involved in the late increase of the Salt Tax in a time of profound peace, and the urgent necessity for an immediate reduction of this tax, and the reimposition, to balance the deficit thus caused, of light ad valorem import duties ;*

“ (j) *the necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual increase to, the military expenditure of the country.”*

No arguments, even plausible, traversing these propositions, have ever been put forward. We believe that the Government is just as well aware of their truth as we are—but the fact remains, as a forcible but none the less

lamentable illustration of the inertness of our bureaucratic administration, that despite much writing and talking on these subjects, for many years, they have not yet taken one single practical step towards the removal of the gross abuses and grave evils against which this resolution protests. Encrusted, as is the bureaucracy, by routine and official and class bias, and sustained, as it is, superior to all criticism, by a pious conviction of its own infallibility, our prayers, our protests, our arguments, might with equal efficacy be addressed to the man in the moon or the irresponsible spirits of the vasty deep. Our worthy rulers need absolutely some special stimulus to rouse them into action. If there are new lucrative appointments to be created, if a neighbour's house is to be broken into and his property ruthlessly appropriated, as recently in Burmah—or if polyliteral stars twinkle ever so faintly on the horizon, our sleepers in the Council caves are at once on the *qui vive*. Or, again, if the House of Commons, glancing for once at India's unhappy condition, passes a resolution, as in regard to the drink question, condemning their inactivity, they do, for a time, grudgingly and grumblingly do *some* thing. And it is not that this administration, helpless for any good work as it seems, contains no good men and true—it can boast many such—and not a few men who, if made dictators for a single year, would do more to make crooked ways straight, and render India and her people prosperous and happy, than the Government as a whole can, or will, in a century. It is the system, which operates to give a predominance to the dull, heavy, safe men—the men safe never to do any good to any, but themselves. It is the utter absence of any popular element, which, while asking nothing better than to be led by the good and wise, would as ruthlessly push aside from *their* paths the selfish dullards, as these now combine to push aside all consideration of our just claims and grievances. Here in India we are hopeless of securing any improvement in the administration as at present constituted; hopeless of being able in any way, unaided by the people of England, to transfuse new life into the moribund organization; and this is why, in despair at the blindness and deafness of those, here, who should be our chief friends and allies, the Congress, representing the feelings of the entire country, insists so strongly upon the reform of the Councils on a partially elective basis, and why turning from the half lazy and half contemptuous *non possumus*, which meets us at every step here, it has resolved to seek upon the footsteps of the Throne and from the hearts of our British fellow-subjects, that redress of wrongs, that justice, that rational freedom, which nought that we can, here, do or say, avails one whit to secure for us.

But to return. Each of the points embodied in the omnibus resolution, having been thoroughly and repeatedly discussed in the reports of previous Congresses, nothing need be said about them here. The Resolution was proposed in a brief and telling speech* by Mr. Kalicharan Bannerjee, the eloquent and well-known Christian preacher. His speech should be

* Vide Detailed Report, pp. 41, 42.

read, but one passage in it deserves special prominence. Referring to a late oracular dictum condemnatory of the Congress he said :—

“ The passage ran something like this : ‘ The Congress has the educational department for its father, the law for its mother, and the missionary bodies for its sponsors.’ Perhaps it was intended, as I have said, for a crushing aphorism ; but, speaking for myself as a member of this Congress, I am proud of the parentage, and I am certainly not ashamed of my sponsors. (*Cheers.*)”

It is a remarkable fact that while the Government chaplains, true to their official character, are many of them far from friendly to the Congress, the great bulk of the real missionaries, the men who live amongst and for the people, are with us, and many of them zealous workers for the cause ; and were it not that the Congress falls at Christmas, when their religious duties to their flocks are paramount, instead of the few missionaries who were able to join us, we should, as their letters show, have had more than fifty of the most earnest and active men of this devoted body in our assembly. It is the custom in some circles to sneer politely at missionaries, and ask how many converts they have made,* but to thinking men, whatever their creed, it should be a powerful argument in favour of the Congress, that its sponsors really are, to a considerable extent, the very cream of that devoted body who, of all Europeans, live most closely in contact with our people, and know most of their sorrows and sufferings.

The next Resolution referred to the reform of the Abkari and Excise systems ; it tendered thanks to Messrs. Caine, Smith, and other members of Parliament who had voted in the House for the Resolution of the 30th April 1889 on this subject (condemnatory of the inaction of the Indian Government), and while acknowledging that in some Provinces, something had been done to improve the state of affairs, expressed a hope that no further time might be lost in giving full effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons. The Rev. Mr. Cobban, who proposed the Resolution, gave expression to the general feeling when he remarked.†

“ In the first place, in pressing a resolution upon this subject, I should like all, our Government especially, to understand that we are doing it intelligently. (*Cheers.*) I should like them further to understand that while we press this resolution and continue to press it substantially in one form or another, we are not without a due appreciation of the extremely difficult and delicate questions which it involves. (*Hear, hear, and loud cheers.*)

The Rev. R. A. Hume, the pastor, as already noticed, of the great Christian community which his father-in-law the Rev. Mr. Fairbank so much contributed to create in Ahmednuggar, made a very appropriate quotation from his father’s old papers. He said‡ :—

“ The main thing which I have to say is that a few days ago, looking over the papers of my father, who was a missionary in this city from 1850 to 1854, I found a memorial that was presented by him on behalf of the citizens of this city to the Right Honourable Lord Falkland, Governor and President in Council at that time, regarding the spread of intemperance among the native population of Western India. This memorial, which I hold in my hand, has, as you see, been piddled by white ants, and worse still, the vice to which it refers has since those days eaten deep

* If they have not made many formal converts, they have at any rate breathed into tens of thousands of hearts conceptions of higher and altruistic lives, which their own examples have illustrated and enforced.

† Page 44 of the Detailed Report.

‡ Detailed Report, p. 45.

into the vitals of the country, through the continued spread of that intemperance, the earlier stages of which so alarmed my father and his co-labourers. One paragraph alone I care to read. Let me just say that I heartily believe in all that Mr. Cobban has said about the difficulty of any practical solution, but there is one paragraph in this memorial, which should commend our importunity on the subject, even to the Government. 'We believe,' runs the memorial, 'that it is a lamentable fact in the history of British India, that the transfer of any new territory to the English Government has generally been followed by a speedy and marked increase in the number of liquor shops and a removal of the restraints on the spread of intemperance amongst the people. If we mistake not, the revenue from this source and the prevalence of intemperance have generally at once increased many-fold, and it can hardly be doubted that in this respect the territories still under native rule would compare most favourably with the English territories.' Gentlemen, this is as true, I fear, to-day as it was forty years ago."

And the Rev. Mr. Evans clinched the nail, saying * :—

"Let me just point out how this traffic has been progressing. Under the Mahomedan rule the excise revenue of India was not twenty lakhs of rupees, and then it was imposed as a fine, as a restriction to try and keep the people from drinking. When the King of Oudh was Lord and Master in his country, there was no grogshop in Lucknow within ten miles of the city, but now we have over 100 grogshops in Lucknow, under British rules. When that wicked man—I suppose I should not call him by a better name—God have mercy on him! King Theebaw of Burmah was sitting upon his throne, there was not a grogshop in Upper Burmah. But the English have taken possession of the country, and last year the excise revenue in Upper Burmah was over two lakhs. (*Shame!*) Thus, you see, gentlemen, it is going on. When the Honourable East India Company came to an end in 1858, the revenue from the excise of India was 50 lakhs of rupees, to-day it is nearly 500 lakhs of rupees. (*Shame!*)

The whole debate may be read,† but this question is another of those in regard to which no difference of opinion is possible, amongst those who know the country and the people as they *now* are, *at this present day*, and in which all that is requisite is energetic, systematic and sustained action by the authorities, and so we need not dwell upon it further.

The next Resolution was a very important one. For some time past nothing has caused so much dissatisfaction as the recent orders of the Secretary of State on the Public Service Commission's Report. There is an official theory that only a couple of million, or so, of educated men care anything about this and kindred questions. It would be a revelation to some people, perhaps, could they realize how deep and widespread are the disappointment, we fear we must say bitterness, that these orders have provoked. Had they emanated from the Government of India, they would not have created quite the same effect‡. No one expects either justice or fairplay from the Government of India, as ordinarily constituted, in cases like this in which the rights of the people are more or less antagonistic to the privileges of the Bureaucracy. But India looks for better things from Her Majesty's Secretary of State; other previous Secretaries of State have been emphatically our friends, where this very question has been concerned and have stood up boldly for equality of rights for and justice to our people, whereas these present orders are characterised by a distinctly opposite tendency. The Resolution (which was passed later unanimously) runs as follows :—

"RESOLVED : *That this Congress, while thanking Her Majesty's Government for raising the age for the Indian Civil Service Competitive Examination from 19 to 23, does hereby put on record*

* Detailed Report, p. 46.

† Vide pp. 44-48 of the Detailed Report.

‡ Though this is absolutely true as a general proposition, it would be unjust not to notice, that in this particular matter and two or three others Lord Dufferin showed himself to be distinctly more liberal in his views than Lord Cross.

an emphatic expression of the universal disappointment which has been created by the rest of that Government's orders in regard to the Public Service Question (the net result of which orders is to place the people of India in a worse position than they previously held), and reiterates the national conviction that no real justice will be done to India, in this matter, until the simultaneous holding in India and in England, of all Examinations, for all Civil branches of the Public Service in India, at present held only in England, be conceded."

The question is one of great importance, not only intrinsically but in consequence of the excessive soreness which it has created, and we shall therefore quote largely from the discussions. It is necessary that people, especially people in England, should realize something of what the Indians think, and feel, and say even, (and our people ever say far less than they think) of the manner in which they have been treated.

Mr. S. R. Mudaliar (who was himself one of the members of Commission) proposed the Resolution. Last year he opposed the passing of any Resolution on the subject, contending that the Secretary of State would do us justice. This year he congratulated his audience on having on that occasion declined to accept his optimistic views. He is not the only man, who firm, originally, in his belief that justice was certain at the hands of a Minister of the Crown, is beginning to lose heart and doubt. The change is one to be most gravely deprecated, but if it spreads, and becomes universal, it will not be due to any fault on the part of the people of India.

He said* :—

"Let me first say a few words on each of the clauses into which this proposition can be resolved. The first part proposes to thank the Secretary of State for having conceded to us the boon of raising the age for admission to the Civil Service. Well, thanks cost little, and I have no objection to thanking the Secretary of State for this concession, but, if you will calmly examine the matter, you will find that it was not so much a concession to the natives, as an act of policy, an act of self-protection ; an act which was found necessary, and the withholding of which would have led to disastrous results. Up to 1854 the age that was fixed for admission was 21. In that year a Committee known as Lord Macaulay's Committee recommended that the age should be raised to 23. That age remained the maximum for about five or six years. In 1860 the age was reduced to 22, and in 1866 it was reduced to 21, an arrangement which subsisted until 1878 when it was proposed to reduce the maximum to 19. When this was proposed there was a strong consensus of opinion in India, even the officials being nearly unanimous on this point, that if the age was reduced it would lead to disastrous results. But in spite of that opposition the Secretary of State, for reasons best known to himself, did reduce the age to 19. When the Commission was appointed it gave an opportunity to all the officials in the Local Governments to express their opinion that the reduction of age was a great mistake, because the men sent out were, as they were called, 'boy magistrates.' It was more, I believe, in deference to that opinion than from any wish to grant any concession to the natives, that the age was again raised. But all the same we are thankful for what was done, and we shall not pause to enquire into the motive. It is a concession and a boon, and as such we thank the Secretary of State for what he has done.

"The second part of the resolution expresses the opinion (which at first sight appears most startling) that the net result of what the Secretary of State has done is to place us in a worse position than we occupied when the Public Service Commission was appointed. And that, I regret to say, is a fact which cannot be denied. In a matter like this I do not wish to rely upon my own words, and I have therefore copied what the Secretary of State in his despatch says on this point. I have not an authorised copy, and must therefore rely upon the public papers. Perhaps the Secretary of State, feeling that he had treated the Public Service Commission so shabbily, was

* Pages 47-49 of the Detailed Report.

ashamed to send a copy to the members ; anyhow he ought to have been ashamed and anyhow he did send no copies to us members. (*Laughter.*) Well, here is what the Secretary of State himself says :—

“ ‘ I have no desire to extend the practical application of that principle further than political necessity requires. It is, in fact, based on the same considerations of fitness in the broadest sense which regulate the admission of Natives of India to the higher public offices of every kind ; but it justifies on indisputable grounds of public expediency the necessity of maintaining the special reservations which have hitherto existed in regard to a particular class of executive offices. No share of these offices (among which I include that of chief executive officers of a district, as well as that of Commissioner of a division and the administrative offices of still higher rank) could, without a violation of that principle, be formally excluded from statutory reservation and transferred to a Provincial Service. I do not suggest that the reservation of these offices to the Covenanted Civil Service should be so absolute as to exclude from them military officers in the Non-Regulation Provinces or that in special circumstances a member of the Provincial Service might not be appointed to one of them on grounds of proved individual fitness. What I desire to establish is that the transfer of a definite portion of them to the Provincial Service is inappropriate.’

“ That is the first point that struck me when I read the despatch. When the Act of 1870 was passed, it was passed without any such reservation. It simply provided that if Government found that there was a native, who by his distinguished services, his merit and ability, had proved that he had a capacity to discharge the duties of his office, he should be appointed to any of those offices which were reserved for the English Covenanted Civilians. That Act was general in its wording, but when the rules under the Act were framed an attempt was made to exclude these executive offices from the sphere of the Statutory Service. In the rules sent by the Government of India that was one of the clauses ; but the then Secretary of State thought that it was a most improper thing to do, and he struck out the rule. So that, gentlemen, who were admitted into the Statutory Service in 1879, and subsequently, were distinctly, encouraged to hope that if they proved themselves worthy they might fairly aspire to those higher posts which are now distinctly barred to all branches of the service save the Covenanted. I say that in that respect we have been placed in a worse position than we were in at the time when the Commission was appointed.

“ The second point in which our position has been changed for the worse relates to the disgraceful way in which the Statutory Civil Servants have been treated. When evidence was taken, no doubt it was found that the natives who gave evidence expressed the opinion that better selections could have been made—that the selections actually made by the Government were not the best that could have been made ; but not one went the length of saying that these men were not fit for admission. You will find that the Government accepted the statement that these selections were on the whole satisfactory. Yet look at the way in which they have been treated. They have been told that either they should be satisfied with the positions they at the moment occupy (which means with the particular office that they occupy now) or that they should become members of the Provincial Service, the members of which are excluded from all the higher executive appointments—such as Collectorships, Divisional Commissionerships, Memberships of Council, and others ; thus distinctly placing the Indian community in a worse position than it occupied before this Commission was appointed.

“ The third point in which we are worse off has reference to the claims of the members of the English Covenanted Service. At the time when the statute of 1870 was passed, strong objections were raised to it—there was almost a storm one might say—and strong disapproval was expressed by the service of the view which found expression in the Act. The Civilians then said, ‘ we have vested interests, and these will be destroyed by the introduction of this Act.’ But their protests, essentially selfish and disregarding of the higher interests of the country, were overruled, and the Act was passed, though, no doubt, no real effect was given to it till 1879. The Public Service Commission suggested that the claims of those who had entered the service previous to 1870, *i.e.*, previous to the passing of the Act, should be respected, but nobody pretended that after the Act was once passed any new European members of the service had any grounds for complaint on the score of the admission of natives. They entered the service knowing this to be the rule. But I find that the Secretary of State in his despatch says that those who entered the service up to 1880, *i. e.*

ten years later, have a prior claim to the natives of India as regards these appointments. If there were time to go on discussing this matter in all its details I could show how in many other respects the Secretary of State has deliberately placed us in a worse position than we occupied before. We are therefore fully justified in stating as *our* deliberate opinion that the Secretary of State by the orders embodied in his despatch has placed us in a worse position than we formerly occupied.

“Last year I referred to the remedy which, in our opinion, is the only remedy for these evils and that remedy is an equal competitive examination. At present, there is no equality of competition, no fair play, no ‘careers open to talent.’ As regards appointments made from England, there is a competitive examination, but it is held away in a distant corner of the world seven thousand miles from India, so that ninety-nine out of every hundred Indians competent to hold these posts, are virtually debarred from competing for them, by the great distances to be traversed, the large expenditure and the difficulties, about caste, involved. As regards appointments made in India, there is no fair play; if a man seeks to get one, he must first ‘*poojā*’* the authorities, and if he flatters and toadies enough, and makes things agreeable enough to those in whose gift the appointment lies, and those who have influence with those officials, he does get in, and then this man having got in and reached to higher office is able, to keep out far more deserving men, who scorn to make influence by such questionable means, and to let in all his relatives, friends and dependents.

“What we want is for all—Indian or English—a fair field and no favour. (*Loud cheers.*) So that the country may get the best possible men for its money (*cheers*); and the only way to secure this is to have open competitive examinations in India for all civil branches of the Public Service. (*Hear, hear.*) We have no objection whatsoever to identical simultaneous examinations being held in Great Britain for any branches which Europeans think it worth their while to enter. We want the best men we can get, and if the Europeans can beat the Indians in a fair competition, let them do so. (*Cheers.*) And we don’t want to reproduce in their case, the gross injustice under which we are now suffering. (*No, no.*) We don’t want to drag *them* 7,000 miles on the chance of passing an examination. (*No, certainly not.*) Let them have an examination in *their* own homes, as we claim one for ourselves in our homes. (*Prolonged cheers.*) Surely, gentlemen, no one, not wilfully blind to the dictates of common-sense and common justice, could refuse this simple demand. (*Cheers.*)”

We commend this last paragraph to the best consideration of our readers. Though the speaker is an Indian, it has a real old English ring about it, and it tells, better than any academical honours can, what English education is doing for our people. But if that love of fair play which was once Britain’s chief glory is not wholly dead within her people’s hearts, how can they remain deaf to such appeals? Nay, if common-sense, the other chief characteristic of the English nation, has not deserted them, how can they fail to realize that men so anxious that others, and their rivals, should have fair play, will assuredly insist, on getting it, for themselves?

Said Mr. Gokhale†:—

“Fifty-six years have come and gone since the promise was first made that no distinction of race or creed or color should be allowed to stand in the way of the prospects of preferment of any native of India. That noble promise then made—a promise worthy of the highest and most generous attitude of England towards any of the countries with which she has ever come into contact—was reiterated in yet stronger terms in the proclamation of 1858. The terms of the enactment of 1833 and of the proclamation of 1858 are so explicit that those who now try to withhold from us the privileges then assured to us must be prepared to face the painful dilemma of hypocrisy or treachery—must be prepared to admit that England was insincere when she made those promises, or that she is prepared to break faith with us now.”

* “Worship” or “prostrate himself before.”

† *Vide* p. 50 of the Detailed Report.

And it is impossible to traverse his assertion for, as correctly remarked by the same speaker, "great as has been the breach of faith on the part of the Government where the Bombay Mamlatdars were concerned, the breach of faith implied in the present orders of the Secretary of State is infinitely greater."

Many speakers followed, Mr. Khaparde, amongst others reiterating Mr. Mudaliar's manly statement of the case.

"Some few of our people," he said,* "overcoming innumerable difficulties have been to England and have passed the Civil Service Examination, although they were under the double disadvantage of having to go to a far distant country when very young, and of having to compete with Englishmen, in English, which to our youths is a foreign language. Notwithstanding this some of our people have passed and have since been a credit to the service. All that we want now is to do away with one of these disadvantages by the holding of this examination, in which we have shown ourselves qualified to compete, simultaneously, here and in England. This is the real watchword, and I heartily support what previous speakers have said in regard to this matter. I hope that all of you will concentrate your minds on this one great point that we are fighting for now. We do not ask for any favour, for any partiality, for any number of places to be reserved for us; all we want is to have an equal chance in the examinations and to be then classed, be we English or Indian, according to our merits. If we take higher marks, let us go up, if not let us go down; we want fair play and no favours. I ask you to support this proposition, and to set yourselves against every idea of reserving to ourselves any place whatever. If we desire to compete, by all means let us do so but on perfectly fair terms; if we cannot succeed, then it is best, in every way, that we should not have appointments. All that we ask is that, so far as locality of examination is concerned, we and our English fellow-subject should compete on equal terms. If more of us pass, it will be creditable to us; if more of them pass, it will be creditable to them. We are willing to admit that they are our superiors, so far as they can prove this, only let us have a fair competition and no favour (*cheers*), and then, *palman qui meruit ferat!* (*Loud cheers.*)

We can only afford space for a single further quotation in which the speaker gives a clue, by references to the past, to the origin of that suspicion which is now, we fear, beginning to gain ground in India, that England's policy towards us is changing and is no longer actuated by quite those same noble and lofty motives that, in bygone† days, threw a halo around the British name.

"We must devote our attention," remarked‡ Mr. Ali Mahomed Bhimjee, "mainly to securing simultaneous examinations. You will remember that we are supported by the Parliamentary Commission which reported in 1860. On that Commission were Sir J. P. Willoughby, Mr. Mangles, Mr. Arbuthnot, Mr. MacNaughten, and Sir Erskine Perry. The report is dated 26th January 1860, and the fifth paragraph of it says 'two modes have been suggested by which the object in view might be attained. The first is by letting a certain portion of the total number of appointments declared in each year be competed for India. The second is to hold two examinations 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 by the Civil Service Commissioners. The Committee have no hesitation in giving the 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.' Now, gentlemen, let me briefly quote a few words in support of this view. How did they arrive at this view? How did they come to support the second scheme? Lord Stanley said, 'he could not refrain from expressing his conviction that in refusing to carry on examinations in India as well as in England, a thing that was easily practicable, the Government were in fact negating that which they had declared to be one of the principal objects of their Bill and confining the Civil Service as heretofore to Englishmen. The result was unjust, and he believed it would be most pernicious.' Then again Lord Stanley further said, 'let them suppose, for instance, that

* See pp. 51, 52 of the Detailed Report.

† *Vide, inter alia*, the memorable debates in the House of Commons, in 1833.

‡ Detailed Report, p. 52.

instead of holding these examinations here in London, they were to be held in Calcutta ; well, how many Englishmen would go there, or how many would send their sons perhaps to spend two or three years in the country, on the chance of obtaining an appointment ? Nevertheless that was exactly the course proposed to be adopted towards the natives of India.' These are the opinions that were expressed at the time, when the Commissioners came to the conclusion that simultaneous examinations should be held in India, and we are asking nothing more nor less than what they decided in 1860 ; and now 29 years have gone by and the prospects then held out to us by one of England's wisest statesman and endorsed by a Parliamentary Commission, prospects based upon our Gracious Queen-Empress's solemn promises, have not yet been realized. I know that men have been found base enough—men traitors alike to their Queen and country—to assert that our beloved Empress's words were no promises, merely emotional utterances never intended to be acted upon. But how did an honest English statesman treat this dastardly stuff ? What did Lord Ripon say ? 'The document (Her Majesty's Proclamation) is not a treaty, it is not a diplomatic instrument, it is a declaration of principles of Government, which if it is obligatory at all, is obligatory in respect to all to whom it is addressed. The doctrine, therefore, to which Sir Fitzjames Stephen has given the sanction of his authority, I feel bound to repudiate to the utmost of my power. It seems to me to be inconsistent with the character of my sovereign and with the honour of my country, and if it were once to be received and acted upon by the Government of England, it would do more than anything else could possibly do to strike at the root of our power and to destroy our just influence.' (*Hear, hear, and loud cheers.*)"

Never did Lord Ripon utter truer words than these, but even he probably could hardly realize, for the India of to-day is widely different from that India which only six short years ago, bid him a sorrowing farewell, even he, we say, could perhaps scarcely realize the depth and breadth of that indignation which our present Secretary of State's orders, based essentially on that very doctrine which he, Lord Ripon, so earnestly repudiated, have everywhere generated.

The next Resolution was one in regard to the Arms Act. This Act, as now administered, not only offends against the natural and reasonable self-respect of the Indians, but is productive of very serious hardships and loss to the people. All this has been well shown at former Congresses : only, unfortunately, at these, the Resolutions passed, were wanting in explicitness and were capable of being construed as going further than the people really wished. The Resolution passed this year is open to neither of these objections, it is perfectly clear and explicit, it sets forth exactly what the country wants, neither more nor less, and is not open, we believe, to any reasonable objection. It runs as follows :—

"RESOLVED : That in view of the loyalty of the people, the hardships that the Arms Act (XI. of 1878), as at present administered, entails and the unmerited slur which it casts upon them, the Government be moved so to modify the rules made under this Act, that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally, to all persons residing in or visiting India ; that licenses to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and generally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops, and that these and all licenses issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals."

It was proposed by Mr. J. Adam, M.A., the Principal of the great Patcheappah, college and schools, at Madras, and our first pioneer in the cause of technical education. We may quote a few paragraphs from his speech. He remarked* :—

" You will observe that we begin with the preamble which states that the Act, as at present administered, entails certain hardships upon various classes of the people, and we ask Government

* Pages 53, 54 of the Detailed Report.

to modify the rules framed under the Act. First, we say that in the modifications of these rules, they should be made to apply equally to all persons in India, not only to those who are residing in India, but to persons visiting India. With reference to persons visiting India I would simply call your attention to this. It has been said that it would be a great hardship to require European or American gentlemen coming here for a little shooting, to go through the process of taking out a license. I do not think that it would be a very great hardship ; but visitors are not included in our resolution for the purpose of paying especial attention to these few Western travellers, English and American, who may come here. It must not be overlooked that there are a large number of visitors to India, not at all of the pacific nature of English and American gentlemen. I will only call your attention to two or three instances. In the Subjects Committee a friend, from the Punjab, mentioned the case of the Northern Frontier, where there are Afghans and other tribes who frequently come into this province, and, not being British subjects, are allowed to bear arms without restriction. And then again in many sea-ports, in Bombay and along the Western Coast, sailors, negroes from Zanzibar, and other parts of Africa, come walking in the streets, swaggering about fully armed, while the inhabitants have no arms to protect themselves. The resolution refers not only to European visitors, but to all people coming into the country, and it is proposed that if there are to be, as there should be, restrictions on the indiscriminate carrying arms, they should apply equally to all persons, residing in or visiting India. I do not think it could justly be considered any hardship by those people who will be put under such a disability, if it be a disability.

“ With regard to the second point of the resolution I do not think I need to emphasize it. I will only remark that statistics show that the destruction of cattle by wild animals is going on very rapidly. I do not know whether it is *propter hoc* or only *post hoc*, but it is curious that a very large increase has taken place since the time when the Act was first introduced. Sir William Hunter in his little book, published ten years ago, with reference to what England has done for India, has a very eloquent chapter upon the state of the country owing to wild beasts, robbers and others during the last century, and he points out how much that state of affairs had been modified at the time in which he was writing. He gives statistics with reference to deaths from wild beasts. I have looked over the last statistical abstract published, and I find that in 1878 (the year which Sir W. Hunter referred to, the year of the passing of the Act), the registered number of cattle killed by tigers and leopards in India was 32,000. In 1887, which is the last year for which the statistics are available, the number had risen to 52,000. Of course, you all know that these numbers do not at all represent the numbers which are really killed, they are the number reported to the police, and the proportion reported probably gets smaller, yearly, as the people realize, more and more clearly, that to report anything to the police means only further loss and annoyance to themselves, but they are the numbers which are acknowledged by the Government. The real increase is therefore, probably, much greater.

“ The next point has reference to the great hardships involved by the frequent renewals which are required of the licenses. We say that whenever a license has been granted to a man, presuainably of good character, so long as he does nothing to forfeit that character, he shall be allowed to retain his license without coming up every half-year and having to renew his license. If he has once been passed as having a good character, and being fit to be trusted with arms and has obtained a license, let him keep it ; of course, if he does anything wrong so as to render him unfit, for the privilege, let it be taken from him. The fourth point is the great hardship entailed by the fact that the present licenses only run in the particular district, in which they are issued. We say that the licenses that are granted should run throughout the whole jurisdiction, that is throughout the Presidency or the Province as the case may be ; that a license in any province, shall hold good throughout that province and that the holder shall be entitled to keep it, without asking for a renewal, unless he has done something to forfeit his privilege. Those are the principal points ; we do not in our resolution attempt to go into minor questions as to the forms of the licenses, the fees to be paid and so on. We leave that to Government. It is only with the vital points of principle upon which we consider that the working of the Arms Act should be amended that we deal. The proposal is straightforward, plain, simple, not extravagant, and extremely pacific ; it will not do harm to anything, and I hope I am not doing too much when I ask you all to accept this proposition that I have brought before you. (*Cheers,*)”

Referring to the inequitable distinction made under the existing rules between Europeans and Indians, Lalla Bhugwan Das very pertinently remarked* :—

“ In order to insure the unity of all the races in India it is necessary that the interests of all should be the same, that is, there should be no distinction between one class and another. Our laws and regulations, as far as possible, ought to be such that they may tend to unite all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in India,—Europeans, Eurasians, Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees, and everybody else,—and any law or regulation which serves to perpetuate class or race distinctions, tends to divide one class from another, and to diversify instead of unifying their interests, a course which is not desirable for any section of the community.”

To him followed the Musalman orator, Mr. Hidayet Rasul, who on the previous day had so vehemently opposed the terms of the minority clause. He began by retaliating on those of his co-religionists who had, on the previous day, condemned his per-fervid utterances.

“ We cannot agree,” he said, † “ with those unmeaning utterances that two-thirds of our Musalman brethren (in name only) made yesterday. They had no reasonable reply to our arguments, and their yesterday's speeches showed that they had made them simply to be loudly cheered by our Hindu brethren. (No, no.) For instance, now Munshi Nasirud-din Saheb Benarsi did not know why he had got on to the platform and what he should say. (Cries of 'Order.') He had brought his rotten rope of union with him simply to hang liberty therewith. If such is an average Musalman I can assure you that none is worse than a Musalman. (Order, order.) I may say frankly that if I should have to choose between such a Musalman and a Hindu I would elect the latter. ‡ (Question, question.)”

He then stated that while retaining his own conviction, he withdrew his opposition to the measure passed on the previous day finding that the great majority of his co-religionists were opposed to him. He warmly supported the present resolution. He said § :—

“ You might have observed how my to-day's speech as compared with that of yesterday is dull, although I am standing to support the resolution regarding the Arms Act. It is expected that a person who undertakes to speak about arms should be vehement in his speech, but the fact is that yesterday Islam's excitement, which does not require arms to make it keener, had taken possession of me. Yesterday's fury was the fury of that nation whose deeds of valour have thrown the world into confusion. To-day the circle of speech is larger and a circle (on a liquid) the larger it becomes the less it is perceptible. This is the reason ; all our brethren the Hindus, Parsees, Jews, and Christians are agreed with us, and it is clear why my to-day's speech is dull as compared with that of yesterday. The second reason is that we are now qualified only to be loquacious as I showed you yesterday. To-day, that I am called upon to use arms, you find me rather less furious. Truly, by reason of our being disarmed we have not only lost our courage, but we are actually become women. If you duly consider the matter you will find that our nature is altogether changed. Even if we are now allowed to procure arms freely, it will be a long time before we learn their use. We do not see what good our liberal and humane Government means to reap out of this, and God knows the reward of emancipating how many slaves it will earn by its crushing the natural propensities of crores of God's creatures. (Order, order.)”

* * * * *

“ We think that the Arms Act should be greatly amended.”

* * * * *

“ If this is not done, I wish to impress upon your mind that while at present we have no recourse but to part with our money when faced by robbers and dacoits, the critical time is nigh when

* Detailed Report, pp. 54, 55.

† Detailed Report, p. 55.

‡ Munshi Nasirud-din replied to this, again, briefly, when speaking on the Permanent settlement. He said—see p. 63 of the Detailed Report. “ As for Munshi Hidayat Rasul's personal remarks in regard to me I do not think them worth notice. He tried to create disunion and has failed, as I hope all such efforts ever will fail.”

§ Detailed Report, pp. 55, 56.

we will see our houses set on fire in front of us and we will be unable to help ourselves and all this through the kindness of our Government. ('Order, order.')

But, though he spoke with his usual eloquence, and strenuously supported the movement, there were points in his utterances which did not commend themselves to any portion of his audience, and he was more than once called to order.

Syed Wahid Ali, who spoke later, took much the same line as regards the previous day's disagreement, but his speech, brief as it is, is so perfectly characteristic of the feelings of a certain, but daily diminishing, section of our Musalman brethren, to whom the facts of the present day are as nothing and the glories of the past everything, that we shall reproduce it *in extenso*. He said* :—

"Mr. PRESIDENT, Gentlemen of the Congress,—I know something of politics, and I wish to say some few further words in regard to what fell from me yesterday. Then you seemed all surprised at finding me a zealous Mahomedan fighting for my race and creed brethren, and waving the crescent flag of our national and ancestral glory high in the heavens. But to-day it is otherwise, the fiery spirit has subsided, and I am willing to throw in my vote with that of the majority of the Musalmans, rather than continue to hold aloof from what the bulk of my co-religionists approve. (Cheers.)

"United we stand ; divided we fall," is the maxim by which I am this day governed.

"My Mahomedan brethren from Behar, Bombay and other places, are pleased to hold that the numerical superiority of the Hindus in the Provincial and Imperial Councils could never under any circumstances prove prejudicial to Mahomedan interests. How they have convinced themselves of this, is certainly a thing which I am quite unable to understand, and which it seems to me no leader or philosopher amongst the Musalmans would ever have agreed to. Well, I am master of my own ideas, and retain in my heart my conviction unchanged, but I am quite willing to waive my personal views, and vote for the view which has commended itself to the Congress as a whole, and specially which has been approved by the great majority of my learned and high-minded co-religionists here—for the very basis of all our success has been union.

"Mr. PRESIDENT : All the world knows, that mainly in virtue of this same *union*, my illustrious and brave nation, the Arabs, conquered all the countries of the Eastern Hemisphere in past ages, in an incredibly short space of time and held them for full 500 years, without check or interruption.

"From the great wall of China to the rocky fastnesses of Gibraltar, from the icy plains of Kazin to the burning deserts of Africa, the whole world rejoiced under their wise and beneficent rule. The followers of Islam, in every capacity and respect, whether as rulers or warriors, or even in numerical strength, are on the world's national platform, far in advance of other nations, and are respected and feared throughout the world. The Mahomedan laws, alike for secular and spiritual guidance, are unequalled and may truly be designated, the golden code of progress, and the foot-prints of our great Musalman rulers remain behind for all ages, to point to rulers and law-givers of every clime, the only safe and perfect path. But I no longer oppose the resolution passed yesterday—nay, retaining my own personal views I yet assent to it—because division leads to shipwreck in the deep, wide ocean of human affairs. (Loud cheers and laughter.)"

Whatever else, of Syed Wahid Ali's claims (put forward in sober earnest, and with an eloquence, to which the above translation, though made under his personal supervision, in no way does justice), the modern world may be willing to concede, no one who, thoroughly understanding the language in which they spoke, listened to the many Musalman speakers during these two days' debates, will, for an instant, deny the marvellous fire and

* Vide p. 57 of the Detailed Report.

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Far soberer in style, but yet perhaps not less effective in its own way, was the speech in which the Honorable Pandit Ajoodhianath summed up the incident and which (although its eloquent peroration already heads this article) we quote *in extenso* here, as a contrast to the foregoing, as essentially western in *its* character as that was eastern. He said* :—

“ I am happy to support the resolution which has been placed before you, because in my humble judgment, it is calculated to bring into closer union the different classes and races now living in India under one common Sovereign. Fate has brought us together, and it is most desirable that we should all live together here on the most friendly terms, until time blends all differences into one perfect national unity. The one consideration which more especially induced me, after the most deliberate consideration for two years, to join the Congress was that in my opinion, it was the most likely institution to promote friendly feeling and an ever developing unity between the different races domiciled in the country. Yesterday I was a little disappointed, for the attitude taken by some of my Mahomedan friends was not reasonable, but, gentlemen, you can imagine my feelings when I find, to-day, that my opinion was perfectly correct. The gentlemen who came here yesterday to propose an amendment were, I am sure, actuated solely by the honest desire to place before you their own convictions and uphold what they considered were the rights of their co-religionists, but after leaving this hall they tell me that they met together again, in the place provided as quarters for the Mahomedan delegates, and discussed the whole matter amongst themselves, and after full and mature deliberation, these gentlemen inform me that they and others arrived at the conclusion that the resolution was a fair and just one and requires no amendment. (*Cheers.*) No one can be more pleased than I at that conclusion. If there is a Hindu who has been associated on terms of perfect friendship with Mahomedans, it is I. I can count among their number, gentlemen, with whom I am on the most friendly terms, and who regard me as amongst their best friends. It was a matter of deep regret to a staunch friend of Mahomedans, like myself, to see them yesterday led away more by feeling than by judgment, and proposing a really indefensible amendment, but I find to my great satisfaction that better counsels have prevailed, that judgment has now got the better of their emotional impulses, and that they, of their own accord, abandon their suggested amendment. This should be a new era in the unity of the different races of the country. (*Applause.*)

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* Pages 56 and 57 of the Detailed Report.

we will see our houses set on fire in front of us and we will be unable to help ourselves and all this through the kindness of our Government. (*Order, order.*)”

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* Pages 56 and 57 of the Detailed Report.

The sequel we may quote from the Detailed Report.

“ The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

“ A HINDU DELEGATE—Let us have three cheers for the Mahomedan gentleman. (*Loud cheers.*)”

“ A MAHOMEDAN DELEGATE—Let us return the compliment, and have three cheers for the Hindus. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)”

“The Congress then adjourned for half-an-hour.”

Next followed a subject which, for the last two or three years, has been greatly agitating the minds of the agricultural classes (and that means four-fifths of the entire population) throughout the greater portion of the Empire, and that is the necessity of substituting a permanent settlement, for the temporary ones which now (except in Lower Bengal and the Benares Division of the United Provinces) harrass, and as they maintain, impoverish the people.

The Resolution proposed was a very guarded one, for no one ignores the difficulties involved. As Mr. Baikunth Nath Sen said in proposing it, “ its importance is only commensurate with the difficulties that beset the question.” It was only intended as a declaration of principle, as the proposer said* :—

“ It is not that this is to be considered once for all. We have this time simply to consider the question of principle. It will perhaps be considered at the next Congress, and perhaps repeated and re-discussed at the succeeding Congress, and so on until we attain our object.”

Still the discussion† was a most interesting and instructive one, from which we shall quote freely. The Resolution ran as follows:—

“ RESOLVED : *That the Government be urged to take the subject of a Permanent Settlement once more under consideration in view to practical action thereon, such that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revenue demand without further delay at any rate, in all fully populated and well cultivated tracts of country.*”

Mr. Baikunth Nath Sen, after proposing it, went on to say :—

“ You all know how the Permanent Settlement of Bengal was obtained. In 1770 there was a famine in Bengal. Government was induced to take action in 1783 which led to the Permanent Settlement in 1793. That Permanent Settlement has worked in Bengal about a century. Agriculture forms the principal and staple industry of the country. Our agriculturists in Bengal are, comparatively speaking, better off than their brethren in the sister Presidencies or Provinces. And what is this owing to if not chiefly, or solely, to the Permanent Settlement in Bengal? (*Cheers.*) The Permanent Settlement spoken of in the resolution contemplates the fixity of the Government demand. It also involves and implies that the rights and titles of the different classes of landholders and occupiers should be defined. Just after the introduction of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal the rights as between the superior landholders and the inferior landholders were gradually developed and defined by several enactments, and their present condition is attributable, as I have said, if not solely, chiefly, to the Permanent Settlement prevailing in Bengal. In 1837 the North-West Provinces were visited with a famine, followed by another famine in 1860. That led to the appointment of a Commission which took evidence and submitted their report. They set forth the expediency of fixing for ever the public demand on land. This was supported by the Governor-General in Council. It was Lord Canning's administration. In this state of things the matter went before the Secretary of State in Council, and, after the review of the whole matter there was a

* Detailed Report, p. 58.

† Vide pp. 58-67 of the Detailed Report.

despatch in 1862. In this despatch the advantages which were expected to accrue by the concession of the Permanent Settlement were considered sufficiently great to justify the risk of a prospective loss of increment, in the Government revenue on land. It was considered in that despatch that the security of title and the permanence of the Government demand on land (these being the two principal incidents of Permanent Settlement) were important factors in the acceleration of the development of the resources of the country, leading to the general welfare and contentment of all Her Majesty's subjects in British India. (*Cheers.*) This was the enunciation of the principle in 1862. Practical effect, however, has not been given to it, and although a quarter of a century has quietly passed away, we do not yet find any symptoms or indications of any active measures being adopted by the Government. The question now before you is whether or not the time has arrived for moving the Government to take active measures to give practical effect to the policy indicated in the despatch of 1862, on the lines formulated in that despatch; or, in other words, whether the territories which will be affected by this are, or are not, ripe for receiving this Permanent Settlement. That is the main question.)"

* * * * *

"Every temporary arrangement, or temporary settlement as it is called, in contradistinction to a Permanent Settlement, with its concomitant evils, if not oppressions, effectually retards the progress of the development of the natural resources of the soil by discouraging the investment of capital; and the sooner this state of things becomes a matter of history the better for the Government as well as for all concerned. (*Cheers.*) We ought not to lose sight of or ignore the interests of Government, because the Government as representing the country at large has enormous interests at stake, and these are of a nature somewhat conflicting with those of the agriculturists, at any rate at first sight; for what is lost by Government as representative of the entire nation, is so much gained by the agricultural section of that nation. We cannot expect that Government should part with lands which have not been for a sufficient period under its direct control, to enable it to gauge, as trustees for the nation, their true value. Land must be for a certain period under its direct management to enable it to form accurate notions as to its actual produce and its capacities. I think that in the North-West Provinces, Oudh and parts of the Punjab and the greater portions of Madras and Bombay, sufficient time has passed, and we ought to consider that the Government is now in possession of those materials which are necessary to form a definite opinion as to the actual capacities of the soil and also the produce of the land. (*Cheers.*)"

"A few statistics perhaps may be enough. Let us take the accounts of the *last* ten years from 1879 to 1888; you will find from these that the Government revenue on land averages 19 millions sterling (I am speaking of the net revenue exclusive of the charges of collection.) The net revenue from the North-Western Provinces varies from five crores, to something less than that in 1888; in Madras, from four crores to something less; in Bombay from three crores to a little more. In Bombay there is a tendency to improve; in the North-West Provinces and in Madras there is a tendency to decrease. So that, if these last ten years be taken as a test, the Government cannot expect to receive any very large increase to its land revenue in those Provinces and Presidencies within the *next* ten years or more. A few years ago an estimate was submitted to Government, and it was reported by an efficient and responsible officer that if the Permanent Settlement be withheld the Government might expect a prospective gain of about £200,000 or about 30 lakhs of rupees. Now this is not a very large amount after all; it is not a very appreciable figure, compared with the total revenue of the Empire, and we all know that if a Permanent Settlement be effected the resources of the country will develop in other respects, and whatever the loss on this point may be it will, I hope, be more than recouped by increased income from those other sources. The best wealth of the Government, can be found in the growing wealth of the nation. (*Cheers.*)"

* * * * *

"I do not take up vexed questions like those of proprietary rights, or the 'unearned increment,' or the rights and privileges as between landowners of different degrees and classes; those are questions of detail; I am contending simply now for this broad principle; that in fully developed tracts of the country the permanence of the land revenue demand is desirable alike in the interests of the agriculturists and the nation as a whole."

Mr. S. Subramania Iyer, late a member of the Madras Legislative Council, also spoke* at length on the subject :—

“ This question of Permanent Settlement I have considered from the time when I first became a landholder more than 15 years ago. In an inconsiderate moment, about that time, I invested the savings of a laborious professional career in the purchase of land in the well-watered plains of Tanjore, having left my own district, which had the misfortune of being, from time to time, visited by drought and famine. At the time that I invested these savings it was understood, on official authority, that the well-to-do province of Tanjore was to be left free from the blighting influences of a revision of assessment. The fact that the Province was to be let alone on the principle of ‘ let well alone ’ induced me to invest my savings in that district ; but, to my surprise, a few years after the purchase of these lands, I found that the authorities had made up their minds to revise the settlement of Tanjore. By that time I had spent a very considerable amount of money in the improvement of the property which I had purchased. Now, the important difficulty in connection with settlement operations is that they do not really, in practice, whatever they may profess in theory, make any allowance for the improvements effected by the ryot. I admit, and the authorities proclaim as loudly as they can, that they do not intend to tax the improvements of the ryot ; but the question is whether in practice this is not done, whether under the circumstances and the rules which are enforced they can possibly avoid doing this ? I assure you, gentlemen, as far as my experience goes, it is impossible for any proper allowance to be made for the improvements, or for these improvements to escape taxation. Of course that is a matter upon which we can only give our testimony. The authorities will assert on the one hand that they are not taxing improvements ; the ryot on the other hand *knows* and asserts that the improvements are being taxed. But whatever be the exact truth in this matter, the feeling that the improvements of the ryot *are* taxed is most detrimental to agriculture in this country.

“ Gentlemen, there is no tribunal before which you can go and contest the position taken by the authorities in dealing with the land which is going to be settled. Their operations are in secret, their decisions are pronounced in such a way that it is impossible for you to attack their propriety. That character inherently belongs to the determinations of the executive in a proceeding not subject to any correction under process of law. The only facts therefore that have to be noted are these ; does the ryot feel that his improvements are certain to be taxed, or does he feel that the authorities are *not* likely to tax improvements, and therefore go on investing his money upon them ? Gentlemen, I have received an English education, I have practised nearly twenty years before the Courts, and have constantly had occasion to come before the authorities, and I therefore know their position now. If my feeling in regard to this matter is that my improvements *are* likely to be taxed, I ask you to consider what will be the ideas of the ryots, and whether they are likely to say, ‘ We will put a child-like faith in the justice of the authorities, we will take it that they will not tax our improvements, therefore we will go on making improvements in the expectation that they will not tax them,’ or whether they, like myself, will feel that improvements never do, in practice, escape assessment and say ‘ we won’t spend our money on improvements merely to put more money into the pockets of Government ? ’ From the moment it was announced that the Tanjore Settlement was going to be revised, I gave strict orders to my agent that not a single rupee should be spent upon the improvement of the land. From that moment I have not bought one acre of land, under a temporary settlement.

“ That single fact, I submit to you, is of great importance in the determination of the question. I think therefore that the operation of the Settlement Department cannot but be taken to have a disturbing influence in regard to improvements in land, nay, in my belief, almost to the extent of preventing them altogether. The necessity of a Permanent Settlement, therefore, will appear to you as plain as daylight. (*Cheers.*)

“ Upon the question of what sort of a Permanent Settlement the various parts of the country should get there may be a difference of opinion. All are not as fortunate as Bengal. They happened to get their Permanent Settlement at the end of the last century, we cannot hope to get a Permanent Settlement on the same terms. If we are so fortunate, well and good ; but I for one do

* *Vide* pp. 60, 61 of the Detailed Report.

not expect that we shall get such a settlement as they have. But it does not matter whether we get it on the same terms as Bengal; it is sufficient for our purposes to get a Permanent Settlement of some kind or other; a Permanent Settlement which would instil sufficient confidence in the ryot to induce him to make improvements and which would enable him, even if certain kinds of revisions were still insisted on, to make sure that in such revisions the increased profits due to his improvements could not, and would not, be taxed. The expression 'Permanent Settlement' is somewhat ambiguous; the authorities that have written upon it have given to it different meanings but they all agree that the feeling of security, which the settlement gives, is the essence of the thing. Therefore the resolution which simply says that a Permanent Settlement should be given to the other provinces is a resolution which I think you may confidently adopt. As I have said, the question as to the method to be adopted in the various Provinces will have to be dealt with by and by. To my mind, the one essential circumstance that requires to be provided against is this. Without binding down the Government for ever from demanding from the tenant a just share in the improvement which may be effected in the country, in the course of time, by means other than his own, such safe-guards and provisions should be adopted as would enable the tenant to obtain absolute security and immunity from further taxation in regard to all that improvement which is due to his means, to his labour, skill and capital. Mind it would be almost sufficient if the revision of the Settlement were to be effected under the sanction of law, and under the protection of the Courts. I do not care to say that for many years to come I would have the land settled in such a way that no Government could touch it. It is quite sufficient for my purpose that the tenant may feel that he can protect himself in the Courts against the secret, and at present irresponsible, orders of the Settlement Department. A Permanent Settlement, on the footing which was recommended some time back in the Madras Presidency, would be quite effective under one condition that it shall not rest with the Government in its executive capacity to determine whether a revision shall take place. If circumstances should arise which would justly entitle the State to make a further demand, on the holders of land and an enactment were passed and machinery created for the purpose of assessing this increase, such that every person liable to the increased tax would have a right to appear before a properly constituted tribunal and there obtain, in open daylight, a clear judicial decision as to his increased liabilities (the enhanced tax not being imposed as now by a stroke of the pen behind the back of the tenant), the Madras Presidency would look upon that arrangement as possessing most of the essential characters of a Permanent Settlement, and would be content to accept it."

It is the absolutely arbitrary character of modern settlements and the inferior calibre of the officials often, now-a-days, deputed to effect them that constitute important factors in the growing dissatisfaction with temporary settlements, and one speaker made rather a hit, by referring to a well known story. He said* :—

"I now come to the question of the demarcation of boundaries. Well, a certain Settlement Officer, still holding a high position in the North-West Provinces, used to say that the place where his horse stopped marked the true boundary of the village. Times are so changed, gentlemen, that matters which officials of a previous generation used to settle after making long and patient inquiries and with the help of arbitrators are now settled only by the capricious halting of a horse! (*Shame.*) Verily, gentlemen, if in ancient times the dog of the Seven Sleepers of the Cave, had by long association with the virtuous acquired the disposition of man, the *horse* of a, by no means wide-awake, English official might well acquire the abilities demanded of a Settlement Officer, in these days of progress and advancement! (*Laughter.*)"

He then quoted passage after passage to show that in the past, all grades of authorities, from the Secretary of State downwards, had admitted the expediency of a Permanent Settlement, and had even ordered it, and he concluded with these words :—

"For these reasons, gentlemen, I am of opinion that the introduction of a Permanent Settle-

ment is not only very desirable, but that the time has come when it should no longer be deferred. (*Cheers.*) Let the Government only act up to its own excellent published intentions. (*Loud cheers.*)”

But this lands us in *the* difficulty of all difficulties. Broadly speaking the Government never does, in India, act up to its excellent published intentions. Never was there such an immaculate administration so far as words go, and it certainly is too bad of the people of India, that they are rapidly, and visibly, becoming tired of these charming professions, and are audibly, it still *sotto voce*, grumbling at the lack of corresponding performance.

Mr. Nasiruddin Ahmed handled the question very intelligently. He said* :—

“ There is no doubt that the time has now come to give greater fixity to the Government demand in many parts of India. By its repeated settlements, and re-settlements, valuations and re-valuations of lands, classifications and re-classifications of soils, statistics of produce and what not, operations which have cost the country the ransom of many kings, without bringing emancipation to a single peasant, the Government *must* have come by this time to know as much of the capacities of those parts of the country as it ever will or can know. Moreover, by its meritorious exertions, and through the good services and energies of its officers, Roads, Railways, Canals and Markets have been everywhere opened out, leaving no room to hope for any material further development in these directions. This all being so, and the greatest authorities in Europe being unanimous in regard to the necessity (if the agriculture of any country is to be fully developed) of investing the holders or cultivators of the soil with some fixity of tenure—so that, feeling a real security therein, they may give their best of labour or capital to the improvement of the land—it seems difficult to understand why, now for many years, the Government have gone to sleep, as it were, over the matter of extending the Permanent Settlement, and that, too, after they had, or the Secretary of State had, publicly announced the determination of conceding such a settlement.

“ One thing is certain, and that is, that, in the temporarily settled districts, the zemindars and cultivators, greatly dreading the plague of the Settlement Officers, do nothing whatever to improve the lands permanently, but only struggle to get as much as they possibly can out of it, and bring it down to its lowest level before the next revision. All the poor ryot looks to, or can look to, is how to fill, if possible, his belly. And, gentlemen, looking to the state of the country in all your parts, if all that this resolution meant was that the existing Settlement, with all its evils and injustice, and, in many cases, bitter severity, was to be made permanent, I could not at all sympathise with it. For that is not at all what I want to see, but a widely different and really just Permanent Settlement—just to the country—just to the ryot—not a Settlement made merely to please the ryot and necessitating the recourse by Government to Income Taxes and other hateful forms of direct taxation, but a settlement securing to the country a proper return on the land, which is *her* capital, and to the ryot a proper return on his labour, which is *his* capital—not a Settlement stereotyping the evils and iniquities of your existing arrangements, but one securing the real rights, for ever, of all classes interested in the land, from the state which holds it in trust for all of us, down to the cultivator who actually tills it ; and moreover securing to each class the full future profits of all improvements that they severally or individually may make in the land. This is what is required, and this I believe is what your proposed Resolution means and, in this belief, I support and recommend it to your acceptance. (*Cheers.*)”

Very much to the point, too, was Munshi Mahomed Sakhawat Husain’s speech †, which we subjoin :—

“ GENTLEMEN,—If the material prosperity of the country is to increase at all in proportion with the growth of the population, the Government Land Revenue demand, must be given permanence and fixity, must be settled once for all, in all fully cultivated and well peopled portions of the country and that right soon. Every one here knows how the masses are becoming poorer

* Page 63 of the Detailed Report.

† Pages 64, 65 of the Detailed Report.

decade by decade—there may be an increase in the wealth of the higher classes (and this only intensifies the peril of the position), but the condition of the masses is steadily deteriorating. The land does not produce more, but markedly less, as the *Ayeeu Akhbar* show us, than it did in Akhbar's time, and yet there are now more than three men dependent on the same land which in his time had to support only two ; and before many years are over there will be four. Doubtless, emigration, and the development, slow though it be, of manufacturing industries, the establishment of cotton, woollen, paper, soap, silk and other mills and the great extension of public works do offer certain, relatively tiny, channels by which somewhat of the surplus population may drain off the people-flooded land, but all these taken together afford a comparatively insignificant relief, and if the country is not to be utterly swamped in its seething and ever augmenting millions of paupers, it must be by developing the agriculture of the country. (*Loud cheers.*) At present the perpetual recurrence of Settlements is an ever present blight on agricultural progress. (*Cheers.*)

“ As for the zemindars and Government they prowl about like a wolf and a sheep—the sheep ever seeking to graze up the entire pasture, and the wolf seeking to devour the sheep. (*Laughter.*)

“ Will the zemindar try to improve the land—to increase its yield ? Certainly not ; an increase in the Government demand is ever before his eyes—nay, years before each revision is due, he purposely lets land fall out of cultivation and he causes false village papers to be prepared both as to the land tilled and the rents paid, and he harasses the cultivators to make them look as wretched as possible, and in fact so far from trying to improve his land, in his short-sighted policy (short-sighted, for he rarely succeeds in hood-winking the trained Settlement Officials though he may bribe their subordinates) he does his best to reduce its condition.

“ But, indeed, did he wish to improve it, where can he now get the money ? As it stands, it might be good security for a loan of a thousand rupees, but who will advance half this sum on it now, when a few years hence a revision of Settlement may have reduced its value by more than half ?

“ Or if he be in debt and wish to sell a part, who will give him half its value, when there is no saying but what, after the next re-settlement, it may hardly have any value at all to any proprietor who does not himself cultivate.

“ Then as to the cultivators ; rights of occupancy are good things in theory, but—with bad seasons ever and anon—what real security do they afford ? Is the cultivator, who can barely keep his family and himself alive, likely to spend one farthing on the land, or give it one atom more labour than is just necessary to get the ordinary crops out of it ? No, the zemindar is here the wolf and the cultivator the sheep, and just as the Government is ever seeking to squeeze more and more out of the zemindar, so he in turn, and in absolute self-defence, is ever seeking, to squeeze more out of the ryot. All the ryot can, as a rule, possibly do is to keep himself and his children alive—and now-a-days, famines are more common than in our father's times—for the lands are in worse condition, and less of the crops are stored, and more people have to be fed—and in bad seasons he very often don't succeed even in that one thing. (*Shame.*)

“ All round it is a bad system ; the Government officials do, I think, their best, but under this perpetual change of Settlements, under this constant fear of increased demands for Land Revenue, the Agriculture of the country, on whose development, we mainly depend to avert the most serious calamities, instead of developing is deteriorating. Relieve the Agriculturists of this bane, and the necessities of an increasing population will soon largely improve our agriculture and increase our produce. (*Prolonged cheers.*)

The debate was closed by a very long and able speech* by Rao Sahib Janardan Ragunath Nimbkar, a Mahratta landholder, who explained from his personal experiences, why the recurrent settlements at present in vogue are creating such bitter discontent, and then boldly grappled with that

* See pp. 65-67 of the Detailed Report.

plausible official fallacy, that the Land Revenue under the present administration is lighter than under former rulers.

"I must be brief," he remarked, "though the subject is long at the briefest—Look to what a member of Council said the other day in the light-hearted fashion, in which people speak of sufferings which they do not share. 'Our Survey Assessments have been lower than those of former rulers.' True in one sense, utterly false in reality, just as a clothier might urge that he charged less than a former dealer, because he only asked Rs. 2 for a suit and the other asked Rs. 3. But when you look into it and find that for Rs. 3 the former man, supplied, not merely coat and trousers, but pagree, waist-belt, over-cloth, shoes, and that the new man now charges Re. 1 extra for each of these over and above the Rs. 2 for the coat and trousers, you don't think much of his pretended liberality and fair dealings. (*Laughter.*) Now that is just our case, and if Mr. Peile did not know it, he ought to have known it. A particular number* may be pointed out which pays a lower assessment than it did under former rulers, though I doubt even this, but if you take the landholders, the cultivators as a body, you will find that with no more land to live on—and it is the land and the land only on which they live—they are made to pay, one way and another, at least four times what they ever paid under any previous rulers, no matter how grasping and unmerciful. Take my own lands in Ratnagiri, they have been assessed at the late survey at not less than ten times what they were assessed at under the Arba Saman survey under the Mahomedan Government.

"People may ask why are we now pressing for a Permanent Settlement,—why did we never ask for it in former times? I will tell you, gentlemen, it is because in former times, we could easily pay for the suit; even a little more than what is now nominally asked for it; for in those former days we got the shoes, and the puggree and the kummerbund and the over-cloth and everything else free, and *now* we have to pay separately for everything and heavily for everything. Our means of subsistence, *i.e.*, the produce of the land, is the same, or even less, there is the same amount of water in the pot, but there are now six holes by which it runs out, when before there was but one. (*Cheers.*)

"Gentlemen, we got our salt, life's first necessary, at a nominal price—for ourselves and for our cattle. Now it is so dear that the latter cannot have it at all. (*Cheers.*)

"We had our cattle in plenty, lots of grazing free and salt to keep them healthy—now the land is all taken up by the Forest Department and we have no grazing, and if the starving herds stray where there is food, they are run into the pound and we are fined (*cheers*); and, day by day, cattle, the first necessity of agriculture, are decreasing in number and deteriorating in quality. (*Loud cheers.*)

"We had plenty of fuel free, both for our own purposes and to make the rab, or ash manure, without which our rice will not grow—but the forests have absorbed all the woodlands, and our Warkas lands are assessed, and we must buy our fuel and buy it dear. (*Cheers.*)

"We had plenty of wood for our houses, our ploughs, for every agricultural purpose, now it is all under the lock and key of the Forest Department, and if we touch it without leave we are run in, and if we want a stick we have a week's running about from one official to another before we get it, and we have to pay, pay, pay! (*Loud cheers.*)

"We had arms, and we could shoot or destroy the wild beasts that ravage our crops, but now we have an Arms Act that allows a basket full of arms to every Negro rascal who lands on our shores, but takes good care that we poor cultivators, who need them to protect our subsistence from wild animals, are practically debarred from any. (*Cheers.*)

"We had such simple liquor as our people absolutely needed, at the cost of making it. But now a grand system has been introduced which, while it makes the population drunken, involves

* Every field under the Bombay system has its official number, and so the fields themselves are spoken of as numbers. The speaker here simply means by "number," "field" or "plot of land."

considerable expenditure, and that for a hurtful mixture, to provide what our cultivators, in the damp low-lying lands of Rutnagiri, really require for their health in the way of stimulus.

“ We could borrow money on reasonable terms, for the land and the crops could not run away and people were willing to trust us—there was profit in those days in the land—and we could get what we wanted for seed or what not—but now when the next turn of the screw may so reduce the value of the land that the surplus may be, as it already is in many places, *nil*, no one will give credit except for very short periods at very high interest ; for the usurers care nothing for the welfare of the people, all they care for is to exact interest at a penal rate—and yet, gentlemen, Mr. Francis’ Assessment, which was a fair one, and one that men could pay and live, when all these advantages were ours, has now been largely enhanced when not one of them remains to us.

“ The Deccan Agricultural Relief Act, the reports of Collectors, of the Agricultural Department, all show what the real position of our cultivators is—why do they not abandon the hopeless task ? Because, unfortunately, they must either cultivate on, they and their families half-starving, or die themselves at once with their wives and little ones. Every one here knows that outside the Presidency towns where the mills and other works give some relief, our cultivators and labouring classes can barely provide sustenance for themselves and families, even in the most hand to mouth fashion—and most assuredly one of the main causes for this is the unreasonable and recurring increases to the Land Revenue Assessment, and the absence of a Permanent Settlement. (*Loud cheers.*)

“ I think I have said enough to secure your acceptance of this proposition. May it please God to grant us a Permanent Settlement and with it a permanent alleviation of the miseries of our poor ryots, and thus lay the foundation of the long-looked-for material prosperity of India. At present, as the proverb has it, we are told to eat, but our mouths are forcibly closed. This is not fair play. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*) ”

It is perhaps needless to say that the Resolution was unanimously carried.

Next came a Resolution calling for the abolition of the plate duties and the transformation of the obligatory Hall marking system into a voluntary institution. In the course of the remarks which fell from the speakers, a well merited tribute was paid to the memory of the late Mr. Slagg, for the interest which he had so persistently evinced in this and other Indian questions. But there is really no difference of opinion upon this plate duty and Hall-marking question, *any where*. Everybody, official and non-official, is of one mind where this is concerned, and we need not dwell further on the matter.

The next Resolution dealt both with a recent change in the rules of the House of Commons, and with a *not recent*, we regret to say, but altogether confirmed, practice of that august assembly, whereby the interests of the people of India are most gravely prejudiced.

The Resolution runs as follows :—

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

Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, our earliest President, in moving the Resolution fully and clearly explained the position. He said.*

“ You, sir, pointed out to us in your excellent address yesterday, that a great many checks which existed, in connection with the House of Commons, upon the Government of India, have been removed by the Act of 1858 ; I am sorry to say that one of the checks which existed for us even after the Act of 1858, was by a resolution, which was not intended to have that effect, taken away in the year 1888. You are all aware, that in the House of Commons, discussions with regard to grievances, take place when there is a motion for Mr. Speaker to leave the chair. Formerly when any motion that the speaker do leave the chair was made in the House of Commons, in anticipation of the House going into Committee to discuss Financial Statements or to discuss supply, it was open to any member to bring any subject of grievance to the notice of the House, Mr. Speaker sitting in the chair of the House.

“ By the rule to which I have alluded, it is not now necessary to put the motion to the House that Mr. Speaker do leave the chair. The Speaker himself announces that he is about to leave the chair, and he is allowed to leave the chair without any discussion of any description, and the grievances that might have been formerly brought forward are not allowed to be brought forward at all. The House of Commons when it passed this rule had no idea how it would operate with regard to the people of this country. Formerly whenever a motion was made that the Speaker should leave the chair, in order that the House might get into Committee, to consider the Indian Financial Statement, any member of the House could get up and bring any grievances of the people of India to the notice of the House, and through that notice, to the notice of the people of Great Britain.

“ But last year the rule above referred to operated in this way. When the Speakers said that he would leave the chair, he left the chair, and no opportunity was allowed to Mr. Bradlaugh to bring forward our motion with regard to the appointment of a Royal Commission to consider the administration of the Government of India, and he was therefore obliged, as a last resource, when speaking upon the Budget Statement made by Sir John Gorst, to bring to notice in an indirect and, for practical purposes, unsatisfactory way some of our grievances. (*Cheers.*) You see, therefore, that this rule operates in a very detrimental manner to our interests. It was not the intention of the House of Commons that it should have that effect, and consequently, if we from this Congress, send up this humble petition to the House, that House, justice-loving as it is, will, I have no doubt, grant us the relief which we seek. (*Cheers.*) There is another matter; you are aware that the Indian Budget Statement is not presented to the House, until about a day or two before it rises for the Session. Most of the influential members have then gone away from London to all parts of the world, and you have the Budget Statement made to a House consisting only nominally of 40 members, no more than half-a-dozen of whom remain present when the statement is actually made. (*Shame.*) If the statement could be brought forward at an earlier date, many of the most influential members, who take an interest in Indian affairs, would remain in London and take part in the discussion, but at present it is impossible that it should be so. I remember when I was present in the House last year, to listen to the Budget Statement, there was a time when the only members present were the Chairman of Committee, Mr. Courtney and Sir R. Lethbridge, who was addressing the empty benches of the House. (*Laughter.*) There was not another soul present, Mr. Bradlaugh having withdrawn for two or three minutes to the smoking-room. This state of things operates very detrimentally to India, and I think, if we from this Congress, send up a petition to the House asking them to consider this prayer of ours, it will be granted. I accordingly ask you to adopt this proposition and empower our President to sign and present to Parliament a petition, on our behalf, pointing out how seriously we suffer, from the change of rules and deprecating earnestly the late date at which the Budget is introduced. (*Cheers.*)

There is no doubt that the, apparently heartless, neglect of the British House of Commons, where Indian matters are concerned, is producing a very undesirable feeling in the minds of some of our people, and it may be

* *Vide* pp. 69, 70 of the Detailed Report.

well, therefore, to quote a portion of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's speech on this Resolution, the more so that every sentence was received by his audience in a manner which showed how correctly he was expressing the universal feeling. He said* :—

“ You will remember that two years ago when we met at Madras, we expressed our deep regret at the fact that the English Parliament did not devote that attention to our affairs which we had a right to expect of it. But now we regret still more to find that during the period that has since elapsed, matters have gone from bad to worse. Till recently, when the Indian Budget was laid before the House of Commons such of the members, as felt any interest in our affairs, were given an opportunity of saying whatever they thought necessary to say on our behalf. We complained that the opportunity thus afforded was very inadequate for anything like a fair consideration of the affairs of this vast country, and we prayed that more time might be given to the consideration of those affairs. (*Hear, hear.*) But so far from that reasonable request being granted we find, gentlemen, that even the little opportunity that had hitherto been allowed for the discussion of Indian questions has been circumscribed within still narrower bounds. The new rules of the House have, in a way, practically shut out all discussion bearing on the welfare of the 250 millions of Her Majesty's subjects in India. (*Shame, shame.*) I cannot properly express the regret and disappointment which this has created amongst us.

“ Mr. Bonnerjee has very ably pointed out how injuriously to us this new rule of the House of Commons operates. The British Parliament, as representing the British people, is the one power to whom we look for the redress of our grievances. They it is who are really responsible for the good or bad Government of this country. (*Hear, hear.*) And if they refuse or neglect to pay proper attention to our affairs, the result must be entirely injurious to the interests of our people. (*Cheers.*)

“ The importance and necessity of Parliamentary control over the Indian administration, especially in matters of finance has always been recognised. But it is even more important and necessary now than perhaps it ever was before ; for our finances are unfortunately getting more and more embarrassed day by day. And yet it is at this very critical time that Parliament has partly withdrawn even that little attention which it hitherto has been wont to bestow upon Indian questions. The evil results of this diminution of control are already visible. Hitherto when complaints were made of the excessive increase of expenditure in India the member of the Government in charge has grudgingly admitted that there was room for economy and retrenchment. In the year 1883, the House of Commons passed a resolution to the effect that in the opinion of that House it is necessary that early steps be taken to reduce the expenditure of India. Lord Kimberley, our then Secretary of State, in his despatch, dated the 8th of June 1883, urged the Government of India to take the subject of the reduction of expenditure into their earliest consideration. Lord Randolph Churchill, our next Secretary of State, later on, said that ‘ the financial position of India was very grave indeed, and required the most careful consideration, and the exercise of the most rigid economy was necessary, in his opinion, in order to avoid bankruptcy.’ But the withdrawal of Parliamentary control seems to have emboldened the present Under-Secretary to take up a very different attitude. When complaints were made on the occasion of the last debate on the Indian Budget in the House of Commons, of the ever-growing increase of expenditure in India, Sir John Gorst met them boldly by saying that ‘ expenditure has increased, it ought to increase, and it ought not to be diminished.’ (*Shame, shame.*) And he tried to justify this view by asserting that the wealth and prosperity of the country was increasing.

“ Now, gentlemen, no one would be more delighted than ourselves to know that the country was really growing in wealth and prosperity. (*Cheers.*) But unhappily the stern reality of facts forbids us from consoling ourselves with such pleasing fancies. We look wistfully in all directions ; we go deep into the Mofussil, we see our brethren in their homes and huts as they actually live ; and far from seeing any indications of that increasing prosperity which Sir J. Gorst said he discerned at that distance, we find the people growing poorer and less able to maintain themselves, their wives

* See pp. 70, 72 of the Detailed Report.

and children, than they were before. (*Cries of 'Hear, hear', and cheers.*) And we therefore say, gentlemen, that the increase of expenditure is under existing circumstances not only unjustifiable, but positively sinful. (*Prolonged cheers.*)

“The increase of public expenditure would undoubtedly be welcome if it followed upon an increase of wealth and prosperity among the people. There has been a large increase of revenue in England during the past quarter of a century. But it has followed an enormous growth of wealth and commerce in England, and no one complains much of it. But in India public expenditure goes on increasing while the condition of the people is deteriorating day by day. (*Hear, hear.*) One simple but incontrovertible proof of this lies in the fact that almost all the recent additions to the revenue of the Government have been screwed out of the first necessities of the Indian people. To take only the most recent instances, increased expenditure has been met by enhancing the duty on salt, a thing necessary alike to man and cattle ; by taxing the poor man's oil, as petroleum has rightly been called, by imposing a double tax on the famishing ryots of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and by misappropriating the Famine Insurance Fund (*shame!*), a fund especially created and promised by three Viceroys to be religiously set apart for meeting difficulties in times of scarcity and famine. (*Shame!*)

“This ceaseless growth of expenditure is, gentlemen, an evil of alarming magnitude and deserves the most earnest consideration of Parliament. (*Cheers.*) Look ! only to your military expenditure. In 1857 with an army numbering about 254,000 men, the total military expenditure amounted to 11½ millions a year. But now with an army smaller by not less than 40,000 men, your military expenditure stands at the high figure of 20 millions sterling a year ! And you know how it is met. It is met, as I have told you, by making salt and petroleum dear to the masses, and by making men starve and die in times of scarcity and famine. (*Cries of 'Shame !'*)”

The Resolution having been passed, Mr. Javerilal Umiashankar Yajnik, ex-Sheriff of Bombay, rose to propose a special vote of thanks to His Excellency Lord Reay, whose term of office was about to expire. No such vote had ever previously been passed by the Congress, for the simple reason that since our good Lord Ripon left us, there has been no Viceroy, or Governor, except Lord Reay, who has extended a single hearted and unremitting sympathy to the efforts and aspirations of the people of India. Mistakes may no doubt have occurred under Lord Reay's administration. It is so hard, so impossible at times, for one man, to struggle successfully, almost single handed, against that great conservative section* of the bureaucracy, into whose clutches almost all Viceroys and Governors, sooner or later, fall, becoming (unknown to themselves, and while still believing hugely in their own independence,) merely their puppets. This latter Lord Reay certainly never did become, although some people hold that, in more than one matter, the official classes succeeded in leading him astray ; but as Mr. Hormasjee A. Wadia, the well-known barrister in Kathiawar, remarked †:—

“What I wish to say is that if you regard the position in which the Governor of a Presidency is placed—if you see how he is surrounded, if you see what little means he has of knowing our wishes and our wants,—the surprise is not that Lord Reay has made, as some think, a mistake, here and there, but that his mistakes have been so few and so slight. (*Cheers.*)

“When a Governor comes to this country all the surroundings, political, social, public and private, influence him in one direction. We have no means at our command to redress the balance ; we have no organized means of letting him know the way in which we regard the questions of importance that come before him ; and if under these circumstances he makes a mistake the fault is not in the Governor, but in the system. The fact that Lord Reay has been such a successful Governor is

* We say section, advisedly, because though the majority of the officials are strongly hostile to Indian claims, there are everywhere a few good and wise men, who share Lord Reay's views and do what little they can for us.

† Page 74 of the Detailed Report.

due to the high sense of duty, to the lofty conception which he had of England's mission, and above all to the singular rectitude of purpose which has always guided him in everything that he has done for us. Of course he could not satisfy every interest, he could not satisfy every want and wish of the community over which he rules. In this respect I would remind you that the Governor of a Presidency is not a free agent. He, too, has to obey imperial behests, he has to shape his policy according to imperial demands ; and we have to remember the demands made upon the Provincial Government during Lord Reay's regime. You remember the late edict in which the Governor was told, ' Let your sick and suffering be without hospitals, let your uneducated poor remain without education, let no provision be made against famine, because we want all your money and all your taxes in order to indulge in annexation on the one hand and in creating frontier defences on the other.' I am afraid those frontier defences may prove the harbingers of further annexations in a more difficult and dangerous quarter. But this apart. In spite of these demands let us see what Lord Reay has done for us in this Presidency. He has created institutions, he has laid the foundations broad and deep for edifices that will rise hereafter to be the homes of industries, of arts, of sciences, such as never existed before in this country, and which I trust when they thrive and when they are properly supported, will remain for all time the mighty monuments of Lord Reay's wise, sympathetic and sagacious rule. These are remarks which refer perhaps locally to Bombay. I will only make one remark more which may be more in harmony with the feeling prevalent on this occasion ; I refer to Lord Reay's attitude to our aspirations and our demands. My friend Javerilal spoke of the members of Council whom Lord Reay had chosen ; and it is a remarkable fact that of his Councillors two have been Presidents of this Congress, and among the remainder you have no less than five, Messrs. Pherozshah Mehta, Nulkar, Dayaram Jethmul, Telang and Ranade, who have ever been leaders and pilots of the Congress movement on this side of India. (*Prolonged cheers.*)"

No doubt Lord Reay has had his detractors. The mere facts of his having persistently tried to do justice to the Indians and of his having sympathized with their aspirations were sufficient to condemn him in the eyes of that section of the Anglo-Indian community that reads and supports the *Pioneer* and similar papers. But we, at any rate, have never been misled, and he reaps in the love and gratitude of India's people an ample compensation for the sneers and calumnies with which the official journalistic organs have, from time to time, assailed him.

Thus runs the Resolution :—

RESOLVED : That in view to his approaching departure, this Congress puts on record an expression of the high sense entertained not only in the Bombay Presidency, but throughout India, of the ability, integrity, and impartiality that have characterised Lord Reay's administration, as also of the gratitude which the whole country feels to be his due for the sympathy that he has ever extended to Indian aspirations and efforts.

From all Presidencies Madras, Bombay, Bengal, the Panjab—from all classes. Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees, men rose to support it, and that too with a delicacy of feeling that should not pass unnoticed. Every man felt that one of Lord Reay's strongest claims to our gratitude was the determined effort that he had made to purify the higher ranks of the bureaucracy, but none even alluded to this matter, feeling that it would be ungenerous to hurl a stone at the fallen. Said Mr. Yajnik* :—

" Gentlemen, it will thus be seen that there is hardly an important province or an important interest which has been left unrepresented in the Legislative Council of Lord Reay ; Bombay, the Deccan, Gujarat, the Konkan, Sind, the Southern Maratha Country, and even the remote Canarese Districts, have all had their representatives, and these, in almost every case, the very Representatives that the people would themselves have selected."

* * * * *

" The only question which Lord Reay's nominations to the Legislative Council suggests is that though these have been good, exceptionally good nominations, what is the guarantee that under a

system which leaves the nomination of so-called representative men to the individual opinion of the head of the Government, equal discrimination will be shown at other times, in the selection of genuinely representative and able men? It is just because equal wisdom and impartiality never has anywhere else been shown in similar selections, that we insist so strongly on the right to elect these our, at present nominal, representatives ourselves, and it is just for this reason too that we desire to put clearly on record an expression, of the respect, admiration and gratitude which we feel to be Lord Reay's simple due."

Mr. A. M. Dharamsey, a well-known Musalman Solicitor, remarked* :—

"If there has been one thing, more than another, which has characterized Lord Reay's administration, it has been his anxious desire to deal in a spirit of fairness, and justice, equality and impartiality, with the varied interests committed to his care among the various sections of the community with which he has to deal. At the same time Lord Reay has not been unmindful of the special wants of the backward units; and as a member of the Mahomedan community I can assure you that Lord Reay has always given a willing ear to our demands, and, so far as lay in his power, has tried to meet our real wants. (*Cheers.*) The selections made by Lord Reay have marked a new era, a new departure in the nominations to our Legislative Council. Some of our best University men who had never before been appointed to the Council were appointed by Lord Reay; and I trust that the days of appointing as our so-called representatives, men who did not in any way represent the people of India, are gone by for ever, and that Lord Reay has rendered impossible a return of those old evil days. One remark more, and I have done. You have heard from my friend Mr. Wadia that Lord Reay has been a sympathiser with our just aspirations. I venture to say that next after the name of our late beloved Viceroy, Lord Ripon (*cheers*), the name of Lord Reay will be enshrined in our memories (*cheers*) and our hearts. (*Loud cheers.*)"

Nothing, however, was more striking than the address, brief as it was, of the Punjab Delegate.†

"LALA MURLIDHAR ascended the platform, and, raising his joined hands, said :—Brothers, that God may bless the country which has given to us such a just and conscientious Governor as Lord Reay, is the heartfelt prayer of the people of the Punjab. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)"

Finally the President said‡ :—

"Now, are you all agreed? (*Yes, yes; all, all! loud and prolonged cheering.*) Gentlemen, that Resolution has been carried by acclamation, and permit me to say, that in thus honouring Lord Reay you have equally done honour to yourselves. (*Cheers.*)"

The greater portion of the subsequent proceedings were more or less formal or referred to the internal affairs of the Congress itself. By a technical oversight the Subjects Committee had been allowed to expire, *re infecta*, and had to be resuscitated.§ The General Secretary had to be re-elected and a Joint Secretary appointed to carry on work during his absence in England. Some check had to be put on the large and ever growing number of delegates that throng our Congresses, and it was settled that in future the several jurisdictions were not to send more than five delegates for each million of the population they include, thus limiting future Congresses to some 1,000 members. Messrs. W. S. Caine, W. S. Bright Maclaren, J. E. Ellis, M.P.'s, Sir W. Wedderburn, Messrs. George Yule, and Dada-bhai Naoroji, had to be formally constituted, a London Committee, "to guide and direct the operations and control the expenditure of the National Congress Agency in England." Messrs. G. Yule, A. O. Hume, J. Adam, E. Norton, J. E. Howard, P. Mehta, S. Banerjee, M. M. Ghose, Sharfuddin,

* Detailed Report, p. 75.

† Detailed Report, p. 75.

‡ Detailed Report, p. 75.

§ Pages 75, 76 of the Detailed Report.

R. N. Mudholkar, and W. C. Bonerjee, had to be appointed a deputation, "to represent in England the views of the Congress, and press upon the British public the political reforms which it has advocated." And, lastly, money had to be voted for Congress work in England and India. Mr. Surendranath's eloquent speech may be read (pp. 76-78), as also Mr. Norton's, who succeeded him, but we need not quote from either, though both, together with Mr. Murlidhar's deposition on the table of a huge pile of rupees, contributed to the memorable scene that ensued.

It must be noted that a few months previously, the General Secretary finding that the contributions promised for the English Agency were not being sent home, found it necessary to send round a pretty smart reminder.

The country with its customary good temper and good sense at once woke up and despatched the necessary remittances. But though marked conspicuously "strictly private and confidential," some rascal (we have no Congress Secrets Act) stole a copy somewhere, and published it in one of the papers. Thereupon, the Anglo-Indian organs, and the *Time's* bright particular Calcutta Star, waxed jubilant, hailed this *ad interim* motion as the final verdict, and declared the Congress bankrupt in character and purse. Of course these poor people had never heard of a whip being sent round--nor did they realize, that great movements, like great poets, *quandoque dormitant*--so at last they were happy, and the Congress Hydra, was, according to them, finally trampled under foot. Well, this hurt no one, and nobody took any notice of their pæans of triumph, but a feeling grew up, throughout the country, that it would be well to reply to these by deeds and not words.

Hence no sooner had Mr. Norton announced donations (Mr. Sabapathy Mudaliar's and his own) of Rs. 2,000 and Mr. Murlidhar had poured his Rs. 555 on to the table, than this was literally besieged by donors. Such a sight has rarely been witnessed--the platform was fairly stormed by people desirous of adding their contributions* to the fund, and although the required amount voted by the Congress was only Rs. 45,000, in less than half an hour, over Rs. 9,000 had been heaped upon the table in coin and notes, and written promises for over Rs. 56,000, had been given in; in all Rs. 65,400, or nearly half as much again as had been asked for! Much more would undoubtedly have been collected, as many were still struggling through the vast crowd towards the table, but the presentation of addresses to Mr. Bradlaugh, after the close of the Congress, had been arranged for an hour, which was fast approaching.† The hall had to be cleared and rearranged, and all the addresses and their beautiful caskets had to be laid out on the table and platform, and so the President was compelled to call the assembly to order, make all resume their seats, (which they promptly did in obedience to his call, with that marvellous respect for constituted authority which

* One little incident may be noted. Our old friend, Swami Alaram, was at the Congress as usual, and when others were piling their money on the table, he ascended the platform and said:--"For thirty years, no money has ever dabbled my hands, so I have none to give, but I give you my blessing and my only worldly possession." So saying, he placed upon the table his large red blanket, which constituted his chief article of attire, and departed.

† And a large number of the European community who hitherto not attended the Congress were, it was known, coming to hear Mr. Bradlaugh speak, and it was not thoughtfit to risk keeping them waiting.

is one of the best characteristics of Indian audiences,) and proceed to complete the business the Congress still had to dispose of. Accordingly the Resolution then before the Congress, relating mainly to its own affairs, another fixing Bengal as the locality for the next Congress, and a third, embodying a very special vote of thanks to our universally respected President (which he duly replied to in his own modest, kindly fashion), were all passed unanimously or by acclamation, and then, to quote the report once more.*

“ The PRESIDENT said—The pleasing duty now remains to me of tendering our best thanks to the gentlemen of the Bombay Reception Committee and the Bombay Presidency generally for the magnificent reception accorded to us. (*Loud cheers.*) I now declare this Congress dissolved with three cheers for Her Gracious Majesty the Queen. (*Loud and enthusiastic cheers for Her Majesty, intermingled with cries of ‘ God bless our Empress,’ were accordingly given, and repeated again and again.*)”

“ The proceedings of the Congress then terminated.”

Thus, with ringing and manifestly heartfelt cheers, and blessings on our beloved Sovereign Lady, closed the Fifth Indian National Congress, an assemblage of which every Indian and every true Briton may be justly, and equally, proud.

With two exceptions, all the speeches, throughout the long discussions, were characterised by common-sense, courtesy, and consideration for the views of others, to a degree rarely met with in deliberative assemblies in any part of the world. The ability, the earnestness and the sincere sympathy for the sufferings of the poorer classes, evinced by many of the speakers were sufficient, without other evidence, to indicate the moral progress which this great movement is promoting. How the civic virtues of self-denial and self-sacrifice are being evolved, the enormous and almost incredible distance, in the aggregate, traversed by the nineteen hundred odd delegates, in journeying to and from the Congress, and the enthusiasm with which, for the first time in India, a gathering, mainly composed of the middle classes, subscribed in less than half an hour over Rs. 65,000 towards the furtherance of the Reforms they had advocated, sufficiently show.

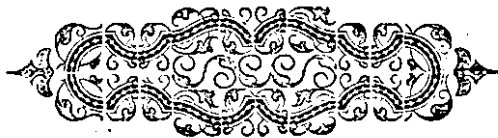
Nothing, again, could be more encouraging than the manner in which the Mahomedan delegates, after thoroughly talking over the matter amongst themselves, came round and frankly admitted the fairness of a resolution passed by the Congress, from which many of them, at the time, had dissented.

The presence of lady delegates, few in number, but all women who in one field or another have justly earned distinction, is a grateful indication of the awakening that is going on, throughout the country, to higher and better things.

Any man's heart (at least if that man truly loved either India or England) might well have been glad within him as he watched the proceedings of that grand assembly—three times as large as the House of Commons, and giving, as the President playfully remarked, three times as little trouble to manage—watched them to their triumphant close and realized all that they signified and the enormous and healthy growth of National life that they symbolized.

One thing, only, remains and that is for the people of Great Britain to justify and strengthen by righteous deeds the high and loving estimation in which they are held by their Indian fellow-subjects. "We have great confidence," said Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, amidst the thundrous applause of assenting thousands, "in the justice and generosity of the English people, and above all we rely with abounding faith upon the liberty-loving instincts of the greatest Representative assembly in the world—the palladium of English liberty, the sanctuary of the free and brave—the British House of Commons." From that assembly, he went on to say "can come but one response to our prayers which, I am confident, will be in accord with the great traditions of the English people and will serve to consolidate the foundations of British Rule in India and to broad-base it upon the affections of a happy, prosperous and contented people."

Let Britain only heartily reciprocate (as all her best and noblest surely will) these generous and appreciative sentiments, and a brighter era dawning alike for England and for India, will amply repay her for her magnanimity, and *us*, for all our labours.



SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS
PASSED AT THE
FIFTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

Held at Bombay on the 26th, 27th, and 28th December 1889.

RESOLUTION I.

Resolved—That an address be presented to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., on behalf of this Congress here assembled, and that Messrs. Adam, Pherozshah Mehta, and W. C. Bonnerjee are appointed a Committee to settle the wording of the said address.

RESOLUTION II.

Resolved—That the following skeleton scheme for the reform and reconstitution of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations, and the Provincial Legislative Councils, is adopted, and that the President of this Congress do submit the same to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M.P., with the respectful request of this Congress that he may be pleased to cause a Bill to be drafted on the lines indicated in this skeleton scheme and introduce the same in the British House of Commons :—

SCHEME.

- (1) The Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils to consist respectively of Members not less than one half of whom are to be elected, not more than one-fourth to sit *ex-officio* and the rest to be nominated by Government.
- (2) Revenue districts to constitute ordinarily territorial units, for electoral purposes.
- (3) All male British subjects above 21 years of age possessing certain qualifications and not subject to certain disqualifications (both of which will be settled later) to be voters.
- (4) Voters in each district to elect representatives to one or more electoral bodies, according to local circumstances, at the rate of 12 per million of the total population of the district, such representatives to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.

- (5) All the representatives thus elected by all the districts included in the jurisdiction of each electoral body, to elect members to the Imperial Legislature at the rate of 1 per every five millions of the total population of the electoral jurisdiction, and to their own Provincial Legislature at the rate of 1 per million of the said total population, in such wise that whenever the Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus are in a minority, the total number of Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus, as the case may be, elected to the Provincial Legislature, shall not, so far as may be possible, bear a less proportion to the total number of members elected thereto, than the total number of Parsees, Christians, Hindus or Mahomedans, as the case may be, in such electoral jurisdiction, bears to its total population. Members of both legislatures to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications both of which will be settled later.
- (6) All elections to be by ballot.

RESOLUTION III.

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

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

and restrictions as may seem necessary, such a system of volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country, as may qualify them to support the Government in any crisis ;

- (g) the extremely unsatisfactory character of the Income Tax Administration, especially as regards incomes below Rupees one thousand, and the expediency of raising the taxable minimum to this amount ;
- (h) the extreme importance of increasing, instead of diminishing, as the present tendency appears to be, the public expenditure on education in all its branches, and the necessity, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of the appointment of a mixed commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country ;
- (i) the impolicy and injustice involved in the late increase of the Salt Tax in a time of profound peace, and the urgent necessity for an immediate reduction of this tax, and the reimposition, to balance the deficit thus caused, of light *ad valorem* import duties ;
- (j) the necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual increase to, the military expenditure of the country.

RESOLUTION IV.

Resolved—That this Congress hereby tenders its sincere thanks to Messrs. Caine and Smith, and the members who voted with them, in connection with the debate on the Indian Excise Question in the House of Commons ; and while fully appreciating what has been done by some of the local Governments towards the improvement of their systems of Excise and Abkari, desires to express the earnest hope that no further time may be lost in giving full effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons.

RESOLUTION V.

Resolved—That this Congress, while thanking Her Majesty's Government for raising the age for the Indian Civil Service Competitive Examination from 19 to 23, does hereby put on record an emphatic expression of the universal disappointment which has been created by the rest of that Government's orders in regard to the Public Service Question, (the net result of which orders is to place the people of India in a worse position than they previously held), and reiterates the national conviction that no real justice will be done to India, in this matter, until the simultaneous holding in India, and in England, of all Examinations, for all Civil branches of the Public Service in India, at present held only in England, be conceded.

RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved—That in view of the loyalty of the people, the hardships that the Arms Act, (XI. of 1878), as at present administered, entails, and the unmerited slur which it casts, upon them, the Government be moved so to modify the rules made under this Act that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally, to all persons residing in or visiting India ; that licenses to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and generally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops, and that these and all licenses issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.

RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved—That the Government be urged to take the subject of a Permanent Settlement once more under consideration in view to practical action thereon, such that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revenue demand without further delay, at any rate in all fully populated and well cultivated tracts of country.

RESOLUTION VIII.

Resolved—That in view of the fall that has already occurred in the price of silver and in the exchange value of the Indian Rupee, it is impolitic on the part of the British Government to maintain any hinderances whatever to the consumption of silver for manufacturing purposes ; and that this Congress strongly urges upon Her Majesty's Government that, not only as an act of justice to India (a matter which has been repeatedly brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Ministers), but also as an act of expediency in the interests of Her Majesty's British as well as Indian subjects, the plate duties should be immediately abolished; and Hall-marking be made a voluntary institution.

RESOLUTION IX.

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

RESOLUTION X.

Resolved—That in view to his approaching departure, this Congress puts on record an expression of the high sense entertained, not only in the Bombay Presidency, but throughout India, of the ability, integrity and impartiality that have characterised Lord Reay's administration, as also of the gratitude which the whole country feels to be his due for the sympathy that he has ever extended to Indian aspirations and efforts.

RESOLUTION XI.

Resolved—That the Subjects Committee be instructed to settle the questions, (left open in the skeleton scheme for the reconstruction of the councils, embodied in resolution II.), of the qualifications requisite for, and the disqualifications which should debar from, becoming

- (a) a Voter ;
- (b) a Representative ;
- (c) a Member of a Provincial Legislative Council and
- (d) a Member of the Imperial Legislative Council ;

and to submit their Report thereon to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M.P., for the purposes of the Bill which he has been requested to have drawn.

RESOLUTION XII.

Resolved—That Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., be re-elected General Secretary of the National Indian Congress for the ensuing year.

RESOLUTION XIII.

Resolved—

- (a) That, in view of the large number of delegates this year assembled and the probability, arising from past experience, of their number continuing to increase year by year, henceforth the number of delegates to be allowed from each Congress circle be limited to five per million of the total population of the circle : the Standing Committee of each circle allotting the number within their jurisdiction, as a whole, is entitled to elect, amongst their several electoral divisions, as may seem most expedient.
- (b) That from the date of Mr. Hume's departure for England, the Hon'ble Pundit Ajoodhianath be appointed Joint General Secretary, and that Rs. 5,000 be assigned for the payment by him of such Assistant Secretaries as he may find it necessary to employ, clerical assistance, postage, telegraphs, and printing, and further that Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee be appointed Standing Counsel for Bengal, Mr. Phorooshah Mehta, Standing Counsel for Bombay, and Mr. Ananda Charlu, Standing Counsel for Madras, to the Joint General Secretary.

- (c) That the tentative rules for the constitution and working of the Congress which were first considered at Madras, and in regard to which various addenda have from time to time been circulated, be thoroughly considered during the coming year by the several Standing Congress Committees, and definitely dealt with by the Congress at its next session.
- (d) That this Congress does hereby confirm the appointment of Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart., and Messrs. W. S. Caine, M.P., W. S. Bright Maclaren, M.P., J. E. Ellis, M.P., Dadabhai Naoroji and George Yule, as a Committee (with power to add to their number) to guide and direct the operations and control the expenditure of the National Congress Agency in England, and does further tender its sincere thanks to these gentlemen, and to Mr. W. Digby, C.I.E., the Secretary, for the service which they are rendering to India.
- (e) That this Congress does formally appoint Mr. George Yule, Mr. A. O. Hume, Mr. Adam, Mr. Eardley Norton, Mr. J. E. Howard,* Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, Mr. Mono Mohan Ghose, Mr. Shurfuddin, Mr. R. N. Mudholker, and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee to represent its views in England and press upon the consideration of the British Public the political reforms which the Congress has advocated.
- (f) That a sum of Rs. 45,000 be raised for the expenses of the Congress Work in this country and in England during the ensuing year, and that the different Standing Committees do send their respective apportioned amounts to the General Secretary, the one half in three, and the balance in six months.

RESOLUTION XIV.

Resolved—That the Sixth Indian National Congress do assemble at some City in Bengal, the exact place to be fixed hereafter, on the 26th of December, 1890.

RESOLUTION XV.

Resolved—That the Fifth Indian National Congress hereby tenders its heart-felt thanks to its President, Sir William Wedderburn, as well for his ready sacrifice of personal and political considerations involved by his journey from England to India, as for that courtesy, impartiality and never failing sympathy which, characteristics of his long and honourable career as an official of this country, have marked his control of the proceedings of this assembly.

WILLIAM WEDDERBURN,

President of the

Fifth Indian National Congress.

BOMBAY, *December 31st, 1889.*

* By some oversight, this gentleman's name was omitted, when the Resolution was read to the Congress—the error has been rectified with the consent of the several Standing Congress Committees.

DETAILED
REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
 OF THE
FIFTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
 HELD AT
BOMBAY
 ON THE 26th, 27th, AND 28th OF DECEMBER 1889.

FIRST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

THE FIRST MEETING OF THE FIFTH CONGRESS took place on the afternoon of the 26th December 1889, in a magnificent temporary Hall, 200 feet in length by 130 feet in breadth, and with a very broad verandah, outside this again, running along its Southern and Western faces. The Hall was erected,* by the kind permission of Sir ALBERT SASSOON, Bart., on a large open space, enclosed by handsome iron railings, adjoining his Mansion, Sans-souci, and now his property. Suitable sites are extremely difficult to procure in Bombay and the Congress are greatly indebted to Sir Albert, for his kindly loan of this excellent and peculiarly centrally situated plot.

1st Day.

Seats had been provided for over 2,000 delegates and some 2,500 visitors, but, as far as could be ascertained, some four thousand of the latter succeeded in finding, at least standing room in the hall, and fully half as many more, thronged the Waiting Hall (80 feet square), the verandahs and all the approaches to the Hall.

At 2 P.M. the chair was taken by Mr. PHEROZSHA M. MEHTA, (late member of the Bombay Council), the Chairman of the Reception Committee, to whom pertained, *ex-officio*, the duty of opening the Congress, and calling upon the delegates to elect a President.

Mr. PHEROZSHA M. MEHTA (*Bombay, No. 967, in list*) rose and said :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,†—On behalf of the Reception Committee, I beg to tender to you all, Delegates of the Fifth Indian National Congress, a cordial, sincere, and earnest welcome. (*Cheers.*) It would be at all times a high pleasure and privilege to receive and welcome so many and such distinguished guests from all parts of the country. But when I remember that, though you may not be the chosen of the people by any scientific mode of election, you virtually and substantially represent them, their wants, wishes, sentiments and aspirations, in all the various ways in which representation manifests and works itself out in the early stages of its progressive development, that pleasure and that privilege are infinitely enhanced. (*Cheers.*) There is, besides, a peculiar zest in our welcome of you; for in welcoming the Congress to Bombay, we welcome it back to "its own native land." (*Cheers.*) I well remember the day, this time four years ago, when, anxiously but hopefully, we launched the Congress on its enterprise, not of supplanting the existing rulers of the country, but of supplementing the endeavours of the best and most sagacious among them by proposing modifications and developments based on our peculiar and native knowledge and information, and suggested, gratefully, by that enlightenment and education, which is one of the most precious gifts bestowed upon us by British rule. (*Loud and prolonged cheering.*) The young enthusiast, whom we thus started, has now come back to us, robust and manly, broadened and strengthened, with a record of achievement of which we may be justly proud. (*Renewed cheering.*) Even the indirect political gains of the Congress have not been inconsiderable. It has brought vividly into clear and emphatic recognition that most important fact of the growth of the national idea amongst us. Despite social and religious differences, we have all begun earnestly to realize that we are

Chairman
 of
 Reception
 Committee's
 Address.

* To Mr. Makoond, a well known Engineer here, and a staunch Congress man, is due the entire credit for this remarkably effective and thoroughly satisfactory erection.

† To Mr. Thos. Reid, the eminent English shorthand writer, who came out to Bombay specially to report the proceedings of the Congress, we are indebted for the extreme accuracy, hitherto rarely, if ever, attained in India, of this present report.

1st Day.
 Chairman
 of
 Reception
 Com-
 mittee's
 Address.

fairly on the way to a common national existence, united and bound together by the common political ties of an equal, impartial and enlightened rule, just as the United States have raised up the American Nation on the basis of an infinite diversity of races and creeds. When we call the Congress national, we give expression to this nationalizing tendency which is now so powerfully leavening New India. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*) Instead of being jealously resented and angrily denounced, this free and frank acknowledgment of the grandest outcome of British rule ought to be welcomed as a sure token of our rational and discerning loyalty (*cheers*), at least by those who are always so mightily distressed that we do not set up a perpetual hallelujah in praise of it, in season and out of season. (*Renewed cheers.*) Then, gentlemen, the labours of the Congress have contributed to do that which is a necessary prelude to all reform, a thorough sifting and searching of some of the most vital of Indian political problems. Nothing that passion or prejudice or malice could urge has been left unsaid. And now that the proposals of the Congress have bravely stood the test, our opponents have recourse to the familiar device, which is so often employed to cover retreat, and they are lost in wonder that we are making so much fuss about things which have nothing new in them and which have been long contemplated by many an Anglo-Indian statesman at the head of affairs. Now, gentlemen, we are quite ready at once to plead guilty to this not very dreadful impeachment. (*Laughter.*) But though it may not be said of these statesmen what was once said of the Anti-Reform party in England, and can certainly be said of some Anglo-Indians, that they never have anything kind or generous to say of the Indian people, this may surely be said of them, that though they do sometimes have something generous to say of the Indians, they have never shown the slightest disposition to confer upon them any portion of political rights. If the Congress has done nothing more than quicken into action these political *yogis*, so long lost in contemplation, it will not have laboured in vain. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*)

Laden with these and other gains, the Congress has now come back to us, but not without undergoing trials and ordeals, two of which have been of exceptional severity. The first device employed by our opponents was to create disunion and dissension among ourselves. (*Cries of "Shame."*) Well, gentlemen, in a country so vast and varied as India, it would be impossible, it would be unnatural, to expect perfect and absolute unanimity. (*Hear, hear.*) It is no wonder that we have our halt, our lame, and our blind, and that they should hobble off to what I may call the Indian political cave of Adullam at the call of Sir Syed Ahmed and Rajah Shiva Prasad. But when two gentlemen, so amiable, so patriotic, so anxious to display their loyalty, were united together in one party, and formed the Anti-Congress United Patriotic Association, the same difficulty arose that was described by Mr. Bright, from whom I have borrowed my illustration, as having arisen in the case of the Anti-reform Adullamites. They were too like the traditional Scotch terrier, who was so covered with hair, that you could not tell which was the head or which was the tail of it. (*Laughter and cheers.*) Sir Syed Ahmed pulled vigorously one way, Rajah Shiva Prasad as vigorously the other; and they so pulled between them the poor popinjay they had set up—that it burst, and poured out—to the amazement of a few, and the amusement of us all,—not the real patriotic stuff with which it had been announced to be filled, but the whitest and the purest saw-dust. (*Renewed laughter and cheers.*) The utter collapse of this vaunted Patriotic Association has taught our opponents a significant lesson. Every blandishment had been employed to lure prince and peasant; but prince and peasant alike would have none of it. It would be difficult to gather a more convincing, if passive and indirect, proof that the heart of the country is with us, and that it understands and appreciates the honesty, the loyalty, and the propriety of the movement. (*Cheers.*)

I should like to say here one word to the delegates from Bengal and the North-West Provinces, lest they should imagine that I have referred to these events, which pertain more particularly to their Provinces, with the object of indirectly boasting of our own immunity from human frailty. (*Cries of "No, no."*) Let me at once proceed to assure them that we in this Presidency, have also our halt, our lame, and our blind. We also have had our little cave of Adullam. (*Laughter and cheers.*) But I am glad to be able to inform you that we have taken the infection very mildly, and that there is every hope of a speedy and complete recovery. (*Laughter and cheers.*)

Baffled in the attempt to disunite us, our opponents had recourse to a measure of extraordinary virulence. They raised against us a cry as terrible as the cry of heresy which was sometimes raised in the old days of the Inquisition to crush an obnoxious personage, otherwise unimpeachable and invulnerable. They raised against us the cry of sedition and disloyalty. (*Cries of "Shame."*) It was a cry well calculated to create alarm and uneasiness even among persons otherwise well disposed towards us. The Congress has, however, met the charge firmly and boldly (*cheers*) by a steadfast appeal to the authoritative record of our words, thoughts, and deeds, and to the personalities of the members composing it year after year. (*Renewed cheers.*) It was conclusively shown that the

charge was founded on calumnies, lies, and misrepresentations. (*Renewed cheers.*) Then, gentlemen, something like the old story of the wolf and the lamb enacted itself. True, you may not be disloyal yourselves, said the wolf, that does not matter at all; it is quite enough that your great-grandfathers were, and your great-grand-children might be. The Congress has, however, emerged unscathed even from this trial. Never was a greater truth uttered than that to which our esteemed friend Mr. Caine gave utterance, that we of the Congress are more loyal than Anglo-Indians themselves. (*Loud cheers.*) If by loyalty is meant a keen solicitude for the safety and permanence of the Empire, in which, we are firmly persuaded, lie implanted the roots of the welfare, the prosperity, and the good government of the country, then we are certainly more loyal than Anglo-Indians, who do not hesitate frequently to subordinate the interests of that safety and that permanence to the seductions of conquest and vainglory, or to the immediate gains and temptations of commercial enterprise. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*)

Therefore it is that all our greetings of welcome go forth to you, and with a full heart we wish you God-speed in your labours. Those labours have for their aim and object measures of which the central idea has been recently admirably summarized by one of the most sober and sagacious of modern politicians, Sir Charles Dilke, when he said that the time had now arrived when it was neither safe nor expedient to continue to carry on the administration of the country by the hands of a secret and irresponsible bureaucracy, and that working on lines already laid down, a distinct step in advance should now be made. The policy of the Congress is thus a policy, not seditious or revolutionary, but "conservative of the public welfare, strengthening the just authority of the British Government, and adding day by day fresh lustre and dignity to the Imperial Crown." (*Loud cheers.*) I do not know whether we are doomed to failure or destined to succeed; but the blessing which rests upon all high and honest endeavour will surely rest upon a mission imposed by duty, sanctified by patriotism and guided by loyalty. (*Cheers.*)

And now, gentlemen, I know you will not allow me to conclude without giving utterance to the deep thankfulness which we feel at the presence among us to-day of one whom we have learned to hail as the Member for India in the British House of Commons. (*Loud cheers and cries of "Cheers for Mr. Bradlaugh."*) The strength and greatness of the English character has been proudly sung by one of their most charming poets in lines with which we are familiar:—

Pride in their port, defiance in their eye,
I see the lords of human kind pass by.

But it has always seemed to me that English strength and greatness consist in nothing so much as in the lofty conception of moral and political duty which illumines the life and career of many an illustrious Englishman. We still mourn the loss of that great and good man whose heart was always with us, and whose voice was always raised for us, during many a long and eventful year. The memory of John Bright is reverently enshrined in our hearts. His place was filled by one whose life has a singular charm for all who prize sober simplicity and nobility of character above rank and riches. I mean Professor Fawcett. (*Cheers.*) The mantle has now descended upon Mr. Bradlaugh. (*Renewed cries of "Cheers for Mr. Bradlaugh."*) We sincerely and unaffectedly joined in the general grief at his recent illness, not simply out of selfish fears of losing our chosen champion, but out of that single-hearted feeling of sorrow which all men feel, when peril threatens a life devoted to high and unselfish ends. I know I am not employing the language of exaggeration when I say that our hearts are unutterably stirred within us at his presence among us to-day, restored to health and usefulness. (*Cheers.*) With no particular thoughts of the Congress in our minds, let us wish him that simple welcome which is in all our hearts and the hearts of people all over the country.

Having now delivered to you my message of welcome, I invite you to proceed to elect your president. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

MR. W. C. BONNERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 1788, in list*) rose amidst loud cheering and said:—MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW DELEGATES,—Following the precedent of former Congresses, our first business is to proceed to the election of a President, and it is my privilege to place before you the name of one who is already well-known to you all, and who, if you approve of my nomination, will preside over this assembly. I mean Sir William Wedderburn. (*Prolonged cheers.*) If you look back to the Presidents that we have had from 1885, you will see that the selection of Sir William Wedderburn has been arrived at by a sort of logical process. The first Congress in 1885, was comparatively an insignificant one, and you were presided over on that occasion by an equally insignificant individual.* (*Loud cries of "No, no."*) The second Congress had the honor of being presided over by one who has devoted the whole of his life to the cause of his country, and who, even in his old age, is at the present moment, appealing to the electors of one of the constituencies of England in order that, if returned to the House of Commons, he may be able still more effectively to

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Chairman
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Reception
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Election of
President.
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Mr. W. C.
Bonnerjee
proposes
Sir W.
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serve that country. Can I name Dadabhai Naoroji without calling from you enthusiastic applause. (*Long and loud cheers.*) The third Congress was presided over by a gentleman of the Mahomedan persuasion, who, having distinguished himself at the bar and in public life, was thought to be the fittest man to contradict the rumours that had been sedulously cast abroad that this was a Hindu Congress and that Mahomedan gentlemen had no sympathy with it. The next President ought, according to the process which we followed, to have been a gentleman belonging to the Eurasian community; but at the time when it became necessary to select a President the man amongst the Eurasian community whom the whole of this country would have hailed with one voice as President of the Congress, Mr. D. S. White, was lying ill in bed; and while he was in that condition it would have been improper for us to ask any other Eurasian gentleman to take his place. Now, unfortunately, he is no more; and India has lost one of her brightest sons and best patriots in Mr. D. S. White. (*Prolonged cheers.*) Failing Mr. White, we had to go to that other community in India, the Anglo-Indian community, and there we found our late respected President Mr. George Yule. (*Loud cheers.*) Of him I need say no more than this, that having retired to England he is still devoting his time and his money to the furtherance of the cause of the Congress. (*Cheers.*) From the non-official European community to the official European community is but a slight descent (*laughter*), but unfortunately it is impossible for us to get a gentleman at the time actually belonging to the official classes to guide our deliberations. However sympathetic they may be, however much they may wish success to the Congress, the rules of the service to which they belong prevent their publicly joining us and taking a prominent part in our proceedings. But ex-officials do not occupy such a restricted position: they are able to exercise their judgment in matters political. And we have in Sir William Wedderburn an ex-official who has throughout his career in this country, extending over 25 years, shown the deepest sympathy with the aspirations of the people of this country, and who is one of the few men in the service who have had the eye to see and the heart to feel that the Government of India, conducted though it may be upon generous principles, is not all that is required for the best interests of the country, and that its institutions require to be liberalized in order that they may harmonize with the conditions of the present day. (*Cheers.*) Speaking in Bombay, in the chief city of the presidency, where Sir William Wedderburn has passed almost the whole of his official life, I need not detain you by enumerating the many services which he has rendered to the country. If I may venture so to speak, the greatest service which he could render to the cause of the country is that which at great personal sacrifice he is now rendering. He is, as you are aware, contesting the seat of North Ayrshire in the House of Commons; and those of you who know anything of English politics know how essential it is to work day after day and month after month, and so keep persistently before your constituents as to make certain of their voices when the right moment comes. Sir William Wedderburn has unhesitatingly, left that, his own work, for the purpose of devoting himself to this our work for which, relying on his love to India and her people, we have summoned him to India. Let us hope that his being amongst us will not in any degree prejudice his chances in North Ayrshire. Let us from this Congress Hall send up the united voice of India praying the electors of North Ayrshire to do themselves the honor of electing Sir William Wedderburn as their representative (*cheers*) so that, while looking as he assuredly will, closely after the interests of his own constituency, he may be able also to devote himself to the cause of India which we know is ever near his heart. (*Loud cheers.*)

The Hon'ble
Pundit
Ajoodhia-
nath
Seconds.

THE HON'BLE PUNDIT AJOODHIANATH (*North-West Provinces, No. 1517, in list*)—MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW DELEGATES,—It affords me sincere pleasure to second the proposition that has just been laid before you. With long and varied experience Sir William Wedderburn unites in himself a deep interest in the amelioration of the political condition of the country; and he has availed himself of every opportunity to do all that he can for the good of India, and that at great personal sacrifice. We only wish that there were many more Englishmen like Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. Bradlaugh. I am happy indeed to think that their number is increasing. India feels that she cannot pay her debt of gratitude to gentlemen like these; but she appreciates their kindness all the same. (*Cheers.*) I do not wish to inflict a long speech upon you on this occasion. But permit me to refer to a matter to which my learned leader has referred, namely the unity of the different races and classes of the country. I am a living evidence of that. I am returned not only by Allahabad, but I come before you as one of the representatives—will you guess of whom?—of the Mahomedans of Bombay. (*Cheers.*) A meeting which has just been held at no great distance from this place, under the presidency of a Mahomedan Moulvi, who is well known for his ability, his knowledge of Mahomedan law and his piety, elected me unanimously as one of its delegates. You may take it from me that that meeting was convened by Mahomedans and for Mahomedans only. Let Sir Syed Ahmed now sit in mourning for a fortnight. (*Cheers and laughter.*) And let us, gentlemen, most joyfully adopt the proposition now before the meeting. (*Cheers.*)

RAJAH T. RAMA RAO (*late member of Council, Madras, No. 43, in list.*)—GENTLEMEN, I have the honour to support the proposition which has been so ably proposed, namely, to ask Sir William Wedderburn to be President of our fifth National Congress. I have great pleasure in supporting the motion that Sir William Wedderburn, an Englishman of first-rate capacity, do take the chair, and I would ask him to observe carefully how two thousand Indians assembled from every town and district in the Empire can meet and discuss the most important national questions. Gentlemen, in Bombay it is needless for me to recall the claims of Sir William Wedderburn to your gratitude. As a Madrassee let me say that his liberal views and advanced sentiments have not passed unnoticed in the sister Presidency. Remember also that we are under the eyes of an able debater, of a careful speaker, an attentive observer, a friend of India, and a champion of her rights. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, let him go back to his native country with the happiest recollections of what he has seen in this large meeting, and let him take home with him the impression, nay, the conviction, that we can manfully uphold our rights, and that we are not merely empty babblers. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, let us all join together and request Sir William Wedderburn to take the chair. (*Cheers.*)

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Rajah
Rama Rao
Supports.

MR. PHEROZSHA M. MEHTA (*Bombay, No. 967, in list.*)—GENTLEMEN,—No other name has been proposed and you have received Sir William's with enthusiasm; I now ask you if you are unanimous in desiring that he should be your President? (*Cries of "Yes, yes; all, all."*) Then I declare Sir William Wedderburn to be duly elected as President of this Congress and I will ask you, Sir (*turning to Sir William Wedderburn*), kindly to take the chair.

—
Sir W.
Wedder-
burn
declared
Elected.
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SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, PRESIDENT (*Calcutta, No. 1825, in list*), then took the chair amidst a perfect storm of applause, the entire assembly rising and hailing him with prolonged and deafening cheers. When this great ovation had a little subsided, he rose and said :—

I thank you, gentlemen, from the bottom of my heart, for the great honor you have conferred upon me. I beg leave also to offer my acknowledgments to the mover, the seconder and the supporter of this resolution for the gracious terms in which they have referred to my past connection with India. After our long acquaintance it seems hardly necessary that I should assure you of my feelings of good-will towards the people of India. (*Cheers.*) But I will mention this one fact, that I have passed a quarter of a century among you, and during that period of time I have not known what it was to suffer an unkindness from a native of India. During that period I have been in the service of the people of India, and have eaten their salt. (*Loud and continued cheering.*) And I hope to devote to their service what still remains to me of active life. I take this chair to-day with much pleasure and pride. It warms my heart to receive this mark of confidence from the Indian people. And I rejoice to take part in a movement so well calculated to promote the best interests of India and of England. (*Cheers.*)

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I have watched from its commencement the movement which has now culminated in the National Indian Congress. And in my humble judgment the movement is unmitigated good, in its origin, its objects, and its methods. As regards its historical origin, we know that it is the direct result of the noblest efforts of British statesmanship: the natural and healthy fruit of higher education and free institutions freely granted to the people of India. Again, what are the practical objects of the Congress movement? They are, to revive the National life, and to increase the material prosperity of the country; and what better objects could we have before us? Lastly as regards our methods, they are open and constitutional, and based solely on India's reliance upon British justice and love of fair-play. Looking back to the history of the movement, there was one critical time in its development: that was about ten years ago. The leaven was then actually at work, though the purposes of the movement were not then so well defined, and it was unwisely sought to deal with it by a policy of repression. The results might have been disastrous. But happily that time of tribulation was cut short by the arrival of the greatest and best of all our Viceroy's, the Marquis of Ripon. (*Loud cheers.*) By his wise and sympathetic policy Lord Ripon met and fulfilled the aspirations of the national movement. And on their side the people of India recognised that a government conducted in such a spirit could not be regarded as an alien rule. This was the meaning of the passionate demonstrations at the time of Lord Ripon's departure. You, gentlemen, will correct me if I am wrong in saying that those demonstrations were a popular declaration that on such terms British rule could be accepted as the national Government of the Indian people. (*Long and enthusiastic cheers.*)

But, gentlemen, you know all this as well as I do, and better. I think what you want to hear from me is not so much about your affairs in India as about your affairs in England. I have been nearly three years away from you, and have been studying English politics with special reference to Indian interests. And you would like to know what are the

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results. You will naturally ask me, what are the prospects of the Congress movement in England? What are the obstacles which we have to overcome? And what are the practical objects to which our activity can best be directed? To these inquiries I would reply generally that our hopes depend entirely upon the degree to which the British people can be induced to exert their power with reference to India. Our one great ultimate question is that of a Parliamentary control over Indian affairs. If that can be obtained, all will be well. The case of India in England is really a simple one. The Crown and Parliament of Great Britain have laid down certain broad and liberal principles for the administration of India, and have solemnly pledged themselves that these shall be acted on. With those principles the people of India are fully satisfied. But the difficulty is in the practice. For owing to the necessity of the case the actual administration has to be entrusted to official agents in India. And the problem is, how under the circumstances can an effectual control be exercised from England so as to ensure these principles being carried out and these pledges fulfilled? Unfortunately there is one very serious fact which much enhances the difficulty of this problem, and it is this, that in certain important particulars the professional interests of our official administrators in India are in antagonism with the interests of the Indian tax-payer whose affairs they administer. This is a somewhat delicate matter, but it is an important one, and I feel it my duty to speak out clearly. Perhaps also it is easier for me than for most people to speak freely regarding the Indian official class, and that for two reasons. First, because I am deeply interested personally in the honor of that class. (*Hear, hear.*) The Indian Civil Service has been a sort of hereditary calling in our family since the beginning of the century. My father entered the Civil Service in 1807; and my eldest brother followed him, until he lost his life in the Bengal mutinies. I came out shortly afterwards so that we are identified with what may be called the Indian official caste. The other reason is, because my complaint is against the system; not against the men who carry it out. On the contrary, it is my deliberate belief that the Indian Civil and Military services have never been surpassed for honest hard work and unselfish devotion to duty. (*Cheers.*) Such being the case, I have no hesitation in repeating that the interests of the Indian services are in great measure antagonistic to the interests of the Indian tax-payer. The main interests of the Indian tax-payer are peace, economy and reform. But all those are necessarily distasteful to the civil and military classes. A spirited and well equipped army naturally desires, not peace, but active service. And who can reasonably expect officials to love economy, which means reduction of their own salaries; or reform, which means restriction of their authority? (*Cheers and laughter.*) It cannot be expected that as a class our official administrators in India will work for peace, economy and reform. But this very fact makes all the more urgent the necessity for a control in England which shall be both vigilant and effectual. We have therefore now to see what is the state of that control. Is it strong, vigilant, and effectual? I am sorry to say that the answer to this question is highly unsatisfactory. A brief historical review will, I fear, show that, in the matter of Parliamentary control, things have gone from bad to worse, until they are now about as bad as can be. It is now more than a hundred years ago since Edmund Burke (*cheers*) pointed out the crying need for a strong impartial control in England over Indian affairs. And Mr. Fox's Indian Bill would have provided an organized machinery for exercising this control. But unhappily, owing to party struggles unconnected with India, this bill fell through, "India's Magna Charta," as Burke called it, and never since has a similar attempt been made. But although no remedy was then applied, things were not so bad until the passing of the Government of India Act in 1858, which transferred the Government from the Company to the Crown. It is from that Act that I date our principal misfortunes. Till then we had two important safe-guards. The first was the wholesome jealousy felt by Parliament towards the East India Company as a privileged Corporation. The other was the necessity for the renewal of the Company's charter at the end of every 30 years. At each of those renewals the Company's official administration had to justify its existence; there was a searching inquiry into grievances; and there never was a renewal without the grant to the public of important reforms and concessions suited to the progressive condition of Indian affairs. (*Cheers.*) Now unfortunately both those safe-guards are lost. The official administrators, who used to be viewed with jealousy, have now been admitted into the innermost sanctum of authority; and, as Council to the Secretary of State, form a secret Court of appeal for the hearing of all Indian complaints. They first decide all matters in India, and then retire to the Indian Council at Westminster to sit in appeal on their own decisions. Such a method of control is a mockery, a snare and a delusion. This evil is very far reaching, for when a decision is passed at the India Office the Secretary of State becomes committed to it, so that if an independent member tries to take up the case in the House of Commons, he finds himself confronted, not by a discredited company, but by the full power of the Treasury Bench. But the loss of the periodical inquiry once at least in 30 years, is perhaps a still more serious disaster. There is now no day of reckoning. And Indian reformers find all their efforts exhausted in the vain attempt to obtain a Parliamentary inquiry, such as was before

provided, without demand and without effort. At the present moment such an inquiry is much over due. The last periodical inquiry was held in 1854, so that under the old system a Parliamentary inquiry would have been begun five years ago. But although such an inquiry has been constantly asked for, and has been promised, it has never been granted. No doubt, we shall manage to get it in the end, but it will be at the cost of much wasted energy.

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I think, gentlemen, I have shown that the last state of our control is worse than the first. On the one hand, we have been deprived of our periodical inquiry into grievances, while on the other hand, all complaints are calmly referred for disposal to the very officials against whom the complaints are made. (*Hear, hear.*) I should like, by way of illustration, to give a couple of instances to show how this system works in practice. The first case I will take is that which was well known, at the time, as the Break of Gauge controversy. In that matter General Strachey, as Public Work member of the Viceroy's Council, held his own against the whole united public opinion of India, European and Native, official and unofficial; and the railway gauge was fixed in the way he wished it. Later on the question came in appeal to the Secretary of State. But by that time General Strachey had retired from his position in India, and had been appointed to the Indian Council (*laughter*), where he was the official adviser of the Secretary of State in matters relative to railways and public works. When therefore the public fancied they were appealing from the Government of India to the Secretary of State, they were really enjoying an appeal from General Strachey to himself. (*Laughter.*) This instance shows how the system of the Indian Council is even worse in fact than in theory. One might perhaps suppose that there being 15 members of the Council, one's grievance might come before those not personally affected. But such is not the case. Each member is considered as an expert as regards his particular province or department, and is allowed to ride his own hobby, provided he allows his colleagues also to ride their own hobbies in the way they choose. The other instance is taken from my own experience, and has reference to Agricultural Banks. We cherish the idea that if he had fair play, the Ryot might develop into a substantial Yeoman instead of being the starveling he is. With a fertile soil, a glorious sun, and abundance of highly skilled labour, there is no reason why India should not become a garden if the Ryot were not crushed by his debts. The only thing that is required is capital, in order to settle these old debts and make advances to the Ryots on reasonable terms, so that they may be supplied with water for irrigation and manure. As you know, we prepared a practical scheme, founded on the German system of peasant Banks, and got all the parties concerned to agree to it. The Bombay Government approved of the experiment, which was to be on a very limited scale; and the scheme was forwarded for sanction to the Secretary of State by Lord Ripon's Government, Sir Evelyn Baring as Finance Minister having agreed to advance 5 lakhs of rupees for the settlement of the old debts. In England the scheme was well received. Mr. John Bright took the chair at a meeting in Exeter Hall in furtherance of the project, and each of the leading London daily papers expressed approval. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce also memorialized the Secretary of State in its favor. Well, gentlemen, this scheme entered the portals of the India Office, and never left it alive. ("*Shame!*") It was stabbed in the dark, no one knows by what hand or for what reason. Not long ago our friend Mr. Samuel Smith asked a question about it in the House of Commons; he inquired why the experiment recommended by Lord Ripon's Government was not allowed; and he was informed by Sir John Gorst that the scheme was not considered "practicable." Not practicable indeed! I wonder whether Sir J. Gorst is aware that in Germany alone there are 2,000 such Agricultural Banks in active working, and that throughout the continent of Europe it is admitted that without such financial institutions the peasant proprietor is absolutely unable to maintain himself without falling into the clutches of the village usurer. I think I may say with confidence that the India Office has not yet heard the last word on the subject of Agricultural Banks in India. (*Cheers.*)

I fear, therefore, that in reviewing the situation in England, we must admit that the organized forces are in the hands of our opponents. The India Office is strong against us, together with the influence of the services and of society. The London Press is not favourable to us. And those members of Parliament who have Indian experience rank themselves mostly on the official side. On the other hand, we need not lose hope; for the spirit of the age is on our side. The forces of the new democracy are in favour of national aspirations; and wherever meetings of working men are addressed they are found willing, nay, eager, that justice should be done to India. (*Cheers.*) My friend has referred to the constituency of North Ayrshire which has been good enough on the liberal side to choose me as its candidate; and he hoped that my invitation to come out here would not in any way damage my chances. I am very glad to assure you that so far from damaging my chances it has very much raised me in their estimation. (*Loud cheers.*) As soon as my supporters in North Ayrshire learned that I had been invited to preside at this Congress, they were highly gratified, and resolutions were passed expressing strong sympathy with the Indian people. Nor is it on

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the liberal side only that India has active sympathisers. She has many good friends among Conservatives ; and to those I think we may reasonably appeal in the matter of parliamentary control over Indian affairs. It is sometimes said that conservatives walk in the footsteps of good reformers ; that is, they stand now in the position that good reformers stood in perhaps 50 years ago. If this is so, we may well ask their help to carry through the reforms that commended themselves to Burke and to Fox ; and still more to restore that 30 years periodical inquiry which was originally secured to us by the wisdom of our ancestors. (*Cheers.*)

And if the older organizations are against us, we have younger organizations which are making good and healthy growth. First and foremost, the Indian National Congress, is becoming a household word in England ; and it will become a power in the State, if you continue patient, persistent, moderate. Then again, you have done well and wisely to establish organization No 2, a Congress Agency in London. In the Indian National Congress the people of India, hitherto dumb, have found a voice. But the distance to England is great, and the agency is needed, like a telephone, to carry the voice of the people of India to the ear of the people of England. It seems to me that the agency, under your indefatigable Secretary, Mr. William Digby (*loud cheers*), is simply invaluable in bringing India in contact with her friends in England, and in briefing those friends when they take up Indian subjects either in Parliament or before the public. Also the agency, with the Committee which supervises its working, will, we hope, be the nucleus round which an Indian party will gradually gather itself. This will be our organization No. 3, the Indian Parliamentary party, consisting of men who, however different their views may be on other subjects, are willing to co-operate on the basis of a just and sympathetic policy towards India. The meeting three weeks ago, at the National Liberal Club, under the presidency of our valued friend Mr. George Yule, was the first movement towards the formation of such a party. Strong sympathy was then expressed with the objects of the Congress ; and it is hoped that when Parliament meets arrangements will be made to secure joint action in matters affecting Indian interests. But, gentlemen, I have not come to the end of our list of activities on behalf of India. I rejoice to learn that a group of Indian speakers of weight and experience are about to proceed to England, in company with our General Secretary (*loud cheers*) for the purpose of initiating a systematic propaganda by addressing popular audiences at the great centres of population throughout Great Britain. You will know well how to address those great audiences, appealing fearlessly to the highest motives, and calling on the people of England to perform their trust and duty towards the unrepresented millions of India : appeals to unselfishness, to justice, and to humanity will ever find a sure response from the great heart of the British people. (*Cheers.*)

In conclusion, I would like to address a few words to those of our English friends who distrust the Congress movement. The promoters of the Congress profess strong attachment to British rule. And I would ask, is there any reason to doubt this profession ? (*No, no.*) Have those men any interests antagonistic to our rule ? (*No, no.*) Remember that the originators of this movement are educated men, trained up by us in a love of freedom and free institutions. Is it likely that these men should wish to exchange the rule of England, the freest and the most enlightened country in the world, for that of Russia which is one of the most barbarous and retrograde ? (*Cheers.*) I remember being much struck with the remark of a native friend of mine with reference to Russian advances. He said to me, " If India is lost we are the chief losers, you can go to your ships and will be safe in your distant homes. We, on the other hand, should lose all : our country, our liberties, and our hopes for the regeneration of our race." Perhaps some of our doubting English friends will say, " We attach more importance to deeds than to words." I think we can point also to deeds. It is well known that in all schemes for the invasion of India the Russian Generals depend for success on a hoped-for rising of the native population. In 1885 they appear to have put this idea to the test by a pretended advance. Had this move been followed by any signs of sympathy, or even by an ominous silence of expectancy throughout India, Russia would have rejoiced, and we should have felt our position weakened. But India does not treat England's difficulty as her opportunity. On the contrary, there went up on all sides a patriotic cry, led by the native press, calling on all to join with men and money, and make common cause against the common foe. (*Cheers.*) I think also the action of the Congress, when calmly viewed, will be seen to point in the same direction. The man who points out the rocks and shoals towards which the ship is moving, is the friend of the captain, not the enemy. And that is the light in which the government should regard the criticisms of the Congress. The moderate reforms proposed by the Congress will all tend to make the people of India more prosperous and more contented, and will thereby strengthen the foundations of British rule. (*Cheers.*) And here I would specially invite our English commercial friends to join with us in our efforts to increase the material prosperity

of the country. At present owing to the poverty of the people the trade is nothing in comparison with what it ought to be. This is an argument which has been effectively pressed by our veteran leader Dadabhai Naoroji. He has pointed out that our Australian Colonies take English goods at the rate of £17 or £18 per head per annum, whereas poor India can only take at the rate of eighteen pence a head. If, by releasing him from his bonds of debt, and placing him in a position to exercise his industry, we could make the Ryot moderately prosperous, how great would be the benefit to English trade! If the Indian customer could take even £1 a head, the exports to India would exceed the exports to all the rest of the world put together. I would therefore say to our mercantile friends, help us to make the ryot prosperous, and your commercial business will soon increase by leaps and bounds.

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Address.

Gentlemen, I have now concluded my preliminary remarks, and I thank you for the patience with which you have heard me, and have now to invite you to attack, with good appetite, the substantial bill of fare which will be placed before you. I will not in any way anticipate your proceedings, but I may perhaps express a hope that you will give early and earnest attention to the Bill for the Reform of the Legislative Council. And in connection with this Bill I would take the opportunity to congratulate you on the presence here to-day of a very distinguished visitor—one whose name is a synonym for independence, for strength, and for success. I think poor India is very fortunate in securing such a champion as Mr. Charles Bradlaugh (*loud and continued cheers*), a very Charles Martel of these latter days, whose sledge-hammer blows have often shaken to their foundations the citadels of prejudice, of ignorance and of oppression.

To-day there only remains to appoint, as usual, a Subjects Committee, and I will ask you to do this before we separate.

Gentlemen, I will not detain you longer, but will only express my earnest hope that your labors may prosper, and that your deliberations may effectually promote "the safety, honor and welfare of Her Majesty and her dominions." (*Loud and long continued cheers, followed by a general rising and waving of handkerchiefs and a final "One cheer more!"*)

THE HON'BLE PANDIT AJOODHIANATH (*North-West Provinces, No. 1517, in list*)—Addressing the PRESIDENT said: Sir, the members of the Congress Committee at Allahabad desire me to ask you to be pleased to receive this Rs. 150 (*resting on a silver salver of fine Cutch workmanship*), as a small donation towards the expenses of the Reception Committee here, and as a slight mark of the interest we take in the Indian National Congress, whether it be held in or out of our province, and as a token of our good-will to our fellow-subjects and fellow-workers here, and of our appreciation of their hospitality. This salver we trust that you will be graciously pleased yourself to accept in memory of your tenure of the presidency of this fifth Indian National Congress. (*Loud cheers.*)

—
Presentation
of
donation to
Committee
and of Sal-
ver to
President.
—

THE PRESIDENT—On behalf of the Reception Committee permit me to say that we return to the Allahabad Committee our very best thanks. I feel quite ashamed that I should receive the lion's share of this gracious offering in the shape of this beautiful salver; and I regret to say that I have not proper words to express my thanks to you for your kindness. I will only say that it has been a very great pleasure and honor to me to come among you on this occasion, to meet old friends whom I have left for a short time, and shake hands with them again.

MR. ALI MAHOMED BHIMJEE (*Bombay, No. 892, in list*)—I have the honor to make a presentation on behalf of Mr. P. L. Nagpurkar of Sholapur (Deccan). He has written and published a novel in Maharattee, called "THE OLD PALACE," in which Bajee Row and other old-time Poona worthies figure. From the sale of this novel he has already netted Rs. 150, as profits, which he has requested me to hand to you as a donation either to the Indian National Congress Fund or to the Agency in England, as the General Secretary may think best. You will be good enough to convey this amount to the Congress Committee, and to accept this presentation copy of the novel. (*Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT—Here again I am extremely happy to accept alike the money for Congress work and the book for myself, and I hope you will convey our best thanks for both to Mr. Nagpurkar.

MR. A. O. HUME, GENERAL SECRETARY (*Lahore, No. 1402, in list*)—I will now ask the Secretaries of the several Standing Congress Committees to hand in the lists of the names of those gentlemen, who have been elected, by the assembled delegates from each circle, to represent them on the Subjects Committee.

—
Election
of a
Subjects
Committee.
—

The lists having been given in they were read out, and approved by the entire assembly.

1st Day. The following were the delegates elected to the Subjects Committee :—

Election of a Subjects Committee.	CALCUTTA CIRCLE, (includes the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions, Orissa, Assam, Sylhet, and Cachar).	1.	W. C. BONNERJEE	No. 1788, (Calcutta).
		2.	SURENDRANATH BANERJEE	No. 1816, (do.).
		3.	J. GHOSAL	No. 1789, (do.).
		4.	KALICHARAN BANERJEE	No. 1827, (do.).
		5.	MOTILAL GHOSE	No. 1867, (do.).
		6.	PRANNATH PANDIT	No. 1889, (do.).
		7.	NANDOLAL BOSE	No. 1809, (do.).
		8.	H. C. MOITRA	No. 1829, (do.).
		9.	BAIKUNTNATH SEN	No. 1873, (Murshedabad).
		10.	REV. C. N. BANERJEE	No. 1875, (do.).
		11.	NUFFER CHANDRA PAL CHOWDHRY	No. 1853, (Nuddia).
		12.	AMBICA CHARAN SEN	No. 1885, (Khulna).
		13.	KALI SHANKER SUKUL	No. 1866, (Jessore).
		14.	DR. ATAR ALLI	No. 1855, (Nuddia).
		15.	AKSHOY CHANDER DAS	No. 1845, (Howrah).
		16.	RUGHUNATH DAS	No. 1881, (Midnapur).
		17.	JOGENDRA CHANDRA ROY	No. 1878, (do.).
		18.	BISHNUPADA CHATTERJEE	No. 1848, (Hoogly).
		19.	BIPIN CHUNDR PAL	No. 1888, (Assam).
	DACCA CIRCLE, (includes the Dacca and Chitagon Divisions).	1.	SARAT CHANDER GUPTA	No. 1774, (Dacca).
		2.	AMBICA CHARAN MUZUMDAR	No. 1785, (Faridpur).
		3.	ASWINI KUMAR DUTT	No. 1782, (Barisal).
		4.	ANATH BUNDHOO GUHA	No. 1778, (Mymensingh).
		5.	ANANDA MOHAN BOSE	No. 1825, (Chitagong).
		6.	MOHENDRA CHANDER DEV	No. 1787, (Tipperah).
	RAJSHAYE CIRCLE, (includes the Rajshaye Division).	1.	PRASANNO NARAYEN CHOUDHURY	No. 1772, (Rungpur).
	BHAGULPUR CIRCLE, (includes the Bhagalpur Division).	1.	LADLI MOHAN GHOSE	No. 1752, (Bhagalpur).
		2.	PARBUTI CHARAN DASS	No. 1762, (Purnea).
	CHOTA NAGPOOR CIRCLE, (includes the Chota Nagpoor Division).	1.	HARI CHARAN MITRA	No. 1750, (Hazaribagh).
	BEHAR CIRCLE, (includes the entire Behar Division).	1.	SYED SHARF-UD-DIN	No. 1736, (Dinapore).
		2.	GURU PERSHAD SEN	No. 1732, (Bankipur).
		3.	SALIGRAM SINGH	No. 1791, (do.)
		4.	SHAROSHI CHARAN MITTER	No. 1727, (Mozufferpore).
		5.	MOULVI ABDULLA FYAZ	No. 1739, (Dinapore).
		6.	ABDUL HAMID	No. 1737, (do.)
		7.	AHMED HOOSSEIN	No. 1729, (Mozufferpore).
		8.	BADERUL HOOSSEIN	No. 1735, (Patna).
	BENARES CIRCLE, (includes the Benares Division).	1.	SHEIKH NASEER-UD-DIN	No. 1693, (Benares).
		2.	BHOLANATH ROY	No. 1724, (Ghazipore).
		3.	JOGENDRANATH GHOSE	No. 1705, (Benares).
		4.	BINDESERI PERSHAD	No. 1712, (Mirzapur).
	N. W. PCES. CIRCLE, (includes whole N. W. Pces. except the Benares Division).	1.	PANDIT AJOODHIANATH	No. 1517, (Allahabad).
		2.	HAFIZ ABDUR RAHMAN	No. 1633, (Aligarh).
		3.	MUNSHI SAKHAWAT HOOSSEIN	No. 1674, (Shahjehanpur).
		4.	PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA	No. 1520, (Allahabad).
		5.	" PRITHINATH	No. 1572, (Cawnpur).
		6.	" JWALADATTA JOSHI	No. 1688, (Almora).
		7.	" BADRINATH	No. 1663, (Bareilly).
		8.	LALLA BIJAY BAHADUR	No. 1560, (Futtehpur).
		9.	PRAHLAD SINGH	No. 1643, (Meerut).
		10.	CHAUBE DAMMI LAL	No. 1616, (Mainpuri).
		11.	MOULVI FAZL AHMED	No. 1653, (Muzaffarnagar).

			1st Day. Election of a Subjects Committee.
ODDH CIRCLE, (includes the entire Province of Oudh).	1. HAMID ALI KHAN	No. 1494, (Lucknow).	
	2. BISHEN NARAYAN DAB	No. 1491, (do.).	
	3. GOKUL CHAND	No. 1552, (Fyzabad).	
	4. MURLIDHAR	No. 1513, (Sitapore).	
	5. GANGAPRASAD VARMA	No. 1501, (Lucknow).	
	6. BANSILAL SINGH	No. 1499, (do.).	
	7. REV. R. C. BOSE	No. 1507, (do.).	[medi.
	8. NAWAB ALI MAHOMED KHAN	No. 1469, (Anjuman Maho-	
	9. PRINCE ALI JAH MAHOMED HUSSAIN ALI	No. 1466 (do.)	
LAHORE AND DEHLI CIR- CLES, (include the en- tire Panjab).	1. RAJAH NIAMUT ULLAH KHAN	No. 1416, (Kangra).	
	2. JOGENDRA CHANDRA BOSE	No. 1406, (Lahore).	
	3. KANIHYA LAL	No. 1404, (do.).	
	4. MURLIDHAR	No. 1422, (Amballa).	
	5. LAJPAT RAI	No. 1437, (Hissar).	
	6. HARBHAGWANDAS	No. 1440, (Jhelam).	
	7. GUR CHARANDAS	No. 1434, (Gurdaspur).	
	8. GIRDHARI LALL	No. 1445, (Dehli).	
	9. CAP. A. BANON	No. 1417, (Kangra).	
	10. SHEIKH OOMAR BARSH	No. 1442, (Hoshiapur).	
SINDH CIRCLE, (includes the entire Province of Sindh).	1. HARCHANDRAI VISHINDAS	No. 878, (Karachi).	
GUZERAT CIRCLE, (in- cludes Guzerat, Cutch, Kathiyawar and Panch Mahals).	1. DR. NAROTAMDAS INDRAJIT VAISHNAV	No. 851, (Surat).	
	2. M. D. DADY SETT	No. 830, (Surat).	
	3. RANCHORELAL CHOTELAL	No. 792, (Ahmedabad).	
	4. HORMASJEE A. WADIA	No. 855, (Rajkot).	
BOMBAY CIRCLE, (in- cludes Bombay and the Thana, Colaba and Ratnagiri districts).	1. PHEROZSHAH M. MEHTA	No. 967, (Bombay).	
	2. DINSHA EDULJEE WACHA	No. 908, (do.)	
	3. JAVERILAL UMIASHANKER YAJNIK	No. 932, (Bombay).	
	4. N. G. CHANDAVARKAR	No. 962, (Bombay).	
	5. ABDULLA M. DHARAMSI	No. 891, (do.).	
	6. DAJI ABAJI KHARE	No. 906, (do.).	
	7. AMBERUDDIN TYABJI	No. 894, (do.).	
8. MOULVI HIDAYET ULLAH	No. 1032, (do.).		
DECCAN CIRCLE, (in- cludes the Deccan, N. Kanara, and Khan- deish).	1. G. V. PATWARDHAN	No. 412, (Sholapur).	
	2. B. S. SAHASRABUDDHE	No. 644, (Satara).	
	3. REV. R. A. HUME	No. 486, (Ahmednuggur).	
	4. K. L. NULKAR	No. 391, (Poona).	
	5. B. G. TILAK	No. 401, (do.).	
	6. M. B. NAMJOSHI	No. 369, (do.).	
	7. M. N. JOGALEKAR	No. 723, (Belgaum).	
BERAR CIRCLE, (includes the entire Province of Berar).	1. DEORAO VINAYAK	No. 1332, (Akola).	
	2. R. N. MUDHOLKAR	No. 1303, (Amraoti).	
	3. GANESH S. KHAPARDE	No. 1379, (Ellichpur).	
CENTRAL PROVINCES CIRCLE, (includes the whole of the C. Pces).	1. ALFRED NUNDY	No. 1268, (Jubbulpore).	
	2. GOVIND PRASAD	No. 1275, (Raipur).	
	3. NARAYANSWAMI NAYADU	No. 1211, (Nagpur).	
	4. KALIDAS CHOWDHRY	No. 1840, (Hoshangabad).	
	5. BAPU RAO DADA	No. 1190, (Nagpur).	
	6. SADASHIVARAO PATWARDHAN	No. 1259, (Hurda).	
MADRAS CIRCLE, (in- cludes the entire Ma- dras Presidency).	1. RAJAH T. RAMA RAO	No. 43, (Madras).	
	2. S. SUBRAMANIA IYER	No. 73, (do.).	
	3. N. SUBRAMANYAM	No. 75, (do.).	
	4. SALEM RAMASWAMY MUDALIAR	No. 29, (Madras).	
	5. C. SANKARA NAIR	No. 74, (do.).	
	6. EARDLEY NORTON	No. 44, (do.).	
	7. W. S. GANTZ	No. 86, (do.).	
	8. J. ADAM	No. 1, (do.).	

1st Day.	MADRAS CIRCLE (<i>contd.</i>)	9. P. RANGAIAH NAIDU	No. 32, (Madras).
Election of a Subjects Committee.		10. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER	No. 50, (do.).
		11. C. JAMBULINGA MUDALIAR	No. 219, (Cuddapah).
		12. V. MAHOMED SHERIF.	No. 36, (Madras).
		13. G. VENCATARATNAM	No. 100, (Coconada).
		14. C. VIGIARAGHAVA CHARRIAR	No. 312, (Salem).
		15. REV. G. M. COBBAN	No. 2, (Madras).
		16. P. ANANTA CHARLU	No. 31, (Madras).
		17. N. SHIVA ROW	No. 351, (Mangalore).

Thus this Committee, including the President and General Secretary, who sit on it *ex-officio*, consisted of 109 members, elected by the 1,900 odd delegates present, to represent their views in, deciding what subjects should come before the Congress, preparing draft resolutions on those subjects for submission to the Congress, and fixing on the gentlemen, who were to be asked to propose, second and support these Resolutions.

—
Adjourn-
ment of
the
Assembly.
—

THE PRESIDENT said—The Subjects Committee having now been duly elected and the election formally ratified by the Congress, I wish before adjourning to remind you of the rule which has been adopted by my predecessors in office and to which I propose to adhere, viz., that in the discussions that will take place at our further Meetings, only ten minutes will be allowed to the proposers of Resolutions, and only five minutes to all other speakers. And now having said this I declare this assemblage adjourned until 1 P.M., to-morrow.

Immediately after this the Subjects Committee met and sat until late. It met again next morning at 10 A.M., and sat until 1 P.M., appointing before it separated a Special Sub-Committee to settle the terms of a Resolution (*vide* Resolution XIII.), in regard to certain matters connected with the future Administration of the Congress.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, 27th December 1889.

—
2nd Day.
—
Presenta-
tion of
the
Madras
Report.
—

THE PRESIDENT took his seat at 1-30 P.M., and Mr. P. SOMASUNDRUM (*Madras, No. 87, in list*), accompanied by MR. EARDLEY NORTON (*Madras, No. 44, in list*), appeared on the Platform.

MR. EARDLEY NORTON (*Madras, No. 44, in list*)—SIR,—In accordance with the rules of the Congress, we are here to submit to you, and the Congress generally, the Annual Report of the Standing Committee of the Madras Circle.

THE PRESIDENT—Has any other Standing Committee of the Congress its report to present? If so, now is the time.

No other report was presented.

—
Res. I.
Address
to
Mr. Brad-
laugh.
—

MR. PHEROZSHAH MEHTA (*Bombay, No. 967, in list*) then rose and said—MR. PRESIDENT,—Gentlemen, I have a very short motion to lay before the assembly. I think I truly represented the public feeling, yesterday, when I spoke in the terms I did about Mr. Charles Bradlaugh. (*Loud cheers.*) Telegrams and addresses have been pouring in from all parts of the country, from every nook and corner, with requests that we should present them to him. I think, gentlemen, you will agree with me that it would be a matter of physical impossibility to present all those addresses to Mr. Bradlaugh. It would occupy us I think, I may say, at least a week, if not a fortnight. (*Laughter.*) It has occurred to many of the leading

delegates that instead of pretending to present to him all these hundreds of addresses, separately, they should all be laid together on a large table and taken as read, and that at the time when those addresses are thus laid before Mr. Bradlaugh, one brief address on behalf of this Congress, representing as it does the public opinion of the whole country, should be read and presented to him. I beg therefore to propose that an address be presented to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., on behalf of the Fifth Indian National Congress. (*Cheers.*) I further propose that the following Committee be appointed for the purpose of framing this address, viz., Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, Mr. Adam and myself. (*Cheers.*) I am sorry to add my own name, but it is not at my own instance that I do so.

2nd Day.

Res. I.
Address
to
Mr. Brad-
laugh.

THE HON'BLE PUNDIT AJOODHIANATH (*North-West Provinces, No. 1517, in list*)—It affords me great pleasure to second this proposition. A more pleasant duty could hardly have devolved upon me; and I have no doubt that you will carry the proposition by acclamation. It will stand thus.

PROPOSED: *That an address be presented to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., on behalf of this Congress here assembled, and that Messrs. Adam, Pherozshah Mehta, and W. C. Bonnerjee be appointed a Committee to settle the wording of the said address.*

MR. JOHN ADAM (*Madras, No. 1, in list*)—Although I am in the same position as Mr. Pherozshah Mehta in having my name placed on the Committee, not at my own suggestion, I have very great pleasure in supporting, on behalf of Madras, the resolution which has been proposed by Mr. Mehta and seconded by Pundit Ajoodhianath. I am perfectly sure that you will approve it (no words of mine therefore are required to support it), and that it will be carried by acclamation. (*Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT—Are you all agreed? (*Cries of "Yes, yes; all, all," and loud cheers.*) Our first Resolution then will stand;

RESOLVED: *That an address be presented to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., on behalf of this Congress here assembled, and that Messrs. Adam, Pherozshah Mehta, and W. C. Bonnerjee are appointed a Committee to settle the wording of the said address. (Renewed cheers.)*

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen, the first business—and it is a very important one—that will be brought before you to-day will be the scheme for the reform of the Legislative Councils. (*Cheers.*) As you are aware, a Draft Bill has been prepared by Mr. Bradlaugh (*cheers*) and has been circulated throughout the whole of India. We have all seen it, and I think we have all read it. That Bill embodies in legal form what was believed to be the view of the Congress, so far as its opinion had been expressed up to the time that this draft was prepared. Mr. Bradlaugh's wish was to ascertain, upon certain important points, the still more mature opinion of the people of India. I think I may say on his behalf that none of the provisions introduced into the Bill were introduced because he personally wished those provisions to be contained in it. [MR. BRADLAUGH: *Hear, hear.*] The Bill was only drafted to put into a clear and tangible form what was supposed to be the general wishes of the people. In dealing with the subject, therefore, it is not now proposed to bring forward draft sections or draft clauses prepared in legal phraseology—that is not what is required—but to state in particular and general terms certain important principles which it is desired should be embodied in the Bill. Therefore, after consultation, certain proposals have been prepared, and will now be laid before you for your judgment. I will call upon Mr. Eardley Norton to move the first resolution.

Res. II.
Expansion
and Reform
of Legis-
lative
Councils.

MR. EARDLEY NORTON (*Madras, No. 44, in list*)—Gentlemen,—I had better begin by reading to you the proposition which I have been charged to lay before you. It runs thus:

PROPOSED: *That the following skeleton scheme for the reform and reconstitution of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations, and the Provincial Legislative Councils, be adopted, and that the President of this Congress do submit the same to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M.P., with the respectful request, of this Congress, that he may be pleased to cause a Bill to be drafted, on the lines indicated in this skeleton scheme, and introduce the same in the British House of Commons:—*

SCHEME.

(1.) *The Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils to consist respectively of Members, not less than one-half of whom are to be elected, not more than one-fourth to sit ex-officio and the rest to be nominated by Government.*

(2.) *Revenue districts to constitute, ordinarily, territorial units, for electoral purposes.*

2nd Day.

Res. II.
Expansion
and
Reform of
Legislative
Councils.

(3.) All male British subjects above 21 years of age, possessing certain qualifications and not subject to certain disqualifications (both of which will be settled later), to be voters.

(4.) Voters in each district to elect representatives to one or more electoral bodies, according to local circumstances, at the rate of 12 per million of the total population of the district, such representatives to possess certain qualifications, and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.

(5.) All the representatives thus elected by all the districts included in the jurisdiction of each electoral body, to elect members to the Imperial Legislature at the rate of 1 per every five millions of the total population of the electoral jurisdiction, and to their own Provincial Legislature at the rate of 1 per million of the said total population, in such wise that whenever the Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus are in a minority, the total number of Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus, as the case may be, elected to the Provincial Legislature, shall not, so far as may be possible, bear a less proportion to the total number of members elected thereto, than the total number of Parsees, Christians, Hindus or Mahomedans, as the case may be, in such electoral jurisdiction, bears to its total population. Members of both legislatures to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications both of which will be settled later.

(6.) All elections to be by ballot.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—When, in the after years of my life, I look back upon my Indian career, the proudest and most cherished recollection in it will be my memory of to-day; for to-day I speak to you as an accredited representative of the people addressing nearly two thousand other accredited representatives of the country. We have lived to see the great elective principle, at least in its inception, being slowly carried out in the fruition of time, until, year after year, from the original number of 72, with which I believe the Congress began in this very city, we are assembled to-day in numbers which, I think, I may fairly say, defy criticism. (*Hear, hear.*) We have been told that we have come back to the birth place of this institution a discredited and a hopeless set of men. (*Loud cheers and laughter.*) It does not, truly, look much like this; a grander, a more enthusiastic assemblage, I venture to say that none here have ever witnessed either in India or Europe, and I think if we look back upon the record of our career we shall be able to point to works which we have carried out, and which give the most complete refutation to any such statement. (*Hear, hear.*)

But now let us turn to the business of the day, and first and foremost stands, and must stand, the question of the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils; because, gentlemen, when we stand with the dignity (limited perhaps) and the authority of the chosen of the people, we shall make the Governments of the various Provinces in India listen, in a manner in which they will not listen to-day, to our various wants. (*Hear, hear.*) And I am proud to think that I have been entrusted with this resolution to-day in the presence of two new additions to our ranks, with whose names the Bombay Congress of 1889 will be inseparably connected. (*Cheers.*) I am glad to think that there has come to us our venerated friend Sir William Wedderburn (*cheers*), of whose connection with Bombay and through Bombay with all India, I need not say anything, for his actions are written so that all men can read, and we who live in other Presidencies are as grateful to him as you in Bombay can be. (*Cheers.*) I am speaking in the presence of another gentleman, a Member of that House of Commons to whose intervention we look, and possibly to whose intervention alone we look, for reform and for assistance. (*Cheers.*) He is a man of the people speaking for the people, who comes to us with all that immense dignity and with all that immense power which lie behind the suffrages of the English nation. (*Cheers.*) And we are proud, as our address will hereafter show, to think that we have, as our Champion in the House of Commons, a man who, by a dauntless and unconquerable Championship of the truth, has earned the position which he holds alike in their affections and in ours. (*Loud cheers.*)

Gentlemen, it lies with me now to propose formally this resolution which I have just read. Its history has been shortly placed before you by Sir William Wedderburn, and we know that we have not, now, to deal with any details or particulars, but that we are dealing solely with the main principles of this Bill. The first section incorporates the great living principle for which, for the last six or seven years, we, the voiceless people of India, Europeans and natives alike, have been contending; I mean the great living principle of election. I would ask you to believe in and to hold fast to that principle, and to take care that nothing is introduced into this Bill (it certainly will not be introduced by Mr. Bradlaugh) which in any way interferes with or improperly limits the operation of this great living principle. The resolution points therefore to the necessity that the Imperial and Provincial Legislatures of this country should consist of members not less than half of whom are to be elected, and not less than

one-fourth of whom are to sit *ex-officio*, the remaining one-fourth being nominated either by the Governor-General or by the local Provincial authorities in their respective Councils. Now, gentlemen, provided you religiously adhere to that essential principle; provided you are never seduced into departing from it; provided that no matter what proportion is given to you of the election in your respective Councils, you stand and insist upon the right to have your own share in it absolutely free (*cheers*); provided you insist that there shall be no Government manipulation in your one-half—that Government shall not touch it, either directly or indirectly, undisguised or disguised—so long as you do that, you will be certain, in the long run of years, to work out for yourselves your own political emancipation. Because we all know that if this Bill is passed we shall have introduced the thin end of the wedge. (*Cheers*.)

2nd Day.
—
Res. II.
Expansion
and
Reform of
Legislative
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The second section says that the Revenue Districts are to constitute, ordinarily, the territorial units for electoral purposes. The third section says that all male British subjects above twenty-one years of age, and possessing certain qualifications and not subject to certain disqualifications—which qualifications and disqualifications are to be settled hereafter—are to be voters. Then the fourth section says: Voters in each district to elect representatives to one or more electoral bodies, according to the local circumstances, at the rate of twelve per million of the total population of the district. Such representatives to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications which are to be settled hereafter. Section five says that all representatives thus elected by all the districts included in the jurisdiction of each electoral body are to elect members to the imperial legislature at the rate of one for every five millions of the total population and to their own provincial councils at the rate of one member per million of the said total population, in such wise (now we come to the great point wherein this bill proposes to afford protection for the representation of minorities), “that when Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans, or Hindoos are in a minority, the total number of Parsees, Christians, Hindus or Mahomedans, as the case may be, elected to the provincial legislatures shall not, so far as may be possible, bear a less proportion to the total number of members elected thereto, than the total number of Parsees, Christians, Hindus or Mahomedans, as the case may be, in such electoral jurisdiction, bear to its total population.” The members of both Legislatures to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications both of which are to be settled hereafter. And lastly the elections are to be made by ballot. This is the scheme which you are asked to accept and you are asked to accept it in the following phraseology. “That the following skeleton scheme for the reform and reconstitution of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws and regulations, and the Provincial Legislative Councils be adopted, and that the President of this Congress do submit the same to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., with the respectful request, of this Congress, that he may be pleased to cause a Bill to be drafted on the lines indicated in this skeleton scheme, and introduce the same in the British House of Commons.”

I am much afraid, gentlemen, that a good deal of my apportioned ten minutes has been taken up in reading the resolution, so that if by any means I trespass upon your patience for a little longer period than ten minutes you will forgive me. (*Cries of “Go on.”*) That is the scheme you are asked to adopt and in plain language it comes to this, that the declarations constitute a practical proposal, and if you hold on to it always, it will remain the Magna Charta of the liberties of the people of this country. Looking round, wherever you will, either at the Supreme Council at Calcutta or at those bodies of men who are designated, I don't know why, the Legislative Councils in the Provincial Jurisdictions—(*laughter and cheers*)—looking wherever you will, I think we are all agreed that, so far at any rate as the real wants of the people are concerned, they are practically, absolutely useless, and are mere shams. (*Cheers*.) Into such bodies of men we wish to introduce the quickening principle of election by the people, and all that we ask for is that, whatever may be the total number, hereafter of the members of the Imperial Council at Calcutta or of the Local Provincial Councils elsewhere, we shall have one-half of such bodies to do with as we choose. Now, gentlemen, if that is conceded to us—and I regret that there has been a recent departure from the more liberal principles which were enunciated by our late Viceroy upon this question—if that principle be conceded to us, I think we may safely expect that the peoples of this country will take a new departure, certainly in their moral, probably in their physical happiness. We shall have the right, to control ourselves; we shall have the right, to a certain extent, to control our taxation; we shall have the right to criticise the Budget; and last but not least we shall have the glorious privilege of interpellation. (*Cheers*.) A right which, if properly applied, will inure to the enormous benefit both of the rulers and of the ruled. (*Cheers*.)

The right of interpellation, gentlemen, is a point on which I feel very strongly, and on which, though not included in this skeleton resolution, the great majority of you, my co-delegates, feel, I know, equally strongly. You will recollect that in the Bill submitted to us by Mr. Bradlaugh, following the previous resolution of the Congress, certain subjects were

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excluded from the operation of the right of interpellation. Amongst those things was taken away the right of scrutiny by the representatives of the people in respect of all questions touching the foreign policy of this country. When we come to consider that question hereafter whatever may be your opinions now—and I know perfectly well that there is probably a not unimportant section of you against me upon this point—I trust that when the time comes for us to consider what matters may fairly be held to be included within that very elastic phrase, Foreign Policy, you will agree with me that one class of questions, which certainly ought not to be brought within the category of Foreign Policy, is that relating to the Native States of India. (*Cheers.*) What I mean is this, that whereas by this Bill the power will be conceded to us to criticise the conduct of any official under the British Government residing in British India, whether it be some unfortunate youngster fresh from home or whether it be the Governor himself, it will probably be contended, by those who are endeavouring to constitute themselves the arbiters of our political aspirations, that we are not to have the right to criticise the conduct of British officials in Native States. Now those who are in any way acquainted, as I take it a large majority of us are, with the vagaries of many of our British officials, must surely agree with me that the limitation which would debar us from criticising the public actions of those public officials is a limitation which is neither just nor even rational. Therefore when the time comes, we who know what has been going on in Kashmir and Bhopal, we who know what is going on in Travancore, and in other Native States—amongst others Hyderabad—due, in a measure, either to the misconduct, the apathy or the interference of our own officials,—we who know these things, should in the interests of our own privileges, in the interest of the millions of natives who have no voice, firmly stand upon our rights, and insist that we shall be permitted to criticise these gentlemen's conduct.

Now permit me to say a few more words upon the other parts of the Bill. The resolution itself is so worded that anybody can follow it with great ease. It is very simple, and the remaining clauses of it practically deal with this question. Having disposed of the principle of election in the first clause, the resolution goes on to deal with the question of who shall be the voters, in other words the original electors; and the scheme which has eventually, I am glad to say, received the unanimous acceptance of the whole Congress Committee, is shortly this. Representation direct from the people into the Council, is no doubt theoretically right and it is a sort of representation which we, who are Europeans, and you who have been brought up in the traditions of the English people, would, alike, be glad to receive. (*Cheers.*) But, gentlemen, we must limit our desires and our requests by the circumstances amidst which we find ourselves placed; and we have heard, in that informal Committee which met a few days before the Congress assembled, from the lips of one who speaks upon this point with a peculiar emphasis, that any such proposal emanating from the Congress in India, asking the people of England to give us direct representation from the people, is sure to meet with an absolute and flat denial. Under such circumstances it would be useless for us to persist in that scheme, and I am glad therefore to think, —although possibly some enthusiast may hereafter rise to propose an amendment, on this point, to my resolution—that the scheme has been abandoned—for the time being only, remember—because, as I have suggested, we shall have got the thin end of the wedge in. (*Cheers.*) In the course of years the time will come when no man, and no living set of men, shall any longer deny us that right. (*Cheers.*) But, for the time being, we have elected to abandon it and I am glad to think that this resolution will practically meet with the unanimous consent of all. (*Cheers.*)

There is a second scheme, which is also dead, and which I simply refer to because without it the historical sketch of this resolution would be incomplete. It was suggested, by persons for whose opinions we all entertain the most absolute respect, that, instead of accepting the scheme as it now stands, the power to elect members, as well to the Provincial as to the Imperial Legislatures should be given over to Corporations, such as Municipal Bodies, Taluk Boards, Universities, Chambers of Commerce, and other kindred institutions. But that has been abandoned now, because careful scrutiny of the constitution of the Municipal and District Boards has revealed the fact that their constitution has placed them absolutely at the mercy of the Government. (*Hear, hear.*) And I suppose we are all agreed that the one thing for which we have been fighting, and for which we are fighting to-day, is to have full and undiluted, and absolutely to ourselves, that source of political power to which we shall be able to turn and find it always there pure and stable. (*Cheers.*) Now, gentlemen, the proposition suggested—and I speak with respect for those who differ from me on this point—that we should hand over our electoral franchise into the keeping of such bodies of men was, practically, a proposition that meant this; that you were going to hand over to the Government, in the velvet-glove disguise of these various Corporations, the power to do absolutely what they wished with your electorate (*cheers*) and for this short and simple reason that all these Corporations, as you ought to know, are the creations of the

Government. They were created by Legislative Acts of the various Presidencies and—I think it was denied last night—the same power which creates these Municipalities reserves to itself the right of absolutely extinguishing them, without assigning any reason, by a notification in the *Government Gazette*, without consultation with anyone except the members of Council, if consultation that can be called. So that this sort of thing may happen. If, once, one of us were elected, say for some particular district by some particular Municipal Board, and if in the course of two years he made himself obnoxious to the Government because he always advocated the rights of the people as against the exceptional privileges of the officials, on coming up at the end of that time for re-election such a one might find his constituency absolutely vanished; and in answer to the query “What has become of my constituency?” the only response would be this, probably from the lately deceased Chairman, “Sir, we have expired in consequence of a notification in the *Government Gazette*.” (*Laughter and Cheers*.) Surely that is not the sort of electorate, to which it is either right or advisable that we should entrust our franchise.

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Now, gentlemen, living as we do amongst such vast varieties of creeds and men of different races, it would not be acceptable I think to the Government of this country nor to the Government of England, nor to the peoples of England or India, if a scheme should be submitted which did not take into consideration and provide for the absolute protection of the minorities of this country. (*Cheers*.) I dare say in years to come when travel and education shall have rubbed off the angularities which at present separate Hindus from Mahomedans, and Mahomedans from Eurasians—when we are all permeated by that theoretical Christian spirit which shall enable us to treat every man exactly as a brother and nothing less—when that time has arrived we shall be ready for the repeal of this clause of our scheme which for the present provides especially for the protection of the rights of minorities. (*Cheers*.) But recollecting as we do the practical conditions under which we live, recollecting the differences of caste, of custom and of creed that prevail in India, it is absolutely essential that any scheme which is to receive the sympathy of the people of England should bear upon its face clear proof that it takes into cognizance and protects the interests of minorities. Now, gentlemen, in that respect there cannot be any well founded criticism of the measure which I have had the honour to move, because legislative protection of minorities is expressly therein provided and not left to the varying discretion or the varying passions of the human breast. Our scheme sets forth explicitly that the Electoral College, when it elects, shall necessarily, no option being left in this matter, elect a certain minimum percentage of Christians or Mahomedans, or Hindoos to their respective Legislative Councils. So that at any rate the members of Council, when elected, will fairly represent, in the ratio of the populations to which they belong, their various interests. (*Cheers*.) And now, gentlemen, the scheme which has been accepted is shortly this that though we have not direct representation in so many words, we try to have it in another way. We interpose, that is, between the people and the Legislative Councils, a body of men whom we call the electoral body, which body derives its inspiration and its being from the popular suffrage. We summon—the number hereafter will be fixed—say, in the Madras Presidency, 500 persons who are to sit as the Electoral body. These 500 persons will be elected from all the twenty-two districts of Madras, freely, by the people of these districts and absolutely outside the control or the interference of the Government. Those 500 persons will then meet either in one, or more cities of their local jurisdiction and will then proceed to elect, either from amongst themselves or from those who may choose to offer themselves as candidates for the Imperial and local Councils, such persons as, in their opinion, are best qualified to represent the wants and wishes of the people. Now whatever may be the demerits of this scheme—and I do not for an instant profess to say that it is perfect—it has this great merit which ought to recommend it to you: that though it is not a direct representation from the people, still it is a representation undefiled from the people. (*Cheers*.) That therefore, gentlemen, is the best, the highest qualification which we can claim for the Electoral bodies. If you adopt this resolution subject to that, all other matters are mere matters of detail. Questions of the qualifications of voters, questions of the qualifications of those Representatives that the voters are to elect, questions of the qualifications of members of the Imperial Council or of the local Councils are questions as to which we shall not quarrel. These are mere matters of detail which any person, with an ordinary amount of brains, can hammer out for himself, but which of course must receive the approval of the Congress or its Representatives. But subject to that, provided you accept this one principle of the present resolution, you will have built up for yourselves a new Magna Charta in the land, even more powerful and more enduring than the great Magna Charta of 1858 which your Queen (*cheers*) unasked gave you.

I do not think there is anything left for me to say which I can say in the allotted period. I have already trespassed on your good nature. (*Cheers and go on*.) There are a large number of people who wish to speak, and I have no wish to stand between aspiring

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ambition and its fruition ; so that I consider my task fulfilled when I have finished the remarks with which I find it necessary to preface this particular resolution. When my voice is silent, when I am no longer here and able to protect its interests, you will recollect, if anything is said against this resolution which touches its details, that we claim for it two merits which nothing can take from it, the merit that it is a scheme which has taken two great principles into consideration, and proposes to embody these two great principles in an Act of Parliament, namely, first, the great principle that we are to introduce for the first time in Indian political history, the principle of election by the people, and, secondly, that we have taken into consideration and respected the question of the representation of the minorities of this country. (*Cheers.*) With these principles—you may disagree as you like over the details—I think I may depart in the assurance that we are absolutely and unanimously agreed. (*Loud Cheers.*)

THE HON'BLE PANDIT AJOODHIANATH : (*North-West Provinces, No. 1517, in list.*)—Then rose and said :—MR. PRESIDENT and FELLOW DELEGATES,—It is now my privilege and duty to second this proposition, and I am proud to follow an eminent leader like Mr. Norton. You in general, and those of my brethren who come from the North-West Provinces, and Oudh in particular, are well aware of the storm of opposition which was raised against us last year, especially in connection with this resolution. I said to you, *then*, that that opposition was bound soon to die out. Pardon me for saying that that proved me to be somewhat of a prophet. There is now really no opposition worthy of the name (*hear, hear,*) although a Government official, here and there, makes the best of any opportunity which he may have of using his official influence to prevent the people of his district taking part in this Congress. (*Shame.*)

In those days we were, it was alleged, a set of rebels. Stuff and nonsense ! (*Laughter and Cheers.*) We are the most loyal people on the face of the earth. (*Renewed Cheers.*) We are those who have ever been worshippers of our Sovereign ! Our friends knew well the hollowness of this libel on us, and they have now, I fancy, dropped it. They know that we have always said that the British Government was a very good Government. All that we added was that if it were a little more open to conviction, a little less distrustful of the people and a little less expensive (*laughter*) it would be still better. (*Cheers.*) This, we then thought, this we still think, and therefore desire to effect a distinct improvement in the administration of the country by associating in it our best men, who really do understand, which even our best rulers do not, how and where, exactly, the shoe pinches.

Let me, in the short time allotted to me, set before you three facts which almost mathematically demonstrate the necessity of this primary reform that we are seeking. I shall first take the Viceregal Council ; under the Indian Councils Act, by virtue of which these Councils are constituted, every member, official and non-official, has the right and privilege of introducing any Bill that he pleases into the Council. It may be thrown out by the votes of the majority, or, it may be vetoed by Her Majesty's Government ; but no one under the British House of Parliament, you would have thought, would venture to interfere with this privilege of a British subject explicitly conferred by an act of Parliament. But I am sorry to say that the authority of Parliament does not, it would seem, go for much in India. There is a rule—you may take it from me—that before any Bill is introduced into the Council of the Viceroy the subject of the proposed Bill must be communicated to the Secretary of State for India, (*"shame!"*) even after this communication the poor Bill cannot be introduced unless the Secretary of State and the Government here both say yes or do not say "no," to it within a certain period ; I believe two months.

[A DELEGATE : Six months.] Some one says six months, but I believe the time is not so long as that. When you come to realize that there are commonly, on an average, only 14 meetings of the Viceregal Council held in Calcutta you can very well imagine the result of this restriction. That is fact Number one. (I do not believe in generalities, but I believe in facts.) The next fact is that for the greater part of the year the Viceroy's Council sits at Simla, and that at Simla no non-official member as a rule is present, because of the trifling allowance, some six hundred pounds I think, allowed to each non-official member each season, and which the Government cannot, it says, afford to give twice in the year so as to secure the attendance of the non-official members at the Simla Session also. Would you be surprised to learn that during this greater part of the year legislation is carried on without any non-official members in much the same way as if the Council were sitting in Calcutta with its full legal complement of non-officials ? The third fact is that for the last two years no single meeting of the United Provinces' Council has been held at Allahabad. In thinking of that no milder word has occurred to me to describe our supposed Government by Councils than that of "farce ;" my friend Mr. Norton says it is a "sham," but English is a foreign language to me (*laughter,*) and I am not quite sure of the difference between "a sham," and "a shame" and I will adhere to my own epithet "a farce ;" and, truly, for India a melancholy one !

Now if the President will allow me to mention only one other fact I shall be much obliged. (*Cries of "go on."*) We know that Government at times is not over wise (*laughter.*) In October this year, I went down to Calcutta, and it was reported to the police authorities that so-and-so had come with so many servants, had put up in such a house, and remained so long. Now yesterday in this compound was seen a head constable, whose name is Mansab Alli, who has come from Allahabad (where I came from) and he was making close inquiries as to what persons have come from the North-West Provinces, especially Government officials. (*Shame.*)

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I hope you will carry this resolution by acclamation. (*Cheers.*)

MR. EARDLEY NORTON : (*Madras, No. 44, in list.*)—Gentlemen : The Punditjee has just told you the story of how one head constable from Allahabad is watching the delegates from the North-Western Provinces. I wish to tell you that Colonel Weldon, our Madras Commissioner of Police is here in charge of all the delegates from Madras (*"Shame and laughter."*) A DELEGATE.—And Colonel Henderson, the head of the Thuggy and Dacoity Department and of the Secret Police of all India, is, by a strange coincidence, also sniffing round our Premises. (*Laughter and Cheers.*)

PUNDIT BISHAN NARAYANDAR : (*Oudh, No. 1491, in list.*)—Then said :—I am extremely sorry that I have been unexpectedly asked to speak upon this very important subject ; and I am sorry for more than one reason. In the first place, the resolution is so important that I think every speaker should have time to think out thoroughly his speech before venturing to address you in regard to it. In the second place I have to follow two able speakers who have, it seems, really left me little to say. And in the third place I have to speak on behalf of Oudh, the people of which cannot hope for more, from me, than a very imperfect and inadequate expression of their views (*"No, no."*) Well, gentlemen, I am glad that this year the National Congress is going to deal in a practical spirit with the scheme for the reformation of the Legislative Councils—I believe that that is the most important question that could be brought before us ; and upon the settlement of this great question, upon the lines that have just been indicated by Mr. Norton, depends not only the success of India's just demands but also the permanence of the British Empire. (*Loud Cheers.*)

Gentlemen, it is a matter of congratulation and joy to us all that in this question we have the support and sympathy of a man whose perseverance has triumphed over every obstacle, a statesman whose indomitable courage, whose independence of character and whose broad human sympathies command the admiration of thinking and honest men of all shades of political opinion. (*Loud Cheers.*) And I am glad that the scene of this controversy is now going to be shifted from this country to England ; because after the scheme is passed by the Congress it will be pressed upon the notice of the House of Commons by Mr. Bradlaugh. We have been appealing to our Government here, and Government has up to this time turned a deaf ear to our appeals. But in England rest assured, gentlemen, that if the English people and the English Parliament are in full possession of the facts, they will grant to you readily, promptly and cheerfully, a concession which will be simply an act of justice and the redemption of a sacred pledge given long ago by our Sovereign to the people of this country. (*Prolonged cheers.*) We hear that there is a scheme in contemplation by the Indian Office on the lines suggested by Lord Dufferin or even less liberal ones. That scheme involves the expansion of the Councils, but upon the basis of nomination. Well, gentlemen, I think that we are all agreed that no reformed Councils are worth having which are founded on such a basis. The chief plank of the Congress platform, is the *elective* principle, and we are not going to be satisfied with a thing that will be a snare, a mockery and a delusion, leading men to believe that they have something which they do not really possess. What we want is not sham, but reality ; not shadow, but substance ; not nomination which is another name for deception, but representation which is the essence of political reform. (*Prolonged cheers.*) The time at my disposal is very short, and there are many points in connection with this subject that it is impossible for me to deal with (*"go on."*) I remember a remark of Sidney-Smith's to the effect that of all ingenious instruments of despotism, he most commended a popular assembly in which the majority of members were paid, and by their free speeches made the people believe that they were a free people. I believe this remark is peculiarly applicable to the Indian Legislative Councils wherein the majority of the members are undoubtedly the paid servants of the State, and in which a set of nominated Indian members (entirely at the mercy so far as their seats are concerned of the Government) are allowed to make a pretence of free speeches and free criticisms and take up quasi independent attitudes in order to make the people believe that they are free, and that their voice is listened to in all matters affecting their welfare. Now I think, gentlemen, that if the Government is going to settle this question it ought to settle it in an honest and straightforward manner. If the Government really means what it so often and so loudly professes, viz : that in all matters of our country's legislation it desires to consult the people of the country, then I think the principle of election is the only principle upon which any reform worthy of the name can

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be based. But if the Government despite its professions, really in its heart means "No, we do not at all want to consult in anything the views of the people, we wish to do exactly what we like, and yet keep them quiet" if it thinks that it can legislate for us and base the foundations of secure government in this country upon popular mistrust, upon suspicion and upon fear, then I must say that the system of nomination is a most ingenious instrument for carrying out that design. (*Cheers.*) And all I would add is *Respice finem.* (*Loud Cheers.*)

THE REV. MR. RAMCHANDER BOSE : (*Oudh, No. 1507, in list.*)—Rose and said:—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Allow one whose knowledge of politics is below Zero to make a few general remarks on the Resolution under consideration. The Resolution is I maintain a complete and triumphant reply to all the objections that have ever been advanced or ventilated by the opponents of the Congress. The Resolution in the first place shows that we are not doctrinaires or manipulators of impracticable theories and romantic or Quixotic notions. We have again and again been charged with the folly of elaborating an ideal scheme of Government without the slightest regard to the conditions of life in India, and of striving to force it upon the acceptance of responsible officers. The Resolution before you gives the lie to this accusation inasmuch as it proposes only such moderate expansion of the existing machinery of State as is absolutely demanded by the altered state of the country. (*Cheers.*) In the second place the Resolution proves that we are not revolutionists for it shows plainly that evolution not revolution is our object. (*Loud Cheers.*) The Resolution proves that we are not demagogues, that we are not flattering the masses of our countrymen with an idea of their importance, disproportionate to their present state of culture, or inspiring amongst them hopes that cannot possibly be realized without ruining the country. Our object is their gradual elevation by means of the best type of political culture. (*Hear, Hear.*) In the last place, we are accused of being conceited and being ridiculously self-assertive, of being impatient of sound counsel, and lastly of being unwilling to be led. The Resolution shows that we are being led by superiors. The framer of the Bill on which the Resolution is mainly based is an Englishman; our illustrious President is an Englishman, and he who is the heart and soul of the movement, our General Secretary, is also an Englishman. (*Prolonged cheers.*) We have our own strong irrepressible yearnings for a freer and higher political life, but as to the best and wisest modes of attaining this we have committed ourselves to their guidance believing that they will conduct us safely, in due time, to the green pastures of political emancipation. (*Loud cheers.*)

One more objection I shall take notice of before I conclude. It has been said "you are mad after the politics of the country, but you leave the morals of the country untouched." Do we leave the morals of the country untouched? (*Loud and prolonged cries of "No, no."*) That is just the question. Neither the sphere of sociology, nor the sphere of morals has been left unaffected by the Congress. This year we have received applications from ladies for permission to appear as delegates; and they have been elected and are here now to grace our assembly; this shows that even the cloistered chambers of the Zenana have been thrilled by the Congress idea, and, that we, as a nation, are awakening to broader views of woman's capacities and woman's mission. Nor has the region of morals been left untouched by the Congress. The civic virtues to which ancient Rome owed her ascendancy and world wide domination are being matured amongst us; and that virtue, Sir, which is the parent of all virtues, from which every virtue emanates and into which every virtue may be resolved—I mean the virtue of self-sacrifice—is being generated amongst us. (*Cheers.*) Bombay had never distinguished itself, by such a splendid display, (a display of outlay of money, of energy and of time) as we see around us to-day, for a national cause. This ancient land of religious pilgrimages, this land of religious self-denial, has never witnessed so many streams of self-sacrificing pilgrims coming from so many centres of influence and covering such distances as have united here in a volume of homage to the National Congress movement. (*Loud Cheers.*)

The activity of the movement has left its mark on the surface, so to speak, of every department of life; and I have only to repeat what I said last year, *viz.*, that partial reform, such as is directly aimed at by the Congress, is sure to effloresce or expand into universal reform. (*Prolonged cheers.*)

MR. G. SUBRAMANIA IYER : (*Madras, No. 50, in list.*)—Said:—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS,—The measure which I have been called upon to join Mr. Norton and others in recommending to your approbation, is a measure of the utmost importance and a measure beset by difficulties of practice and of principles. Well, sir, I am glad to say that this measure which is now submitted for your consideration, is only a slight modification of the measure recently propounded by the Madras Standing Committee; and I think I know, and all of us know, that any measure which might be proposed for the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils, by one Presidency must—however well matured, however carefully thought out—require the fullest criticism and at least some modifications; by the country as a whole, to make it in all ways worthy of acceptance.

Still I hope that the Madras Standing Committee's scheme, as now slightly modified by the Subjects Committee, which represents *all* the Standing Congress Committees, is now really worthy of national acceptance. Our Committee sat many many times thoroughly thrashing out the measure, of which the resolution before you embodies the most salient features, and it considered, I may add, the various details (into which our present resolution does not enter) with the greatest care and deliberation. The Committee bore in mind certain leading principles in working out their scheme, and I shall crave your indulgence for a few minutes whilst I refer to those principles.

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First of all, Sir, the principle that was most predominant in our minds was this, that, whatever we may ultimately arrive at, no measure that we might now put forward before the Congress should be obnoxious to the criticism that it aimed—even to any slight extent,—at transferring the power of ultimate control from the Government of India, representing Great Britain, to the hands of the native community of this country. The next principle we had in mind was this, that it must be a feasible, a practical, and a simple measure; it must be one that could be worked out without detriment to the interests of the country, and without detriment to the supremacy of British power in this country. There is another principle which we bore in mind, and it was this, that it should be a measure which would give to a large section of the people—a large number of our countrymen—a substantial measure of political power. These were the principles we had in our minds; and taking the resolutions of previous Congresses as our basis, we went on at different meetings maturing this scheme. And after certain modifications that struck most of us to be necessary, when we came to Bombay, this measure is placed before you for your consideration. We shall presently see how these principles apply to the measure before us. You will remember that according to the Bill framed by Mr. Bradlaugh, (and which, except in those few points in which it is at variance with our present scheme, the country has unanimously accepted) the Supreme Government in this country has had reserved to it full power of control over half the number of the members in the Council; this half will consist of either its servants or its nominees, the other half alone is to be elected by the people: and although the Council will be expanded, and the elected members of Council will exercise some influence in the financial arrangements, and also enjoy the right of interpellation, still the Governor-General in Council will retain the absolute power of vetoing any or every decision arrived at even by the majority of the Council. This is considered necessary in order to secure our first principle that the representatives of the nation shall not in any degree take away from the Government of India the final power of control. At the same time we are anxious that this measure should not be a sham, and result in giving no additional political influence to the people. Therefore we have insisted on the principle of election as the essential feature of our scheme. This is the point about which most differences exist. Various schemes have been put forward, but we consider that all the requisite conditions have been satisfied by the measure now proposed and placed before you for your consideration. The chief feature of the measure is the institution of an intermediate electorate between the people and the Government. I think that that kind of intermediate electorate is most desirable, if not necessary, under the circumstances of the country. The Congress, as my predecessors have said, think that if any system of direct representation could be allowed under any reasonable conditions, direct representation would have constituted the best basis possible for our scheme; but I am not sure that even amongst our own countrymen there are not many who would disapprove of any scheme which would give the power of direct election, by ordinary voters, to seats in Council. But when besides this we were told that any measure of direct representation would certainly be unacceptable to the English Parliament, our duty clearly was to leave that out of consideration and see what else could be substituted for it. Now our present proposal, while doing away with that bugbear of direct representation and proposing a more moderate measure, also gives the people I think more substantial political advantages. It provides for the education of a large number of people in the affairs of the country. If we had direct representation we should have had only the voters, who, no more than in England, could be expected to be profound politicians, and an hundred or so members of Council. But under our present scheme we shall have some thousands of representatives between the voters and the members of Council, who must necessarily train themselves in public affairs and create year by year a wider field from which the members of Council can be selected. Nay I think that according to the scheme which is now before you it will be possible to collect a considerable number of people in every district, throughout the whole Empire, who will be compelled to educate and interest themselves in the public affairs of the country. Of course the mere voter does not exercise the power of electing members to the Council; he will merely elect the representatives who are to sit for his district on that grand electoral body who will elect to the Councils. And so far the great interest which the people might naturally feel in electing members direct to the Legislature might be diminished. But under the circumstances of our country that cannot be helped; and it is by no means certain that after all the

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ordinary elector will not take an even greater interest in the election of twelve representatives all people of his own district and personally known to him, than in that of one member of Council who thus far has only been a name to him. People in some out-of-the-way districts may not perhaps take as much interest, at first, in electing representatives to the electoral body as they would take in electing members to the Council ; but probably, as time runs on, these local elections, with their immediate practical local results will engage even more of the popular interest. It must be borne in mind too that our scheme has this great advantage that it provides for the members of the Council being elected by a picked body of gentlemen who will be the leaders of the native community in every district. That provides a guarantee that the members elected to the Council will be Members who owe their position to their intelligence, integrity, and social position and influence in the native community and not to mere demagogic gifts.

Well these are some of the recommendations that the scheme possesses. I may mention that after we came here one or two alternative schemes were placed before us. I might refer to one scheme which was recommended by our friends from Poona. That scheme was, in purport, that the election to the Council should be direct, and that the voters who should exercise the power of election, should consist of members of Municipal and Local Boards and persons included in the panel of Assessors, graduates and members of one or two professions and of certain political Associations and other public bodies. That is a system of direct representation, and that system is open to the same objections as every other system of direct representation. Our friends in England have distinctly discouraged us from presenting such a scheme for the consideration of the people in that country. There is also another defect in the scheme : as far as Madras is concerned, with its local institutions, that system could not work. I dare to say that in every other part of the country also, the proposed system will prove defective as giving no guarantee that the gentlemen thus elected to the Council, would be true and properly qualified representatives of the people. But I have already exceeded the time allotted to me and I must now only say in conclusion that I strongly recommend to your acceptance the scheme now before you, which is the only one, that can be placed with any hopes of success before the British Parliament, that will in any measure satisfy the just aspirations and claims of the people of this country.

MR. BEPIN CHUNDER PAL : (*Assam, No. 1888, in list.*)—Then rose and said :—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I hope you will not take it amiss, if I turn from you just for a moment, and address a few words on my own behalf, on behalf of my constituents in Assam, and on behalf of the wretched and down-trodden slave population of that province, to our distinguished guest, who has so bravely championed the cause of the Assam coolies in Parliament, and who seems to have adopted as the motto of his life those beautiful lines of the poet who says :

I live for the cause that lacks assistance,
 I live for the cause that needs resistance ;
 I live for the future in the distance
 And the good that that I can do. (*Loud Cheers.*)

Accept, Sir, our sincere thanks for your labours on our behalf, and kindly convey our best thanks to your constituents in Northampton, and to the working people of England, generally, who have in the past expended their money and their blood in removing the shackles of the slaves in every part of the world.

Coming, gentlemen, now to the resolution before me, the first thing that I should like to mention regards that oft repeated charge—that we are seditionists. (*Cries of no, no.*) Yes, I know you do indignantly repudiate that charge but considering that we have with us members of Parliament and tried, trusted and distinguished ex-officials of Government, this charge does not only carry its own condemnation with it, but also the condemnation of the existing state of things, which must be bad indeed to convert members of Parliament and faithful servants of the Crown into seditionists if, in truth, we are seditionists.

The next thing that I should like to say is that the scheme submitted here before you is, it seems to me, in some senses even more perfect than the system of Parliamentary representation in England. Of course, I speak subject to correction, but I scrutinized the rolls of the electors of Great Britain and Ireland, and I found, it seemed to me, that more than one-fourth of the general population were unrepresented ; and there is absolutely nothing in the British constitution that provides for the representation and protection of the interests of this large and influential minority. But we have done so, in our scheme, in a double way, both by leaving the Government to provide for it by nomination, and by the minority clause of the scheme laid before you. With these words I support the resolution and I hope you will carry it unanimously. (*Applause.*)

LALA LAJPUT RAI: (*Punjab, No. 1437, in list.*)—BROTHER DELEGATES,—I do not think I shall be fulfilling my duty to my province if I do not tender the heart-felt gratitude of that province to the gentleman who does himself the honour of championing the cause of the poor and the oppressed. I, belonging to a province that is poor, both intellectually and materially, have a right to say (*Cries of "Question."*)

MR. PHEROZSHAH M. MEHTA: (*Bombay, No. 967, in list.*)—Rose here and said:—I wish to rise to a point of order. Speakers ought to confine themselves to the proposition before the Congress.

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THE PRESIDENT: It is necessary to keep to the question of the resolution that has been placed before the meeting.

LALA LAJPUT RAI: (*Punjab, No. 1437, in list.*)—Resuming said:—Well turning to the special question before us I may say that in accepting this resolution, you will have the gratification of precisely giving effect to the words and wishes of Sir Syed Ahmed, who in 1864 looked hopefully forward to the time when the Legislative Councils of India, would include representatives from every district and division. (*Cheers.*) There is one other point to which I wish to refer, and that is the protection of the interests of Mahomedans in the measure now before us. In 1884 when Sir Syed Ahmed went to Lahore, he delivered a speech in which he defined the word Hindu as including both Hindus and Mahomedans, and said that he would make no distinction between Hindus and Mahomedans so far as political privileges were concerned (*cheers*), because we required no such distinction. But though we concur in his sentiments, though we hold that, we are *all*, Hindus, Parsees or Mahomedans, equally truly represented, be our elected members Mahomedans, Parsees or Hindus, because we are all one people and one nation, still we fear lest in some cases, minorities, in whom this feeling of Indian brotherhood is not yet as fully developed as it will be a few years hence, might have doubts, and think themselves unrepresented, if men of their own special section did not sit upon the Councils and so, though in reality the thing is not needed, (for we are all one) we have specially provided so that all such minorities shall necessarily be represented by men of their own particular sections. This will show how sincere we are in guarding not only the real interests but even the possible prejudices of our Mahomedan brethren, and how careful we are to look to the interests of all minorities in every part of the country. I am a Hindu; in the Punjab the Hindus are in a minority and so far as I am concerned, I should be quite content to be represented by any good Mahomedan or Sikh member—but others may not share this view—and hence the minority clause in that scheme which has been laid before you, and which I commend to your acceptance from the bottom of my heart. (*Cheers.*)

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA: (*North-West Provinces, No. 1520, in list.*)—Said:—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I am happy to find that we are to-day discussing the leading features of the scheme for the reform and expansion of the Legislative Councils. You know since we met last, our position has somewhat improved in this matter, and the difference between us and Government is not now quite so great as it was a year ago. The four principal points which the Congress has been urging on the Government in relation to the reform of the Councils have been, 1st that the number of members on the Council should be increased; 2ndly that the privilege of electing at least half of these members should be given to the people; 3rdly that the Budget should be laid every year before the Council; 4thly that the members should have the right to interpellate the executive on questions of public concern. Of these, gentlemen, His Excellency the Viceroy assured us in his speech on the occasion of the last discussion of the Budget in his Council, that Her Majesty's Government had decided to grant us three, viz., the enlargement of the Councils; the presentation to them of the Budget every year, whether there be any new tax to be imposed or not; and the right to interpellate the Government in regard to any branch of the administration. Of course there are some limitations to be put upon the exercise of this latter right; but His Excellency's words made it perfectly clear that the right itself will be conceded.

The only vital point of difference between us and Government now, therefore, is with regard to the manner of appointing members to the Council. The Government wish to nominate all the members and we ask for the privilege of electing half of them. How evidently simple and just our prayer! How utterly indefensible the unwillingness of Government to grant it? (*Cheers.*) You know, gentlemen, that in the reformed Councils the Government will be exactly what they now are, the final arbiter of all questions that may be brought before the Council. Even in cases where the majority of the members are opposed to any measure and vote against it, the Government will still possess the power to veto their decision, and carry things entirely according to their own will and pleasure. In other words, they will occupy the position of a judge in deciding all questions affecting

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our purses, our character, in fact our whole well-being. The sole privilege which we are praying for is to be allowed to choose our own Counsels to represent our case and condition fully before them. And the Government seem unwilling to allow us even that! (*Shame.*) They say they will appoint Counsels of their own choice to plead our cause. Now, gentlemen, we thank them for this overflow of kindness towards us, (*laughter*) but we feel and we have good reasons to feel, that we should be much better off if they allowed us to exercise our own discretion in the choice of the Counsels, who are to plead our cause, defend our rights, and protect our interests. (*Cheers.*) The Legislative Council is the great tribunal before which measures of the greatest possible moment, affecting not only ourselves, but even our posterity, are continually coming up for decision, and justice requires that before the Council passes its final judgment upon them, we should be allowed to have our say with regard to them through our chosen and accredited representatives. We do feel, gentlemen, and feel strongly that we should no longer be debarred from exercising this simple and rightful privilege. The privilege of selecting one's own Counsel is not denied even to the most abandoned of criminals under the British rule. Why then should it be denied to the loyal and intelligent subjects of Her Gracious Majesty? When a jury is being empanelled, the judge asks the person whose fate is to be decided by that jury, to say if he has any objection to any person composing it and in case he has any such objection that person is removed from the panel. But the Government of India and our Secretary of State—if the reports published in the newspapers represent their views faithfully—seem unwilling to allow the vast millions of Her Majesty's subjects in this country any voice whatever in the appointment of persons who decide questions which concern not merely any one man or any set of men amongst them, but the entire nation of them and their posterity. Could there be anything more in conflict with reason and justice? (*Loud cheers.*)

If, gentlemen, the choice of Government in the selection of non-official members had, even generally, been exercised in a manner tending to promote the interests of the people we might not have been so anxious to burden ourselves with the responsibility of electing our representatives ourselves. But unhappily, as you know, in a large majority of cases, their choice has been exercised in favor of persons who have proved to be the least qualified or willing to advocate the interests, and plead fearlessly for the rights, of the people, nay, not unfrequently, in favour of persons whose presence in the Council has helped to contribute to the miseries of the people. We would much rather that there were no non-official members at all on the Councils than that there should be members who are not in the least in touch with the people, (*hear, hear,*) and who being ignorant of their true conditions and requirements, betray a cruel want of sympathy with them in heedlessly supporting measures which tend to increase suffering and discontent among them,

I will recall to your mind only two instances to illustrate what I have said. A couple of years ago, you remember, the Government was driven by reason of its excessive and, as we think, wasteful military expenditure to find some fresh means of increasing its revenue and it resolved upon drawing the required money from the poor, the class least able to offer any resistance or protest. (*Shame.*) The question came up before the Legislative Council and unofficial honorable members, the so called representatives of our people, so far from protesting against the proposal, gave their ready consent to it. Some of these gentlemen even went the length of declaring that the enhancement of the duty on salt would not inflict any hardship on the poorer classes of the people. (*Shame.*) Now, gentlemen, these big honorable gentlemen enjoying private incomes and drawing huge salaries may find it hard to believe that the addition of a few annas every year to the burdens of the poor, can cause any serious hardship to them. But those who know in what abject misery and pinching poverty our poorer classes generally exist, know how painfully the slightest increase in their burdens presses upon them. But these honorable members were pleased to say "the people will not feel the increase in the tax." (*Shame.*)

I will remind you of only one more case. You remember a few months ago the Government again found itself badly in want of money. Those who regulate their income by their expenditure, and not their expenditure by their income, must frequently find themselves in that unhappy position. It became necessary to raise more revenue and after misappropriating the Famine Insurance Fund, and mulcting the Provincial Governments (thereby starving education and arresting progress in all directions,) Government then resolved again on squeezing something more out of the poor. It resolved to reimpose the Patwari Cess on the ryots of the North-West Provinces and Oudh. Now you may know that when the Government of our good Lord Ripon had, (*cheers*) by a cessation of war and warlike operations, (*hear, hear,*) effected a saving in the public expenditure, and desired to give relief to those who most needed it, they found after inquiry that the Ryots of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh stood most especially in need of some relief, and they remitted the Patwari Cess to the extent of 20 lakhs. But the Government of Lord Landsdowne has this year reimposed

that same Cess upon them ! See I beseech you, gentlemen, what gross injustice has been perpetrated in the reimposition of this Patwari Cess ? The Patwari Cess was remitted seven years ago, but the poor ryots have had to pay it, it seems, all the same, year after year. (*Shame.*) It was said that the Cess had been amalgamated with other taxes and could not be separated from them. If the money had had to go to the coffers of the Government, such a plea would never have been listened to for a moment. (*Hear, hear.*) But it was the poor ryot who was concerned, the plea was allowed to hold good, the Talukdars and Zemindars were thus allowed to enjoy the entire benefit of the measure which the Government of Lord Ripon had passed in the interests of the ryots ; and it is now on this very plea that the remission of the Cess did not benefit the ryot, that the Patwari Cess has been reimposed, not on the Zemindars, but on the poor ryot, whereby he is now compelled to pay the Cess twice over, for no other fault of his than that he is poor and helpless. (*Loud cheers and cries of "Shame, shame."*)

The Hon'ble Mr. Quinton who represented the Government of Sir Auckland Colvin at the Viceroy's Council, said in his speech on the subject that the consent of the Talukdars of Oudh had been obtained to the measure. Fancy, gentlemen, the justice of adding to the burthens of the ryot on the strength of the consent of the Zemindar ! But that was not all. There were other honorable members present in the Council, who said that the reimposition of the Cess would not add much more than about 12 annas a year to the load of taxation on the ryot, and they said it was so slight a sum that the ryot would not feel the pressure at all. Well, gentlemen, it is sinful to desire unhappiness to any one. But when I hear these honorable members assert with cruel levity of heart that the addition of a few annas a year to the burthens of the insufficiently fed and clothed poor, whether it be in the shape of the Salt Tax or the Patwari Cess will not increase their wretchedness and misery. I feel tempted to exclaim with old Lear :

" Take physic pomp,
Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel
That thou may'st shake the superfluous to them
And show the heavens more just."

If these gentlemen had to live, even for a day or two, on that coarse unpalatable diet which is the best our poor, often starving, can command in the brightest times, and if they had to brave the cold of our up-country winters without all those warm and soft clothings, they themselves luxuriate in, they would understand what hardship the enhancement of the Salt Tax and the reimposition of the Patwari Cess entails upon the people. (*Prolonged cheers.*) There are hundreds of thousands of ryots at this moment in the North-West Provinces and Oudh who cannot buy sufficient cloth to cover even the upper half of their bodies properly, to protect themselves and their children from the piercing chill and cold of our northern winter nights ; and remember, you gentlemen of the south, that the times are far more relentlessly severe with us there than with you here. (*Hear, hear.*) These miserable people cover themselves, their wives and children, when the season becomes very severe, with grass at night, and when the intensity of the cold drives away sleep, they warm themselves by burning some of this very grass. And even that is now and then taken away from them for feeding the cattle of the officials on tour. (*Shame.*) Such is the condition of the people to whom the honorable member of the Viceroy's Council said that an increase of 12 annas a year in their burthens would not mean any serious hardship ! Do you think, gentlemen, such members would be appointed to the Council if the people were allowed any voice in their selection ? (*No, no, never!*) And even if they were, by some mistake, once appointed, would they not be scornfully rejected at the next election ? (*Yes, yes.*) But such men *are* appointed at present to the great disgust of the people, and the people are forced to submit to their legislatorship. (*Prolonged cheering.*)

I fear, gentlemen, I have taken up too much of your time, and I won't detain you any longer. I hope I have made it clear why we pray the Government to allow the people the privilege of electing at least half of the members of the Council, men whom the people esteem and confide in by reason of their loving sympathy with them in all their sorrows and joys. And I earnestly hope the Government will no longer delay granting us this simple rightful privilege, which while conducing greatly to our happiness, will not fail to add to the strength and glory of British rule in India. Gentlemen, I heartily support this resolution.

MR. SURENDRANATH BANERJEE : (*Bengal, No. 1816, in list.*)—Then rose and said:—SISTER AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—I think it will be admitted on all hands that we, the supporters of the Indian National Congress, are now entering upon what may be regarded as the most important stage in the history of the Congress movement. (*Hear, hear.*) The storm of opposition by which we were so fiercely assailed a year ago has now disappeared, and has dissolved itself into those primitive elements of isolated hate and individual despair which originally gave rise to it. The atmosphere around us is now clearer and serener. (*Cheers.*) We are now passing from the critical into what may be called the constructive stage in the history of the Congress movement. And Mr. Bradlaugh's Draft Bill is at once the token, the

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symbol, and the herald of the new epoch which is dawning upon us. (*Cheers.*) I rejoice to note that you have resolved to devote your attention, this time, principally to this great question of the reform of the Legislative Councils. The reform of the Councils lies at the root of all other reforms. If you get that, you get everything else. On it depends in one sense the entire future of the country and the future of our administrative system. (*Hear, hear.*) There is nothing which we so heartily deplore, nothing which we so strongly condemn, nothing which seems to us to be in such utter conflict with the fundamental principles of political economy, the maxims of common sense, and even the ordinary considerations of prudence and righteous administration, as the enhancement of the salt duties. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*) Is it conceivable that, if the people of this country had the slightest control over the deliberations of the Supreme Council, if the Council had even affected to be guided by the semblance of public opinion, a law of this kind could have been passed to the prejudice of the voiceless peasantry of the country? (*No, no, and applause.*) Now, I would appeal to my brother delegates, especially those who come from Bombay, and I would ask them to say whether if they had the smallest representation of the wealth, the culture, and the intelligence of this great Presidency in the Supreme Legislative Council, the Mamlatdars' Bill would have been passed in the way that it was passed. (*Loud applause.*) Turning to my brother journalists (*Hear, hear and cheers*) who are present here, I would ask them if the Official Secrets' Act would have been smuggled through the Legislative Council in the way that it was done, if they had any influence over the deliberations of the body? (*No, no, and loud applause.*) Gentlemen, our Legislative Councils are so many farces (*Yes, yes, and cheers*); magnificent nonentities, gilded shams which may delude children, but cannot deceive sensible men like ourselves, who have grown into the adolescence of vigorous manhood. (*Loud applause.*) India, Sir, is now changing, and we are changing with the times (*Yes, yes, and loud cheers*) and the new-born circumstances of modern India demand that our Legislative Councils should be adapted to our present needs and wants. Gentlemen, you must have all read the minute of Lord Dufferin on the expansion and reform of the Legislative Councils. At that time there was no Official Secrets' Act (*laughter*) and the Despatch was accordingly published.* I wish to speak of Lord Dufferin with the utmost possible show of consideration. (*Laughter and applause.*) I remember,—very well remember—the time when my distinguished friend (Mr. A. O. Hume) behind me (*loud cheers*) with a faltering hand and a trembling heart sketched out the faint and meagre outlines of a scheme for the reform of our Councils. (*Loud applause.*) It was a dream, the Old Man's Hope† (*hear, hear*), but it is now about to be realized, to his great and undying glory, and the happiness of the countless millions of my own countrymen. (*Loud Applause.*) The question has indeed reached a practical stage. It is no longer in the region of vague and nebulous abstractions. I mean no disrespect to the late Viceroy when I say that he was no friend of the Congress movement, and that he was not sympathetic towards the aspirations which it represents. But even he, such as he was, was so influenced by the growing efflux of public opinion, that he felt himself called upon, as much in the interests of the people of this country as for the credit and good name of the English Government (*hear, hear*) to recommend the reform and the reconstitution of the Councils. He suggested the expansion of the Legislative Councils, and the reconstitution of the Provincial Councils upon a partially elective basis. (*Hear, hear.*) Then came Lord Lansdowne and I need hardly say that I desire to speak with the utmost possible respect and deference of the august representative of her most gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress, our Sovereign. Lord Lansdowne declared from his place in the Viceregal Council that he was prepared to reform the Councils, to widen and to extend their functions. (*Hear, hear.*) But unfortunately, there is a rift in the lute. (*Loud laughter and cheers.*) His Excellency is ominously silent with regard to the recognition of the elective system in the constitution of the Councils. (*Laughter.*) I desire to repeat what has been so eloquently said here on this platform by my friend, Mr. Bishan Narayan Dar, that no reform of the Councils will ever be regarded by the country as satisfactory which does not provide for a truly representative element in their constitution. (*Loud applause.*) Nothing indeed, has been done so far as we are aware, to give effect to Lord Lansdowne's declaration or to the recommendations of Lord Dufferin. All Governments, whether Liberal or Conservative, are slow to move in the path of reform. *Quia non movere* is their motto. (*Laughter and cheers.*) They will let things alone. They will not move except under the irresistible pressure of public opinion. (*Loud applause.*) If our Government will not move, we can at any rate do so. (*Hear, hear, and loud applause.*) Our champion on this platform (*cheers*) has already taken the first step in this direction by his Draft Bill. (*Loud cheers.*)

The most important question that we have now to consider is undoubtedly that of the electorate. What is to be the constituency? What is to be the body that should return our members to the Legislative Councils? Direct representation is

* In Mr. Surendranath's own paper, "THE BENGALER."

† "THE OLD MAN'S HOPE" is the name of a pamphlet, which helped, *inter alia*, to inaugurate the Congress movement.

altogether out of the question. However much we may wish it, any claims that we may urge in this direction would be considered inadmissible by the British public. We must, therefore, turn to our local bodies, our Municipal and District Boards, or we must adopt the suggestion of an intermediate electoral body which has been put forward by the Madras Committee. In this connection I cannot help referring to the onslaught that has been made upon Municipalities in general by my friend Mr. Norton. I cannot join him in those strictures. (*Laughter.*) Mr. Norton has no faith in Municipal institutions, although he is a distinguished ornament of one of the greatest Municipalities in the Indian Empire. (*Laughter and loud applause.*) I have myself been now for fifteen years a Municipal Commissioner—pardon me for this personal reference—and have come to have some faith in Municipal institutions. As far as Bengal is concerned, Local Self-Government has on the whole been a success (*yes, yes, and applause*), and if we say that it has not been so, we cut away the ground from underneath our feet. If we have not been successful in the matter of Local-Self Government we have no right to aspire to higher political privileges. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*) But there can be no doubt that the local bodies, taken by themselves, would afford a constituency that would be extremely limited in its character. Even in Bengal some of the most distinguished men, of whom we are justly proud, are not members of our Municipalities (*hear, hear*), and would have no chance of being returned as members to the Legislative Councils, if the Municipalities alone were to form the constituency. My friend behind me, Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee, (*loud applause*), my friends opposite, Mr. Ananda Mohun Bose, and Babu Kalicharan Bannerjee are not connected with any Municipality; and yet I am sure no Legislative Council would be complete without them. (*No, no, it won't.*) The local bodies thus forming a far too limited constituency, we must look elsewhere for a suitable electorate; and the process that has been suggested is the formation of an intermediate body—of representatives—for the purpose of electing members to the Legislative Councils. The voters in the first instance, are to elect the Representatives who are to compose the electorate who in their turn are to return members to the Council. Thus by a process of what may be called double distillation, we provide a suitable machinery, at once independent and popular, for the election of members to the Councils.

Such is our scheme, and such are our proposals. And we commend them to the care of our friend on the platform (*hear, hear*), the Champion of Indian interests in the House of Commons. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*) We wish him "God-speed" in his noble work for the good of India. (*Loud applause.*) The prayers of a nation attend him to his Western home. (*Loud cheers.*) Illustrious, indeed, is the muster-roll of those great Englishmen who, having consecrated their lives to the cause of India, have won an undying place in the grateful recollections of our people. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*) Fawcett and Bright are dead and gone (*cheers*), but their names are embalmed in our memories (*loud cheers*), and will be bequeathed as pious legacies to after-generations. (*Loud and continued applause.*) And, sir, if I am permitted to take a glance into the future and to anticipate the verdict of history, this I will say with confidence that in the coming times no English name will occupy a higher, a worthier, a more affectionate place in our grateful recollections than that of Charles Bradlaugh. (*Loud cheers that continued for some minutes.*) We have great confidence in him. (*Applause.*) We have great confidence in the justice and generosity of the English people (*loud cheers*), and above all we rely with abounding faith upon the liberty-loving instincts of the greatest representative assembly in the world, (*cheers*), the palladium of English liberty, the sanctuary of the free and the brave—the British House of Commons. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*) When before such an assembly our prayer is pressed by such a man (*cheers*), there can come but one response which, I am confident, will be in accord with the great traditions of the English people, and will serve to consolidate the foundations of British rule in India and to broad-base it upon the affections of a happy, prosperous, and contented people. (*Loud applause which continued for several minutes.*)

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, you have heard the resolution proposed, seconded and supported. I now propose to put it clause by clause; and if any gentleman wishes to move an amendment he can move it upon the particular clause which he wishes to amend. Is there any amendment upon clause 1? (*No, no.*)

Clause 1 was put and agreed to.

Clause 2 was put and agreed to.

On clause 3 being put,

MR. DWARKANATH GANGULI: (*Bengal, No. 1828, in list.*)—Rose and said:—I have an amendment to propose, *viz.*, that the word "male" preceding "British Subjects," in this clause, be omitted. In proposing the amendment I am fully aware that it will not be accepted by the British public. But I wish to draw your attention to this fact, *viz.*, that in certain respects we are somewhat in advance of the English people. You know that we have opened

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all our Universities to our women ; but, with the exception of the University of London, none of the English Universities have been really opened to women, though there are ladies Colleges at both Oxford and Cambridge. I would also draw attention to another fact. You have admitted to this deliberative assembly some distinguished ladies to represent, I presume, the women of this country ; and you will, I venture to submit, be scarcely consistent if you do not accept my amendment. The English public have not yet allowed the privilege of voting to English women ; but if we are to be consistent I would ask you to accept my amendment. It would be inconsistent in us not to allow women to vote while we allow other persons less competent to be voters. With these few remarks I propose the amendment.

MR. N. SUBRAMANYAM : (*Madras, No. 75, in list*).—I second the amendment with great pleasure. I understand that the general qualifications for electors are to be the ability to read and write, the possession of property, and the payment of revenue to Government, or the payment of rent to a certain amount ; and if men having these qualifications have the right to vote, I do not see why ladies having the same qualifications should not vote.

The amendment was put and lost. The clause was then put and agreed to.

Clause 4 was put and agreed to.

Clause 5 was read, and was further translated into Hindustani by Pandit Ajoodhia Nath.

MR. B. G. TILAK : (*Deccan, No. 401, in list*).—I beg to propose as an amendment that instead of asking the different electoral bodies to elect members to the Imperial Legislature, the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council should constitute the body to elect members to the Imperial Council. As I have moved this amendment more from a sense of duty to my province than from any confidence in my own oratorical powers I shall not trouble you with any platitudes about this National Congress. What I have to do is to place before you the reasons that induce us to come forward with this amendment, although we know there is very little chance of its being accepted by other provinces. You have been told that Bombay is opposed to the general scheme of the Legislative Council proposed by other provinces ; and the position that we took has been represented to you in a rather misleading light. What I suggest is this, that we from Bombay have been opposed to the Madras Scheme, not on the ground that it is not based upon Local Boards and Municipalities. The opposition was not between Local Boards and Municipalities on the one hand and electoral bodies on the other, but whether we should have one electoral body or more than one, and I am glad to say to the Bombay delegates that this point, to which there was no real opposition, has been conceded. The next question is, having more than one electoral body, in some presidencies at any rate, will it be convenient to authorize each of these electoral bodies to send their own members to the Imperial Legislative Council, or will it be more convenient to invest elected members of the Provincial Council with that authority ? Now, having, as I hope, shown that the Supreme Legislative Council must have on it representatives from the different presidencies, and not from districts* or divisions, I think it will be more in accordance with this principle to allow representations to each presidency than to a sub-division of each. It is not each division that has to elect a representative to the Imperial Council, but it is each presidency that has to do it ; and if that is so, I place it before you whether, having several centres, each electoral body is to be allowed a representation in the Imperial Legislative Council. Then there is another objection which I would call objection No. 2. If you look to logical sequence you will find that the amendment I propose comes in its proper order. I will explain a little. You have adopted indirect representation ; that is, the members of the Council are not to be directly sent by the voters but through the medium of electoral bodies. So then, having adopted the principle of indirect representation for the election of the Provincial Council, the natural sequence is that the Provincial Council should elect the Imperial Council. It follows in the same order. Then there is a third objection. You have been told that Municipalities and Local Boards are not allowed representation direct because Municipalities and Local Boards have not the best of your men. No such objection can be urged against our system of double election. You have the best men in your Provincial Councils, and if you entrust the best men thus selected with the task of selecting men to the Imperial Council I am sure you will not be placing the power in the wrong hands. The last objection I have to urge to the proposed system is that it is cumbrous every time to ask an electoral division to send members to the Provincial Council and also to the Imperial Council. It would be too cumbrous to be carried into practice. The time is short, and I can only summarize what I have to say. If you

* It has never, any where, it is believed, been contemplated to have separate electoral bodies for districts or any lesser tract than a province. Thus even in Bombay, where the question of having more than one electoral body in a Presidency was most strongly pressed, no one suggested more than four, viz : one for Sindh, one for Guzerat, one for Bombay and the Concan, one for the Deccan and Khandesh. In Madras the people are unanimously in favour of having only one electoral body for the whole Presidency.

will consider the logical sequence of the proposal, and the local circumstances of the several presidencies, especially that of Bombay, where there will be several electoral bodies—if you will consider that it is the Provincial interest that you have to represent, and not the divisional interest, in the Imperial Council, you will find that the amendment is at least more in conformity with the view you have already adopted than is the resolution as it now stands. With these few words I propose the amendment which will run thus :

PROPOSED : “ That elections to the Imperial Legislature shall be made by the elected members of the Provincial Councils.”

MR. GOKHALE : (*Deccan, No. 418, in list.*)—MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW DELEGATES,—I come before you with great reluctance and greater diffidence to second the proposal which has been placed before you by my friend Mr. Tilak. I will briefly state the various reasons for which I am in favour of the amendment, as opposed to the original proposition. I should not have troubled you, but I believe that the scheme proposed in the amendment would work better than the one in the original proposal. I will merely enumerate the various points, and say a little in explanation of each. My first point is that there would be unnecessary trouble. You have already election at two stages, and what we want you to do is to go a little further and have election at three stages ; thereby all the cumbrousness of the original method would be avoided, and the thing would be reduced to a simple principle. The presumption is that all the best men will be in the Provincial Council and, if they are there, I do not see why they should not, from their own body, depute two, three or four persons to the Supreme Council. My third point is that there was already an objection to the Local Boards and Municipalities electing representatives to the Provincial Councils. It was said that the persons elected on Local Boards and Municipalities are elected for a different function, and that the persons to be elected on the Legislative Councils have to discharge different functions. No such objection can be raised to the amendment placed before you. The functions of members of the Provincial and of the Supreme Councils are not greatly dis-similar. The objection with regard to Municipalities and Local Boards does not apply in the present case. As my friend who has placed this proposition before you has said, the system proposed in the resolution is very cumbrous. Whenever there is a vacancy you will have to go through the whole form and there will be a great deal of unnecessary labor. I therefore ask you to accept this principle of election at three stages instead of two.

RAJAH T. RAMA ROW : (*Madras, No. 43, in list.*)—Gentlemen, I have a few words to say against this amendment. My reasons are these. We have found it impracticable, under present circumstances to give the direct principle of election to the people, we therefore abandoned the project and said that there should be an intermediate body who should have the right of electing members to the Legislative Councils. This electoral body directly represents the people ; and to allow the members elected to the Provincial Council by this electoral body to elect members to the Supreme Council would be delegating the functions entrusted to the electoral body in the first instance to another body, which is illegal and illogical. We should have only one electoral body, if possible, in Madras ; but with regard to the other presidencies, let them have one or more in order to suit the conveniences of the time being.

The amendment was put and lost.

THE PRESIDENT : Is there any other amendment ?

MR. KALIPRASANNA KAVYABISHARAD : (*Bengal, No. 1834, in list.*)—GENTLEMEN AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—I beg to propose that for the word “ Christian,” in the resolution, you “ substitute Europeans, Eurasians and Native Christians.” There may be people amongst the Europeans, for instance, who are not at all Christians. This is my proposal which I submit to your kind consideration. I have no capacity for addressing such a huge audience, and I am not going to inflict a speech upon you.

THE PRESIDENT : Does any one second the amendment ?

MR. N. SUBRAMANYAM : (*Madras, No. 75, in list.*)—MR. PRESIDENT : I second the amendment and I wish to say a few words with regard to it. Although Europeans, Eurasians and Native Christians may all be Christians in general, yet their interests are not identical. Some of those interests which would naturally come before the Legislative Council are interests not affecting so much their religion, because the policy of the Government of India is that of neutrality so far as religious tenets are concerned, but their rights as different sections of the community. And I can, without enumerating them, imagine—and I think you can imagine—that the interests of Europeans, Eurasians and Native Christians may not in all cases be precisely the same ; on that account alone I will second the amendment which has been proposed.

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The amendment was then put to the meeting and lost.

MR. N. SUBRAMANIAN : Gentlemen, I thank you still. (*Laughter.*)

REV. R. A. HUME : (*Deccan, No. 486, in list.*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, Since I came here this morning I have been over-urged, by my fellow delegates from the Deccan, to propose an amendment with reference to the most sensitive and delicate part of this entire proposition, viz., that which relates to the representation of minorities. I have the greatest hesitation in taking this action, first because I am confident that even a large proportion of those who are interested in these minorities will be slow to accept any modification which is proposed ; and in the second place I am myself somewhat in doubt whether the time has come for it ; but as I believe I was elected a representative by the voices of the people of my district, and as I am requested by them to present this proposition, it has become my duty to do so, the more so because it represents the principle which will more and more dominate this movement ; namely, that it is safe to trust the people. It is not necessary to give minorities the safeguard which is attempted by this clause, it is better to depend upon another safe-guard which is secured by the nomination of one-fourth of the members by the Government. My amendment therefore is this, to omit the sentence in the fifth clause from the words " In such-wise that the total number of Europeans, Christians, Hindus and Mahomedans respectively," to the end of the sentence, and substitute there for the following :—"*Whereas with a view to make up deficiencies in elections, the power to make nominations has been reserved to Government, it is undesirable to make any other special provision for the protection of minorities.*"

In support of this amendment I have one word to say. In a country with the past history of India, with its divisions caused by language, by race, by religion, and other things, it is most natural that those communities which are in a minority should fear lest if this power of representation were given to the entire community they might be over-looked. This is a reasonable fear ; at the same time if we have in a large sense the right and the qualifications for asking the Government to endow us with the privilege of electing representatives we ought to be able—and I verily believe that in a considerable measure we are able—to take care that even as regards minorities we are properly represented, without such safe-guards as are attempted in the original Resolution. It is a pleasure to one who like myself comes from another part of the world for a particular purpose, to say that I have always found it safe to trust the people. (*Hear, hear.*) I for one should always expect that to be true, and so to my mind the wisest policy ever is to trust the people. Even if in a particular case at a particular time I, or those in whom I am specially interested, may not get the full representation to which in our judgment we are entitled, yet on the whole we ought to secure it by our public spirit, by our freedom from prejudice, our freedom from all restrictions, and we should be ready even to take less, than we might otherwise be entitled to, in order to set a good example, in order to emphasise a righteous principle and help on this great cause. However I think we can hardly expect that this large Congress of communities, in its present position, should be prepared entirely to accept this proposition, yet I feel it a pleasure to follow the request of my brother delegates and to say that I believe, that certainly in such parts of the country as I live in, it is safe and it is right, without such safe guards, to trust the people to give even the minorities a fair representation ; and when they are not fairly represented, as may sometimes be the case, to trust the wise Government under which we live to make up such deficiencies by nomination and not further seek to emphasise and keep alive distinctions which ought not, longer, to exist. (*Cheers.*)

MR. SAMUEL G. LEE PILLAI : (*Deccan, No. 487, in list.*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I second the amendment. Before proposing to trouble you I wrote to the Secretary, but unfortunately I have not been able to bring on this point earlier. I am glad that I have now the opportunity of presenting my remarks in defence of my countrymen. I adopt the country of India though I am not born in India. I am a Singalese, and I am your servant in the cause of education. I have very great pleasure in seeing so large an audience assembled here for the benefit of India, (*" Question."*) The great point which we have to bring before the British Parliament in such a way that we may realize our political aspirations is (*" Question."*)

This amendment has been brought forward by the Revd. Mr. Hume (a man of great experience and wisdom, a man who knows the whole history of the Deccan), and it is with great pleasure I support it. You may want to know the reason why I support it ? I think you will remember with great pleasure the visit of Mr. Caine, M. P., the great Champion of the temperance cause in India (*Question.*) Mr. Caine, told us at a meeting in connection with this very Bill that Parliament would be very glad to give the very privilege for which we are fighting to-day, under suitable conditions and restrictions, and he especially referred to one point, viz., that we should be careful about safe-guarding the interests of our

minorities. You know what takes place in England with regard to constituencies there. You know how the Irish people are governed because they are in the minority. ("Question.") You know what suffering there has been. They have no members of Parliament (*nonsense, nonsense*) simply because they are in the minority. We should take fairly into consideration the question of minorities. Parsees, Mahomedans, Christians and all.

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THE PRESIDENT : I think that the gentleman who has just spoken has made a little mistake. He told us that he was going to second the amendment, but in reality he wishes to oppose it ; however there is another gentleman who has come forward to second it.

MR. HARDEORAM N. HARIDAS : (*Guzerat, No. 827, in list.*)—LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I quite agree with Mr. Norton that minorities should be represented. At the same time I beg to differ from him, in as much as I do not agree with him that minorities are not represented if the principle, of insisting on the same proportion of Parsees, Hindus, Musalmans, amongst the members, that exists in the population they represent, is disallowed. To recognise such a principle would be very bad policy. We do not want sectional differences in the Legislature ; we do not want a Legislature for Parsees separately, for Hindus separately, for Jews separately, for Mahomedans or for Christians separately. The business of the Legislative Council has nothing to do with these matters. I do not see how the question of a man being a Mahomedan or a Hindu has any relation to the question of the Salt Tax for example. For my part I would rather be represented by a European like Mr. Bradlaugh, by a European like Sir William Wedderburn, or any other equally good and able gentleman, than by nine-tenths of my Hindu brethren. If we make these divisions in caste or religion I do not know where they will land us. There are so many sections amongst the Hindus themselves, and we may have to look to the several creeds existing amongst them ; and then the Jains would want to be represented separately, the Sivites would want to be represented separately, the Jews would want to be represented separately, and I do not know where we should be carried. By allowing these caste or creed representatives to be brought into the Legislature you will be strengthening the hands of our opponents. Again, the spirit of the Congress, as shown in its literature, has been from the beginning against any such distinctions of caste and creed. (*Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT : Does any one wish to speak in support of this amendment ?

MR. EARDLEY NORTON : (*Madras, No. 44, in list.*)—As the original proposer of this Resolution I should like to say a few words in defence of the section as it stands. The amendment which has been moved by my reverend friend Mr. R. Hume has been moved in a spirit with which I thoroughly and fully sympathise. I am perfectly certain that there is no Lady or Gentleman inside the walls of this Congress Hall who does not fully appreciate the sincerity of Mr. Hume's motives in coming forward to make this proposition. But, gentlemen, I hope the Rev. Mr. Hume will forgive me when I say that I cannot help thinking that his amendment is somewhat Utopian. I quite understand, in theory, that perfect equality of Christianity which recognises only all that is good in man and leaves out all that is bad ; but gentleman, I rarely find that theory carried out into practice, (*laughter*) and however willing I may be to believe that the time will come when we may be able to trust the people, in the way Mr. Hume desires us to trust them, I am perfectly convinced that that time has not yet come. But there are two very grave objections to the amendment to which I would particularly direct your attention. The first objection is that it would take away absolutely the safe-guard of minorities. No reliance can be placed on inductions drawn from England or any other European country and attempted to be applied to the conditions under which we ourselves are placed. In England the people are homogeneous ; here in India the very converse is true. It is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact that not merely does a racial distinction exist, to a marked degree, but that here, also, are very great differences of opinion on matters theologic. Now I would put aside for one moment the question of theological disputes. But imagine this amendment accepted ; imagine the safe-guard as to minorities withdrawn, and imagine, as may well be, that some great wave of a political crisis should sweep over the country when Mahomedans would stand on the one side and Hindus on the other. What would then become of the Mahomedans ? With all the best and most Christian-like intentions on the part of the Hindus, human passion would assert itself ; and when you came to the question of counting heads or hands, the Hindus would forget all about this theoretical universal brotherhood and make it a point to see that no Mahomedan should be returned (*no, no.*) Perhaps it may not be so in your opinion but it is so in mine. I put it upon no grounds of theological dislike ; but in these great crises men lose their heads and, in their effort to obtain some particular object which they desire, they sacrifice, rightly or wrongly, everything else. Such a state of things may well arise here, and if it does I think you will agree with me that it would be

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most deplorable indeed, if the proposed safe-guard should be taken away and Mahomedans and Parsees and Europeans should find themselves without the power of getting into the Council. We have been discussing this matter on the grounds of the elective principle and we have said that we intend to have that principle, pure and undiluted ; but my reverend friend's amendment cuts it away, because it says that if a sufficient number of Mahomedans are not returned the deficiencies are to be filled up—by whom ?—not by the people but by the Government. I beg his pardon ! The Government I understand are to use their nomination to fill up these so called vacancies or deficiencies. The Government will not have sufficient nominations at their disposal. The time might arrive when the Hindus might reject all these various communities and Government would not then have enough seats to represent all classes other than the Hindus. (*Cries of No, no, never.*) Lastly I am satisfied that no measure which does not contain such a proposal as this contains, will commend itself either to the Government here or the Government at home. No ! let us insist upon proportional representation, leaving it to Government to strengthen this from its nominations in the case of any section where this seems, to it, needful ; with these few remarks I leave the matter to your discretion. }

The amendment was then put to the meeting and lost.

MUNSHI HIDAYET RASUL : (*Oudh, No. 1477, in list.*)—Addressed the meeting in Urdu as follows* :—MR. CHAIRMAN and Brother Delegates. To-day on seeing my fierce aspect, you might have thought that I was some great enemy of the Congress. But indeed it is not so. (*Cheers.*) Probably you have not forgotten what we did for the Congress movement last year. We have borne hateful taunts and great hardship for the Congress. (*Cries of no, no.*) But as they were all suffered at the hands of our Musalman brethren, we do not wish to narrate them before this great assembly. Again when we duly consider the views of those opponents, we find that they are not our enemies in the least. Our Musalman brethren will look at us with wrathful eyes only so long as they think that we, in a league with the Hindus, are the ill-wishers of the Musalmans and injurers of their National Honour. For I want you to bear in mind that those brave brethren of ours have a certain characteristic by virtue of which they will not advance a step until they have fully considered the consequences. But having advanced once, if it please God, they will never retreat. (*Cheers.*) In view of these facts should we look upon them as our enemies and should we so behave towards them as to make them our enemies in reality ? Nay, instead of widening the gulf of separation, it is advisable for us to show them, nay, to the whole world, that we are not the people to agree to anything without proper consideration as some persons have thought us to be. We are not come here for the sake of any person and we are not come here to prejudice the rights and injure the National Honour of the Musalmans by any underhand means. (*Order, order.*) And rather than that any harm be caused to Islam (*a Mahomedan Delegate—who wants to injure Islam? You, I think—cries of order*) or to the people who profess it, at our hands or tongue, we ask God to let death overpower us. By Musalmans I do not mean those who are atheists at heart, nor does any Musalman think them to be his co-religionists, so these people are outside the holy circle. (*Loud cries of order, order.*)

You can understand under what difficulties we few persons, (*cries of, more than 250*) who are supposed to be representatives of 5 crores of Musalmans, are placed. Firstly, petty officers of the different districts frown at us ; secondly, Government is looking askance at us to see how we conduct ourselves ; thirdly our nation is adverse to the Congress movement (*cries of no, no, it is not*) and fourthly the anxiety for the preservation of their honour and their rights is constantly preying upon our minds. Under these circumstances is it advisable that we remain dumb and quietly bear the adverse criticism that is being made against us ? We look upon those delegates who have come here simply to enjoy themselves and to say 'ay' to everything proposed as faithless and murderers of their brethren. (*Order, order.*) Perhaps my language is unpleasant to some improvident persons but we ought not to care for them in the least. We have not joined the Congress movement to sell our freedom of speech. We will support this movement only so long as our National Honour is not injured. None should expect more from us. We have told you before that we have no right to urge our personal views. Being taken for representatives we must speak in the same capacity and for this reason I want you to believe that the views I urge are the views of 5 crores of Musalmans. (*No, no, they are not—are you the only Musalman here?*) We Musalmans are opposed to the several proposals made in this matter. We have been frequently told that the number of Musalman Councillors will not be less than that of the Hindu Members. (*Never, never.*) At the Allahabad Congress the Honourable

* This is this gentleman's own translation of his speech.

Pandit Ajoodhianath distinctly stated that the four hundred* Musalman Delegates at that Congress were equal in importance to thirteen hundred Hindu Delegates that were present there. This falls in with our view. We assure you that out of 5 crores of Musalmans there will be found hardly five thousand of them who will agree that the number of seats for the Musalmans be less than those for the Hindus in the various Councils. Upon a calm consideration you will find that this is a legitimate aspiration. In support of this fact I will mention two or three arguments; 1. (a) Up to this time the Government has not treated us in any manner less favourably than the Hindus. (b) The Government has given us an equal share with them in every department of public service, nay, in some departments, even a larger share; so far as I know in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, nay, if I do not make a mistake in Bengal and Behar, Musalmans are employed in all grades of the public service from Tahsildarships to the office of a Judge. If by accident any of such offices is withheld, our press at once takes up the matter and Government immediately replies that Musalmans also shall have them and indeed it does fulfil its promises. Then why do Hindus, in forgetfulness of their claims of brotherhood, want to deprive us of that honourable position which Government has always accorded us? I do not understand why Musalmans should join this Congress if the forfeiture of that position be demanded by the Hindus or if such loss should prove to be the result of it. If we apprehend such a consequence we must clearly bid *salam* to this movement. You must understand that the Musalmans will not be the worse for keeping aloof from the Congress. You may try while we shall pray that you may succeed. In that case we shall have the advantage of sharing your reward without having had to share your toils. It is impossible that there will be Hindu members in the Councils to the exclusion of the Musalmans. (*No one proposed this.*) Nay, if it please God we shall not have a smaller number of Councillors. Now tell me who will be such a fool as to join the Congress movement in the face of these facts and bear to see his National Honour injured. 2. I say that if our Hindu Brethren are proud of their advancement in English education, we are proud of our religious zeal and our valorous instincts. If they can by their pen help the Government in administering the internal affairs of the country, we can by submitting our necks to the sharp glittering swords of the enemies and by pursuing them to their very guns protect the Government against foreign invasions. And the time is nigh when Government will, with due appreciation, avail itself of these our valuable instincts. Because when that powerful enemy which is at the gate of India advances a step further, you will see that the people who will with a firm resolve first come forward to assist the Government, will be those whom our Hindu brethren call Musalmans, and of whom a division has already put up its fortifications in the plains of Afghanistan. (*Loud cheers.*) We can say unhesitatingly that our nation can give soldiers in numbers far exceeding those in which you exceed us. 3. I do not know of any Hindu Consuls in foreign countries. In this department, therefore, we totally exclude you. Then is it not unjust that you should try to mar our such high position as a nation? Is it the result of our joining the Congress movement that our Hindu brethren do not regard us as their useful comrades in times of need, and grant us an equal number of seats in the various Councils. And if Hindus have no mind to do this, then it is a pity. I am fully sensible that my defiant speech may be appearing unpleasant to you, but if it please God, and you agree with our demand, you will reap a rich harvest in future. I also tell you frankly that though it is the business of both, the Hindus and the Musalmans, to sow the seed of this movement, yet for a long time, by reason of their advancement in English education, it will be the lot of the former only to enjoy the fruits. But we do not envy you. We regard the welfare of the country as our own. But, brethren, you cannot clap hands without using both of them. Take you something and leave something for us. In conclusion I promise you that if you accept this principle of equality you will have on your side 90 per cent. of Musalmans from to-morrow and the remaining 10 per cent. from the day after to-morrow. (*Cheers.*)

MR. ALI MAHOMED BHIMJEE : (*Bombay, No. 892, in list.*)—MR. PRESIDENT, LADY DELEGATES AND BROTHER DELEGATES.—The speaker who preceded me, speaking in Urdu, has proposed an amendment. It has reference to the minority section in the fifth clause. He wants to omit the mention of Mahomedans and to add the following :—

“ Provided that the number of Mahomedan members shall always be equal to that of the Hindus, in both the Imperial and Provincial Councils.”

The amendment has not been proposed with any distrust towards the Hindu majority, but it is put forward relying on your spirit of tolerance. In the same spirit which actuated you to come forward and embrace all the Mahomedans as brother delegates—with the same intentions and the same feelings this amendment has been placed before you. You

* As a matter of fact, the Mahomedans at Allahabad numbered 221, the Hindus (including members of the Arya and Brahma Samajes, &c.,) 905.

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know the condition of the Mahomedans, you know their ignorance, you know that in number they are not equal to the Hindus, you know that in intellectual power and English education they are not equal to the Hindus but in physical power they are equal or more than equal to the Hindus. As my friend says Russia is now knocking at our doors, and if Government were to treat us more liberally and have confidence in us we would certainly give it our heads. I will not take up your time for I have lost my voice and I am not audible. I have spoken those few words and leave the matter to your generosity and humanity. And I beg you will be actuated by the same feelings of friendship that you at present exhibit towards the Mahomedans, and allow this amendment to be carried with acclamation.

MR. HAMID ALI KHAN : (*Oudh, No. 1494, in list.*)—Gentlemen, you perhaps do not know who I am, and perhaps there is nothing in my appearance to tell you, (except the pin which I wear, with a crescent and a star,) that I am a Mahomedan. I may as well explain that though a Mahomedan I do not represent the Mahomedan Community alone, but I also have in my pocket a certificate showing that I am in an equal degree a trusted representative of the Hindu Community. I had now better speak in Urdu. So that all my co-religionists several of whom I see do not understand English thoroughly, may the better follow me.

He then spoke as follows in Urdu. Before I proceed to consider the amendment and point out the fact that it is based upon a mistaken notion of the principles which ought to and do guide our scheme of representation, permit me to say that we are all endeavouring to create an United India and to form ourselves into one nation so far, at the least, as our political rights and wants are concerned. We do not come here to spread disunion and disagreement as this amendment, which implies a want of confidence in our Hindu Brethren, is certainly calculated to do, especially when brought forward in speeches of the tone to which we have listened. I do not wish to call in question the motive of the gentleman who moved the amendment. However indiscreet and unbecoming his language. (*Hear, hear.*) I trust that it has been with the best of motives that he has taken this step. I am willing to assume that he has been actuated by a sincere and honest desire to protect, as he understands them, the interests of the Mahomedans, and benefit them by his advocacy. Let none think, my Mahomedan brethren, that I myself am impelled by any other desire, when I tell you that I honestly believe that while no good can come out of demanding or even obtaining an equal numbers of Musalman members on the Legislative Councils, you will necessarily rouse suspicion regarding your relations with and intentions towards your Hindu brethren, by attempting thus, without any just cause or reason, to violate the principle of population on which our entire scheme of representation has been based, in furtherance of what some of you suppose to be your own special class interests. (*Hear, hear.*)

Moreover you directly incite other communities, who are now perfectly satisfied with the scheme as propounded, to make similar preposterous claims. If you disregard the population standard—if you say no matter if the Hindus number 15 crores and we only five, we will have as many members in the Councils as they—why, by a parity of reason or unreason, should not the Parsees, the Jains, the Sikhs, the Europeans, the Eurasians each and all claim to have as many members in the Councils as you or the Hindus?—Gentlemen, the thing is absurd. (*Cheers.*) You must adopt some standard as a basis for a scheme of representation and on the whole that of population is the fairest for all and certainly the most favourable to us. If instead of population, property or education were selected as the basis, we should be far worse off—but one of these three must be adopted, and adhered to, or the absurd result I have just indicated to you is arrived at.

But the fact is that the amendment is based upon a wholly mistaken and baseless fear, that if the Hindus exceed the Mahomedans in Council they will carry all before them and injure Musalman interests. Now in the first place as has been said at least an hundred times since this Congress first met—there is no such a thing in the ordinary secular matters that come before the Councils, as Hindu interests and Mahomedan interests—our interests in all such matters are absolutely one and undivided. But even if there were separate Mahomedan interests,—and I as a Mahomedan, truly wonder what they can be—how could the Hindus in the Council, even if they were 5 to 1, as compared with the Mahomedans, and even if they wished it—which long experience has convinced me that they do not—how could they injure these interests? Are there not to be European and Eurasian members, amongst those elected, besides Sikhs and Parsees in some Provinces? Are not one fourth of the members to be officials who sit *ex-officio*, and one fourth to be nominees of Government, amongst whom probably there would be some Mahomedans? Are all these going to combine with the Hindus to deal unjustly with the Mahomedans? It is absolutely absurd—in the first place the educated Hindus

have never—and all history is my witness—attempted in any way to injure the Mahomedans—and you will only have educated Hindus elected to the Council—men of light and leading—and in the second place even if they wished it ever so, our legislative scheme renders it absolutely impossible for them to do anything of the kind. (*Loud cheers.*)

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This amendment then is calculated to create disunion and breed mutual distrust, it is absolutely illogical and leads, if accepted, to a palpable absurdity and it is based upon a purely mistaken fear, ungenerous and unreasonable in itself and originating in an inexcusable ignorance of what is, and is not, possible under our scheme for the reform of the Legislative Councils which has now been, in all essentials, before the country for the last four years. I trust therefore that you will unanimously reject it. (*Loud cheers.*)

SYED WAHID ALI RIZWI : (*North-West Provinces, No. 1686, in list.*)—From Moradabad in Rohilkhand—then spoke in Urdu, he said :

MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES, I do not rise now to second or support the amendment proposed by Munshi Hidayet Rasul, which stipulates for an equal number of Mahomedans and Hindus, on all the Councils, but to go a step or two beyond his contention. To my mind his contention that the number of Mahomedans should only equal that of the Hindus is far from satisfactory and by no means what a due regard for Mahomedan interests and the interests of the country demand.

Taking this Congress as a whole, I can hardly allow to it the title of National—(*why, why ?*) It is much more of a Hindu than a Mahomedan Congress ; whereas if it is to be truly national and adequately represent the best portion of the nation, it ought to be far more Mahomedan than Hindu (*cries of no, no, nonsense—why ? and considerable interruption.*)

THE PRESIDENT : Gentlemen, silence please. One of the things we want to show the world is that we are able to hear the other side. (*Quite so, but he must be decorous—he must not insult us.*) Well, well gentlemen, the more disagreeable are the things said, the more patiently let us listen—I am sure this gentleman has something he wishes to say even though he may not put it with much consideration for the feelings of others—and you will I am sure set him a better example, by letting him say what he has to say without interruption.

SYED WAHID ALI RIZWI, resuming : As I was saying, to be truly national, this Congress ought to be far more Mahomedan than Hindu, and indeed, had the Mahomedans, as a whole, taken to the Congress as the Hindus have, there would this day be present more Mahomedans than Hindus—for the Mahomedans are far more independent, energetic, and self-helpful than the Hindus, and if their 50 millions believed in and supported the Congress as the 200 millions of Hindus do, you would have here this day, believe me, many more Mahomedans than Hindus, whereas I do not believe that we have here even one Mahomedan to every 5 Hindus.

MR. PRESIDENT, the design of the Congress is doubtless good enough—I have no quarrel with its fundamental idea, which is to give scope for the full expression of the views and wishes, the wants and aspirations of the Indian Nation—but what I say is that despite all the efforts of the Hindus, to raise aloft and decorate and glorify this great work, it yet remains and must remain until the Musalmans fully espouse the cause, a mere dead body—it will be for the Musalmans to breathe life unto it, and they must constitute its main-spring if success is to attend its career.

Gentlemen, I must emphatically assert that without the hearty support of those true Musalmans, who represent the generations and dynasties of the old Islamite conquerors, and who are mainly now to be found in the North-West Provinces, Oudh and the Punjab, the Congress will come to nothing, now or hereafter, but if these descendants of our great warriors of the past once side, in earnest, with the Congress, then undoubtedly this will triumph. For it is on these that the British Government relies—never has that Government ceased to understand how much it owes to these loyal, statesmen-soldiers, the true supporters of its wide-spread Indian Empire. Not only has it ever sympathized with these, but it has sacrificed its own interests to uphold these brave hands who fight for Britain's Empire in every moment of need and peril.

The support of these high class Mahomedans will lift the Congress to something like that high position that the Mahomedans occupy on the platform of the world's nationalities, where they stand elevated to a dignity and grandeur to which the Hindus have never had

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any pretensions since they were conquered by the Mahomedans, and were thus so reduced and lowered that they are now naturally unfit to execute higher duties and perform the greater works of the present day. (*Cries of no, no—bosh ! Nonsense !*)

MR. PRESIDENT : If now you ask how I prove the great superiority of the high class Mahomedans over the Hindus, my reply is simple. In the total population only one-fifth are Mahomedans, and amongst the Mahomedans so-called, only one-fifth are of the real blood, the pure descendants of the Arabs, Moguls and Afghans. So that of the typical Musalman, there are but ten millions against two hundred and forty millions of the rest of the population and yet this ten millions furnishes more officers in the higher grades of the Political, Military and Civil branches of the Administration than the whole of the rest of the population—in other words every true high class Mahomedan is as valuable to the State as any 25 of other races, castes and creeds. (*Laughter.*)

Now if India is to be represented let her be represented by her best and not by her inferior races, and in accordance with these views and out of regard to the past glories of our great and ancient race, I call upon this Congress to rule, not that there shall always be as many Mahomedans as Hindus in Council, but that there shall always be three times as many Musalman as Hindu members. (*Laughter and cries of ten, ten.*)

SYED MIR-UDDIN AHMED BALKHI : (*Behar No. 1734, in list.*)—Rose and spoke in Urdu as follows :—MR. PRESIDENT AND BROTHER DELEGATES,—Although it was never my intention to speak on a political theme in an assembly like this, where the ablest and best men from all quarters of India are entertaining the audience with their charming eloquence ; yet since some Mahomedan delegates have expressed conflicting opinions on one of the most difficult problems before us, and as I think such diversity of opinions might cause some harm to the whole country in future ; I believe it to be my duty to speak out my thoughts on this question, even though I lack the ability of doing so effectually.

Gentleman, Mr. Norton has proposed for your acceptance a resolution which requires that half the members of the Legislative Councils should be *electd* and that among those so elected the numerical strength of Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians, and Parsee should be, so far as may be practicable, in proportion to their respective populations. On the other hand some Mahomedan gentlemen have brought forward an amendment to this effect,—viz. : that the number of Mahomedans in the Council should be equal to that of the Hindus and it is in connection with this amendment that I beg leave of you to say a few words.

Gentlemen, if I allowed my natural impulses to guide my actions, or selfishness to enter my head and heart ; then of course I should support this amendment,—nay, I might even go the length of proposing with the last speaker that there should be three times as many Mahomedans as Hindus on the Councils or go a step further and insist that none but genuine Mahomedans should be returned to the Councils ; that Mahomedans only should legislate for the whole of India ; and that all the Indian subjects of Her Majesty should be bound to observe such laws. But gentlemen, are such natural impulses and such selfishness justifiable under the present circumstances of the country ? Or does the Mahomedan sense of justice prompt us to entertain such unworthy thoughts ? No. We Mahomedans of India are the subjects of the same British Government under whose paternal care Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees, Christians and all the various castes and communities of the country thrive alike. And just as our rights and privileges are inseparably connected with the country and the Government ; so are those of the Hindus, Parsees, Christians and all the rest of our fellow-subjects. } Then does our Mahomedan sense of justice make us ignore everybody's rights save our own ? Every creed and caste has the same immutable right of representation on the Council that we Mahomedans have. And in my judgment nothing can be more just and fair than the principle of election according to numerical proportion. Oh ! my Mahomedan brethren. I quite endorse what you say as to our unimpeachable loyalty to the Government and that we will stand by it through thick and thin. Undoubtedly we Mahomedans are bound by our religious tenets to obey and submit to our Sovereign. It is our duty absolutely to obey the ruling power of the day. But oh my co-religionist brethren, you are now assembled in the *National Congress* ; you are praying the Government jointly to give us all those political rights and privileges which you respectfully ask for. It is not that the Hindus, Mahomedans, Christians and Parsees are going to ask for these privileges separately, each for himself. We have assembled here for one common object, and that object is a secular and not a religious one. We standing here on a common political platform appeal to the British nation's sense of justice to permit us, their Indian fellow-subjects, to enjoy something of the rights and privileges which have made them what they are. } On such an occasion Mahomedans cannot call themselves Mahomedans ; nor Hindus, Hindus ; but rather forgetting all differences of creed, caste and colour we should call

ourselves *Indians*. Undoubtedly every one present seems to feel so, or else why should he be here in this national assembly? And on an occasion like this any vaunting of our own particular merits, any ostentatious display of our own loyalty, as if we only were loyal, seems to be absolutely out of place; though it might be proper when we go to ask the Government for anything concerning the Mahomedans only.

Gentlemen, I am extremely conservative in religious matters, but in things political and social I am perfectly liberal. In point of religion a Mahomedan is a Mahomedan when he is praying in his mosque, a Hindu is a Hindu when he is worshipping in his temple; a Parsee is a Parsee when offering incense to his sacred fire; and a Christian is a Christian when he is kneeling down in his church; in short one can be called to belong to a particular religion only so long as he is engaged in its work. But in the political world I strongly object to distinguishing people or communities on account of religious differences as if they constituted different nationalities. Generally the distinction of nationalities is made in consideration of the countries inhabited; e. g. the people of England are called the English nation and the people of India, the Indian nation. When you call the English people collectively the English nation then you do not mean to say that you include in that term only the Protestants and exclude the Catholics or only the Christians and exclude the Jews, the free-thinkers or people of any other religious belief. Consequently there appears to be no reason why we people of India should not be called the Indian nation irrespective of our religious differences. O, my Mahomedan brethren remember well that unless you entertain free and liberal views in matters political you will make no progress in the world. Personally I was for striking out those words from the original resolution which point to the restriction of castes and creed, the minorities clause in fact, and of leaving the principle of election free from all such encumbrances; and I would have proposed that; but since the field of our liberty is circumscribed within rather narrow bounds, and we are assured that in England some protection of minorities will be insisted on, I for the present quite agree with the resolution as it stands.

O ye people of the Indian nation, whether in point of religion you be Hindus or Mahomedans, Parsees or Christian or of any other denomination whatsoever; remember that if you ever give room to feelings of religious bigotry and difference in your heart, you will never be entitled to receive those free British institutions which you are so eagerly praying for. God be praised that the time has come when we begin to feel the genial warmth of mutual sympathy and fellow-feeling; for, were it not so, it would have been impossible for so many Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees and Christians thus lovingly to come together this day.

After these few remarks I hope gentlemen you will kindly accept the original resolution as proposed by Mr. Norton.

MUNSHI NASIRUDDIN AHMED: (*Benares, No. 1694, in list.*)—Then spoke in Urdu as follows:—MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN, I am a Mahomedan delegate from Benares. I regret that Mr. Hidayet Rasul and Mr. Wahid Alli, should have put their amendments before you with such violence and with such a lack of common courtesy. The amendment is opposed to the first principles of our scheme of representation, for why should five crores of ourselves have the same number of representatives as fifteen crores of Hindus? But the proposal itself was a fair enough subject to submit quietly to the Congress for calm consideration, not to be thundered out at its head, with denunciations and empty vaunts. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Hidayet Rasul has talked much of the honour of our nation. I only know one nation in India, the Indians—all in fact who are born and bred there—and in this too I have the countenance of Sir Syed Ahmed, who though he may not, at one time, have favoured the Congress, knew well what he was speaking of when he laid this down distinctly, that here in India there was only one nation, the Indians, let them be Mahomedans or Hindus. (*Cheers.*) But if by our nation, Mr. Hidayet Rasul means our co-religionists, then let me tell him that it is not by vain boastings, or loud swaggerings about our valour, that our honour is to be preserved, but by showing that we are at least as reasonable, earnest and considerate of the feelings of others as the professors of other creeds and faiths.

He has told us that five crores of Musalmans think precisely as he does—for the honour of my people I am bound to say that there are not five lakhs who think as he does and certainly not five thousand, educated Mahomedans, in the whole Empire, who would have put forward *any* proposition, let alone this amendment, in the same unseemly and unbecoming manner. And now, gentlemen, as regards the merits of the amendment, I can tell you that not one in ten of the Mahomedans here present, believe in it one bit—mind, I do not say we should not like it—if you kindly chose to concede it to us, we should

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doubtless be very pleased and grateful—just as if I were partner of a one-fourths share in a village and my co-sharer who owned three-fourths were to say, “never mind let us share the profits equally.” Of course, I should be glad—of course I should think him a very liberal and good friend—but I should never presume to ask for such a thing—never delude myself with the belief that I had any right to it. So here, we Musalmans shall rejoice if, as a mark of your confidence in and love for us, you were to concede to us an equal number of representatives in the Council—but none of us, at least who are sane and in the possession of our full senses, are going to pretend that we have any right to this. We shall certainly not vote against it—why should we prevent your making us this concession of you like—but neither shall we, I believe, with very few exceptions, vote for it.

The whole thing lies in small compass—there are brave Hindus and wise Hindus, as well as brave Musalmans and wise Musalmans, and I as a Mahomedan am certainly not going to say that we are so much better than the Hindus, that they with fifteen crores to represent shall, necessarily, have only as many representatives as we with five crores to represent. (*Cheers.*) It is the whole nation that elects—not a particular community—and the election of representatives is not based upon the majority or minority of a particular community in any particular province. I myself would contentedly have left out the minority clause—being certain that in the long run, when the system comes to be thoroughly understood, the best men, those who will strive most earnestly for the good of the people, will be elected, no matter whether they are Mahomedans or Hindus or members of any other of the smaller communities. But the Congress, as is well known out of deference to the views of some of my co-religionists, have inserted this clause so as to make sure that, even at the first, Musalmans, despite the fact that they are somewhat backward in English and general education, shall always be in the Councils, in at least as large a proportion to the total number, as the population they may be supposed to represent specially, bears to the total population—what can be fairer? Other far smaller communities, Parsees, Christians, Jains, Sikhs, Jews, here represented, are quite content with this. What grounds have we Mahomedans for complaining? (*Cheers.*)

It looks to me like an attempt to stir up religious and race feelings, and weaken our union—gentlemen, this assembly is not a religious but a secular one—it consists not of one caste or creed—but of all castes and creeds—its object is not the special grievances of this or that community, but the good of all, the welfare of the entire nation. (*Loud cheers.*) I am proud to feel this and to realize that our leaders setting aside the prejudices and religious differences, which have in the past so distracted the country (and still at times give sad trouble amongst the ignorant, when these are egged on by fanatics) have laboured faithfully to unite us in one national whole and have taught us the beauty and wisdom of union. It is not by Hindus grudging Mahomedans, or Mahomedans grudging Hindus seats in Council, or anything else, but by all, let them profess what creed they may, pushing on our best men, let them profess what creed they may, to the highest places, that we shall all rise and all benefit (*cheers*) and for my part, I see no cause whatsoever for any anxiety in regard to my co-religionists. As a matter of equity and perhaps looking to the fact that hitherto we Musalmans have been somewhat backward in English education, this minority clause, which is all that we could claim, has been inserted, but I see no reason to fear that we may not as time goes on, get in the natural course of things, and that legitimately as the result of our proved deserts, even more than this clause ensures to us. I do not forget that though we may be numerically in the minority, that yet it was this minority that diffused anew in the darkest ages the light of learning, arts and civilization in Europe, Africa and Asia; this minority which still rules the land from which our forefathers sprung, this minority that ruled and on the whole ably ruled India for seven hundred years, this minority that at all times and places has ever stood firm in words and deeds, and to me it seems pusillanimous or still worse a treason to ourselves, to accept the view that we are unable by our own merits to make good our claim to full representation which this amendment, trying to secure by law an equal number of the memberships, involves. The most we can justly claim under a rule of law, is a proportional number—if we stickle for more than this, it can only be because we doubt our capacity to hold our own. I do not doubt it. Let us get by all means an equal share in the Councils—let us get a preponderance if it may be—but let us get it not by an act of the legislature, but by proving to the whole country that we make better representatives. Then indeed we might be proud, but if we are to sit in larger numbers than our stake in the country warrants, by law, and not by the verdict of our countrymen, then would it be humiliation rather than a source of pride. I utterly oppose this amendment—and to you two or three men who are pressing it on, at whose instigation you best know, I say that this assembly is not so foolish as to scatter this nosegay of union, which has been bound by the threads of love and common interests and sympathy by all the races of this land,

simply to gratify the arrogance or worse of men whose action is founded not on reason, but impulse, not on a regard for the welfare of the whole country, but a narrow and selfish view of what they mistakenly fancy are their own class interests. (*Loud cheers.*)

SHAIKH CUMROODIN FURRUKHAI : (*Bombay, No. 1002, in list.*)—Then spoke in Urdu as follows :—I disagree with Syed Wahid Ali Rizwi, but I most strongly second the amendment proposed by Mr. Hidayet Rasul, and on the following grounds.

I would not have seconded the amendment had I any reason to believe that the Mahomedan Community can at present keep pace with others, viz. : Hindus, Parsees, &c., in point of English education, and so I ask you brother delegates, most humbly, to concede to us the privilege of having the same number of our people in the Imperial and Provincial Councils, as the Hindus. By our educational attainments we shall not at present be able to compete on even terms ; give us the advantage of more members than we are entitled to as a matter of proportional calculation.

Although my predecessors (Messrs. Hamid Alli and Nassiruddin) are quite able to compete with members of other communities yet with every honour and respect to them, I think that feeling this and without previously minutely considering the conditions of the Mahomedans, in point of English education, they have opposed the amendment. In doing so they have hardly, I think, had sufficiently at heart the good interests of their co-religionists as a body. Therefore, gentlemen, it is my earnest request to you that, as an encouragement to the Mahomedans, you will kindly grant us this concession, which no doubt may appear to be an unjust one from the point of view of the numerical strength of the two creeds, but which, looking to the present condition of the Mahomedans in regard to English education, would not, I conceive, be in reality unfair to either party.

I now propose a simple compromise to the effect that, with the permission of the President, a meeting consisting only of the Mahomedans who have come here as delegates from different parts of the country be called, to discuss the matter and decide whether or not the Mahomedan delegates can give their consent to the original proposal.

MUNSHI SHEIK-HUSSEIN v. SHEIKH CHAND : (*Deccan, No. 433, in list.*)—Then spoke in Urdu. (*This gentleman has failed to supply either a copy of his speech or a translation thereof; and, hence, no report of his speech can be given, there having been no reporters for vernacular speeches.*)

MR. HIDAYET BUKSH : (*Dacca, No. 1775, in list.*)—Then spoke in Urdu. (*Of this gentleman's speech there is, for the reasons stated in the case of the preceding speaker, no report. He strongly opposed the amendment.*)

The PRESIDENT : I will now ask the meeting whether it is prepared to vote upon this amendment without further discussion ?

The proposition was carried in the affirmative. The amendment, after having been again explained in Urdu was then put. A show of hands of Mahomedans only was first taken, and the result was, for the amendment 16 ; against 23. The great bulk of the Mahomedans did not vote at all. As explained by many of them, later, they could not vote for what they felt to be unreasonable—neither did they like to oppose, what was so vehemently urged, by several of their co-religionists and was, if it could be conceded, so manifestly complimentary to their community.

The amendment was then put to the whole Congress and negatived by an overwhelming majority, most of the Mahomedans this time voting against it. The result was greeted by prolonged cheers.

Clause 5 was then adopted.

Clause 6 was passed without amendment or discussion.

The preamble was then put and agreed to.

The PRESIDENT : You have now passed the entire proposition and our second Resolution will stand as follows :—

RESOLVED : *That the following skeleton scheme for the reform and reconstitution of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations, and the Provincial Legislative Councils, is adopted, and that the President of this Congress do submit the same to*

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Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M.P., with the respectful request of this Congress that he may be pleased to cause a Bill to be drafted on the lines indicated in this skeleton scheme and introduce the same in the British House of Commons :—

(1.) *The Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils to consist respectively of Members, not less than one half of whom are to be elected, not more than one-fourth to sit ex officio and the rest to be nominated by Government.*

(2.) *Revenue districts to constitute ordinarily territorial units for electoral purposes.*

(3.) *All male British subjects above 21 years of age possessing certain qualifications and not subject to certain disqualifications (both of which will be settled later) to be voters.*

(4.) *Voters in each district to elect representatives to one or more electoral bodies, according to local circumstances, at the rate of 12 per million of the total population of the district; such representatives to possess certain qualifications, and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.*

(5.) *All the representatives thus elected by all the districts included in the jurisdiction of each electoral body, to elect members to the Imperial Legislature at the rate of 1 per every five millions of the total population of the electoral jurisdiction, and to their own Provincial Legislature at the rate of 1 per million of the said total population, in such wise that whenever the Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus are in a minority, the total number of Parsees, Christians, Mahomedans or Hindus, as the case may be, elected to the Provincial Legislature, shall not, so far as may be possible, bear a less proportion to the total number of members elected thereto, than the total number of Parsees, Christians, Hindus or Mahomedans, as the case may be, in such electoral jurisdiction, bears to its total population. Members of both legislatures to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications both of which will be settled later.*

(6.) *All elections to be by ballot.*

And now, gentlemen, I declare this Congress adjourned until 11 A.M. to-morrow.

The assembly then dispersed with loud cheers.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

Saturday, the 28th December 1889.

THE Congress re-assembled at 11 A.M.

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THE PRESIDENT said :—Gentlemen, we have a great deal of business to get through to-day, and I think we must begin without any further delay. In the first place, we have to deal with what has been called an Omnibus resolution which combines within itself the decisions which have already been arrived at by the Congress upon a variety of important matters. With regard to this omnibus resolution I do not think that there will be much difference of opinion. We have then, to follow, a variety of resolutions, upon which the judgment of the Congress is required, with regard to certain other practical questions that have not yet been finally disposed of by the Congress. Of course upon these questions we shall be glad to have the opinion of speakers, but I would mention that we are to have a speech from Mr. Bradlaugh at half-past six o'clock, and in order to have all the preparations ready it is necessary that we should close our proceedings by five o'clock. I hope therefore that gentlemen will bear this in mind, and, where they are in accord with the resolutions, will, if they speak at all, make their remarks as brief and as pointed as possible. There remains a third set of subjects also of great importance having reference to the future administration of the affairs of this Indian National Congress. These are matters to which your special attention will be called, and we must do our best to get through the other questions and bring ourselves fresh to deal with these. We will now proceed to business.

MR. KALICHARAN BANERJEE (*Bengal, No. 1827, in list*) rose and said :—MR. PRESIDENT, Sister and Brother Delegates, the proposition which I am about to present for your adoption has been, as it might well be, described as an Omnibus resolution. Let not the announcement however alarm you. When I have read it to you I shall only have to appeal to your instincts of heredity which must be well pronounced, I believe, in the fifth generation. (*Hear, hear.*) These are the terms of my proposition :—

PROPOSED : *That this present Congress do ratify and confirm the resolutions passed by previous Congresses as to*

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

(b) *the expediency of extending into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, the system of trial by jury ;*

(c) *the necessity of withdrawing from the High Courts, the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal by juries ;*

(d) *the necessity of introducing into the Code of Criminal Procedure, a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that, instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions ;*

(e) *the highly unsatisfactory character of the existing system of Police Administration in India, and the absolute necessity of a fundamental reform therein ;*

(f) *the expediency of both, establishing Military Colleges in India, whereat the Natives of India, as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army, and of authorising, under such rules and restrictions as may seem necessary, such a system of volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country, as may qualify them to support the Government in any crisis ;*

(g) *the extremely unsatisfactory character of the Income Tax Administration, especially as regards incomes below Rupees one thousand, and the expediency of raising the taxable minimum to this amount ;*

(h) *the extreme importance of increasing, instead of diminishing, as the present tendency appears to be, the public expenditure on education in all its branches, and the necessity in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of the appointment of a mixed commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country ;*

(i) *the impolicy and injustice involved in the late increase of the Salt Tax in a time of profound peace, and the urgent necessity for an immediate reduction of this tax, and the reimposition, to balance the deficit thus caused, of light ad valorem import duties ;*

(j) *the necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual increase to, the military expenditure of the country.*

It must be superfluous for me to speak to each of these ten clauses, each embodying a resolution in regard to which the entire country has long since become unanimous. If I say a few words it will only be by way of helping you to bear in mind the several resolutions as you proceed to adopt them. The other night I overheard a friend of mine read out a passage from some paper, which I am not just now in a position to name, which sounded like a crushing aphorism. The passage ran something like this : " The Congress has the educational department for its father, the law for its mother, and the Missionary bodies for its sponsors." Perhaps it was intended, as I have said, for a crushing aphorism ; but, speaking for myself, as a member of this Congress, I am proud of the parentage, and I am certainly not ashamed of my sponsors. (*Cheers.*) When I call your attention to these ten resolutions, you will find that in the first place we deal with certain resolutions which clearly indicate that we are here to-day to stand up for the honour and glory of our mother. (*Cheers.*) The glory of the law consists in this, that offences should be duly prevented, that offences should be duly detected, and that offences should be duly dealt with. In the first five resolutions referred to in this Omnibus resolution you find one having regard to the reform of the police, and another relating to the separation of the judicial and executive functions. Then you have three resolutions relating to the system of trial by jury with a view of extending the system to parts of the country where it is not at present in force, of securing a finality for the verdicts of juries ; and of extending the system of trial by jury to certain cases which are not at present tried with the help of a jury. There we stand up for the glory of our mother. (*Cheers.*) Then you have a resolution which refers to education. Well, we stand up there for the glory of our father. (*Cheers.*) We wish that the interests of high education should be promoted, and while we seek education for ourselves, we do not overlook the interests of what I may describe as the education of our motherly environments ; that is to say, we are anxious at the same time to secure the development of the material resources of the country, and as a preparative for that development, we desire a proper system of technical education. It follows therefore, that as a Congress we are neither irrational nor lawless ;

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Res. III.
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of
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passed at,
previous
Congresses
in re, Judi-
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Police
Reforms,
Military
Colleges.
Volunteer-
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Reduction
of Expendi-
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 Res. III.
 Confirma-
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and as we desire that we should have our bodies in an efficient condition so that we may cope with the movements into which we may enter with our heads and our hearts ; we also desire that something should be done in connection with the taxation of the country, so that the burdens we may have to bear, in the interests of Government, may be as little oppressive as possible. And so the Omnibus resolution calls your attention to direct taxation and seeks to remove from some of the incidents of that taxation, whatever has proved oppressive hitherto. Then when a reference is made also to indirect taxation we seek to secure that taxation should be directed more against luxuries of life than against the necessities of life. (*Cheers.*) You have a reference in these resolutions to the salt tax. That matter was referred to most forcibly by our dear friend Pundit Madan Mohun yesterday. I will only say that we, the Congress, are the true salt ; only if we are true to ourselves let not our salt be taxed. (*Laughter.*) Then lastly, if we have this education, and if we have a state of affairs secured in which all shall be done according to law, and if we are able to sustain ourselves in the flesh so as to promote the movements which we take in hand, we want to go still further and qualify ourselves both to defend these blessings and the Government itself, should its authority be ever threatened in any crisis. So one of these resolutions relates to the military education of the natives of India and also to the securing of the benefits of the Volunteering system. In that connection we demand that the military expenditure of the country should be reduced. We are prepared to supply the Government with the sinews of war, not in the shape of money, but in the shape of ourselves. (*Cheers.*) We will supply them with men qualified to act as the soldiery of the country, so that, if there should come a crisis, (which God forbid !) we Indians, may be prepared to help the Government with our blood in maintaining the cause of British rule. (*Cheers.*) With these few remarks, I would present this proposition for your adoption.

MR. N. G. CHANDAVARRAR (*Bombay, No. 962; in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, Lady Delegates, and Brother Delegates, I am entrusted with the duty of seconding this resolution : which means that I am to speak on ten subjects in the course of five minutes. But as that is not possible I shall merely indicate some general features of the resolution which has been submitted for your approval. If you carefully examine the resolution you will find that it comprises within itself two classes of subjects. The first class consists of those on which official opinion, which it is said is proverbially slow to move onwards, has pronounced itself in favor of the reforms suggested by the Congress. I say suggested by the Congress : but do not let me be misunderstood. I do not think that the Congress claims for itself anything like originality in any of its proposals. As my distinguished friend, who was at one time a member of the Congress, but who is no longer privileged to be with us (I refer to the Hon. Mr. Justice Telang) (*cheers*), said at the last meeting, originality in matters of practical politics is always dangerous. Now, gentlemen, it has been officially acknowledged that it is necessary to separate the judicial and executive functions, and that it is also necessary to reform the police administration of the country. These are subjects on which it is no longer necessary to re-state our facts or our arguments, because we have discussed them over and over again, and when even officials have acknowledged that reform is necessary all that we have to do is to re-affirm our old resolutions. Then again with regard to military colleges, some of the highest military authorities are declared to be in favor of the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst. For instance, it has been stated on reliable authority that the Commander-in-Chief of Bombay, H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught, is in favour of that scheme. And as to volunteering it was only very recently that the Hon. Mr. Justice Bailey, who commands the Bombay Volunteer Corps, said that natives ought to be admitted as Volunteers. (*Cheers.*) There again we have nothing more to do than to re-affirm our own resolution. The second class of subjects comprised within this resolution, consists of those upon which, although official opinion has not declared itself to be in favour of the reforms suggested by the Congress, yet it has not been able to deny our facts or to meet our arguments with anything like cogency. For instance, gentlemen, it is admitted by everybody—in fact no official has had the boldness to deny the fact—that salt is a necessary of life in India. It is as much, or even more, a necessary of life in India than are tea, sugar, cocoa, necessaries of life in England. Now, no English Chancellor of the Exchequer will ever venture to enhance the duty on these articles, but the Government of India with one stroke of the pen enhances the duty on salt at one sitting of the Legislative Council. As to military expenditure the state of things is discreditable, for this reason that while the expenditure has gone on increasing from £16,000,000 to £20,000,000 in two years, the Government has been reduced to the necessity of starting a famine insurance and afterwards using it for another purpose, ultimately denying that such a fund was ever created or existed. Let me simply say further, because I do not wish to trespass upon you beyond the allotted time, that this resolution deserves your best sympathy, and especially for this reason, that most of the subjects comprised within the resolution affect, most deeply, the interests of the masses, even more than they affect those of the classes, in this country ; I therefore call it the poor man's resolution and if the reforms suggested herein become

accomplished facts, you, the delegates to this Congress, will become the means of securing to the poorer classes of the country, especially the blessings of a light and equitable taxation, the blessings of spotless justice, and, last but not least, the blessings of education which, in my humble opinion, constitute the highest moral claim of England to the Government of India. (*Cheers.*)

MR. S. B. SENKARAM (*Madras, No. 98, in list*)—then spoke as follows:—MR. PRESIDENT, Lady Delegates and Gentlemen, you will all be surprised to learn that I am a Brahmin of the Northern Circars belonging to the priestly class. (*Hear, hear.*) Fortunately for me, and to the credit of the Officers, and the Eurasian members of the Corps, I have had the privilege of becoming a volunteer. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*) I joined the Vizagapatam Rifle Volunteer Corps two years ago as a private. (*Hear, hear, and laughter.*) A Brahmin of the priestly class has been ever looked upon, in our part of India, as being unfit to become a soldier. But let me tell you that I have risen above the rank of a private. (*Hear, hear, and laughter.*) I am a Non-Commissioned Officer (*hear, hear*), and I have been recommended for the post of the Quarter Master Sergeant of the Corps. (*Renewed laughter.*) I now bear a certificate which, however, I am prohibited from producing before you. This certificate shows that I can superintend at target practice, that I can drill a company in close and extended order, and that I can command a company in the field. (*Cheers and laughter.*) That certificate was granted me not by the officers of my own Corps but by a military Board that came over from Madras to inspect our Corps. There are other members of the Brahmin caste, who have won the badges of marksmen in the Corps. When such is the case, and when a Brahmin is able within a short period so to distinguish himself (*great laughter and cheers*)—pardon me for the word—is it not gross misrepresentation to pretend that our Non-Brahmins, who are descended from long lines of warriors, are not eligible to be officers as well as soldiers! (*Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT—Every single point embraced in this proposition has been discussed and rediscussed at previous Congresses and, so far as I know, there is absolutely no difference of opinion in regard to any one of them. Is it necessary that there should be any further discussion now on any of these points (*no, no*) shall I then put it? (*Yes, yes.*) Then our third resolution will stand thus:—

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

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

(b) the expediency of extending into many parts of the country, where it is not at present in force, the system of trial by jury;

(c) the necessity of withdrawing from the High Courts, the powers, first vested in them in 1872, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal by juries;

(d) the necessity of introducing, into the Code of Criminal Procedure, a provision enabling accused persons, in warrant cases, to demand that, instead of being tried by the Magistrate, they be committed to the Court of Sessions;

(e) the highly unsatisfactory character of the existing system of Police Administration in India, and the absolute necessity of a fundamental reform therein;

(f) the expediency of both, establishing Military Colleges in India, whereat the Natives of India, as defined by statute, may be educated and trained for a military career as officers of the Indian Army, and of authorising, under such rules and restrictions as may seem necessary, such a system of volunteering for the Indian inhabitants of the country, as may qualify them to support the Government in any crisis;

(g) the extremely unsatisfactory character of the Income Tax Administration, especially as regards incomes below Rupees one thousand, and the expediency of raising the taxable minimum to this amount;

(h) the extreme importance of increasing, instead of diminishing, as the present tendency appears to be, the public expenditure on education in all its branches, and the necessity, in view to the promotion of one of the most essential of these branches, the technical, of the appointment of a mixed commission to enquire into the present industrial condition of the country;

(i) the impolicy and injustice involved in the late increase of the Salt Tax in a time of profound peace, and the urgent necessity for an immediate reduction of this tax, and the reimposition, to balance the deficit thus caused, of light ad valorem import duties;

(j) the necessity for the reduction of, instead of the continual increase to, the military expenditure of the country.

I now put the resolution—are you all agreed? (*All, all.*)

The resolution is then passed unanimously.

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THE REV. G. M. COBBAN (*Madras, No. 2, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, the proposition which I have to move runs as follows :—

Res. IV.
Reform of
the Abkari
and Excise
System.

PROPOSED : *That this Congress do tender its sincere thanks to Messrs. Caine and Smith, and the members who voted with them, in connection with the debate on the Indian Excise Question in the House of Commons; and while fully appreciating what has been done by some of the local Governments towards the improvement of their systems of Excise and Abkari, do express the earnest hope that no further time may be lost in giving full effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons. (Loud cheers.)*

I can see by the reception which the text of the proposition has already met with that you are all prepared heartily to vote for its adoption. (*Cheers.*) When I remember that, during the past few years, at our successive Congress meetings this question of the Abkari, has been fully discussed, and is now come, I suppose, to be intelligently understood by us all, I feel that very few words are necessary from me on this occasion to recommend the proposition to your acceptance; yet, permit me to say a word or two. In the first place, in pressing a resolution upon this subject, I should like all, our Government especially, to understand that we are doing it intelligently. (*Cheers.*) I should like them further to understand that while we press this resolution and continue to press it substantially in one form or another, we are not without a due appreciation of the extremely difficult and delicate questions which it involves. (*Hear, hear, and loud cheers.*) We feel, I am sure, great sympathy with our Governments in the very difficult task, that has devolved upon them, of regulating such a very knotty business—if I may be allowed such an expression—as the business of drinking. The fact is that the habit of drinking is not new. It is old; and remember that there have always been, and I suppose will be, for a long time in India, certain classes who, for one reason or another, will continue to drink. The practice of drinking cannot be all at once suppressed; but what we ask in these resolutions is, that while Government regulates it and while Government compels the man who drinks to be perforce a philanthropist, *in a way*, by contributing to the benefit of his fellow-subjects (*laughter*)—while this is so, we desire that the Government should derive as little profit as possible from such an unhallowed traffic. (*Cheers.*)

Coming, as I do, from the Madras Presidency, in which I have been accustomed to move among the masses of Hindus for many years, I know pretty well the effect of the excise system in that Presidency, and here, as a witness, I cannot but bear testimony to this, that in many villages its effects have been most demoralising; that in villages where drinking was formerly comparatively unknown, now that drinking has been introduced, the people are not only reduced to poverty, but are deeply in debt and without education. (*Hear, hear.*) And when I see such things, with the heart of a man in me, how can I help protesting from my very soul, against such a system? (*Cheers.*) I find also that this practice of drinking is not only extending amongst the middle classes, for which I am very sorry, but among the lowest class especially it is a fruitful source of all ills. A few months ago, in those terrible months when palmyra toddy is abundant, I happened to be in a non-caste village and I took some pains to ascertain how much was money expended in that non-caste village in a month for the purchase of toddy. I am sure you cannot guess the amount. The village has only about 120 families; it is a village of low castes most of whom, however, are pattadars, and I found that they actually drank at least a thousand rupees worth of toddy, in that month. Why, brother delegates, if in every non-caste village we could get drinking of this kind suppressed, how these low caste people might be lifted up, and how education might flourish! We cannot have our Government supported by the demoralisation of any class. (*Hear, hear.*)

My resolution says that we express thanks to Messrs. Caine and Smith and other members in England. I am sure we owe much to them. Here in India, the members of the Congress will continue to do their duty, and supplemented and encouraged as we are by the help of earnest and hearty friends at home, I doubt not but that as the years pass, with increased vigilance and activity, on our part, with that confidence that the best shall be the strongest in the end, which we all possess, we shall see this cause triumph and India by God's help shall be a sober country enlightened and blessed and happy. I have every confidence in leaving this resolution in your hands. (*Cheers.*)

MR. DINSHA EDULJEE WACHA (*Bombay, No. 908, in list*)—MR. CHAIRMAN, Ladies and Gentlemen, I was entrusted with this excise resolution at the last Congress, and I then took some pains to explain to the delegates what were the defects in the existing excise system. Since then we have to congratulate ourselves on the effect that the Congress resolution has produced. Thanks to the efforts of Mr. Caine and Mr. Smith, since the last Congress was held, the House has passed (on the 30th April,) a resolution directing the Government of India to modify their excise regulations in harmony with the wishes of the people. Gentlemen, this first step gained is the first fruit of the Congress exertions towards the practical solution of this question. (*Hear, hear.*) I need not go over the whole ground which the

resolution has covered. The evils of increasing drinking are now admitted, and it is therefore no use further dilating on the more immediate aspect of the matter. Let us now only go to the practical part of the question. Let us go on knocking at the door of the Government, so to control their excise revenue as to bring about in every part of the country a diminution in the consumption of ardent spirits. That is the practical point on which we must now concentrate our attention. The resolution now before you is a sort of incentive to quicken the action of the Government of India and make it move a little faster than it has done in this respect. The resolution of the House of Commons was dated the 30th April. We are now at the close of the year; nine months have passed away but yet there are no signs from the Government of India that they are really doing anything in the matter. That is the very reason why this Congress should further avail themselves of the assistance of Mr. Caine, and other gentlemen interested in the question, in getting the Government of India to expedite their scheme for the reform of the Indian Abkari Administration. There is no time to say more, and really there remains nothing to be said to you, who all understand the vital import of this sad question as well as, or better even than, I do myself. (*Loud cheers.*)

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REV. R. A. HUME : (*Deccan, No. 486, in list.*)—MR. PRESIDENT, Ladies and Gentlemen, The main thing which I have to say is that a few days ago, looking over the papers of my father, who was a Missionary in this city from 1850 to 1854, I found a memorial that was presented by him on behalf of the citizens of this city to the Right Honourable Lord Falkland, Governor and President in Council at that time, regarding the spread of intemperance among the native population of Western India. This memorial, which I hold in my hand has, as you see, been riddled by white ants, and worse still, the vice to which it refers has since those days eaten deep into the vitals of the country, through the continued spread of that intemperance, the earlier stages of which so alarmed my father and his co-labourers. One paragraph alone I care to read. Let me just say that I heartily believe in all that Mr. Cobban has said about the difficulty of any practical solution, but there is one paragraph in this memorial, which should commend our importunity on the subject, even to the Government. "We believe" runs the memorial "that it is a lamentable fact in the history of British India, that the transfer of any new territory to the English Government has generally been followed by a speedy and marked increase in the number of liquor shops and a removal of the restraints on the spread of intemperance amongst the people. If we mistake not, the revenue from this source and the prevalence of intemperance have generally at once increased many-fold, and it can hardly be doubted that in this respect the territories still under native rule would compare most favourably with the English territories." Gentlemen, this is as true I fear to-day as it was forty years ago. Still I doubt if it can be said that in any other respect, the territory under the administration of the British People and the British Government unfavourably contrasts with that under native rule, save in this one great point. Take the case of Burmah. We understand the fact to be that the liquor revenue has more than doubled since we occupied Upper Burmah. It is certainly time for all of us who are interested in the people of this country, without dictating particular measures, to beg the Government to do its utmost to inaugurate some fundamental and sweeping reforms in its excise administration. (*Cheers.*)

REV. MR. THOMAS EVANS : (*Bengal, No. 1835, in list.*)—MR. PRESIDENT, and Gentlemen, My first pleasing duty to-day is to convey to you all the kind compliments and sympathy of my friend and your friend Mr. Caine (*cheers*), and I may add to that name the name of Mr. Samuel Smith, (*Hear, hear*), as well as of the members of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association. I am glad and thankful, Sir, that this National Indian Congress has been established, is progressing and has bright prospects before it. There was a time when I doubted the movement, and some doubt it still. I have been thinking over it for some years. I have not rushed into the conflict without thought, but I have acted upon my own experience and upon the advice of my friends. Last night, Mr. Kalicharan Bannerjee, at a Christian meeting, said to all "Come and see and judge for yourselves," and all who have ever done so, as I did last year, have, I feel sure, had all their doubts as to the Congress removed.

This Congress, Sir, has performed a mighty task. It has, in a very large measure, unified the diversified interests of the people of India. India before consisted of units, but not of union; it consisted of sections but not of society, it consisted of nations but had not a nationality. (*Cheers.*) I am therefore glad, Sir, of the existence and progress of the National Congress. (*Hear, hear.*) I am, however, especially glad that this question of the Abkari has been brought so prominently before it. One of the reflections cast upon the National Congress has been this, that you educated gentlemen only care for your own promotion, that you wish to obtain political power for yourselves, and that you care nothing for the social regeneration of the people. I say it is not so. (*Hear, hear.*) The very fact that this resolution on the question of the Indian excise has been so persistently brought before you

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is a proof that it is not so. Mr. President, we need and sadly need reform in this matter. The evil is growing and growing rapidly. We are told sometimes that India was a drunken country before the English came here. I deny it, I most positively deny it. I know there were people here who drank, but they were comparatively few and not people of any social importance, but almost exclusively low caste people; now, however, I am sorry to say, Mr. President, that our Brahmins even are taking to drinking (*Shame!*) and they are so ashamed of it that in many places they drink brandy under the name of kerosine oil. (*Laughter.*)

Gentlemen, I wish I had half an hour to address you, but I have not and therefore my words must be few. (*Cries of go on.*) Let me just point out how this traffic has been progressing. Under the Mahomedan rule the excise revenue of India was not twenty lakhs of rupees, and then it was imposed as a fine, as a restriction to try and keep the people from drinking. When the King of Oudh was Lord and Master in his country, there was no grogshop in Lucknow within ten miles of the city, but now we have over 100 grogshops in Lucknow under British rules. When that wicked man—I suppose I should not call him by a better name—God have mercy on him! King Theebaw of Burmah was sitting upon his throne, there was not a grogshop in Upper Burmah. But the English have taken possession of the country, and last year the excise revenue in Upper Burmah was over two lakhs. (*Shame!*) Thus you see, gentlemen, it is going on. When the Honourable East India Company came to an end in 1858, the revenue from the excise of India was 50 lakhs of rupees, to-day it is nearly 500 lakhs of rupees. (*Shame!*) What is to be done? Some repressive measures must be resorted to. I am glad to say that the Government is moving; let us give them all the praise due to them. Our friend, Mr. Wacha, said that nothing has been done—I suppose not in Bombay. A great deal has been done in Bengal. I had an interview with the Excise Commissioner the other day in Calcutta and he said to me “Mr. Evans, I hope you are satisfied now.” I said “No, I am not.” (*Laughter.*) He said “We have done a great deal.” I replied “Precious little.” (*Laughter.*) “But this year,” he said, “we lose nine lakhs.” I said “Next year I hope you will lose twenty,”—and so they will. Thank God, a large number of these fountains of corruption, the out-stills, have been shut up in Bengal, and I may tell you that in one division 750 out-stills are to be shut up next April; which means that the Bengal Government at any rate is moving, and we are very thankful. But then what moved the Government? The House of Commons. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, that is the place to appeal to, to the faithful hearts in the House of Commons. Mr. Caine and Mr. Smith obtained the passing of a resolution reproaching the Government of India for its Abkari Administration, and the Secretary of State was bound to move; he moved the Viceroy of India, and the Viceroy moved the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, so that the thing is still moving. We want to keep it moving. Thank God, India is no longer to be seen in units. We have now a four-fold cord; we have Hindus, we have Mahomedans, we have Christians, we have Parsees. These form a strong rope bound together, and if we will only join together heartily, with “a long pull, and a strong pull and a pull altogether,” we shall drive this accursed drink out of India. (*Cheers.*) What do we want to get? A great many things, but I have only time to dwell briefly upon one thing; we want to get local option and that is a thing which Government is not prepared to give us. (*Shame!*) At Calcutta I pressed this matter upon Mr. Westmacott, the Excise Commissioner. I asked “Do you not approve of local option?” “No” he said “I do not.” I know why: local option would shut up the shops and diminish the revenue. But we want to get it and we will get it, God helping us. It is in accordance with the laws of the British Government in India. Is there not a law that if a man sets up a nuisance near your house, you can appeal and have it removed? Now what is a grogshop but a nuisance? It is more than a nuisance. It is a foul temptation corrupting, degrading, and demoralising your children, and your fellow countrymen.

Then, gentlemen, we can appeal on another ground. It is in accord not only with the laws of India, but with the traditions and religion of India. We have been told sometimes that the Vedas and Shastras sanctioned the use of strong drink (“no, no.”) I say they did not. “*Mpi Mdi Magrahajam.*” You know what that means. It means “intoxicant drinks do not give, do not take.” This is in accordance with the laws of Manu and the laws of the Shastras. A Brahmin who drinks is a Brahmin no longer, and a Mahomedan who drinks is a Mahomedan no longer (*cheers*) so says the Koran. This practice then is in the teeth of, and against the religion of the people. Now when Hindus and Mahomedans, according to their Shastras and Koran are dead against drink, if our Government puts the drink under their noses, they are interfering with their religion. (*Cheers.*)

But I am afraid that my time is more than up. (“Go on.”) What shall I say? It is an easy matter to find fault with the Government and when the Government is wrong let us do it. I maintain that the people who speak out are the loyal people, not the people who keep a thing close under their waistcoats and say “Han-

jee ; Hanjee " (Yes, Sir ; Yes, Sir.) (Laughter.) We know lots of gentlemen in India who may be called "ghoulam hazirs"* (your slave is in attendance), but we, here, of the Congress are not made of such stuff. We have a little courage and independence, and when we see our beloved Government in the wrong we are not afraid to tell it so. Yet we love it. It is the best Government that India has ever seen and the best Government perhaps that India ever will see. (Cheers.) And that is why we want to improve it, gentlemen. (Cheers and laughter.) But then what of us? How many of you are total abstainers ("a good many.") You can boycott the Government in the matter of liquor to-morrow if you will. The power is in your own hands. You have only to do two things—shut up your mouths and shut up your purses ; that is what you have to do. (Laughter.) Some one may say. "But Mr. Evans, I take it medicinally, I am weak and feeble and cannot get on without it." That is an European excuse. (Laughter.) They say that India "is so hot," but when they go to England they say it "is so cold!" One reason why Indian gentlemen take to the use of strong drink is that they think it is English-like to drink. I am sorry to confess that many Englishmen do drink, but many Englishmen do not. (Hear, hear.) We have 5,000,000 total abstainers in England. We have thirty total abstainers in the House of Commons, and we have total abstainers in the House of Lords. In England, as in our own case here, misery and degradation has followed this course and from this, good men in England want to save India. But we also want to save ourselves. Do not imitate the English in their faults ; imitate them in their virtues. (Cheers.) They have noble excellencies. They are independent, they are truth-speaking, they are faithful ; imitate them in these things, but do not imitate their faults and failings. And remember, that in this case especially, prevention is better than cure.

What does the religion of the Hindus say? "It is the son who saves the father from Hell." Yet how many of you allow your boys, almost children, to take to drink and die of delirium tremens before the age of thirty. I was told in Calcutta by the late Keshab Chunder Sen that many of the under-graduates of the University of Calcutta died of delirium tremens before they were thirty. I therefore, appeal to you by your affection for your own children and your own homes, to take the pledge and get others to do the same. (Cheers.)

THE PRESIDENT : After this earnest and eloquent appeal, I am sure you all wish to vote and I will therefore put what will be our fourth resolution and which will stand as follows :—

RESOLVED—That this Congress hereby tenders its sincere thanks to Messrs. Caine and Smith, and the members who voted with them, in connection with the debate on the Indian Excise Question in the House of Commons ; and while fully appreciating what has been done by some of the local Governments towards the improvement of their systems of Excise and Abkari, desires to express the earnest hope that no further time may be lost in giving full effect to the Resolution of the House of Commons.

Are you all agreed? (Yes, yes ; All, all.)

The resolution is carried unanimously, and I will now call upon Mr. R. S. Mudaliar to bring forward the next proposition.

MR. SALEM RAMASWAMY MUDALIAR : (Madras, No. 29, in list.)—I have been asked to bring forward this proposition.

PROPOSED—That this Congress, while thanking her Majesty's Government for raising the age for the Indian Civil Service Competitive Examination from 19 to 23, do put on record an emphatic expression of the universal disappointment which has been created by the rest of that Government's orders in regard to the Public Service Question, (the net result of which orders is to place the people of India in a worse position than they previously held), and reiterate the national conviction that no real justice will be done to India, in this matter, until the simultaneous holding in India, and in England, of all Examinations, for all Civil branches of the Public Service in India, at present held only in England, be conceded.

And I have great pleasure in so doing. When, about this time last year, a similar proposition was brought forward I was anxious that we should postpone the consideration of the subject for one year; but luckily wiser counsels prevailed, and I am glad to think that I was beaten on the point, and that we did take up the question last year and pass a resolution respecting it. This year I appear before you to express my regret that I should have thought that any good could have come out of a delay in the consideration of the question. The Secretary of State has sent his despatch ; and what a despatch it is! But before I proceed to discuss it let me first say a few words on each of the clauses into which this proposition can be

* Or your slave is ready to do anything you wish—a common sycophantic reply to superiors in India.

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resolved. The first part proposes to thank the Secretary of State for having conceded to us the boon of raising the age for admission to the Civil Service—well, thanks cost little, and I have no objection to thanking the Secretary of State for this concession, but, if you will calmly examine the matter, you will find that it was not so much a concession to the natives, as an act of policy, an act of self-protection ; an act which was found necessary, and the withholding of which would have led to disastrous results. Up to 1854 the age that was fixed for admission was 21. In that year a Committee known as Lord Macaulay's Committee recommended that the age should be raised to 23. That age remained the maximum for about five or six years. In 1860 the age was reduced to 22, and in 1866 it was reduced to 21, an arrangement which subsisted until 1878 when it was proposed to reduce the maximum to 19. When this was proposed there was a strong consensus of opinion in India, even the officials being nearly unanimous on this point, that if the age was reduced it would lead to disastrous results. But in spite of that opposition the Secretary of State, for reasons best known to himself, did reduce the age to 19. When the Commission was appointed it gave an opportunity to all the officials in the Local Governments to express their opinion that the reduction of age was a great mistake, because the mensent out were, as they were called, "boy magistrates." It was more, I believe, in deference to that opinion than from any wish to grant any concession to the natives, that the age was again raised. But all the same we are thankful for what was done, and we shall not pause to enquire into the motive. It is a concession and a boon, and as such we thank the Secretary of State for what he has done.

The second part of the resolution expresses the opinion (which at first sight appears most startling) that the net result of what the Secretary of State has done is to place us in a worse position than we occupied when the Public Service Commission was appointed. And that, I regret to say, is a fact which cannot be denied. In a matter like this I do not wish to rely upon my own words, and I have therefore copied what the Secretary of State in his dispatch says on this point. I have not an authorised copy, and must therefore rely upon the public papers. Perhaps the Secretary of State, feeling that he had treated the Public Service Commission so shabbily, was ashamed to send a copy to the members, anyhow he ought to have been ashamed and anyhow he did send no copies to us members. (*Laughter.*) Well, here is what the Secretary of State himself says :—

"I have no desire to extend the practical application of that principle further than political necessity requires. It is, in fact, based on the same considerations of fitness in the broadest sense which regulate the admission of Natives of India to the higher public offices of every kind ; but it justifies on indisputable grounds of public expediency the necessity of maintaining the special reservations which have hitherto existed in regard to a particular class of executive offices. No share of these offices (among which I include that of chief executive officers of a district, as well as that of Commissioner of a division and the administrative offices of still higher rank) could, without a violation of that principle, be formally excluded from statutory reservation and transferred to a Provincial Service. I do not suggest that the reservation of these offices to the Covenanted Civil Service should be so absolute as to exclude from them military officers in the Non-Regulation Provinces or that in special circumstances a member of the Provincial Service might not be appointed to one of them on grounds of proved individual fitness. What I desire to establish is that the transfer of a definite portion of them to the Provincial Service is inappropriate."

That is the first point that struck me when I read the despatch. When the Act of 1870 was passed, it was passed without any such reservation. It simply provided that if Government found that there was a native who, by his distinguished services, his merit and ability, had proved that he had a capacity to discharge the duties of his office, he should be appointed to any of those offices which were reserved for the English Covenanted Civilians. That Act was general in its wording, but when the rules under the Act were framed an attempt was made to exclude these executive officers from the sphere of the Statutory Service. In the rules sent by the Government of India that was one of the clauses ; but the then Secretary of State thought that it was a most improper thing to do, and he struck out the rule. So that gentlemen who were admitted into the Statutory Service in 1879, and subsequently, were distinctly encouraged to hope that if they proved themselves worthy they might fairly aspire to those higher posts which are now distinctly barred to all branches of the service save the Covenanted. I say that in that respect we have been placed in a worse position than we were in at the time when the Commission was appointed.

The second point in which our position has been changed for the worse relates to the disgraceful way in which the Statutory Civil Servants have been treated. When evidence was taken, no doubt it was found that the natives who gave evidence expressed the opinion that better selections could have been made—that the selections actually made by the Government were not the best that could have been made ; but not

one went the length of saying that these men were not fit for admission. You will find that the Government accepted the statement that these selections were on the whole satisfactory. Yet look at the way in which they have been treated. They have been told that either they should be satisfied with the positions they at the moment occupy (which means with the particular office that they occupy now) or that they should become members of the Provincial Service, the members of which are excluded from all the higher executive appointments—such as Collectorships, Divisional Commissionerships, Memberships of Council, and others; thus distinctly placing the Indian Community in a worse position than it occupied before this Commission was appointed.

The third point in which we are worse off has reference to the claims of the members of the English Covenanted Service. At the time when the statute of 1870 was passed, strong objections were raised to it—there was almost a storm one might say—and strong disapproval was expressed by the service of the view which found expression in the Act. The Civilians then said “we have vested interests, and these will be destroyed by the introduction of this Act.” But their protests, essentially selfish and disregarding of the higher interest of the country, were overruled, and the Act was passed, though no doubt no real effect was given to it till 1879. The Public Service Commission suggested that the claims of those who had entered the service previous to 1870, *i.e.*, previous to the passing of the Act, should be respected but nobody pretended that after the Act was once passed any new European members of the service had any grounds for complaint on the score of the admission of natives. They entered the service knowing this to be the rule. But I find that the Secretary of State in his despatch says that those who entered the service up to 1880 *i.e.* ten years later, have a prior claim to the natives of India as regards these appointments. If there were time to go on discussing this matter in all its details I could show how in many other respects the Secretary of State has deliberately placed us in a worse position than we occupied before. We are therefore fully justified in stating as our deliberate opinion that the Secretary of State by the orders embodied in his despatch has placed us in a worse position than we formerly occupied.

Last year I referred to the remedy which, in our opinion, is the only remedy for these evils and that remedy is an equal competitive examination. At present, there is no equality of competition, no fair play, no “careers open to talent.” As regards appointments made from England, there is a competitive examination, but it is held away in a distant corner of the world seven thousand miles from India, so that ninety-nine out of every hundred Indians competent to hold these posts, are virtually debarred from competing for them, by the great distances to be traversed, the large expenditure and the difficulties, about caste, involved. As regards appointments made in India, there is no fair play; if a man seeks to get one, he must first “*poojah* *” the authorities, and if he flatters and toadies enough, and makes things agreeable enough to those in whose gift the appointment lies, and those who have influence with those officials, he does get in, and then this man having got in and reached to higher office is able to keep out far more deserving men, who scorn to make influence by such questionable means, and to let in all his relatives, friends and dependents.

What we want is for all—Indian or English—a fair field and no favour. (*Loud cheers.*) So that the country may get the best possible men for its money; (*cheers*) and the only way to secure this is to have open competitive examinations in India for all civil branches of the Public Service. (*Hear, hear.*) We have no objection whatsoever to identical simultaneous examinations being held in Great Britain for any branches which Europeans think it worth their while to enter. We want the best men we can get, and if the Europeans can beat the Indians in a fair competition, let them do so. (*Cheers.*) And we don't want to reproduce in their case the gross injustice under which we are now suffering. (*No, no.*) We don't want to drag *them* 7,000 miles on the chance of passing an examination. (*No, certainly not.*) Let them have an examination in *their* own homes, as we claim one for ourselves in our homes. (*Prolonged cheers.*) Surely, gentlemen, no one, not wilfully blind to the dictates of common sense and common justice, could refuse this simple demand. (*Cheers.*)

But, gentlemen, the PRESIDENT warns me that I am exceeding the allotted period and though I could say much more, I think I have said enough to justify, thoroughly, both to you and to the world, the proposition that I have had the honour to introduce and recommend to your acceptance. (*Loud cheers.*)

MR. G. K. GOKHALE: (*Poona, No. 418, in list.*)—Then said:—MR. PRESIDENT and Fellow Delegates,—I have great pleasure in seconding the proposal which has been placed before you by Mr. Mudaliar. I may mention a fact, of which you may perhaps be aware, that Mr. Mudaliar was himself a member of the Public Service Commission, on the report of which the Secretary of State has passed the orders now under discussion; and I believe that the very

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* “Worship” or “prostrate himself before.”

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fact that Mr. Mudaliar himself is dissatisfied with the orders of the Secretary of State is most eloquent testimony to the view that we present before you, that the Secretary of State has placed us in a worse position than we previously occupied. The vast majority of us were not satisfied with the report of the Public Service Commission itself, and now that one of the gentlemen who signed the report is, himself, dissatisfied with what the Secretary of State has done on that report, it necessarily follows that the Secretary of State has done something worse than the Commission recommended.

I will only make a few observations on this subject, the time at my disposal being very short, although I have much to say with regard to it. First, I will ask you to remember the message which has been sent to us from England by the London correspondent of the *Hindu* of Madras. Mr. Dadhabhai Naoroji says, that great as has been the breach of faith of the Government where the Bombay Mamlatdars are concerned the breach of faith implied in the present orders of the Secretary of State is infinitely greater. Perhaps some of you may think that this is the language of exaggeration, but I can assure you that it is not so. In the first place, Mr. Dadhabhai Naoroji is not a gentleman who delights to indulge in the language of exaggeration; and secondly, you can easily satisfy yourselves of the absolute truth of what he has said. Fifty-six years have come and gone since the promise was first made that no distinction of race or creed or color should be allowed to stand in the way of the prospects of preferment of any native of India. That noble promise then made—a promise worthy of the highest and most generous attitude of England towards any of the countries with which she has ever come into contact—was reiterated in yet stronger terms in the proclamation of 1858. The terms of the enactment of 1833 and of the proclamation of 1858 are so explicit that those who now try to withhold from us the privileges then assured to us must be prepared to face the painful dilemma of hypocrisy or treachery—must be prepared to admit that England was insincere when she made those promises, or that she is prepared to break faith with us now.

Gentlemen, you may be aware that an English Judge famous (or infamous) in a way, did not scruple to accept this latter position and propound the preposterous doctrine that the proclamation of 1858 was never meant to be seriously taken. (*"Shame!"*) I hope however that there are not many Englishmen of that kind. With these noble promises of 1833 and 1858 before us, I ask you, are we not entitled to say that the least we expect from our English rulers is that they should always show a steadily progressive tendency towards the fulfilment of these promises?

I had intended to review the whole question, but time is short, and I am afraid of abusing the almost fatherly indulgence of the President. My point is two-fold. First, the Commission which was appointed with such a flourish of trumpets left us in a worse position than we were in before; and secondly, the Secretary of State has left us in a worse position a great deal than did the Commission's Report. I want to draw your attention to three points. First, there were competitive examinations before the Commission and before the Secretary of State issued his orders. Secondly, there was a Statutory System whereby one-sixth of the posts reserved by the enactment of 1861 for the Covenanted Service were to be given to us Indians. Thirdly, what is called the Provincial Service, or the stUncovenanted Service, was, theoretically at least, almost exclusively ours—the natives of India. With regard to these points let me tell you what the Commission did and what the Secretary of State has done. The Commission has rejected the almost unanimous prayer of the whole nation for simultaneous examination in England and India. This is no more than an equitable demand. *For posts in our own country, if we are not to be examined in our own country, I do not know what justice and equity are.* (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*) The Secretary of State was only too glad to endorse the judgment of the Commission on this point. The second point refers to the number of places reserved for us by the rules of 1879 framed under the statute of 1870. The Commission proposed that 108 posts should be taken out of the Schedule of 1861, and should be gradually incorporated with the higher branch of the Uncovenanted Service, to which they gave a new nomenclature, calling it the Provincial Service. This was retrograde. There are 941 posts reserved for the Covenanted Service of India. One-sixth were to be ours by the Statutory Rules of 1879; that means 158. We were therefore entitled to 158 of these posts. The Commissioners however recommended that only 108 posts should be given to us. The Secretary of State however did something worse than this, for he changed the word to "May," and said that we *may* be given 108 places, leaving it to the discretion of the Government; and we know what that means. For every one of these 108 places that we shall have, half a dozen will go to the European official class. (*"Shame."*) As to the simultaneous question there can be no difficulty or doubt; or if there are any difficulties the day is not far distant when these will have to be removed. Students of Roman history are aware that the present struggle between the Indians and Anglo-Indians is something like that between the patricians and the plebeians. (*"Cries of no, no, and time."*) Something like the struggle that has been going on in England, but which is in reality nearly won now, between the classes and the masses, and it needs no prophet to foretell to which side victory must, in the long run, incline. (*Loud cheers.*)

MR. J. ADAM : (*Madras, No. 1, in list.*)—Then said :—I can assure you that I shall not exceed the allotted five minutes, because on this occasion, I do not intend to go into any details. I wish rather to call the attention of the delegates to what I consider is the most important point in the resolution. I may compare it with the resolution which we succeeded in passing, so harmoniously, yesterday with reference to the Legislative Councils. In that we sank a great deal of detail, but made up our minds to stick most thoroughly to one great principle, the principle of electing our representatives. So in reference to this question I think there is a great deal of detail which, on an occasion like this, we may put on one side. It is not necessary to enter into a discussion on very minute points ; we should rather seek for one great principle, which over-rides all the others, and make it our watchword on this question. And I consider that in this matter the great point which we should make our watchword is “ simultaneous examination.” (*Cheers.*) It is all very well to enter into elaborate discussions as to reserved appointments, the proportions of appointments, and other questions of that kind which are referred to in the Report and in the Secretary of State’s despatch. If you get the simultaneous examination, you will really get everything. Just as if we once get the system of election for our representatives, though there may be differences of detail and we may not get it so fully or widely as we wish, still we shall be content to wait, a little while, till we can get something further ; so in this matter, if we can once get the principle of simultaneous examination practically recognized, even though it may be clogged with certain restrictions, or there may be details which may not satisfy us at present, still if it is recognized that every young man from our Colleges can be examined here in view to entering the service on an equal footing with young men from Colleges in England, you will get everything, and all these questions as to reserved appointments, statutory appointments, and all the other paraphernalia, which are mere shams and blinds, will soon disappear altogether. (*Cheers.*) Let me call your attention to a fact which has not hitherto been noticed. This resolution refers not only to the Civil Service but to other examinations—examinations for various branches of the service many of which are called Uncovenanted,—examinations for the Engineering, Medical, Forest and other Departments, which are now held solely in England. In many of these branches it would not be desirable or necessary that the students, after passing the examination here, should go to England ; in some it would be desirable : but these are points with which we need not now trouble ourselves.

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Let us fight for this one great principle of simultaneous examination. I have dwelt upon this point because I have some share in educating some of our young men of India, and there is nothing that makes me more annoyed than to hear people say, with a sneer, that these young men care for nothing but to get into the Government service. It is a very honorable desire to try and get into the service of the country. If it is considered in England one of the blue ribbons of the Public Schools to get pupils passed into the Civil Service and sent to govern a distant country like India, it should be all the more a blue ribbon for our Colleges to be able to pass our young men in to help to govern their own country. I therefore appeal to you, without going into any elaborate discussion as to small details, to stick fast to the principle which is put prominently forward in the resolution—to insist upon, and fight until you get them—of simultaneous examinations in India. (*Prolonged cheers.*)

MR. G. S. K. KHAPARDE : (*Berar, No. 1379, in list.*)—Ladies and Gentlemen, I rise to support this proposition, which I am sure you are all prepared heartily to accept. As has been already well said by Mr. Adam, this subject of the Service Commission and the Secretary of State’s orders thereon, is no little akin to the subject that we discussed yesterday. We were fighting yesterday, to have some part in the deliberations of our country, some share in the Councils which decide on the various measures on which depend all our well being. To-day we are fighting to secure an adequate share in that great executive to which the carrying out of these measures is entrusted. The question for us now to consider is “ are we to take part in this business ?” I answer “ yes.” How ? Is there any nation more loyal than you ? Is there any nation that has shown greater aptitude or that has shown a more law-abiding nature than you yourselves possess ? We serve the country, we serve our masters, we serve the British alone ; we have served in the Military and all the Civil Departments. In some of these where opportunities have been given us, such as the accounts branch, we have so made our mark that it has become a common thing, to say “ this is a class of account which the natives can manage best and cheapest ; it is so intricate, leave it to them.” We have served in all kinds of departments, and wheresoever we have been tried we have proved our fitness, and all that we now ask is to go on a step higher and be allowed a fair chance of proving our capacities in more responsible positions. This higher step, this fair chance has been often promised, as has been already said. We have already secured a minute portion of it. Some few of our people overcoming innumerable difficulties have been to England

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and have passed the Civil Service Examination, although they were under the double disadvantage of having to go to a far distant country when very young, and of having to compete with Englishmen, in English, which to our youths is a foreign language. Notwithstanding this some of our people have passed and have since been a credit to the service. All that we want now is to do away with one of these disadvantages by the holding of this examination, in which we have shown ourselves qualified to compete, simultaneously, here and in England. This is the real watchword and I heartily support what previous speakers have said in regard to this matter. I hope that all of you will concentrate your minds on this one great point that we are fighting for now. We do not ask for any favour, for any partiality, for any number of places to be reserved for us; all we want is to have an equal chance in the examinations and to be then classed, be we English or Indian, according to our merits. If we take higher marks, let us go up, if not let us go down; we want fair play and no favours. I ask you to support this proposition, and to set yourselves against every idea of reserving to ourselves any place whatever. If we desire to compete, by all means let us do so but on perfectly fair terms; if we cannot succeed, then it is best, in every way, that we should not have appointments. All that we ask is that, so far as locality of examination is concerned, we and our English fellow subjects should compete on equal terms. If more of us pass it will be creditable to us; if more of them pass it will be creditable to them. We are willing to admit that they are our superiors, so far as they can prove this, only let us have a fair competition and no favour (*Cheers*), and then, *palmas qui meruit ferat!* (*Loud cheers.*)

MR. ALI MAHOMED BHIMJEE: (*Bombay, No. 892, in list.*)—Mr. PRESIDENT, Lady Delegates and Brother Delegates, I have very great pleasure in supporting the resolution that has been brought forward. I am of the same mind as Mr. Adam. We must devote our attention mainly to securing simultaneous examinations. You will remember that we are supported by the Parliamentary Commission which reported in 1860. On that Commission were Sir J. P. Willoughby, Mr. Mangles, Mr. Arbuthnot, Mr. MacNaughten and Sir Erskine Perry. The report is dated 26th January 1860, and the fifth paragraph of it says "two modes have been suggested by which the object in view might be attained. The first is by letting a certain portion of the total number of appointments declared in each year be competed for in India. The second is to hold two examinations 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 by the Civil Service Commissioners. The Committee have no hesitation in giving the 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." Now gentlemen, let me briefly quote a few words in support of this view. How did they arrive at this view? How did they come to support the second scheme? Lord Stanley said "he could not refrain from expressing his conviction that in refusing to carry on examinations in India as well as in England, a thing that was easily practicable, the Government were in fact negating that which they had declared to be one of the principal objects of their Bill and confining the Civil Service as heretofore to Englishmen. The result was unjust and he believed it would be most pernicious." Then again Lord Stanley further said, "let them suppose for instance, that instead of holding these examinations here in London, they were to be held in Calcutta; well how many Englishmen would go there, or how many would send their sons perhaps to spend two or three years in the country, on the chance of obtaining an appointment? Nevertheless that was exactly the course proposed to be adopted towards the natives of India." These are the opinions that were expressed at the time, when the Commissioners came to the conclusion that simultaneous examinations should be held in India, and we are asking nothing more nor less than what they decided in 1860; and now 29 years have gone by and the prospects then held out to us by one of England's wisest Statesmen and endorsed by a Parliamentary Commission, prospects based upon our Gracious Queen-Empress's solemn promises, have not yet been realized. I know that men have been found base enough—men traitors alike to their Queen and country—to assert that our beloved Empress's words were no promises, merely emotional utterances never intended to be acted upon. But how did an honest English Statesman treat this dastardly stuff? What did Lord Ripon say? "The document (Her Majesty's Proclamation) is not a Treaty, it is not a diplomatic instrument, it is a declaration of principles of Government, if it is obligatory at all, is obligatory in respect to all to whom it is addressed. The doctrine, therefore, to which Sir James Stephen has given the sanction of his authority, I feel bound to repudiate to the utmost of my power. It seems to me to be inconsistent with the character of my Sovereign and with the honour of my country, and if it were once to be received and acted upon by the Government of England, it would do more than anything else could possibly do to strike at the root of our power and to destroy our just influence." (*Hear, hear, and loud cheers.*) But the gong warns me—my friends, stick to this one point, insist on simultaneous examinations, and if you secure these then you will secure everything, for which you are really fit. I hope you will support this resolution as one man. (*Loud cheers and cries of vote, vote.*)

THE PRESIDENT—Shall I now put the Resolution? (*Yes, yes, vote, vote.*) Then our fifth Resolution will run thus :—

RESOLVED : *That this Congress, while thanking Her Majesty's Government for raising the age for the Indian Civil Service Competitive Examination from 19 to 23, does hereby put on record an emphatic expression of the universal disappointment which has been created by the rest of that Government's orders in regard to the Public Service Question, (the net result of which orders is to place the people of India in a worse position than they previously held), and reiterates the national conviction that no real justice will be done to India, in this matter, until the simultaneous holding in India and in England, of all Examinations, for all Civil branches of the Public Service in India, at present held only in England, be conceded.*

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Now are you all agreed?—(*All! all!*) I declare this Resolution to be passed unanimously.

MR. J. ADAM (*Madras, No. 1, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT,—The proposition which I have been asked to lay before you is one relating to a subject, which has always proved, if I may so express it, a nasty corn on the Congress foot, but I hope, upon the present occasion, we shall be able to dispose of it satisfactorily, and a good deal more quickly than we have succeeded in doing upon previous occasions. It refers to the Arms Act.

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I have been requested to move it on two grounds. The first is that several gentlemen considered it is desirable that some one should put forward this proposition, who in accordance with its terms will be thereby placed under certain disabilities, to which he is not now subjected. Well I do not feel at all offended at having to be subjected to certain disabilities, and if it is thought better that a representative of the class, on whom certain restrictions are to be imposed, should move the resolution, I am happy to do it. It was also suggested that it would be as well for some very pacific person to move it. I am very much flattered at being considered so very pacific as to be entrusted with this motion. And I only hope that in being pacific, I shall not meet with the fate that I met with when in Madras, at the hand of my friend, Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, who turned upon me and rent me in the ardour of his patriotic proclivities because I was so very pacific. (*Laughter.*) I trust you will treat me better than I was treated on that occasion.

It seems to me that the mistake that we made on previous occasions, in discussing the question of the Arms Act, was in attempting to go too much into detail, that is, instead of expressing our opinion upon two or three leading principles, we really attempted to do the duty of the Executive. It is a very difficult thing to introduce regulations, which are really executive regulations, into a general resolution. The present resolution takes up I think the four important points which are really considered hardships in connection with the Arms Act; and although I am afraid that the resolution, and my support of it, will have the effect, (I know that some of my friends will not altogether agree with it) of pulling down this resolution from the pedestal of sentiment to the level of plain common sense, at the same time, I think that this common sense resolution will commend itself to you and not only to you, but to the public outside, who have to consider what we are dealing with here. Now my proposition runs as follows :—

PROPOSED : *That in view of the loyalty of the people, the hardships that the Arms Act, (XI. of 1878), as at present administered, entails, and the unmerited slur which it casts upon them, the Government be moved so to modify the rules made under this Act that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of arms shall apply equally, to all persons residing in or visiting India; that licenses to possess and bear arms shall be liberally and generally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops, and that these and all licenses issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued, be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.*

You will observe that we begin with the preamble which states that the Act, as at present administered, entails certain hardships upon various classes of the people, and we ask Government, to modify the rules framed under the Act. First we say that in the modifications of these rules, they should be made to apply equally to all persons in India, not only to those who are residing in India, but to persons visiting India. With reference to persons visiting India I would simply call your attention to this. It has been said that it would be a great hardship to require European or American gentlemen coming here for a little shooting, to go through the process of taking out a license. I do not think that it would be a very great hardship; but visitors are not included in our resolution for the purpose of paying especial attention to these few Western travellers, English and American, who may come here. It must not be

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overlooked that there are a large number of visitors to India, not at all of the pacific nature of English and American gentlemen. I will only call your attention to two or three instances. In the Subjects Committee a friend, from the Punjab, mentioned the case of the Northern Frontier, where there are Afghans and other tribes who frequently come into this Province, and, not being British Subjects, are allowed to bear arms without restriction. And then again in many sea-ports, in Bombay and along the Western Coast, sailors, negroes from Zanzibar, and other parts of Africa, come walking in the streets, swaggering about fully armed, while the inhabitants have no arms to protect themselves. The resolution refers not only to European visitors, but to all people coming into the country, and it is proposed that if there are to be, as there should be, restrictions on the indiscriminate carrying arms, they should apply equally to all persons, residing in or visiting India. I do not think it could justly be considered any hardship by those people who will be put under such a disability, if it be a disability.

With regard to the second point of the resolution I do not think I need to emphasize it. I will only remark that statistics show that the destruction of cattle by wild animals is going on very rapidly. I do not know whether it is *propter hoc* or only *post hoc*, but it is curious that a very large increase has taken place since the time when the Act was first introduced. Sir William Hunter in his little book, published ten years ago, with reference to what England has done for India, has a very eloquent chapter upon the state of the country owing to wild beasts, robbers and others during the last century, and he points out how much that state of affairs had been modified at the time in which he was writing. He gives statistics with reference to deaths from wild beasts. I have looked over the last statistical abstract published, and I find that in 1878 (the year which Sir W. Hunter referred to, the year of the passing of the Act,) the registered number of cattle killed by tigers and leopards in India was 32,000. In 1887, which is the last year for which the statistics are available, the number had risen to 52,000. Of course, you all know that these numbers do not at all represent the numbers which are really killed, they are the number reported to the Police, and the proportion reported probably gets smaller yearly as the people realize, more and more clearly, that to report anything to the Police means only further loss and annoyance to themselves, but they are the numbers which are acknowledged by the Government. The real increase is therefore, probably, much greater.

The next point has reference to the great hardships involved by the frequent renewals, which are required of the licences. We say that whenever a license has been granted to a man, presumably of good character, so long as he does nothing to forfeit that character, he shall be allowed to retain his license without coming up every half year and having to renew his license. If he has once been passed as having a good character, and being fit to be trusted with arms and has obtained a license, let him keep it; of course, if he does anything wrong so as to render him unfit for the privilege, let it be taken from him. The fourth point is the great hardship entailed by the fact that the present licenses only run in the particular district, in which they are issued. We say that the licenses that are granted should run throughout the whole jurisdiction, that is throughout the Presidency or the Province as the case may be; that a license in any Province, shall hold good throughout that Province and that the holder shall be entitled to keep it, without asking for a renewal, unless he has done something to forfeit his privilege. Those are the principle points; we do not in our resolution attempt to go into minor questions as to the forms of the licenses, the fees to be paid and so on. We leave that to Government. It is only with the vital points of principle upon which we consider that the working of the Arms Act should be amended that we deal. The proposal is straightforward, plain, simple, not extravagant, and extremely pacific; it will not do harm to anything, and I hope I am not doing too much when I ask you all to accept this proposition that I have brought before you. (*Cheers.*)

LALLA HARBHAGWAN DAS (*Punjab, No. 1440, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT and Brother Delegates, I am a Punjabee and therefore you will not expect any eloquence from me. I have simply come to state certain facts which I think will induce you to give ready assent to the proposition that has been brought before you for your acceptance. First I admit to you that the Arms Act as at present administered is an unnecessary slur upon the loyalty of the people. The British Government has existed in our country and has been ruling us for a sufficiently long time to be able to judge that we are thoroughly loyal, and that having received the benefits that we have from the Government, civilisation, education and many others, it may now be perfectly sure that, if it deals reasonably and fairly with us, we will stick to it through thick and thin. It is, therefore, quite unnecessary to keep up any such distinction as the practical working of the Arms Act as at present administered involves. (*Hear, hear.*) Then there is another objection which I think is more specific than that. In order to insure the unity of all the races in India it is necessary that the interests of all should be the same, that is there should be no distinction between one class and another. Our laws and regulations as far as possible ought to be such that they may tend to unite all classes of

Her Majesty's subjects in India,—Europeans, Eurasians, Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees and everybody else,—and any law or regulation which serves to perpetuate class or race distinctions, tends to divide one class from another, and to diversify instead of unifying their interests, a course which is not desirable for any section of the community. In order to be more specific, let me say that under the Arms Act, the two classes of our resident community, which are exempted from the operation of the Act are those of the Europeans and Eurasians. Now, gentlemen, as you have heard from the gentleman who moved this resolution, many of the members of these very communities are of opinion that their interests are so identical with our own, that they themselves are ready to give up any such special exemption in their favour. And when we find them willing to do that, I think that Government should have no hesitation in doing away with this invidious distinction in the administration of the Act. I would submit to your attention that we have not only a wise Government, to look after our interests, but we have a strong Government to protect our lives and property. And that Government has given us laws, which on the whole are probably second to none in the world; still we hope that the Government will not only still further improve these laws but improve their administration. The Government which is sufficiently strong to protect the lives and property of 250,000,000 subjects, is presumably sufficiently strong to protect the lives and property of our Eurasian brothers, who live with us in this country, and it is certainly not for their interest that any such distinction should be maintained and the masses thereby taught to look upon them as aliens, if not possible enemies. By this I mean that they not only derive no particular benefit from it, but may be injured thereby, by the loss of the sympathy of the people generally, while doing away with this distinction would remove doubts as to their interests being identical with ours would make us feel that they were one with us and still further strengthen the bond of union, which has now been inaugurated. (*Cheers.*)

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MUNSHI HIDAYET RASUL (*Oudh, No. 1477, in list*) then spoke in Urdu. He said:—

* Brethren, there are times when we are pleased and times when we are displeased. Probably you will be surprised to find me the most earnest of your supporters to-day because I am the same man who was yesterday the firmest of your opponents. But you must bear in mind that neither was my yesterday's opposition with the object of displeasing any person, nor is to-day's support to please you. Rather, if you duly consider, you will find that both my opposition and my support are meant to advance the cause of justice. We Musalmans can co-operate with you only so long as OUR NATIONAL HONOUR is not injured; since we few hundred delegates are taken to represent five crores of Musalmans, we can only urge those views that are entertained by the said five crores of Musalmans unanimously. (*Loud cries from Mahomedan delegates of "No, no, it is not so."*) We cannot agree with those unmeaning utterances that two-thirds of our Musalman brethren (in name only) made yesterday. They had no reasonable reply to our arguments and their yesterday's speeches showed that they had made them simply to be loudly cheered by our Hindu brethren. (*No, no.*) For instance, now Munshi Nasirud-din Saheb Benarsi did not know why he had got on to the platform and what he should say. (*Cries of order.*) He had brought his rotten rope of union with him simply to hang liberty therewith. If such is an average Musalman I can assure you that none is worse than a Musalman. (*Order, order.*) I may say frankly that if I should have to choose between such a Musalman and a Hindu I would elect the latter. (*Question, question.*)

So I told you yesterday what the unanimous opinion of the Musalmans is in the matter. (*Cries of "No, no—it is not."*) Although I have not changed my mind nor can I, in view of such unanimous opinion as I have above described, do so, yet I may inform you that last night all our Musalman delegates met together to discuss the subject of election, and I must confess that the majority of those assembled gave an adverse opinion. As I do not like perverseness nor am I an enemy of the Congress, I, in deference to the majority, for the present give up the contest until I consult those who have sent me as their delegate.

Although my sharp language may be hurting you, but it is my duty that I should not in the least care either for your pleasure or for your displeasure. We are not such fools that you will be able to impose upon us. (*Order.*)

You might have observed how my to-day's speech as compared with that of yesterday is dull although I am standing to support the resolution regarding the Arms Act. It is expected that a person who undertakes to speak about Arms should be vehement in his speech, but the fact is that yesterday Islam's excitement, which does not require Arms to make it keener, had taken possession of me. Yesterday's fury was the fury of that nation whose deeds of valour have thrown the world into confusion. To-day the circle of speech is larger, and

* This is this gentleman's own translation of his speech.

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a circle (on a liquid) the larger it becomes the less it is perceptible. This is the reason, all our brethren the Hindus, Parsees, Jews and Christians are agreed with us and it is clear why my to-day's speech is dull as compared with that of yesterday. The second reason is that we are now qualified only to be loquacious, as I showed you yesterday. To-day that I am called upon to use Arms, you find me rather less furious. Truly, by reason of our being disarmed we have not only lost our courage, but we are actually become women. If you duly consider the matter you will find that our nature is altogether changed. Even if we are now allowed to procure Arms freely, it will be a long time before we learn their use. We do not see what good our liberal and humane Government means to reap out of this, and God knows the reward of emancipating how many slaves it will earn by its crushing the natural propensities of crores of God's creatures. (*Order, order.*) I am sincerely of opinion that if Government allows us to bear Arms in the same manner as the people of England are allowed to do, our co-operation will be very valuable to it in time of need. (*Cheers.*) As I said yesterday, and probably you have not forgotten it, that no nation can afford to give a larger number of persons to die than ours, and by this number I do not mean the number of persons dying from cholera. Nay, this number is to the number of dying persons of any other community of India as ten is to one. (*No, no.*) We learn from you that a powerful enemy of our Government is knocking at the gate of India. Can we in this helpless state save our poor country from that tyrant? Are we in this helpless state supposed to be equal to the task of (if not of assisting the Government) saving the honour of our own families? (*Never!*) Well then, do you think that this stain of causing us to be killed like so many sheep will ever be effaced from the brow of Government? (*Cries of "Order, order."*) Suppose Government gives us Arms at the last hour. Of what use will they be then? We, in the first instance, do not know whether a rifle is loaded from its mouth or from its tail. We, Musalmans, are enemies of the hated Russians not only because it is an enemy of our Government, but also because it is an enemy of our Sultan of Turkey and an enemy of Islam. We can never consent that so long as we live, it should advance a step beyond its proper boundaries and may it not please God that, in our life time, we should see five crores more of Musalmans under its sway. But this desire can be fulfilled only when we have Arms with us, and it is impossible for us (Musalmans) even to consent to die in this helpless state. We think that the Arms Act should be greatly amended. For the present I propose as follows:—(1) The licence to bear Arms should be freely given to all, *i.e.*, Hindus, Musalmans, Christians and Parsees: (2) that the licence once taken should remain in force the whole life time: (3) the absurd rule that a licence taken in one Collectorate should be renewed in another ought to be abolished. If this is not done I wish to impress upon your mind that while at present we have no recourse but to part with our money when faced by robbers and dacoits, the critical time is nigh when we will see our houses set on fire in front of us and we will be unable to help ourselves and all this through the kindness of our Government. (*Order, order.*)

THE HON'BLE PUNDIT AJOODHIANATH (*North-West Provinces, No. 1517, in list*)—Mr. PRESIDENT and Fellow Delegates, I am happy to support the resolution which has been placed before you, because in my humble judgment, it is calculated to bring into closer union the different classes and races now living in India under one common Sovereign. Fate has brought us together and it is most desirable that we should all live together here on the most friendly terms, until time blends all differences into one perfect national unity. The one consideration which more especially induced me, after the most deliberate consideration for two years, to join the Congress was that in my opinion, it was the most likely institution to promote friendly feeling and an ever developing unity between the different races domiciled in the country. Yesterday I was a little disappointed, for the attitude taken by some of my Mahomedan friends was not reasonable, but, gentlemen, you can imagine my feelings when I find, to-day, that my opinion was perfectly correct. The gentlemen who came here, yesterday to propose an amendment were, I am sure, actuated solely by the honest desire to place before you their own convictions and uphold what they considered were the rights of their co-religionists, but after leaving this hall they tell me that they met together again, in the place provided as quarters for the Mahomedan delegates, and discussed the whole matter amongst themselves, and after full and mature deliberation, these gentlemen inform me that they and others arrived at the conclusion that the resolution was a fair and just one and requires no amendment. (*Cheers.*) No one can be more pleased than I at that conclusion. If there is a Hindu who has been associated on terms of perfect friendship with Mahomedans, it is I. I can count among their number, gentlemen, with whom I am on the most friendly terms, and who regard me as amongst their best friends. It was a matter of deep regret to a staunch friend of Mahomedans, like myself, to see them yesterday led away more by feeling than by judgment, and proposing a really indefensible amendment, but I find to my great satisfaction that better counsels have prevailed, that judgment has now got the better of their emotional impulses, and that they of their own accord, abandon their suggested amendment. This should be a new era in the unity of the different races of the country. (*Applause.*) Now I venture to submit, that what occurred yesterday and to-day is truly typical of the

action of this Congress movement, throughout this great Empire. By bringing men of all creeds and classes together on a common platform and by enabling them to discuss face to face all those questions of domestic politics, which are closest to the lives and hearts of our people, it first brings out into clear relief all differences and doubts that underlaid, the old, mutual, class-distrust, that has, in the past, been India's curse, and then it composes those differences and sets at rest for ever those doubts—except in the minds of perhaps one or two isolated fanatics whose own brethren disown them,—not by an authoritative enactment, not by the power of numbers, but by the arguments of reason and by appeals to that deep-seated, brotherly feeling which we all (when our lower and selfish natures are held in check) which we all I say, be we Mahomedans, Hindus or what not, do truly cherish in our heart of hearts for all who, born on India's sacred soil, claim India, like ourselves, as their home, their hope, their motherland. (*Loud and continued applause.*)

SYED WAHID ALI RIZWI (*North-Western Provinces, No. 1686, in list*) then spoke in Urdu. He said: MR. PRESIDENT, Gentlemen of the Congress, I know something of politics and I wish to say some few further words in regard to what fell from me yesterday. Then you seemed all surprised at finding me a zealous Mahomedan fighting for my race and creed brethren, and waving the crescent flag of our national and ancestral glory high in the heavens. But to-day it is otherwise, the fiery spirit has subsided, and I am willing to throw in my vote with that of the majority of the Musalmans, rather than continue to hold aloof from what the bulk of my co-religionists approve. (*Cheers.*)

“United we stand; divided we fall,” is the maxim by which I am this day governed.

My Mahomedan brethren from Behar, Bombay and other places, are pleased to hold that the numerical superiority of the Hindus in the Provincial and Imperial Councils could never under any circumstances prove prejudicial to Mahomedan interests. How they have convinced themselves of this is certainly a thing which I am quite unable to understand, and which it seems to me no leader or philosopher amongst the Musalmans, would ever have agreed to. Well, I am master of my own ideas, and retain in my heart my conviction unchanged, but I am quite willing to waive my personal views, and vote for the view which has commended itself to the Congress as a whole, and specially which has been approved by the great majority of my learned and high-minded co-religionists here—for the very basis of all our success has been union.

MR. PRESIDENT: All the world knows, that mainly in virtue of this same union, my illustrious, and brave nation, the Arabs, conquered all the countries of the Eastern Hemisphere in past ages, in an incredibly short space of time and held them for full 500 years, without check or interruption. From the great wall of China to the rocky fastnesses of Gibraltar, from the icy plains of Kazin to the burning deserts of Africa, the whole world rejoiced under their wise and beneficent rule. The followers of Islam, in every capacity and respect, whether as rulers or warriors or even in numerical strength, are on the world's national platform, far in advance of other nations, and are respected and feared throughout the world. The Mahomedan laws, alike for secular and spiritual guidance, are unequalled and may truly be designated, the golden code of progress, and the foot-prints of our great Musalman rulers remain behind for all ages, to point to rulers and law-givers of every clime, the only safe and perfect path. But I no longer oppose the Resolution passed yesterday—nay, retaining my own personal views I dissent to it—because division leads to ship wreck in the deep, wide ocean of human affairs. (*Loud cheers and laughter.*)

[MR. PRESIDENT:—Every one seems to be agreed about the Resolution now before us and complete harmony has been restored, even as regards that one small point on which yesterday differences occurred. We have still a great deal of work to get through and I will put the Resolution without further discussion, if you approve. (*Yes, yes—vote, vote.*) Our sixth Resolution then will run.

RESOLVED: *That in view of the loyalty of the people, the hardships that the Arms Act, (XI. of 1878), as at present administered, entails and the unmerited slur which it casts, upon them, the Government be moved so to modify the rules made under this Act, that all restrictions as to the possession and bearing of Arms shall apply equally, to all persons residing in or visiting India; that licenses to possess and bear Arms shall be liberally and generally distributed wherever wild animals habitually destroy human life, cattle or crops, and that these and all licenses issued under the rules shall be granted once for all, shall operate throughout the Provincial jurisdiction within which they are issued be only revocable on proof of misuse, and shall not require yearly or half-yearly renewals.*

[The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.]

A HINDU DELEGATE—“Let us have three cheers for the Mahomedan gentlemen.” (*Loud cheers.*)

A MAHOMEDAN DELEGATE—“Let us return the compliment, and have three cheers for the Hindus.” (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

The Congress then adjourned for half an hour.

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MR. BAIKUNTH NATH SEN (*Bengal, No. 1873, in list*), on the re-assembling of the Congress, said :—

✓ Mr. PRESIDENT and Fellow Delegates, it has devolved upon me to lay before you a proposition regarding the extension of the permanent settlement to Provinces and Districts where it has not yet been conceded ; I will simply say as a prefatory remark, that I come from Bengal. The proposition runs as follows :—

PROPOSED : *That the Government be urged to take the subject of a Permanent Settlement once more under consideration in view to practical action thereon, such that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revenue demand without further delay, at any rate in all fully populated and well cultivated tracts of country.*

The question is one of vital interest to all concerned : its importance is only commensurate with the difficulties that beset the question. It is also rather a delicate subject as it in one sense goes to affect the Imperial Exchequer. The limited time allotted does not permit of any elaborate discussion of the subject. I will confine myself therefore simply to placing before you certain facts of an important nature to pave the way, as it were, to the consideration of the question in a quiet manner, and then I will ask you to adopt the proposition.

It is necessary in the first instance to make a few observations by way of explanation or justification of the introduction of this proposition, in view of the 13th resolution adopted last year by the Congress at Allahabad. That resolution is to the effect that the question of Permanent Settlement be referred to the Standing Congress Committees for submission of reports. Those reports have not come in. It is therefore necessary to explain why, notwithstanding the non-receipt of these reports, this proposition is being placed before you. Those present at Allahabad are expected to know something about the genesis of that resolution. The proposition was submitted at a very late stage of the proceedings, and it was considered advisable that the question should be deferred for a year. The Hon. Mr. Telang moved an amendment, which was adopted. The object was simply to obtain time. The reports were not so essential as the time. Now time has been obtained. A year has passed, and the National Congress feels itself justified in again raising this question. It is not that this is to be considered once for all. We have this time simply to consider the question of principle. It will perhaps be considered at the next Congress, and perhaps repeated and rediscussed at the succeeding Congress, and so on until we attain our object. With these remarks I proceed in a few words as possible to explain the leading features of the case.

You all know how the Permanent Settlement of Bengal was obtained. In 1770 there was a famine in Bengal. Government was induced to take action in 1783 which led to the Permanent Settlement in 1793. That Permanent Settlement has worked in Bengal about a century. Agriculture forms the principal and staple industry of the country. Our agriculturists in Bengal are, comparatively speaking, better off than their brethren in the Sister Presidencies or Provinces. And what is this owing to if not chiefly, or solely, to the Permanent Settlement in Bengal ? (*Cheers.*) The Permanent Settlement spoken of in the resolution contemplates the fixity of the Government demand. It also involves and implies that the rights and titles of the different classes of landholders and occupiers should be defined. Just after the introduction of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal the rights as between the superior landholders and the inferior landholders were gradually developed and defined by several enactments, and their present condition is attributable, as I have said, if not solely, chiefly, to the Permanent Settlement prevailing in Bengal. In 1837 the North-Western Provinces were visited with a famine, followed by another famine in 1860. That led to the appointment of a Commission which took evidence and submitted their report. They set forth the expediency of fixing for ever the public demand on land. This was supported by the Governor-General in Council. It was Lord Canning's administration. In this state of things the matter went before the Secretary of State in Council, and, after the review of the whole matter there was a despatch in 1862. In this despatch the advantages which were expected to accrue by the concession of the Permanent Settlement were considered sufficiently great to justify the risk of a prospective loss of increment, in the Government revenue on land. It was considered in that despatch that the security of title and the permanence of the Government demand on land (these being the two principal incidents of Permanent Settlement) were important factors in the acceleration of the development of the resources of the country, leading to the general welfare and contentment of all Her Majesty's subjects in British India. ✓ (*Cheers.*) This was the enunciation of the principle in 1862. Practical effect, however, has not been given to it, and although a quarter of a century has quietly passed away, we do not yet find any symptoms or indications of any active measures being adopted by the Government. The question now before you is whether or not the time has arrived for moving the Government to take active measures to give practical effect to the policy indicated in the despatch of 1862, on the lines formulated in that despatch ; or, in other words, whether the territories which will be affected by this are, or are not, ripe for receiving this Permanent Settlement. That is the main question.

I must also bring to your notice that it was expected that certain conditions should be fulfilled before the Government could think it proper to give a Permanent Settlement ; one of the prominent conditions being that at least four-fifths of the cultivable area should be actually redeemed and brought into cultivation. Now it is to be hoped that these conditions have been fulfilled ; and I dare say that the gentlemen from Madras and Bombay, who are likely to follow me, will be able to furnish materials and data from which you will be able to judge whether or not the actual conditions have been fulfilled.

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Every temporary arrangement, or temporary settlement as it is called, in contradistinction to a Permanent Settlement, with its concomitant evils, if not oppressions, effectually retards the progress of the development of the natural resources of the soil by discouraging the investment of capital ; and the sooner this state of things becomes a matter of history the better for the Government as well as for all concerned. (*Cheers.*) We ought not to lose sight of or ignore the interests of Government, because the Government as representing the country at large has enormous interests at stake, and these are of a nature somewhat conflicting with those of the agriculturists, at any rate at first sight ; for what is lost by Government as representative of the entire nation, is so much gained by the agricultural section of that nation. We cannot expect that Government should part with lands which have not been for a sufficient period under its direct control, to enable it to gauge, as trustees for the nation, their true value. Land must be for a certain period under its direct management to enable it to form accurate notions as to its actual produce and its capacities. I think that in the North-West Provinces, Oudh and parts of the Punjab, and the greater portions of Madras and Bombay sufficient time has passed, and we ought to consider that the Government is now in possession of those materials which are necessary to form a definite opinion as to the actual capacities of the soil and also the produce of the land. (*Cheers.*)

A few statistics perhaps may be enough. Let us take the accounts of the *last* ten years from 1879 to 1888 ; you will find from these that the Government revenue on land averages 19 millions sterling (I am speaking of the net revenue exclusive of the charges of collection.) The net revenue from the North-Western Provinces varies from five crores, to something less than that in 1888, in Madras, from four crores to something less ; in Bombay from three crores to a little more. In Bombay there is a tendency to improve ; in the North-West Provinces and in Madras there is a tendency to decrease. So that, if these last ten years be taken as a test, the Government cannot expect to receive any very large increase to its land revenue in those Provinces and Presidencies within the *next* ten years or more. A few years ago an estimate was submitted to Government, and it was reported by an efficient and responsible officer that if the Permanent Settlement be withheld the Government might expect a prospective gain of about £200,000 or about 30 lakhs of rupees. Now this is not a very large amount after all ; it is not a very appreciable figure, compared with the total revenue of the Empire, and we all know that if a Permanent Settlement be effected the resources of the country will develop in other respects, and whatever the loss on this point may be it will, I hope, be more than recouped by increased income from those other sources. The best wealth of the Government, can be found in the growing wealth of the nation. (*Cheers.*) So I think, gentlemen, that does not stand in our way—my time perhaps is up. (“*Go on.*”) I thank you for those expressions, but in deference to the chair I must beg you to excuse me if I only occupy another minute. I do not take up vexed questions like those of proprietary rights, or the “*unearned increment,*” or the rights and privileges as between landowners of different degrees and classes ; those are questions of detail ; I am contending simply now for this broad principle ; that in fully developed tracts of the country the permanence of the land revenue demand is desirable alike in the interests of the agriculturists and the nation as a whole. With these remarks I place this proposition before you for adoption. (*Cheers.*)

MR. HAMID ALI (*Oudh, No. 1494, in list*) then read the resolution in Urdu and explained fully its purport in that language.

MR. S. SUBRAMANIA IYER (*late Member of Council, Madras, No. 73, in list*) then spoke :—MR. PRESIDENT, Ladies and Gentlemen, on the occasion of the discussion of this proposition before the Allahabad Congress the Hon’ble Mr. Telang stated that any resolution adopted upon this important question should be of such an authoritative character that it would be received outside with respect. How, within the short space of the five minutes, allowed to speakers upon any question, you are to thresh out such an important question in such a way that the decisions we come to may be received, outside, with authority, is at first difficult to understand. But, gentlemen, the learned speaker who moved this proposition has explained to you that the matter will come on for discussion, over and over again, until the matter has been sufficiently thrashed out, and can be placed before the Government in such a way that they will be compelled to pay attention to the resolutions of this Congress on the subject. Considering therefore the limited time at my disposal I shall try to be as brief as possible.

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This question of Permanent Settlement I have considered from the time when I first became a landholder more than 15 years ago. In an inconsiderate moment, about that time, I invested the savings of a laborious professional career in the purchase of land in the well-watered plains of Tanjore, having left my own district, which had the misfortune of being, from time to time, visited by drought and famine. At the time that I invested these savings it was understood, on official authority, that the well-to-do province of Tanjore was to be left free from the blighting influences of a revision of assessment. The fact that the Province was to be let alone on the principle of "let well alone" induced me to invest my savings in that district; but, to my surprise, a few years after the purchase of these lands, I found that the authorities had made up their minds to revise the settlement of Tanjore. By that time I had spent a very considerable amount of money in the improvement of the property which I had purchased. Now, the important difficulty in connection with settlement operations is that they do not really, in practice, whatever they may profess in theory, make any allowance for the improvements effected by the ryot. I admit, and the authorities proclaim as loudly as they can, that they do not intend to tax the improvements of the ryot; but the question is whether in practice this is not done, whether under the circumstances and the rules which are enforced they can possibly avoid doing this? I assure you, gentlemen, as far as my experience goes, it is impossible for any proper allowance to be made for the improvements, or for these improvements to escape taxation. Of course that is a matter upon which we can only give our testimony. The authorities will assert on the one hand that they are not taxing improvements; the ryot on the other hand *knows* and asserts that the improvements are being taxed. But whatever be the exact truth in this matter, the feeling that the improvements of the ryot *are* taxed is most detrimental to agriculture in this country.

Gentlemen, there is no tribunal before which you can go and contest the position taken by the authorities in dealing with the land which is going to be settled. Their operations are in secret, their decisions are pronounced in such a way that it is impossible for you to attack their propriety. That character inherently belongs to the determinations of the executive in a proceeding not subject to any correction under process of law. The only facts therefore that have to be noted are these; does the ryot feel that his improvements are certain to be taxed, or does he feel that the authorities are *not* likely to tax improvements, and therefore go on investing his money upon them? Gentlemen, I have received an English education I have practised nearly twenty years before the Courts, and have constantly had occasion to come before the authorities, and I therefore know their position now. If my feeling in regard to this matter is that my improvements *are* likely to be taxed, I ask you to consider what will be the ideas of the ryots, and whether they are likely to say, "We will put a child-like faith in the justice of the authorities, we will take it that they will not tax our improvements, therefore we will go on making improvements in the expectation that they will not tax them" or whether they, like myself, will feel that improvements never do, in practice, escape assessment and say "we won't spend our money on improvements merely to put more money into the pockets of Government?" From the moment it was announced that the Tanjore Settlement was going to be revised, I gave strict orders to my agent that not a single rupee should be spent upon the improvement of the land. From that moment I have not bought one acre of land, under a temporary settlement.

That single fact I submit to you, is of great importance in the determination of the question. I think therefore that the operation of the Settlement Department cannot but be taken to have a disturbing influence in regard to improvements in land, nay, in my belief, almost to the extent of preventing them altogether. The necessity of a Permanent Settlement, therefore, will appear to you as plain as daylight. (*Cheers.*)

Upon the question of what sort of a Permanent Settlement the various parts of the country should get there may be a difference of opinion. All are not as fortunate as Bengal. They happened to get their Permanent Settlement at the end of last century, we cannot hope to get a Permanent Settlement on the same terms. If we are so fortunate, well and good; but I for one do not expect that we shall get such a settlement as they have. But it does not matter whether we get it on the same terms as Bengal; it is sufficient for our purposes to get a permanent Settlement of some kind or other; a Permanent Settlement which would instil sufficient confidence in the ryot to induce him to make improvements and which would enable him, even if certain kinds of revisions were still insisted on, to make sure that in such revisions the increased profits due to his improvements could not, and would not, be taxed. The expression "Permanent Settlement" is somewhat ambiguous; the authorities that have written upon it have given to it different meanings, but they all agree that the feeling of security which the settlement gives is the essence of the thing. Therefore the resolution which simply says that a Permanent Settlement should be given to the other Provinces is a resolution which I think you may confidently adopt. As I have said, the question as to the method to be adopted in the various Provinces will have to be dealt with by and by. To my mind, the

one essential circumstance that requires to be provided against is this. Without binding down the Government for ever from demanding from the tenant a just share in the improvement which may be effected in the country, in the course of time, by means other than his own, such safe-guards and provisions should be adopted as would enable the tenant to obtain absolute security and immunity from further taxation in regard to all that improvement which is due to his means, to his labour, skill and capital. Mind it would be almost sufficient if the revision of the settlement were to be effected under the sanction of law, and under the protection of the Courts. I do not care to say that for many years to come I would have the land settled in such a way that no Government could touch it. It is quite sufficient for my purpose that the tenant may feel that he can protect himself in the Courts against the secret and at present irresponsible orders of the Settlement Department. A Permanent Settlement on the footing which was recommended some time back in the Madras Presidency would be quite effective under one condition, that it shall not rest with the Government in its executive capacity to determine whether a revision shall take place. If circumstances should arise which would justly entitle the State to make a further demand, on the holders of land and an enactment were passed and machinery created for the purpose of assessing this increase, such that every person liable to the increased tax would have a right to appear before a properly constituted tribunal and there obtain, in open daylight, a clear judicial decision as to his increased liabilities, (the enhanced tax not being imposed as now by a stroke of the pen behind the back of the tenant), the Madras Presidency would look upon that arrangement as possessing most of the essential characters of a Permanent Settlement, and would be content to accept it. They will not be so foolish as to say, "If you will not give us such a Settlement as has been made in Bengal—a fixed money rent never to be interfered with for all time—we shall not accept any other as a permanent settlement." They will be quite content with a settlement say for 50 or 100 years, (founded if need be on a crop valuation basis) and only liable to be revised under a special legislative enactment and in open daylight. (*Cheere.*)

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MUNSHI SADARUDIN AHMED: (*North-West Provinces, No. 1527, in list.*)—Then spoke in Urdu as follows:—Gentlemen, as I rise to support the proposition that in future a Permanent Settlement of the land revenue should take the place of periodical settlements, I think it advisable first to say something about the evils of the latter system and then something in regard to the necessity and advantages of the former. The most important and necessary points in settlement operations are first—the Assessment of the Government Revenue; Second—the preparation of the Record of Rights; Third—the Demarcation of Boundaries; and Fourth—the assuring the Ryots of the kindness and good will of Government by considerate treatment.

Till the year 1846, men of great experience, clear judgment and affable disposition were, as a rule, appointed settlement officers to effect these objects and both the Government and the people reposed confidence in them. But the old order of things has now changed. Without any regard being had to their experience and local knowledge, young officers of one district are now appointed as Settlement Officers in another district, entirely new to them. I shall refer here to some only of the evils—they are many and various—that result from such a state of things, and shall quote instances to show how little justice is done to the four principal points mentioned above.

I shall first give you an example of how the assessment of revenue is made, a work which requires the exercise of the greatest care and judgment, and for which directions are given in Section 47 of the Settlement Manual. When the district of Allahabad was under settlement last time, the Government Revenue assessed on the village 'Paras' in the Pargana of Kara exceeded the total gross proceeds of that village (*Shame*). You are surprised to hear this and you seem curious to know who it was that made such an iniquitous assessment. Gentlemen, the Settlement Officer who did this was no other than Sir Auckland Colvin (*Shame*)—who by the grace of fortune now occupies the exalted position of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces and Oudh. The poor Zemindar of Paras, vehemently protested against this assessment, but it was to no purpose. Finding himself helpless and driven to despair the Zemindar presented a petition to Mr. Colvin to the effect that his aged father had before his death foretold that ere long there would come a Settlement Officer, in whose time the people would be so miserable and poverty-stricken that in their homes would neither be heard the sound of the grinding mill nor the glimmer of the lamp be seen, and that when this came to pass the best thing that he could do, would be to give up all his rights and interests in his village to the Government and become a Mendicant, and, the petitioner went on to say, that he accordingly prayed that the name of Mr. Colvin as representing Government be substituted for his name in all the Revenue papers. Mr. Colvin, of course, did not accept the offer, but in consequence of this petition he made a slight reduction in the excessive assessment which he had at first proposed—a reduction that was so slight that it left the

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poor Zemindar little better off than before (*Shame*). If, gentlemen, only a few more Zemindars had come forward boldly and made over their Zemindari to Mr. Colvin to relieve themselves of the burden of his excessive assessment (and I do not mean to say that he was a bit more hasty or less competent, than the majority of modern Settlement Officers—perhaps quite the contrary) Sir Auckland Colvin would not perhaps so soon have lost all recollection of the cruel thoughtlessness of officers in disposing of questions which affect the very existence of the people, and would not perhaps have so attacked Mr. Hume about the Congress. (*Cheers*.)

Well, to give you an illustration of the careful way in which the record of rights is prepared, I will only mention that in the *Wajibularz* (Record of Rights) of a certain village was found a Statement to this effect:—

“ In this village the co-sharers are Pathans, Brahmins and Rajpoots, who all eat and drink together.” Now, gentlemen, the absurdity of such a statement must be patent to you all, for in this, the Settlement Officers claim to have brought about what monarchs like Akbar could not do, *i.e.*, to have made Hindus and Mahomedans all eat and drink together. (*Laughter*.) This shews with what care the record of rights is prepared.

I now come to the question of the demarcation of boundaries. Well, a certain Settlement Officer, still holding a high position in the North-West Provinces, used to say that the place where his horse stopped marked the true boundary of the village. Times are so changed, gentlemen, that matters which officials of a previous generation used to settle after making long and patient inquiries and with the help of arbitrators are now settled only by the capricious halting of a horse! (*Shame*.) Verily, gentlemen, if in ancient times the dog of the Seven Sleepers of the Cave, had by long association with the virtuous acquired the disposition of man, the horse of a, by no means wide-awake, English official might well acquire the abilities demanded of a Settlement Officer, in these days of progress and advancement! (*Laughter*.)

I will now say a few words about the treatment of the *ryots*. An official, still living, was once comparing the Rent Roll and Field List with the *Patwari*, of course in the presence of all the cultivators. Being hasty and inexperienced, the officer did not understand the *Patwari* on a particular point, and getting angry at this he struck the *Patwari* so hard in the face that three of his teeth were knocked out. (*Shame*.) Every human being can understand what impression such violent and unbecoming behaviour on the part of the Settlement Officer must have produced, on the minds of the poor *ryots*, as to the kindness and good will of Government towards them.

Besides all these and several other similar evils, are the expenses to which the Zemindars are put and which are so many and so heavy that a Zemindar weighed down by the expenses of one Settlement does not begin to get his head once more above water until the next Settlement. The proverb is well known which says that where the revenue is Rs. 2-8, the other expenses amount to Rs. 36-0-0.

As the time is very short, I will now very briefly draw your attention to the advantages and the necessity of a Permanent Settlement. It is plain that by a Permanent Settlement the land-owners will be relieved from the fear of enhancement after every 30 years, will be sure of a fairly stable and reliable income and will have reasonable hopes of future prosperity (*cheers*). They will attend far more, than they do now, to populating their villages, and will find greater inducements to dig wells and tanks and to throw up embankments. Farmers of the classes of *Jats*, *Kachis*, *Ahirs*, &c.; who now from fear of enhancement of rent, do not devote themselves heartily to the improvement of their land, and are growing more and more lax in their efforts every day, will once more begin to work harder and more cheerfully. Cultivation will improve, the value of the land will increase and the out-turn of food will be greatly enhanced. (*Cheers*.)

It has always been the intention of Government to extend the system of a Permanent Settlement when the time should come for it, so that the *ryots* may be happy and contented and the land-owners prosperous. This statement of mine is corroborated by despatches No. 14, dated July 9th, 1862, and No. 11, dated the 24th March 1865, from the Secretary of State for India to the Governor-General of India. The rules of Settlement, prepared by a Member of the Viceregal Council, and published under date January 22nd, 1867, also support the view I have expressed above. I might cite many more official authorities in support of my position. For instance, Section 9, of Circular No. 24, dated the 27th November 1867, says:—

* "When it has been proved that 80 per cent. of the culturable area is under cultivation, then that *Mahal* (Parish) should be entered in the list of lands which should be settled permanently." Again, Circular No. 10, of the Board of Revenue, dated 26th July 1865, issued in compliance with the orders of the Government of India, dated 19th June 1865, and the Despatch of the Secretary of State, No. 11 of 24th March 1865, says:—

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* Section 2. "In those districts in the *Mahals* (parishes) of which cultivation has reached a high degree and the produce is ample the Settlement of Revenue should be permanent."

Section 4. "All those *Mahals* (parishes) in which the proportion of the land under cultivation to the whole land paying revenue to Government is as 80 to 100, should be permanently settled."

* Section 5. "Under all circumstances, it is generally accepted that in those *Mahals* (parishes) in which 80 per cent. of the cultivable area is actually under cultivation, it should be understood that all the requisite conditions of Permanent Settlement exist in them, and they have reached the stage when they should be settled permanently."

* Again in Section 8. "It is the opinion of Sir William Muir (then Mr. Muir) Member of the Board of Revenue, that in those tracts whereof the land under cultivation is 80 per cent. of the whole culturable area, agreements for a Permanent Settlement of the land should, at once, be asked for from the *Zemindars*," and it is not necessary for me to tell you, gentlemen, that cultivation has reached such a high degree now, everywhere, that you would not find a single village except some veritable "*Kambakhtpur*," (*Laughter.*) where the land, actually under cultivation, is not 80 per cent. of the whole culturable area. But the fact is that here as in so many other cases, our rulers make indeed good rules but somehow do not at all act upon or abide by them. For these reasons, gentlemen, I am of opinion that the introduction of a Permanent Settlement is not only very desirable, but that the time has come when it should no longer be deferred (*Cheers*). Let the Government only act up to its own excellent published intentions. (*Loud cheers.*)

MR. NASIRUDDIN AHMAD : (*Benares, No. 1694, in list.*)—Also spoke in Urdu and said :—MR. PRESIDENT, Gentlemen,—I am, I regret to say, the same Mahomedan delegate, who felt compelled to detain you all so long yesterday when arguing with some of my Brother Mahomedans as to the unreasonable demands which they made for a numerical equality in the Councils with the Hindus, though our Musalman members will only have to represent less than one-third of the population that the Hindu members will have to represent. I am sure I heartily apologize to all for my long-windedness yesterday and will only further add my congratulations to that of other previous speakers on the fact of all my co-religionists, with the exception of perhaps one or, at most, two, irreconcilables having subsequently come round to realize the essential fairness, to all creeds and castes, of the terms of the minority clause which we passed yesterday. (*Cheers.*) As for Munshi Hidayat Rasul's personal remarks in regard to me I do not think them worth notice. He tried to create disunion and has failed, as I hope all such efforts ever will fail. (*Loud cheers.*)

Really, gentlemen, I am at a loss to understand why I have been one of those selected for the honour of supporting this proposition in regard to that most important question now before you, the fixation or giving of permanence to the Land Revenue demand. My native Province, Benares, no doubt, like the greater part of Bengal, enjoys the blessings of a Permanent Settlement, and I am therefore able fully to appreciate and sympathize with the aspirations of the people of Madras, Bombay, the North-West Provinces and the unhappy Province of Oudh, where agricultural development is impossible under the ever impending dread of the perpetually recurrent visit of the Settlement Department.

There is no doubt that the time has now come to give greater fixity to the Government demand in many parts of India. By its repeated settlements and re-settlements, valuations and re-valuations of lands, classifications and re-classifications of soils, statistics of produce and what not, operations which have cost the country, the ransom of many kings, without bringing emancipation to a single peasant, the Government *must* have come by this time to know as much of the capacities of those parts of the country as it ever will or can know. Moreover, by its meritorious exertions, and through the good services and energies of its officers, Roads, Railways, Canals and Markets have been everywhere opened out leaving no room to hope for any material further development in these directions. This all being so, and the greatest authorities in Europe being unanimous in regard to the necessity (if the agriculture of any country is to be fully developed) of investing the holders or cultivators of the soil with

* These extracts are not taken from the originals, but have been literally translated from the Urdu of the speech.

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One thing is certain and that is, that, in the temporarily settled districts, the zemindars and cultivators, greatly dreading the plague of the Settlement Officers, do nothing whatever to improve the lands permanently, but only struggle to get as much as they possibly can out of it, and bring it down to its lowest level before the next revision—all the poor Ryot looks to or can look to is how to fill, if possible, his belly. And, gentlemen, looking to the state of the country in your parts, if all that this resolution meant was that the existing Settlement, with all its evils and injustice and, in many cases, bitter severity was to be made permanent, I could not at all sympathize with it. For that is not at all what I want to see, but a widely different and really just Permanent Settlement—just to the country—just to the Ryot—not a Settlement made merely to please the Ryot and necessitating the recourse by Government to Income Taxes and other hateful forms of direct taxation, but a Settlement securing to the country a proper return on the land, which is *her* capital, and to the Ryot a proper return on his labour, which is *his* capital—not a Settlement stereotyping the evils and iniquities of your existing arrangements but one securing the real rights, for ever, of all classes interested in the land, from the state which holds it in trust for all of us, down to the cultivator who actually tills it; and moreover securing to each class the full future profits of all improvements that they severally or individually may make in the land. This is what is required and this I believe is what your proposed Resolution means and, in this belief, I support it and recommend it to your acceptance. (Cheers.)

MUNSHI MUHAMMAD SAKHAWAT HUSAIN : (N.-W. Provinces, No. 1674, in list.)—Spoke in Urdu and said :—Gentlemen,—If the material prosperity of the country is to increase at all in proportion with the growth of the populations, the Government Land Revenue demand must be given permanence and fixity, must be settled once for all, in all fully cultivated and well peopled portions of the country and that right soon. Every one here knows how the masses are becoming poorer decade by decade—there may be an increase in the wealth of the higher classes (and this only intensifies the peril of the position) but the condition of the masses is steadily deteriorating. The land does not produce more, but markedly less, as the Ayeen Akhbari show us, than it did in Akhbar's time and yet there are now more than three men dependant on the same land which in his time had to support only two; and before many years are over there will be four,—doubtless, emigration, and the development, slow though it be of manufacturing industries, the establishment of cotton, woollen, paper, soap, silk and other Mills and the great extension of public works do offer certain relatively tiny channels by which somewhat of the surplus population may drain off the people-flooded land, but all these taken together afford a comparatively insignificant relief and if the country is not to be utterly swamped in its seething and ever augmenting millions of paupers, it must be by developing the agriculture of the country. (Loud cheers.) At present the perpetual recurrence of Settlements is an ever present blight on agricultural progress. (Cheers.)

As for the Zemindars and Government they prowl about like a wolf and a sheep—the sheep ever seeking to graze up the entire pasture and the wolf seeking to devour the sheep. (Laughter.)

Will the Zemindar try to improve the land—to increase its yield? Certainly not; an increase in the Government demand is ever before his eyes—nay, years before each revision is due, he purposely lets land fall out of cultivation and he causes false village papers to be prepared both as to the land tilled and the rents paid, and he harasses the cultivators to make them look as wretched as possible, and in fact so far from trying to improve his land, in his short-sighted policy (short sighted for he rarely succeeds in hood-winking the trained Settlement Officials though he may bribe their subordinates) he does his best to reduce its condition.

But indeed, did he wish to improve it, where can he now get the money? As it stands it might be good security for a loan of a thousand rupees, but who will advance half this sum on it now, when a few years hence a revision of Settlement may have reduced its value by more than half?

Or if he be in debt and wish to sell a part, who will give him half its value, when there is no saying but what, after the next re-settlement, it may hardly have any value at all to any proprietor who does not himself cultivate?

Then as to the cultivators; rights of occupancy are good things in theory but—with bad seasons ever and anon—what real security do they afford? Is the cultivator, who can barely keep his family and himself alive, likely to spend one farthing on the land, or give it one atom more labour than is just necessary to get the ordinary crops out of it? No, the Zemindar is here the wolf and the cultivator the sheep, and just as the Government is ever seeking to squeeze more and more out of the Zemindar, so he in turn, and in absolute self-defence, is ever seeking, to squeeze more out of the Ryot. All the ryot can, as a rule, possibly do is to keep himself and his children alive—and now-a-days, famines are more common than in our father's times—for the lands are in worse condition, and less of the crops are stored, and more people have to be fed—and in bad seasons he very often don't succeed even in that one thing. (*Shame.*)

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All round it is a bad system; the Government Officials do, I think, their best, but under this perpetual change of Settlements, under this constant fear of increased demands for Land Revenue, the Agriculture of the country, on whose development, we mainly depend to avert the most serious calamities, instead of developing is deteriorating. Relieve the Agriculturalists of this bane, and the necessities of an increasing population will soon largely improve our agriculture and increase our produce. (*Prolonged cheers.*) I heartily recommend this proposition to your most cordial acceptance. (*Cheers.*)

RAO SAHEB JANARDAN RAGHUNATH NIMPKAR (*Deccan, No. 542, in list*) spoke in Maharatti. He said:—Mr. PRESIDENT, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the greater pleasure in supporting this resolution that I am a landholder myself. You will know, gentlemen, that such a vast subject as this cannot be dealt with, in the short time allotted me, as it should be. I will confine myself therefore to a few striking facts for your speedy enlightenment. I have studied the subject very carefully, but it will be needless on this present occasion to inflict facts and figures on you. Every one knows what practical experience has shown every cultivator, that a Permanent Settlement, is alike the most advantageous for them and for the entire country. What need to cite theoretical proofs when we have the practical proof before us of the Permanent Settlement in Lower Bengal which, incomplete and faulty as it doubtless was, has yet made Bengal the richest Province in the Empire. (*Cheers.*)

Every one knows that the material prosperity of a country depends most of all on its agriculture; trades and professions occupy but a secondary place. Notwithstanding a beneficent rule, and the spread of Education, Railways, and Public Works, the condition of our agricultural classes becomes worse, day by day. Why should this be so? Absence of fixity in the Government Land Revenue demand, whereby the landholder's heart is deterred from ever truly doing his best with his land, is the natural and true reply—not that other causes are not at work, but that this is the great underlying cause out of which all other causes either spring or draw their importance. Who will seek to improve lands, of which he cannot be truly called the owner, and in regard to which he knows that the more he does for them, the more he will have to pay for them. And this enhancement has no bounds. No one has ever seen the land grow one inch, but the Government Assessment grows day by day. And in such an arbitrary way. When a new Survey and Assessment is ordered no reasons are ever given. The Survey Department must find work for itself or how could it keep its large salaries, and with reason or without reason, it always manages to satisfy Government that it is right—and then of course with reason or without reason it must run up the Assessment. The poor cultivator may protest against the enhanced rates—but he might save himself the trouble, his application is summarily dismissed without so much as a hearing. No Civil Suit will lie—there is no remedy and no justice. I myself have been a victim and I know what it feels like. In 1888 my land was cruelly over assessed, and I begged the Survey Superintendent then in charge of the Karjah Talooka to visit my fields and hear me on the spot; as without seeing the lands, their poverty and drawbacks could not be realized. But that gentleman was good enough to say that it was quite impossible to examine every field just to please the holders—he had no time for that sort of thing. No, they have no time, for anything but to extort money out of the poor. Look at the case of that entire Karjah Talooka. They screwed up and up, but they could not screw the Revenue up to the amount they had set their hearts upon, and so they had recourse to this ingenious novelty. They took a walk along the river running past our fields and laid down a new rule, that these riverside lands, which have never been cultivated, nor assessed, since earth first came under man's plough, should in future be assessed as Kharif Land at an average rate of Rs. 2 per acre. Probably the next time they will assess the rocks in the River, or the river's surface itself and make us pay the Assessment. These River-bank lands have been unassessed from time imemorial, because though not cultivated, they are needed for the cultivation of rice land. One acre of assessed rice land requires three acres of unassessed Warkas land to furnish the ash manure (*rab*) required for the rice. You cannot grow rice without such Warkas land—any more than you can live in a house which has no right of way to it through some adjoining piece of

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land. But they have increased the Assessment on the rice land, and also put a new Assessment on the immemorially rent free Warkas Lands. Was the Talooqua rich? Are the people thriving? No, far from it, but the Settlement Department to justify its existence had to screw the Revenue up to a certain pitch, and it did it. The actual detail work of screwing up is done by ignorant clerks and what they do is just confirmed as a matter of course by the Mabap (father and mother) official in charge, under the plea that the details are too multitudinous to permit of his going into them.

Nor are these unjust and injurious changes confined to the 30 years' revision; they take place equally, though on a smaller scale, upon the yearly sub-survey by the divisional clerks under the Mamlatdar.

Have you ever, gentleman, heard of a more self-evident fact than that the vicinity of a railway improves the quality of land? (*Laughter.*) Your old established market may be only a couple of miles away, but a railway which has no station within five miles on either side passes near your field and so the field has, say the Settlement Department, become more valuable and, whether or no, you must pay more.

I must be brief, though the subject is long at the briefest—Look to what a member of Council said the other day in the light-hearted fashion, in which people speak of sufferings which they do not share. "Our Survey Assessments have been lower than those of former rulers." True in one sense, utterly false in reality, just as a clothier might urge that he charged less than a former dealer, because he only asked Rs. 2 for a suit and the other asked Rs. 3. But when you look into it and find that for Rs. 3 the former man, supplied, not merely coat and trousers, but pagree, waist belt, over-cloth, shoes and that the new man now charges Re. 1 extra for each of these over and above the Rs. 2 for the coat and trousers, you don't think much of his pretended liberality and fair dealing (*laughter*). Now that is just our case and if Mr. Peile did not know it, he ought to have known it. A particular number* may be pointed out which pays a lower Assessment than it did under former rulers, though I doubt even this, but if you take the landholders, the cultivators as a body, you will find that with no more land to live on—and it is the land and the land only on which they live—they are made to pay one way and another at least four times what they ever paid under any previous rulers, no matter how grasping and unmerciful. Take my own lands in Ratnagiri, they have been assessed at the late survey at not less than ten times what they were assessed at under the Arba Saman survey under the Mahomedan Government.

People may ask why are we now pressing for a Permanent Settlement,—why did we never ask for it in former times? I will tell you, gentlemen, it is because in former times, we could easily pay for the suit; even a little more than what is now nominally asked for it; for in those former days we got the shoes, and the pugree and the kummerbund and the over-cloth and everything else free, and now we have to pay separately for everything and heavily for everything. Our means of subsistence, i.e., the produce of the land, is the same, or even less, there is the same amount of water in the pot, but there are now six holes by which it runs out, when before there was but one. (*Cheers.*)

Gentlemen, we got our salt, life's first necessary, at a nominal price—for ourselves and for our cattle. Now it is so dear that the latter cannot have it at all. (*Cheers.*)

We had our cattle in plenty, lots of grazing free and salt to keep them healthy—now the land is all taken up by the Forest Department and we have no grazing, and if the starving herds stray where there is food, they are run into the pound and we are fined (*cheers*); and day by day cattle, the first necessity of agriculture here, are decreasing in number and deteriorating in quality. (*Loud cheers.*)

We had plenty of fuel free, both for our own purposes and to make the *rab* or ash manure without which our rice will not grow—but the forests have absorbed all the woodlands and our Warkas lands are assessed, and we must buy our fuel and buy it dear. (*Cheers.*)

We had plenty of wood for our houses, our ploughs, for every agricultural purpose; now it is all under the lock and key of the Forest Department, and if we touch it without leave we are run in, and if we want a stick we have a week's running about from one official to another before we get it, and we have to pay, pay, pay! (*Loud cheers.*)

We had arms, and we could shoot or destroy the wild beasts that ravage our crops, but now we have an Arms Act that allows a basket full of arms to every Negro rascal who lands on our shores, but takes good care that we poor cultivators who need them to protect our subsistence from wild animals are practically debarred from any. (*Cheers.*)

* Every field under the Bombay system, has its official number, and so the fields themselves are spoken of as numbers. The speaker here simply means, by "number" "field" or "plot of land."

We had such simple liquor as our people absolutely needed, at the cost of making it. But now a grand system has been introduced which, while it makes the population drunken, involves considerable expenditure, and that for a hurtful mixture, to provide what our cultivators, in the damp low-lying lands of Rutnagiri, really require for their health in the way of stimulus.

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—
Res. VII.
Extension
of the
Permanent
Settlement.
—

We could borrow money on reasonable terms, for the land and the crops could not run away and people were willing to trust us—there was profit in those days in the land—and we could get what we wanted for seed or what not—but now when the next turn of the screw may so reduce the value of the land that the surplus may be, as it already is in many places, *nil*, no one will give credit except for very short periods at very high interest; for the usurers care nothing for the welfare of the people, all they care for is to exact interest at a penal rate—and yet, gentlemen, Mr. Francis' Assessment which was a fair one and one that men could pay and live, when all these advantages were ours, has now been largely enhanced when not one of them remains to us.

The Deccan Agricultural Relief Act, the reports of Collectors, of the Agricultural Department, all show what the real position of our cultivators is—why do they not abandon the hopeless task? Because unfortunately they must either cultivate on, they and their families half-starving, or die themselves at once with their wives and little ones. Every one here knows that outside the Presidency towns where the mills and other works give some relief, our cultivators and labouring classes can barely provide sustenance for themselves and families, even in the most hand to mouth fashion—and most assuredly one of the main causes for this is the unreasonable and recurring increases to the Land Revenue Assessment, and the absence of a Permanent Settlement. (*Loud cheers.*)

I think I have said enough to secure your acceptance of this proposition. May it please God to grant us a Permanent Settlement and with it a Permanent alleviation of the miseries of our poor Ryots and thus lay the foundation of the long-looked-for material prosperity of India. At present, as the proverb has it, we are told to eat, but our mouths are forcibly closed. This is not fair play. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT—Gentlemen, so far as I can discover, all of you are of one mind as to this question. Is it your pleasure to allow further discussion? (*Cries of "No, no, vote, vote."*) Then I shall put the question; our 7th Resolution will then be as follows:—

RESOLVED: *That the Government be urged to take the subject of a Permanent Settlement once more under consideration in view to practical action thereon, such that fixity and permanency may be given to the Government Land Revenue demand without further delay, at any rate, in all fully populated and well cultivated tracts of country.*

The Resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT—I shall now call upon Mr. Wacha to bring forward the next proposition.

MR. DINSHA E. WACHA (*Bombay, No. 908, in list*)—Mr. PRESIDENT and Gentlemen, the proposition entrusted to me runs as follow:—

PROPOSED: *That in view of the fall that has already occurred in the price of silver and in the exchange value of the Indian Rupee, it seems impolitic on the part of the British Government to maintain any hinderances whatever to the consumption of silver for manufacturing purposes; and that this Congress do therefore strongly urge upon Her Majesty's Government that, not only as an act of justice to India (a matter which has been repeatedly brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Ministers) but also as an act of expediency in the interests of Her Majesty's British as well as Indian subjects, the plate duties should be immediately abolished, and Hall marking be made a voluntary institution.*

—
Res. VIII.
Abolition
of the Plate
Duties.
—

This is a resolution which I dare say will be passed with acclamation. It refers to one of the few Indian subjects on which there may be said to be absolute unanimity of opinion. The Government of India and the Government of England alike are now agreed that the duties are oppressive and ought to go. The Government of India, be it said to its credit, has been fighting for the repeal of these duties for the last 5 years. It has during this period addressed five despatches to the Secretary of State, and have so far succeeded in its efforts as to force the "My lords" of the British Treasury into recognising the justice of our grievance against the duty. And it is satisfactory to observe that our former Viceroy, the Earl of Northbrook, has ably supported our Government in the House of Lords. Again, last year, the late Mr. Slagg brought forward a motion on the subject in the House of Commons which was all that could be wished. It is a matter of deep regret to us all that this very able member of Parliament—so well versed in Indian economic questions, on whom the mantle

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of the late Mr. Fawcett had worthily fallen—has been prematurely lost to us. In him we have indeed lost a most valued friend and sympathiser with our cause and I take this opportunity to express all India's deep regret at the death of that esteemed friend—a regret shared, I am sure, by all the delegates here assembled. (*Hear, hear.*) Since Mr. Slagg brought forward his motion last year this question has advanced a stage, which is very hopeful. The Right Hon'ble the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in bringing up the English Budget the other day distinctly assured the House of Commons that the duty should go, and if there be a substantial surplus next year he promised that the relief which we have been seeking for years past would be afforded. At the same time he thought there might be some difficulty as to the drawback on plate which may be on hand and on which duty may have been paid. He observed that there always remains a large quantity of silver plate in the hands of manufacturers in bond, particularly with the Goldsmith Company. These may incur a great loss. The Silver Commission, however, have thoroughly gone into the question and have suggested to the British Treasury that the drawback difficulty could be satisfactorily solved in this way. That the duty might be abolished gradually, say within the next three years.

The duty, as you, gentlemen, may not be unaware, is 1s. 6d. So that if 6d. is taken off the first year, 6d. the second year and 6d. the third year, all interests would be protected and the ultimate objects would be gained without prejudice to any rights; the powerful guild, known as the Goldsmith Company, will be satisfied, and India will receive a great stimulus to her present silver industries.

It is expedient in the interests both of England and of India that the duty should go. It is owing to the oppressive, or as Mr. Slagg characterised it, barbarous duty, for it is a relic of mediæval finance, that the manufacture of silver plate has immensely gone down in England. In 1875 there were a million ounces of silver manufactured; whereas the quantity manufactured last year was only 600,000 ounces, a reduction of 30 per cent. Thus, while England herself has suffered in the industry by her own suicidal policy, the Continent and the United States have greatly increased it. What is therefore wanted both in England and here is that these industries should be stimulated; and the abolition of the duty is the only thing necessary to bring about so desirable a result. In a way it would perceptibly improve the Indian exchange—a change which from even the financial point of view is, you will admit, much to be desiderated. (*Cheers.*)

MR. HAMID ALI (*Oudh, No. 1494, in list*) translated the proposition into Urdu and briefly explained its bearing and purport.

MR. RANCHORE LAL CHOHE LAL (*Guerat, No. 792, in list*) said:—MR. PRESIDENT, Ladies and Gentlemen, I am very glad to second this proposition, because I think it is very just, very moderate, and very temperate, and because in addition to the other grounds that have been mentioned, I say that we are entitled to have these duties removed in England, in consideration of our heavy sacrifice in abolishing the duties on English goods. We used to levy duties on articles manufactured in England, but now all these have been abolished. Why? In the interests of free-trade. Therefore in these same interests it is nothing but just that English duties on Indian manufactured articles should be similarly abolished.

In connection with this subject I want to say a few words if time permits. It is not only England, but we might also add other countries of Europe, such as Germany, Russia, and France, which have laid heavy if not prohibitive duties on our manufactures. I know from my own experience that if we were to send yarn from India to Germany, it would sell well there, but for the prohibitive duty which they levy on Indian manufactured articles, amounting to ten or fifteen per cent. But for that duty we could find better markets for our Indian goods. We could find a market in Germany, in Russia, in America; but they all stop it by their prohibitive import duties. Now I want to suggest one thing to the Congress. We feel that the English should treat our goods in the same way as we treat theirs. With regard to France, to Germany, to America, who tax our goods so heavily, why should we not ask them to repeal these duties? And if they do not do so, I think our Government should be asked to put some import duty upon their goods which come to us. It is nothing but just that we should treat them as they treat us. You are in want of money. We say we want to reduce the Income Tax and the Salt Tax. Where is the money to come from? You must get it from somewhere. Now I say why should not the goods from these foreign countries expect to be taxed moderately by us when they tax ours so heavily. Here is a matter for the Indian Government to consider. It would not affect the British trade, it would not affect the Indian trade in any way, and we should be benefitted to a certain extent. I think, the Congress might, next year, take this point into consideration. If you have read the returns you will have noticed, that the quantity of goods imported from foreign European countries and America are increasing every year. Why?

Because British goods being here exempted from duty all others are exempted, and we get no benefit. Then again, our goods go to Afghanistan and Central Asia, and there Russia puts on prohibitive duties, yet their goods come into India and we allow them to come in free. I do not see much fairness in that. Let us ask them to remove all obstructions to our goods, and if they do not we can treat theirs in the same way. (Cheers.)

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THE PRESIDENT : I think our friend Mr. Ranchorelal Chothelal is a favourer of the Fair Trade heresy, but the points he has raised are beside the actual proposition before you, which is so simple and so universally agreed to, that with your permission I will put it at once without further discussion. (Yes, yes.) Then our 8th Resolution will stand.

RESOLVED—*That in view of the fall that has already occurred in the price of silver and in the exchange value of the Indian Rupee, it is impolitic on the part of the British Government to maintain any hindrances whatever to the consumption of silver for manufacturing purposes; and that this Congress strongly urges upon Her Majesty's Government that, not only as an act of justice to India (a matter which has been repeatedly brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Ministers), but also as an act of expediency in the interests of Her Majesty's British as well as Indian subjects, the plate duties should be immediately abolished, and Hall marking be made a voluntary institution.*

Are you all agreed ? (Yes, yes.) Then that resolution is passed unanimously.

MR. W. C. BONNERJEE : (Calcutta, No. 1788, in list.)—Who was received with loud and continued cheering, said :—

MR. PRESIDENT, Ladies and Gentlemen, at this late hour of the day, it is not necessary for me to detain you by any long preliminary observations in connection with the proposition which I have the honour to place before you and which reads thus :—

Res. IX.
Modifica-
tions of the
Rules and
practice of
the H. of C.,
in regard
to Indian
Grievances
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PROPOSED—*That this Congress do respectfully express the earnest hope that, in the interests of the people of India, the House of Commons will forthwith restore the right, formerly possessed by members of that Honourable House, of stating to Parliament any matter of grievance of the natives of India, before Mr. Speaker leaves the Chair, for the presentation in Committee of the Indian Budget statement, and the earnest trust that the House of Commons will, in future, take into consideration the Annual Indian Budget statement at such a date as will ensure its full and adequate discussion, and do further authorize the President, Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., to sign a Petition in the name and on behalf of this Congress for presentation to the House of Commons in accordance with the terms of this Resolution.*

You, Sir, pointed out to us in your excellent address yesterday, that a great many checks which existed, in connection with the House of Commons, upon the Government of India, have been removed by the Act of 1858; I am sorry to say that one of the checks which existed for us even after the Act of 1858, was by a resolution, which was not intended to have that effect, taken away in the year 1888. You are all aware, that in the House of Commons, discussions with regard to grievances, take place when there is a motion for Mr. Speaker to leave the chair. Formerly when any motion that the speaker do leave the chair was made in the House of Commons, in anticipation of the House going into Committee to discuss Financial Statements or to discuss supply, it was open to any member to bring any subject of grievance to the notice of the House, Mr. Speaker sitting in the chair of the House.

By the rule to which I have alluded, it is not now necessary to put the motion to the House that Mr. Speaker do leave the chair. The speaker himself announces that he is about to leave the chair and he is allowed to leave the chair without any discussion of any description, and the grievances that might have been formerly brought forward are not allowed to be brought forward at all. The House of Commons when it passed this rule had no idea how it would operate with regard to the people of this country. Formerly whenever a motion was made that the speaker should leave the chair, in order that the House might get into Committee, to consider the Indian Financial Statement, any member of the House could get up and bring any grievances of the people of India to the notice of the House, and through that notice, to the notice of the people of Great Britain.

But last year the rule above referred to operated in this way. When the speaker said that he would leave the chair, he left the chair, and no opportunity was allowed to Mr. Bradlaugh to bring forward our motion with regard to the appointment of a Royal Commission to consider the administration of the Government of India, and he was therefore obliged, as a last resource, when speaking upon the Budget Statement made by Sir John Gorst, to bring to notice in an indirect and, for practical purposes, unsatisfactory way some of our grievances. (Cheers.) You see therefore that this rule operates in a very detrimental manner to our interests. It was not the intention of the House of Commons that it should have that effect, and consequently, if we from this Congress, send up this humble petition, to

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the House, that House, justice-loving as it is, will, I have no doubt, grant us the relief which we seek (*cheers*). There is another matter; you are aware that the Indian Budget Statement, is not presented to the House, until about a day or two before it rises for the Session. Most of the influential members have then gone away from London to all parts of the world, and you have the Budget Statement made to a House consisting only nominally of 40 members, no more than half-a-dozen of whom remain present when the Statement is actually made. (*Shame*.) If the statement could be brought forward at an earlier date, many of the most influential members who take an interest in Indian affairs, would remain in London and take part in the discussion, but at present it is impossible that it should be so. I remember when I was present in the House last year, to listen to the Budget Statement, there was a time when the only members present were the Chairman of Committee, Mr. Courteney and Sir R. Lethbridge, who was addressing the empty benches of the House. (*Laughter*.) There was not another soul present, Mr. Bradlaugh having withdrawn for two or three minutes to the smoking-room. This state of things operates very detrimentally to India and I think, if we from this Congress, send up a petition to the House asking them to consider this prayer of ours, it will be granted. I accordingly ask you to adopt this proposition and empower our President to sign and present to Parliament a petition, on our behalf, pointing out how seriously we suffer, from the change of rules and deprecating earnestly the late date at which the Budget is introduced. (*Cheers*.)

MR. SHURFUDDIN : (*Behar, No. 1736, in list.*)—MR. PRESIDENT and Brother Delegates, After my learned senior's able speech, with regard to this resolution, you cannot expect me to inflict a long speech upon you; moreover I am suffering from a bad cold and cannot speak loud enough, I fear, to make myself heard. With regard to the resolution itself I cannot say any more than this, that it has been already shown to you by Mr. Bonnerjee, that the effect of the rule in question has operated very injuriously for India's interests. The English people and the English Parliament understand as well as we do that India is the most precious jewel in the English Crown, and when we in a body from this great Congress, which truly represents all that is best and worthiest in India, raise as one man our united voices in respectful remonstrance to the House against this rule which has so prejudiced our cause, I am certain that the House will not reject our prayer without full consideration. I hope now that you will excuse my saying any more. I have however been asked to translate the proposition into Hindustani for the benefit of such of our friends as do not sufficiently understand English to realize the real purport of the technical part of this proposition. (The Speaker then translated the proposition into Hindustani and explained what the practical bearing of the first part of it was.)

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA : (*North-Western Provinces, No. 1520, in list.*)—Then rose and said:—MR. PRESIDENT, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have very great pleasure in supporting this Resolution, and I hope you will listen with kind patience to the few remarks that I have to address to you on this important subject. You will remember that two years ago when we met at Madras, we expressed our deep regret at the fact that the English Parliament did not devote that attention to our affairs which we had a right to expect of it. But now we regret still more to find that during the period that has since elapsed, matters have gone from bad to worse. Till recently, when the Indian Budget was laid before the House of Commons such of the members, as felt any interest in our affairs, were given an opportunity of saying whatever they thought necessary to say on our behalf. We complained that the opportunity thus afforded was very inadequate for anything like a fair consideration of the affairs of this vast country, and we prayed that more time might be given to the consideration of those affairs. (*Hear, hear.*) But so far from that reasonable request being granted we find, gentlemen, that even the little opportunity that had hitherto been allowed for the discussion of Indian questions has been circumscribed within still narrower bounds. The new rules of the House have, in a way, practically shut out all discussion bearing on the welfare of the 250 millions of Her Majesty's subjects in India. (*Shame, shame.*) I cannot properly express the regret and disappointment which this has created amongst us. Mr. Bonnerjee has very ably pointed out how injuriously to us this new rule of the House of Commons operates. The British Parliament, as representing the British people, is the one power to whom we look for the redress of our grievances. They it is who are really responsible for the good or bad Government of this country. (*Hear, hear.*) And if they refuse or neglect to pay proper attention to our affairs, the result must be entirely injurious to the interests of our people. (*Cheers*). The importance and necessity of Parliamentary control over the Indian administration, especially in matters of Finance has always been recognised. But it is even more important and necessary now than perhaps it ever was before; for our finances are unfortunately getting more and more embarrassed day by day. And yet it is at this very critical time that Parliament has partly withdrawn even that little attention which it hitherto has been wont to bestow upon Indian questions. The evil results of this diminution of control are already visible. Hitherto when complaints were made of the excessive increase of expenditure in India the member of the Government in

charge has grudgingly admitted that there was room for economy and retrenchment. In the year 1883, the House of Commons passed a resolution to the effect that in the opinion of that House it is necessary that early steps be taken to reduce the expenditure of India. Lord Kimberley, our then Secretary of State, in his despatch, dated the 8th of June 1883, urged the Government of India to take the subject of the reduction of expenditure into their earliest consideration. Lord Randolph Churchill, our next Secretary of State, later on, said that "the financial position of India was very grave indeed, and required the most careful consideration, and the exercise of the most rigid economy was necessary, in his opinion, in order to avoid bankruptcy." But the withdrawal of Parliamentary control seems to have emboldened the present Under-Secretary to take up a very different attitude. When complaints were made on the occasion of the last debate on the Indian Budget in the House of Commons, of the ever-growing increase of expenditure in India, Sir John Gorst met them boldly by saying that "expenditure has increased, it ought to increase, and it ought not to be diminished." (*Shame, shame.*) And he tried to justify this view by asserting that the wealth and prosperity of the country was increasing. Now, gentlemen, no one would be more delighted than ourselves to know that the country was really growing in wealth and prosperity. (*Cheers.*) But unhappily the stern reality of facts forbids us from consoling ourselves with such pleasing fancies. We look wistfully in all directions; we go deep into the Mofussil, we see our brethren in their homes and huts as they actually live; and far from seeing any indications of that increasing prosperity which Sir J. Gorst said he discerned at that distance, we find the people growing poorer and less and less able to maintain themselves, their wives and children, than they were before. (*Hear, hear, and cheers.*) And we therefore say, gentlemen, that the increase of expenditure is under existing circumstances not only unjustifiable, but positively sinful. (*Prolonged cheers.*) The increase of public expenditure would undoubtedly be welcome if it followed upon an increase of wealth and prosperity among the people. There has been a large increase of revenue in England during the past quarter of a century. But it has followed an enormous growth of wealth and commerce in England and no one complains much of it. But in India public expenditure goes on increasing while the condition of the people is deteriorating day by day. (*Hear, hear.*) One simple but incontrovertible proof of this lies in the fact that almost all the recent additions to the revenue of the Government have been screwed out of the first necessities of the Indian people. To take only the most recent instances, increased expenditure has been met by enhancing the duty on salt, a thing necessary alike to man and cattle; by taxing the poor man's oil, as petroleum has rightly been called, by imposing a double tax on the famishing ryots of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh and by misappropriating the Famine Insurance Fund (*shame!*), a fund especially created and promised by three Viceroy's to be religiously set apart for meeting difficulties in times of scarcity and famine. (*Shame!*)

This ceaseless growth of expenditure is, gentlemen, an evil of alarming magnitude and deserves the most earnest consideration of Parliament. (*Cheers.*) Look only to your military expenditure. In 1857 with an army numbering about 254,000 men, the total military expenditure amounted to 11½ millions a year. But now with an army smaller by not less than 40,000 men, your military expenditure stands at the high figure of 20 million sterling a year! And you know how it is met! It is met, as I have told you, by making salt and petroleum dear to the masses and by making men starve and die in times of scarcity and famine. (*Cries of shame!*)

I have no wish, gentlemen, to take up much more of your time. But allow me just a moment more to enable me to point out how dreadfully serious the financial situation in India has become and how urgently necessary it is, in consequence, to check and curtail this overgrown military expenditure. Taxation has reached its utmost limit in India. There is no margin left for the Government to fall back upon in the hour of necessity. Sir E. Baring, our former Finance Minister, said in his evidence before the Royal Commission, in July last, that when Finance Minister in India he "was very much struck with the weakness of the financial position by reason of the absence of any financial reserve." He said he had publicly declared in his Budget Statement of 1882 that the duty on salt was lowered with the view to constituting a financial reserve, and that he had intended to bring down the duty, in the course of years, to a rupee a maund in order that it might constitute a real reserve. But far from that wise course being persisted in, the duty on salt has, as you know, been again raised to Rs. 2-8 a maund, and the financial position is weaker than it ever was before. If unfortunately a war breaks out to-morrow, which God forbid, Government have no means of raising the necessary amount of money except by borrowing ("*Question!*") I do not know what the gentleman behind means by the word "Question." If he questions the validity of my statement I am willing to quote official authorities in support of what I say. But I don't wish to detain you any longer. All that I say, I say to show the great necessity of Parlia-

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ment exercising a constant control over the Indian expenditure, and by cutting down all that is unnecessary or extravagant in it, rescue the finances of India from that sorrowful embarrassment into which they are at present plunged. (*Cheers.*)

It is sad and strange, gentlemen, that the new rules of the House of which we are complaining have been brought into force during the Premiership of the Marquis of Salisbury. His Lordship, when Secretary of State for India, very emphatically expressed the opinion, in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Indian finance, that the most effectual way of securing financial justice for India was for the House of Commons to be constantly watchful on our behalf. His Lordship said that in order to save India from being oppressed, the House of Commons should keep a sufficiently sharp eye over matters concerning India. And yet it is in his time that these new rules have been passed, whereby the House is precluded from exercising even that little watchfulness over Indian matters which it hitherto used to do. But, gentlemen, as has been explained to you, this has been an unforeseen result of the rules. I hope with confidence that the rules will soon be amended, and that not only will our old privilege be restored to us, but that the Hon'ble House will fix such a date for the consideration of the Indian Budget as will allow of a fair and full discussion of questions affecting the welfare of the 200 millions of people entrusted by providence to their care. (*Cheers and loud cries of Vote.*)

THE PRESIDENT: Then gentlemen, I proceed to put the proposition—our 9th Resolution it will be and will stand thus :—

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

Those who are in favour of this Resolution will please hold up their hands, (*all, all.*) Those who are against it (*none, none.*) The Resolution is therefore passed unanimously.

Res. X.
Conveying
the thanks
of India to
Lord Reay.

MR. JAYERILAL UMIASHUNKAR YAJNIK (*Ex-Sheriff of Bombay, No. 932, in list*) said :—Gentlemen, The proposition which it is my pleasing duty to lay before you runs as follows :—

PROPOSED—*That, in view to his approaching departure, this Congress do put on record an expression of the high sense entertained, not only in the Bombay Presidency, but throughout India, of the ability, integrity and impartiality that have characterised Lord Reay's administration, as also of the gratitude, which the whole country feels to be his due, for the sympathy that he has ever extended to Indian aspirations and efforts.*

I think, gentlemen, that truly, as has been said therein, the feeling in regard to Lord Reay which this resolution expresses is the feeling not merely of Bombay but the universal feeling of India. (*Yes, yes, and loud and continued cheers.*) Though Governor of the Bombay Presidency, Lord Reay has made friends and has numerous admirers in all parts of India. His liberal policy and his enlightened administration, his habitual courtesy and kindness have been appreciated as well in the north, east, and south, as in the west of India. I am sure, therefore, that by passing this resolution on the eve of his retirement from the Government of this Presidency, the Congress, as an exponent of the national feeling of the country, will place on record its emphatic approval of his administration and the high sense it entertains of the ability, integrity and impartiality which have distinguished it. By this resolution, the Congress only anticipates the action which, I am sure, Bombay will take at no distant date in recognizing his valuable services. Gentlemen, I need scarcely say, that one of the ways by which England can best do its duty to India is by giving her good rulers,—good Viceroys and good Governors. And who can say,—hostile critics apart,—that Lord Reay has not proved himself to be as good, as conscientious and as sympathetic a Governor as any that this Presidency has seen since the time of Mountstuart Elphinstone? Before Lord Reay came among us, his reputation for ability and statesmanship had preceded him, and I think I express the sense of the whole of this assembly when I say that he will leave us with a still higher reputation for those qualities. It is difficult, within the short time at my disposal, to do justice to any of his public measures during the last five years. But there is one point on which one can speak with tolerable accuracy. This is about his selection of men to sit in the Legislative Council. These selections have at all times received public approbation. In his appointments, Lord Reay has tried to carry out practically, as

far as in him lay, the principle of representation. One of his earliest appointments made after his assumption of office was that of our honoured and distinguished friend, Rao Bahadur Mahadev Govind Ranade. This was followed by the appointment of our venerable colleague, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji—a martyr to India's cause. His re-appointment for two successive terms of our learned and valued friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Kashi Nath Trimbak Telang, was a well-merited recognition of that gentleman's high character and ability. Then followed the appointments of Messrs. Dayaram Jethmul, Kazi Shahabuddin, R. M. Sayani and of our worthy friend who now adorns the chair of the President of the Reception Committee,—Mr. P. M. Mohta. The latest nomination is that of my friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Krishnaji Lakshaman Nulkar, than whom perhaps there is hardly a better representative of all that is good and noble in the Deccan community. Gujarat is represented by Hon. Mr. Behochordas Viharidas. Gentlemen, it will thus be seen that there is hardly an important Province or an important interest which has been left unrepresented in the Legislative Council of Lord Reay; Bombay, the Deccan, Gujarat, the Konkan, Sind, the Southern Maratha Country and even the remote Canarese Districts have all had their representative and these in almost every case, the very Representatives that the people would themselves have selected. Coming to the great English mercantile interest in Bombay, I think that a better representative of this interest could not be found than the Hon'ble Mr. F. Forbes Adam, C.I.E., Chairman of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce—a gentleman who, to a wide knowledge of fiscal and economic problems adds an intimate knowledge of Bombay. The only question which Lord Reay's nominations to the Legislative Council suggests is that though these have been good, exceptionally good nominations, what is the guarantee that under a system which leaves the nomination of so-called representative men to the individual opinion of the head of the Government, equal discrimination will be shown at other times in the selection of genuinely representative and able men? It is just because equal wisdom and impartiality never has anywhere else been shown in similar selections, that we insist so strongly on the right to elect these our, at present nominal, representatives ourselves, and it is just for this reason too that we desire to put clearly on record an expression, of the respect, admiration and gratitude which we feel to be Lord Reay's simple due. For these and other reasons too numerous to mention, I am sure you will carry this resolution by acclamation. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

3rd Day.

Res. X.
Conveying
the thanks
of India to
Lord Reay

MR. NUFFER CHUNDER PAL CHOWDHRY (*No. 1853, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, Lady Delegates and Brother Delegates,—It is a pleasant duty to me to second this Resolution. Although I belong to the Province of Bengal and have not had the opportunity of being under his Lordship's rule, his Lordship's reputation has spread so far that we can unhesitatingly say that we wholly approve this resolution. This is not the time to discuss the details of his Lordship's administration; suffice it to say, that we in Bengal, to a man, approve of this proposition with all our hearts. (*Cheers.*)

The Resolution was translated into Urdu.

THE HON. C. SANKARA NAIR (*Madras, No. 74, in list*)—I have very great pleasure in supporting the proposal. Our friend the Bombay Delegate has already told you the grounds on which this proposition is brought forward for your acceptance. I have only to add on behalf of the delegates from Madras that we fully agree with him and the delegates from the other Presidencies in considering that the fearlessness in the cause of justice and the sympathy with native aspirations displayed by Lord Reay fully deserve our thanks. The delegates from Madras will not easily forget the incidents in the career of another and very different Governor who refused to inquire into charges to enforce respect to constituted authority, and with that remembrance before them they will join the other delegates in thanking Lord Reay, and in heartily praying that Bombay, after his departure and other presidencies also, may be blessed with Governors like himself to preside over their administration. With these observations I commend this proposition to your kind acceptance. (*Loud cheers.*)

MR. HORMASJI A. WADIA (*Rajkot, No. 855, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT and Brother Delegates,—In considering the present proposition and listening to the remarks of my friend who preceded me, I could not help feeling a wish that Lord Reay had been rather a Conservative than a Liberal. I am afraid you will not quite like that wish because you would not like Lord Reay to be lost to the liberal fold; but my wish was rather a personal one, because we do not look at what party a Governor belongs to in England but to what he does for us here in India. Our Governors and Viceroys come to us, and we accept them not as representatives of any party in British politics, but as representatives of our Sovereign in the first instance, and in the next of the Great British people; and if there is any policy or if there are any principles which we ask of them, those principles and that policy are the principles and policy which the united wisdom of Parliament has proclaimed for us, and which have been given to us in the words of a great Conservative Prime Minister, and which likewise have this one additional merit for us, that they also represent the personal wishes and feelings of the Sovereign Lady in whose name

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they were proclaimed. (*Cheers.*) Sir, if our Conservative friends have any doubt as to this profession on our part, I would invite them to come and test us. I would invite our Governor designate, who is a Conservative, if these proceedings arrest his attention, to come and do likewise. If he proves to us as good a Governor as Lord Reay has been, we shall feel for him the same gratitude, the same devotion, and we shall not be the less ready to acknowledge our obligation to him because in English politics he happened to be a follower of Lord Salisbury and not of Mr. Gladstone. One point more about this proposition. It will be urged that Lord Reay has made some mistakes. I am not here to deny that mistakes may have been made, these are a good deal matters of opinion, but what I wish to say is that if you regard the position in which the Governor of a presidency is placed—if you see how he is surrounded, if you see what little means he has of knowing our wishes and our wants,—the surprise is not that Lord Reay has made, as some think, a mistake, here and there, but that his mistakes have been so few and so slight. (*Cheers.*)

When a Governor comes to this country all the surroundings, political, social, public and private, influence him in one direction. We have no means at our command to redress the balance; we have no organized means of letting him know the way in which we regard the questions of importance that come before him; and if under these circumstances he makes a mistake the fault is not in the Governor, but in the system. The fact that Lord Reay has been such a successful Governor is due to the high sense of duty, to the lofty conception which he had of England's mission, and above all to the singular rectitude of purpose which has always guided him in everything that he has done for us. Of course he could not satisfy every interest, he could not satisfy every want and wish of the community over which he rules. In this respect I would remind you that the Governor of a presidency is not a free agent. He too has to obey imperial behests, he has to shape his policy according to imperial demands; and we have to remember the demands made upon the Provincial Government during Lord Reay's regime. You remember the late edict in which the Governor was told, "Let your sick and suffering be without hospitals, let your uneducated poor remain without education, let no provision be made against famine, because we want all your money and all your taxes in order to indulge in annexation on the one hand and in creating frontier defences on the other." I am afraid those frontier defences may prove the harbingers of further annexations in a more difficult and dangerous quarter. But this apart. In spite of these demands let us see what Lord Reay has done for us in this presidency. He has created institutions, he has laid the foundations broad and deep for edifices that will rise hereafter to be the homes of industries, of arts, of sciences such as never existed before in this country, and which I trust, when they thrive and when they are properly supported, will remain for all time the mighty monuments of Lord Reay's wise, sympathetic and sagacious rule. These are remarks which refer perhaps locally to Bombay. I will only make one remark more which may be more in harmony with the feeling prevalent on this occasion; I refer to Lord Reay's attitude to our aspirations and our demands. My friend Javerilal spoke of the members of Council whom Lord Reay had chosen; and it is a remarkable fact that of his Councillors two have been Presidents of this Congress, and among the remainder you have no less than five, Messrs. Ferozshah Mehta, Nulkar, Dayaram Jethmul, Telang and Ranade, who have ever been leaders and pilots of the Congress movement on this side of India. (*Prolonged cheers.*)

Well, Bombay must be, I am sure, grateful to her Sister Presidencies and Provinces for their help and co-operation without which this unique demonstration in Lord Reay's favor would not have been possible. We are sure, first, that you share our regret at Lord Reay's departure; we are equally sure you will join with us in our wish, and thus give it not only greater volume but greater weight, that when Lord Reay retires from his Governorship, and when he has taken such rest as may be necessary for one who has toiled so hard and so unremittingly he may place himself in the ranks of the Indian party of the formation of which you, sir, brought the glad tidings, side by side, and shoulder to shoulder with that great nobleman, our noblest, our never-to-be forgotten Viceroy, whose legitimate successor in India, to the admiration, the attachment and grateful affection of the people of India, Lord Reay has proved himself. (*Cheers.*) One word more, and I have done. If in consideration of Lord Reay's services to the State (for he who serves India's cause serves one of Britain's greatest causes) it should please our gracious Sovereign to send him back to us in another and more exalted character (*hear, hear*), we shall hail and welcome him as no Sovereign representative ever was welcomed before in India; for we believe, and we will cherish the faith, that what Lord Reay has done, as Governor, is but the earnest of what Lord Reay would do, as Viceroy. (*Loud cheers.*)

MR. A. M. DHARAMSEY (*Bombay, No. 891, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have very great pleasure indeed in supporting the proposition that has been so ably laid before you by my friend Javerilal and so ably supported by my friend Mr. Wadia. After the remarks that have fallen from these gentlemen, I feel that I

am not called upon to make any lengthened observations or to detain you by going over the same ground which my friends have traversed. If there has been one thing, more than another, which has characterized Lord Reay's administration, it has been his anxious desire to deal in a spirit of fairness, and justice, equality and impartiality, with the varied interests committed to his care among the various sections of the community with which he has to deal. At the same time Lord Reay has not been unmindful of the special wants of the backward units; and as a member of the Mahomedan Community I can assure you that Lord Reay has always given a willing ear to our demands, and, so far as lay in his power, has tried to meet our real wants. (*Cheers.*) The selections made by Lord Reay have marked a new era, a new departure in the nominations to our Legislative Council. Some of our best university men who had never before been appointed to the Council were appointed by Lord Reay; and I trust that the days of appointing, as our so-called representatives, men who did not in any way represent the people of India, are gone by for ever, and that Lord Reay has rendered impossible a return of those old evil days. One remark more, and I have done. You have heard from my friend Mr. Wadia that Lord Reay has been a sympathiser with our just aspirations. I venture to say that next after the name of our late beloved Viceroy, Lord Ripon (*cheers*), the name of Lord Reay will be enshrined in our memories (*cheers*) and our hearts. (*Loud cheers.*)

3rd Day.

Res. X.
Conveying
the thanks
of India to
Lord Reay.

A DELEGATE—I think that a Punjabee should be heard on this subject.

LALA MURLIDHAR (*Punjab, No. 1422, in list*) ascended the platform and raising his joined hands, said:—BROTHERS! that God may bless the country which has given to us such a just and conscientious Governor as Lord Reay is the heartfelt prayer of the people of the Punjab. (*Loud and prolonged cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT—It is quite clear that there are no two opinions on this subject. Shall I not put the resolution at once? (*Cries of "Yes, yes."*) Then our tenth Resolution will stand.

RESOLVED: *That in view to his approaching departure, this Congress puts on record an expression of the high sense entertained not only in the Bombay Presidency, but throughout India, of the ability, integrity, and impartiality that have characterised Lord Reay's administration, as also of the gratitude which the whole country feels to be his due for the sympathy that he has ever extended to Indian aspirations and efforts.*

Now, are you all agreed? (*Yes, yes, all, all!—loud and prolonged cheering.*) Gentlemen, that Resolution has been carried by acclamation, and permit me to say, that in thus honouring Lord Reay you have equally done honour to yourselves. (*Cheers.*)

MR. EARDLEY NORTON (*Madras, No. 44, in list*)—MR. PRESIDENT and Gentlemen, the proposition I have to move is a purely technical one. You recollect that at the beginning of the Congress you appointed a Subjects Committee to consider certain matters delegated to them by the Congress. Yesterday that Committee, in considering the matter of the Legislative Councils elected to leave over until another day the question of the qualifications and disqualifications of the various sections of the electorate. By some of our friends it is believed that that Subjects Committee is now, strictly speaking, dead. I have been asked to invite you to resuscitate it, and it is merely in that behalf, inasmuch as we require your authority to recall that body into being, that I rise to move this proposition:—

Res. XI.
Qualifica-
tions and
Disqualifica-
tions
in electoral
Scheme.

PROPOSED: *That the Subjects Committee be instructed to settle the questions, (left open in the skeleton scheme for the reconstruction of the Councils, embodied in Resolution II.) of the qualifications requisite for, and the disqualifications which should debar from, becoming*

- (a) a Voter;
- (b) a Representative;
- (c) a Member of a Provincial Legislative Council, and
- (d) a Member of the Imperial Legislative Council;

and to submit their Report thereon to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M.P., for the purposes of the Bill which he has been requested to have drawn.

I have only to say this much, that a great deal of thought has already been devoted to the consideration of the scheme which was laid before you yesterday with respect to Legislative Councils, and it certainly was always intended that the scheme should be handed over to Mr. Bradlaugh, perfect, so far as any scheme can be perfected by the introduction of these qualifications. The omission to keep the Subjects Committee alive by adjourning it, was accidental, and I ask you to repair it by resuscitating this Committee, so that we may complete our work and enable Mr. Bradlaugh to know exactly what the feeling, of the Congress as a whole, is upon these matters which though in one sense matters of detail are yet of very essential and vital importance. (*Cheers.*)

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Res. XI.
Qualifica-
tions and
Disqualifica-
tions
in electoral
Scheme.

MR. W. C. BONNERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 1738, in list*)—I have great pleasure in seconding this Resolution. You will remember that in the scheme you adopted you have the words "qualifications and disqualifications" "which will be settled later" alike in clauses 3, 4, and 5.

It is necessary that this Congress should settle these qualifications and disqualifications before they can be introduced into the Bill, and for that reason it is necessary that this matter should come before the Congress's duly-elected representatives, the subjects Committee, once again. Perhaps, Mr. President, you will now put the Resolution which is a purely formal one. (*Cries of "Yes, yes."*)

THE PRESIDENT—Very well, then our 11th Resolution is this.

RESOLVED: *That the Subjects Committee be instructed to settle the questions, (left open in the skeleton scheme for the reconstruction of the Councils, embodied in Resolution II.), of the qualifications requisite for, and the disqualifications which should debar from, becoming*

- (a) a Voter;
- (b) a Representative;
- (c) a Member of a Provincial Legislative Council, and
- (d) a Member of the Imperial Legislative Council;

and to submit their Report thereon to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M.P., for the purposes of the Bill which he has been requested to have drawn.

Those in favour of this Resolution will please hold up their hands—those against it—the Resolution is passed unanimously.

Res. XII.
Re-appoint-
ment of
Mr A. O.
Hume as
General
Secretary.

MR. W. C. BONNERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 1788, in list*)—Gentlemen,—I now rise to propose that Resolution which is never seconded but which is always carried with the greatest enthusiasm, I mean the resolution re-appointing our old friend and leader Mr. Hume as General Secretary. (*Loud and continued cheers and waving of handkerchiefs.*)

THE PRESIDENT—It is hardly necessary to tell you that this, our twelfth Resolution,

RESOLVED: *That Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., be re-elected General Secretary of the National Indian Congress for the ensuing year, has been carried by acclamation. (Renewed cheers.)*

I will now call upon Mr. Surendranath Banerjee to move the next proposition which relates to many matters affecting the administrative arrangements of the Congress during the coming year. Our movement is expanding and entering upon a wider sphere of activity and it is necessary that our administrative arrangements should be constantly re-adjusted in conformity with external changes. (*Cheers.*)

Res. XIII.
Regulation
of certain
matters
pertaining
to the
Congress.

MR. SURENDRANATH BANERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 1816, in list*) said:—Brother Delegates,—I rise to move certain more or less formal propositions which relate to the constitution of the Congress, and certain arrangements which it will be necessary for us to make, consequent upon certain changes which are likely to take place in the course of the year. I will place this proposition at once before you, and I am sure it will be carried with acclamation. It will constitute a sort of omnibus resolution in its own way.

PROPOSED:—

- (a) *That, in view of the large number of delegates this year assembled and the probability, arising from past experience, of their number continuing to increase year by year, henceforth the number of delegates to be allowed from each Congress circle be limited to five per million of the total population of the circle: the Standing Committee of each circle allotting the number which their jurisdiction as a whole is entitled to elect, amongst their several electoral divisions, as may seem most expedient.*
- (b) *That from the date of Mr. Hume's departure for England, the Hon'ble Pundit Ajoodhianath be appointed Joint General Secretary, and that Rs. 5,000 be assigned for the payment by him of such Assistant Secretaries as he may find it necessary to employ, clerical assistance, postage, telegraphs, and printing, and further that Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee be appointed Standing Counsel for Bengal, Mr. Pherooshah Mehta, Standing Counsel for Bombay, and Mr. Ananda Charlu, Standing Counsel for Madras, to the Joint General Secretary.*
- (c) *That the tentative rules for the constitution and working of the Congress which were first considered at Madras, and in regard to which various addenda have from time to time been circulated, be thoroughly considered during the coming year by the several Standing Congress Committees, and definitely dealt with by the Congress at its next session.*
- (d) *That this Congress do hereby confirm the appointment of Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart., and Messrs. W. S. Caine, M.P., W. S. Bright Maclaren, M.P., J. E. Ellis, M.P., Dadabhai Naoroji and George Yule, as a Committee (with power to add to their*

number) to guide and direct the operations and control the expenditure of the National Congress Agency in England, and do further tender its sincere thanks to these gentlemen, and to Mr W. Digby, C.I.E., the Secretary, for the service which they are rendering to India.

- (e) That this Congress do formally appoint Mr. George Yule, Mr. A. O. Hume, Mr. J. Adam, Mr. Eardley Norton, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, Mr. Mono Mohan Ghose, Mr. Shurfuddin, Mr. R. N. Mudholker, and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee,* to represent its views in England and press upon the consideration of the British Public the political reforms which the Congress has advocated.
- (f) That a sum of Rs. 45,000 be raised for the expenses of the Congress Work, in this country and in England, during the ensuing year, and that the different Standing Committees do send their respective apportioned amounts to the General Secretary, the one half in three, and the balance in six months.

I will now make a few remarks on this series of propositions. It will not require many words from me to recommend them to your unanimous, I was going to say, enthusiastic acceptance.

The first clause refers to the fixing of the number of delegates, and I think it is important that the number should now be fixed. We have already shown what we can do in respect of organisation. We have abundantly made clear the life and vitality which animates the whole of the Congress movement. In the first year of the Congress there were 70 delegates present in Bombay, in the next year the number came up to 400 in Calcutta; in Madras the number again doubled itself to 800; at Allahabad the number reached 1,200; and in this fifth year of the National Congress we have something like 1,900 delegates. If this state of things were to be allowed to go on the largest hall which we can erect would not accommodate the delegates, who would be thronging from all parts of the Empire. We have shown our capacity and our powers of organisation. The vitality of the movement is manifest and now I think it is time that we should so organise the Congress that it will be available for the practical purposes of deliberation and business. And therefore it has been resolved to fix the number at about one thousand.

Then we have the appointment of a joint General Secretary in the person of my distinguished friend behind me. Mr. Hume is going to England. What for? Not for pleasure, not for enjoyment, not for recreation, not for the purpose even of recruiting his health: he goes as the trusted leader of the Congress movement (*Loud cheers*) to guide and instruct that deputation that will accompany him to England. You have done your part upon Indian platforms, you have done your work in this country, and now you must appeal to the instincts of the English nation, not merely to the voice of the English friends who are always ready and willing to assist us, but through your own countrymen who will plead your cause in English Halls and upon English platforms. (*Cheers.*) I think this will be the realization of one of the grandest ideals that ever flashed across the minds of any patriot or philanthropist; India standing before the bar of English Public opinion, and there through her own accredited delegates, chosen by the representatives of the nation in this august assembly, pleading her cause and demanding the redress of her grievances; no finer, no nobler, no grander spectacle has ever been presented to the gaze of mankind. (*Cheers.*) Rome, Greece, America, the greatest nations in the world, have nothing to show equal to this spectacle in magnitude, in solemnity and in majestic grandeur. (*Loud cheers.*)

Next comes the question of our Indian Political Agency. It cannot be doubted that this agency has rendered most memorable service to the people of this country. If there is at the present moment an awakening of interest in the minds of Englishmen in reference to Indian matters, it is due, in no small degree, to the indefatigable labors of that Political Agency controlled and guided by our distinguished Chairman and his colleagues; it is therefore our duty to support that Agency. It is not enough to vote thanks—that we can do easily enough; it is necessary that we should follow this vote of gratitude to the English gentlemen who have been enlisting themselves in our cause by a substantial mark of our interest. (*Cheers.*) You are therefore called upon to pay—very little indeed, considering the magnitude of the work and the vastness of the Indian population. I call upon you to pay according to the measure of your ability and the measure of your self-sacrifice. You are two hundred millions of people. If every individual member of that two hundred millions were to pay but one pice you would have thirty lakhs of rupees to send in. Can we not all pay a pice (*Yes, yes*). Are we so wanting in the capacity for self-sacrifice as to be incapable of a paltry effort of this kind? Yes, we may so organize the Congress that it may be possible to go to the humblest cottager and demand of him his contribution in aid of this grand national movement. It is not right that from year to year your distinguished Secretary should pay ten or fifteen thousand rupees out of his own pocket. I think it scarcely creditable to the patriotism of my countrymen that this should be repeated from year to

* To these names was subsequently added, the name of Mr. J. E. Howard, inadvertently omitted. *Vide ante*—Summary of Resolutions. Foot note last page.

3rd Day.

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Res. XIII.
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year. I therefore hope and trust that from this time forth there will be no difficulty whatever in raising the necessary contributions for the support of the Indian Political Agency. I would make an earnest appeal to you in this connection. Gentlemen, we must learn the lesson of self-sacrifice. It is not enough to make long speeches, to pass resolutions in this Congress; we must learn to sacrifice ourselves for the good of the country and in furtherance of the great cause to which we have consecrated ourselves. England paid twenty million pounds for the enfranchisement of Negro slaves. Will you not pay fifty thousand rupees, not for Emancipation of foreign slaves but for your own political redemption? (*Cheers.*) If you are not able to do that, the National Congress is a meaningless demonstration which cannot lead to those great results that have been expected of it. But I hope and trust there will be no difficulty. Let us organise and then let us raise the necessary funds and the National Congress will have fulfilled the noble mission which belongs to it in the political reorganisation of this country. (*Loud and continued cheering.*)

MR. EARDLEY NORTON: (*Madras, No. 44, in list.*)—MR. PRESIDENT and Gentlemen, I have been called upon at a moment's notice to perform a most difficult task—to follow Mr. Surendranath Banerjee. I do not pretend for one second that I have such qualifications as his to rivet your attention or enchain your admiration; but I will not yield even to him in the feeling I entertain with regard to the aspirations which the people of this country cherish. In our respective spheres and with our different capacities we both alike labor humbly but energetically on your behalf, and I am not prepared to give the palm, in that respect, to my friend from Calcutta. It would be strange indeed if, trained as I have been by the inheritance which I have received from my father, I did not also take the deep and solemn interest which I do, in the legitimate aspirations of the people of this country (*Cheers.*) I think I scarcely need assure you in words—because I have endeavoured, at any rate, throughout my very short career in this country, to let my words be followed by deeds, so that all men could plainly read from the Governor-General downwards—I need hardly assure you, I say, that if I go home I shall go gladly as your servant, and doubly gladly in this sense, since whereas last year we were told that we were speaking as the unaccredited agents of the millions of this country, on this occasion we shall produce our certificates from the Congress of Bombay. (*Cheers.*) For many years I have been endeavouring to rivet the attention of the people of Madras, my own Presidency, on this great fact, *viz.*, that redress you will not get from the authorities in India, and that no reform will come to you which is not given to you by the people of England. In that view, gentlemen, you cannot over-estimate the wonderful importance of the Congress Agency in London; and although his name has not been previously referred to, though it is included in the resolution moved by Mr. Surendranath Banerjee,—believe me that you owe to Mr. Digby a deep debt of gratitude. (*Cheers.*) We have been fortunate indeed in having him as our right hand man in London and, aided by the advice of gentlemen better qualified than himself by age and experience, our agency, as a whole, is an organization of which we may be proud, and believe me, gentlemen, that no man is more entitled, by reason of his industry, his assiduity and single-mindedness of purpose, to our confidence and respect, than is our agent in London, Mr. William Digby. (*Cheers.*) We shall go to England all of us and possibly by this time next year we may return as glad harbingers of tidings even more important than our President brought us on this present occasion. Possibly the Bill which Mr. Bradlaugh shall have moved will have advanced at any rate one stage towards completion, but I warn you not to look for the complete fruition of your desires within the short space of twelve months.

If, with us who go home to plead your cause, you will not merely speak but put your hands in your pockets and pay—if only you will do that and supply us with the sinews of war, take it from us an absolute fact incapable of contradiction that your cause will progress at ten times its present speed. (*Cheers.*) My belief always has been that action is better than words. I have to announce to you—I will not mention the name, because he shall come forward and say it for himself—that one at any rate of the Madras delegates has been so moved by the oratory of Mr. Surendranath Banerjee that he is prepared to give Rs. 1,000 towards this movement. (*Cheers.*) And as it is desirable that the contagion should spread I shall be happy to make that 1,000, 2,000 (*Cheers.*) That will only leave Rs. 43,000 to subscribe, and I trust you will do it at once.

THE PRESIDENT: I think I may now put the resolution.

A DELEGATE: Take the money, and then put the resolution.

On this Mr. Murlidhar of the Punjab, led off by depositing Rs. 555 on the table, and then faster than could be recorded or announced, notes, silver and copper coins and promises to pay poured in. Mr. Hume's and Sir W. Wedderburn's and other prominent gentlemen's hats were seized and carried round and round coming back each time full of silver and copper. The time was running short, Mr. Bradlaugh was to arrive shortly to receive addresses and the flow of money had to be arrested, all the money and promises being locked and sealed up and taken charge of.

When, later on in the evening, the money could be counted and the promises classified, it appeared that Rs. 9,179-11-7 had been paid in, in cash, as follows :—

No.	NAMES OF SUBSCRIBERS.	Amount.	TOTAL.
	PAID IN CASH.	Rs. a. p.	
1	Lala Murlidhar from Ludhiana people	555 0 0	
2	Midnapur Congress Committee (Bengal)	300 0 0	
3	Munshi Sakawat Hussain of Shahahanpur	100 0 0	
4	A. Nundi for Jubbulpore people (part payment)	350 0 0	
5	Anonymous	10 0 0	
6	Atmaji Ranchunder Hardikar	5 0 0	
7	Madras Delegates	50 0 0	
8	V. Srinivasa of South Arcot	25 0 0	
9	Govind Gopal Tipnis of Poonah.....	5 0 0	
10	Nursing Dutt of Howrah (Bengal).....	50 0 0	
11	F. G. S., Berar.....	10 0 0	
12	Lala Durgaprasad, Allahabad	15 0 0	
13	O. L. Sarma, Madras	20 0 0	
14	Lala Thansing, Umballa	50 0 0	
15	M. Vasudeva Naidu Pillay, Madras	100 0 0	
16	Shibchunder Seal, Bengal	100 0 0	
17	Amreli, Kattyawar	150 0 0	
18	Delegate, Chidumbrum	10 0 0	
19	Gopal Ramkristna, Central Provinces	10 0 0	
20	Lukshman Atmaram, Basim, Berar	25 0 0	
21	I. C. Baput, Yeotmal, Berar	50 0 0	
22	Bengal Delegates	20 0 0	
23	J. R. Nimbkar, Nasick	10 0 0	
24	Allahabad and Benares Standing Congress Committees. through Hon'ble Pundit Ajoodhianath	3,000 0 0	
25	Anonymous	10 6 0	
26	Anonymous	7 0 0	
27	Gungadhur	10 0 0	
28	Keshava Bapuji	20 0 0	
29	Pundit Prithinath, Cawnpur	500 0 0	
30	Gungaram	100 0 0	
31	Gungaram Bhanu Moske	100 0 0	
32	Rambhajan Tripatuk	100 0 0	
33	Itaria Pillay	100 0 0	
34	Balkrishna Pillay	50 0 0	
35	Baranasi Rameswar Reddy	50 0 0	
36	Panwell Taluka.....	30 0 0	
37	Sriram of Mirzapore, N.-W. Provinces	200 0 0	
38	Balwant Vyankaji Khot of Amraoti, Berar	50 0 0	
39	Ramchandra N. Mudholkar, Amraoti, Berar	10 0 0	
40	People of Ichulkuranji	100 0 0	
41	Jotindranath Mullick of Midnapur, Bengal	100 0 0	
42	Dhone Kristo Ghose on behalf of Beerbhon District, Bengal	100 0 0	
43	S. P. M., through Mr. Sirkar.....	500 0 0	
44	Friends do do	69 0 0	
45	Deviprasad Vaid	12 0 0	
46	K. P. Banarjee, for Bareilly City.....	8 0 0	
47	Manikdah Hitashadhani Sabha, through Baroda Khant Joarda	27 0 0	
48	Anonymous	20 0 0	
49	Hat collections in the Congress Meeting and donations, the donors of which have not been recorded.	507 13 7	
50	Raj Bahadur Sabaputty Mudaliar	1,000 0 0	
51	Standing Congress Committee, Pandharpur District Sholapur, through Messrs. Keskar and Dharurkar..	100 0 0	
52	Bali Shadharam Sabha	16 0 0	
53	Secretary Congress Committee Vridhachellam, South Arcot.	15 0 0	
54	Bhasker Vittal Jaminis, Secretary, Congress Committee, Mulkapur, Kolapur	35 0 0	
55	P. K. T. Sinwan, Muzaffargarh.....	5 0 0	
56	Dwarkanath Moitra, Secretary, Nattoro Divisional Congress Committee.....	50 0 0	
57	P. K. T. Sinwan, Muzaffargarh (second payment)	2 8 0	
58	Kandji Salhe, Shahabud.....	150 0 0	
59	Sant Sing Salutry and Kungarain Bajpai, Shwebo, Upper Burmah	5 0 0	
	Total paid in Cash.....		9,179 11 7

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tions
Paid in.

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Moreover, written promises of contributions to the further extent of Rs. 56,226 had been given, as follows :—

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tions
promised.

No.	NAMES of SUBSCRIBERS.	Amount.	TOTAL.
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
	PROMISED.		
60	Seokatan Sing, Berar	20 0 0	
61	P. N. Mitter, Calcutta	3,000 0 0	
62	Bunko Behary Sing, Bengal	100 0 0	
63	Krishnaghur Standing Congress Committee	150 0 0	
64	Chogdali do. do. do.	50 0 0	
65	Bapuji Ramchand Pandit, Pleader, Poonah.....	100 0 0	
66	Balkrishna Ramchand do. do.	100 0 0	
67	Narayan Bapujee Kelatkar do. do.	100 0 0	
68	Tanjore Congress Committee, per Swaminada Iyer.....	1,000 0 0	
69	Swaminada Iyer	200 0 0	
70	Secunderabad Congress Committee	1,000 0 0	
71	Vasudeva Rao of Warda, C. P.....	50 0 0	
72	Rati Kant Bose, Katdah, Nuddea.....	100 0 0	
73	Guzerat Delegates	75 0 0	
74	Russapugla Improvement Society	25 0 0	
75	Dinanath Gui, Ghatal Congress Committee	200 0 0	
76	Ganesh Vinayek Patwardhan, Sholapur	25 0 0	
77	Mullapa Warid do.	200 0 0	
78	Bapuji Parasram do.	25 0 0	
79	Dinkar Bulal do.	25 0 0	
80	Mulkarjun Sidramappa Pasare do.	25 0 0	
81	Lala Kunhaya Lal, Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab.....	300 0 0	
82	R. Vinkaya, Vellore	150 0 0	
83	Mohendra Chundra Deb, Tipperah	50 0 0	
84	Khattry Sabha, per Pundit Durga Prasad.....	100 0 0	
85	Hoshungabad Congress Committee, per Kalidas Chandhri.	150 0 0	
86	Khandwa Congress Committee, per Haridas Chatterji.....	100 0 0	
87	Antaji Govind, Amraoti, Berar.....	25 0 0	
88	B. H. Karandikar, do. do.	25 0 0	
89	Shunker Govind, Akola, do.	50 0 0	
90	Popat Lal Purushottam, Balapur, Berar.....	100 0 0	
91	Venkata Rao Hunmant Rao Deshmuk, Elichpur, Berar...	100 0 0	
92	Pandu Wd. Nundajee, Akola, Berar.....	25 0 0	
93	Rao Saheb Deo Rao Vinayek, Akola, Berar.....	500 0 0	
94	R. N. Mudholker, Amraoti, Berar.....	500 0 0	
95	G. S. Kaparde, do. do.	500 0 0	
96	P. N. Jog, do. do.	500 0 0	
97	Trimbak Keshut Vaidya and Sons	150 0 0	
98	Kanitkar and Co., Deccan Dramatic Company.....	200 0 0	
99	Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer, C.I.E.	1,000 0 0	
100	Prahladji Deo Shunkkur.....	20 0 0	
101	Golabdas Bhaidas, Surat	2,000 0 0	
102	Hariprasad Santukhram Desai	1,000 0 0	
103	Sunker Naik, Wagle, Ahmednuggur.....	500 0 0	
104	Goburdhandas Goculdas Tejpal	1,000 0 0	
105	Baikuntha Nath Sen, Murshidabad	1,000 0 0	
106	Srinath Pal, do.	1,000 0 0	
107	Nuffer Chunder Pal Chowdhry, Nuddea	1,000 0 0	
108	Mohadeb Chetty, Madras	1,000 0 0	
109	Eardley Norton, do.	1,500 0 0	
110	P. Soomasoondram, do.	500 0 0	
111	Narayan Vishnu Praujabai, Khandala	50 0 0	
112	Bijapur District, per Kesava Ramjee	500 0 0	
113	Thakoordas Atmaram and Vijbhukundas Atmaram	1,000 0 0	
114	Dr. Bhalchundra Krishna Bhatvadkar, Bombay	200 0 0	
115	Keshub Chunder Sadhu, Hooghly	150 0 0	
116	Vandravandas Purushotandas, Bombay	500 0 0	
117	Makshadas Mitter, Benares	300 0 0	
118	Bombay Central Students' Union, per Bhowani Bapuji ...	20 0 0	
119	Virchand Dipchand, Bombay.....	1,275 0 0	
120	Narayandas Kaliaudas and Dhierdas Hari Ballabhdass....	250 0 0	
	Carried forward.....	.....	25,860 0 0

No.	NAMES OF SUBSCRIBERS.	Amount.			TOTAL.		
		Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
	Brought forward.....				25,860	0	0
121	Hiralal Tribhuvandas Parekh	25	0	0			
122	Sadasiva Balkrishna Bhate, Pleader, Belgaum.....	300	0	0			
123	Sanmilani Sabha, Nilphamari, per Biraja Mohan Choudhri	5	0	0			
124	Lala Chandika Prasad.....	25	0	0			
125	Lala Rajaram Bhargava, Banker, Allahabad	250	0	0			
126	Lala Bhowani Prasad Brijmohunlal, Banker, Allahabad ...	100	0	0			
127	Pundit Motilal Nehru, Vakil, N.-W. Provinces	100	0	0			
128	Balkrishna Gopal Sanyal, B.A., B.L., Manipuri	100	0	0			
129	Gya Congress Committee, per Dr. M. Wazir Ali Khan Lodi	300	0	0			
130	Chota Nagpur Congress Committee, per Hari Charan Mitter	200	0	0			
131	Pesumal, Pleader, Sukker, Scinde	100	0	0			
132	Venkatesh Ganesh Sasi Hital, Pleader, Honore, Canara...	25	0	0			
133	Shivaram Shoobrao, Pleader, Karwar	25	0	0			
134	Fureedpore People's Association	100	0	0			
135	Ambica Churn Sen, Pleader, Khulna	50	0	0			
136	Narendra Chundra Bose, Pleader, Moradabad	100	0	0			
137	Tribani Sahai, Pleader, Bareilly.....	100	0	0			
138	Anonymous, per Shivaram Hari Sathe	100	0	0			
139	Dr. Sada Siva W. Kane, Bombay	100	0	0			
140	S. H. Nimbhgarkar, Bijapur Kine Defence Society.....	50	0	0			
141	V. K. Joglekar Kirajjee, Dharwar	50	0	0			
142	Lukshman Ramrao Sukekar, Jahghirdar, Nasik.....	200	0	0			
143	Bulwant Shridhur Sahasra Buddhe, Satara	100	0	0			
144	R. P. Karandikar do.	100	0	0			
145	Kondha Dipaji Poulkar, Manager, Jain Temple, Shirpur, Berar	51	0	0			
146	Lahiri and Co., 101, College Street, Calcutta	50	0	0			
147	Madhavdas Gokuldas Pasta	250	0	0			
148	Biraj Mohun Choudhri, Rungpore.....	50	0	0			
149	Paresnath Choudhri	25	0	0			
150	Tukaram Puddamjee Deshmuk, Jarud, Berar	200	0	0			
151	Narahur Bugwant Deshpande, Elichpur, do	200	0	0			
152	Balkrishna Mahadev Patel, Warud, do.	100	0	0			
153	Govindrao Deshpande, Anjansingi, do.	100	0	0			
154	Krishnarao Raghav, Budnera, do.	50	0	0			
155	Damaji Vaghaji, Patel, Basim, do.	50	0	0			
156	Yeswant Vaman Dighe, do. do.	25	0	0			
157	Hurchandrao Vishnarao, Sindh	200	0	0			
158	Govind Narayan Kane, Amraoti, Berar	25	0	0			
159	Narayandas Purshottandas	200	0	0			
160	Ishverdas Shri, Surat	100	0	0			
161	Amritrao Manicklal Desai	50	0	0			
162	Jiwandas Mulji, Bombay.....	125	0	0			
163	Narayanrao Vasudev Kharkar, Tansa	100	0	0			
164	A. Nundi, Jubbulpore.....	150	0	0			
165	Kursundas Bhugudia	100	0	0			
166	Narayan Rao Govind, Hardah	100	0	0			
167	Krishnarao Rajaram	100	0	0			
168	Bulwunt Kashinath.....	100	0	0			
169	Raghunathrao Vaman.....	100	0	0			
170	Moro Vishvanath Joshi, Amraoti, Berar	1,000	0	0			
171	Bhagirath Prasad, Hislop College, Nagpur	150	9	0			
172	Lakshman Govind and Keshavrao, Kaudwali, Warda	5,000	0	0			
173	Vishnu Narain Apte, in memory of his late brother Chintamun Narain Apte.....	100	0	0			
174	Jagadish Kumar Mukerji	50	0	0			
175	District Association, Belgaum	1,000	0	0			
176	Hubli Congress Committee, per Gurunath Balajee, Morab, Dharwar	200	0	0			
177	Rajkote Delegates per Hormusjee Ardashir Wadia	1,500	0	0	14,206	0	0
	Carried forward.....			40,066	0	0

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3rd Day.		No.	NAMES OF SUBSCRIBERS.	Amount.		TOTAL.	
Res. XIII.	Regulation of certain matters pertaining to the Congress.			Rs.	a. p.	Rs.	a. p.
			Brought forward.....			40,066	0 0
		178	The Desai of Gundevi.....	200	0 0		
		179	Tookaram Tatya, 17, Tamaraud Lane, Bombay	200	0 0		
		180	Tribhuvan Malvi, Solicitor, Bombay	100	0 0		
		181	Proprietor, Nyaya Shuddha Press, Harda	100	0 0		
		182	Narayan Balkrishna N. Atreya, do.	25	0 0		
		183	P. Narain Swami Naidu (Resident of Nagpur)	1,000	0 0		
		184	Mhow Association, Per Hyder Ali	150	0 0		
		185	Sylhet Coolies, per Beppin Chander Pal	200	0 0		
		186	Kondo Vithul Godbole, Sangli	25	0 0		
		187	Sheikh Nasirrudin, Benares	100	0 0		
		188	Badrinath Chaturvedi, Bareilly	10	0 0		
		189	Barisal People's Association, per Akshini Kumar Dutt. ...	300	0 0		
		190	Howrah Congress Committee	200	0 0		
		191	Hubli Delegates, per Shivarao Bepati	1,200	0 0		
		192	Motilal D. Desai	50	0 0		
		193	Tumruk Indian Association	100	0 0		
		194	Poonah Committee, per M. B. Namjoshi.....	2,000	0 0		
		195	Bhan Dandallyk, Mahim	25	0 0		
		196	Madras Standing Congress Committee.....	5,000	0 0		
		197	Waman Bepare Dene (Residents of Pen).....	50	0 0		
		198	Manickavaloo Moodliar	10	0 0		
		199	Vinayekrao Vaman Duraskar (Junior branch), Diwas, C.P.	5	0 0		
		200	Calcutta Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division.....	2,000	0 0		
		201	"Sanjibani" (Calcutta Newspaper)	100	0 0		
		202	Delhi Congress Committee.....	500	0 0		
		203	Lala Dassondhe Ram, Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore	500	0 0		
		204	Hissar Congress Committee	250	0 0		
		205	Babu K. P. Roy, Pleader, Chief Court, Lahore	100	0 0		
		206	Lahore, per Babu Jogendra Chandra Bose	395	0 0		
		207	K. Timar Reddy (Ryots of Perote)	50	0 0		
		208	Ramchander Keshav Limaye.....	100	0 0		
		209	Pandurang Bapuji	15	0 0		
		210	Bhikajee Anandram, Baramoti, Poonah	100	0 0		
		211	The people of Cawnpore per Secretary	1,000	0 0	16,160	0 0
			Total PROMISED			56,226	0 0
			Total PAID (<i>vide ante</i>)			9,179	11 7
			GRAND TOTAL.....			65,405	11 7

Thus, in less than half an hour, no less a sum than Rs. 65,400 was subscribed for Congress work.]

THE PRESIDENT—Really, gentlemen, we must go on with our business and finish it. I shall put our 13th Resolution, as follows:—

RESOLVED:—

- (a) That, in view of the large number of delegates this year assembled and the probability arising from past experience, of their number continuing to increase year by year, henceforth the number of delegates to be allowed from each Congress circle be limited to five per million of the total population of the circle: the Standing Committee of each circle allotting the number which their jurisdiction, as a whole, is entitled to elect, amongst their several electoral divisions, as may seem most expedient.
- (b) That from the date of Mr. Hume's departure for England, the Hon'ble Pundit Ajoodhianath be appointed Joint General Secretary, and that Rs. 5,000 be assigned for the payment by him of such Assistant Secretaries as he may find it necessary to employ, clerical assistance, postage, telegraphs, and printing, and further that Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee be appointed Standing Counsel for Bengal, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, Standing Counsel for Bombay, and Mr. Ananda Charlu, Standing Counsel for Madras, to the Joint General Secretary.
- (c) That the tentative rules for the constitution and working of the Congress which were first considered at Madras, and in regard to which various addenda have from time to time been circulated, be thoroughly considered during the coming year by the several Standing Congress Committees, and definitely dealt with by the Congress at its next session.

- (d) *That this Congress does hereby confirm the appointment of Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart., and Messrs. W. S. Caine, M.P., W. S. Bright Maclaren, M.P., J. E. Ellis, M.P., Dadabhai Naoroji and George Yule, as a Committee (with power to add to their number) to guide and direct the operations and control the expenditure of the National Congress Agency in England, and does further tender its sincere thanks to these gentlemen, and to Mr. W. Digby, C.I.E., the Secretary, for the service which they are rendering to India.*
- (e) *That this Congress does formally appoint Mr. George Yule, Mr. A. O. Hume, Mr. Adam, Mr. Eardley Norton, Mr. Pherozshah Mehta, Mr. Surrendranath Bannerjee, Mr. Mono Mohan Ghose, Mr. Shurfuddin, Mr. R. N. Mudholker, and Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee to represent its views in England and press upon the consideration of the British Public the political reforms which the Congress has advocated.*
- (f) *That a sum of Rs. 45,000 be raised for the expenses of the Congress Work in this country and in England during the ensuing year, and that the different Standing Committees do send their respective apportioned amounts to the General Secretary the one half in three, and the balance in six months.*

3rd Day.
Res. XIII.
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Congress.

Now is this all agreed to? (Yes, yes.) Has any one any alteration to suggest? (No, no, we are all agreed.) Then I declare this Resolution to have been passed unanimously.

MR. A. O. HUME (*Punjab, No. 1402, in list*), who was received with prolonged and enthusiastic cheers—when the storm of welcome had somewhat subsided—said:—Gentlemen, I have my one little customary annual resolution to submit to you; but before I read it I must really thank you all extremely for the very noble and generous manner in which you have hailed me. If I have worked hard on your behalf—and I really have worked hard—if I have labored for you, if I have loved you, I am sure that by this spontaneous and enthusiastic demonstration you have amply repaid me. (*Renewed cheers and cries of "No, no."*) Well, gentlemen, we will not argue the question; we are all brethren together; and as the time is passing, and passing rapidly, and this Hall has to be prepared for the reception of Mr. Bradlaugh and the presentation of the addresses, I shall content myself with reading the proposition: "*That the Sixth Indian National Congress assemble at some city in Bengal, the exact place to be fixed hereafter, on the 26th December 1890.*" I do not think it needs seconding, and feel sure that you will carry it by acclamation. (*Deafening cheers and shouts of approval.*)

Res. XIV.
6th Con-
gress to
Meet in
Bengal.

THE PRESIDENT—Then I record this as our 14th Resolution.

RESOLVED: *That the Sixth Indian National Congress do assemble at some City in Bengal, the exact place to be fixed hereafter, on the 26th of December 1890.*

MR. ANANTA CHARLU (*Madras, No. 31, in list*)—Sisters and Brothers, I appear before you now that you are brimming over with patriotism and enthusiasm. I am sure that the mighty waves of eloquence that have rolled and thundered over you during this last hour must still be re-echoing in your ears, and I am equally sure that you are anxiously waiting for further floods of eloquence of a similarly overwhelming and heart-stirring character. This is not the time, truly, when any one like your humble servant should come forward in the vain hope of engaging your attention or satisfying your excited imaginations. But I, weak and humble as I am, and you know what a meek creature I am (*loud cheers and laughter*), have my own strength that makes me bold enough to face you and address you, strength of a tremendous kind, for I am going to ask you to pass a special vote of thanks to our distinguished Chairman, Sir William Wedderburn. (*Tremendous cheers.*) Now my proposition is this:—

Res. XV.
Special
vote of
thanks to
Sir W.
Wedder-
burn.

PROPOSED: *That the Fifth Indian National Congress do tender its heart-felt thanks to its President, Sir William Wedderburn, as well for his ready sacrifice of personal and political considerations involved by his journey from England to India, as for that courtesy, impartiality and never failing sympathy which, characteristics of his long and honourable career as an official of this country, have marked his control of the proceedings of this assembly.*

This is not the time for a long speech, but one remark I will make, *viz.*, that if the 5th Indian National Congress is a greater success than any which has preceded it, it is due in a very great measure to the fact that Sir William Wedderburn consented to preside over it. (*Cheers.*) I am not surprised that he cheerfully consented to sacrifice all personal and other considerations because I, who have known him through a great portion of his career,

3rd Day. know perfectly well that he has thus given but one more proof of that sympathy and interest which he has felt for this country during his whole life. (*Cheers.*) As Sir William Wedderburn cannot put this resolution to the vote, I will ask you to carry it by acclamation. (*Loud and prolonged cheering.*)

Res. XV.
Special
Vote of
thanks to
Sir W.
Wedder-
burn.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY—Then I have much pleasure in recording that this our 15th Resolution has been carried by acclamation :—

RESOLVED : *That the Fifth Indian National Congress hereby tenders its heart-felt thanks to its President, Sir William Wedderburn, as well for his ready sacrifice of personal and political considerations involved by his journey from England to India, as for that courtesy, impartiality and never-failing sympathy which, characteristics of his long and honourable career as an official of this country, have marked his control of the proceedings of this assembly.*

THE PRESIDENT—Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you most sincerely for the very kind things you say and think of me. My only difficulty is that I do not think I ought to receive your thanks ; I should rather express my thanks to you (" No, no, ") for your kind welcome on coming back almost to my own home, and for the grand sight that I have enjoyed during these three days of your deliberations. I must say that the closing scene was to me a most interesting one—the storming of the platform by people desirous of contributing to the public good was such a sight as I have never before witnessed. I wish also to thank this great assembly for the wonderful support they have given me in the fulfilment of my duties as Chairman. This assembly is three times as large as the House of Commons, and gives three times as little trouble to manage. (*Laughter.*) I should also like to take the opportunity of expressing thanks for the numberless kind letters and telegrams which I have received from distant friends during the sitting of the Congress expressive not only of great kindness to myself but full of sympathy with the objects of the Congress. I think this Congress will be a memorable one in many ways. It has swollen to such proportions that you yourselves have been forced, on account of physical difficulties, to reduce the number to manageable proportions. Secondly, I think we may consider this meeting specially interesting because for the first time it has been graced by the presence of lady delegates. And thirdly, I do not think the most hardened opponents of the movement will now deny that we have entered into the domain of practical politics when our programme has been taken up by a public man of the firmness of character of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh. (*Long and loud cheers.*) Gentlemen, I have not only had the opportunity of addressing you at the commencement but I have had the pleasure of speaking to you a good deal during the course of our proceedings. I will not therefore further trespass upon your indulgence. I will only say that, as long as I live, I shall ever retain the proud memory of having presided over the 5th Indian National Congress. (*Loud and prolonged cheering, towards the close of which*)

MR. W. C. BONNERJEE (*Calcutta, No. 1788, in list*) rose and said :—Before this Congress is dissolved I beg in the name of my brethren of Bengal to give you a most cordial invitation to come next year to some place in Bengal which will be notified to you long before the date of the meeting. (*Cheers.*)

THE PRESIDENT—The pleasing duty now remains to me of tendering our best thanks to the gentlemen of the Bombay Reception Committee, and the Bombay Presidency generally, for the magnificent reception accorded to us. (*Loud cheers.*) I now declare this Congress dissolved with three cheers for Her Gracious Majesty the Queen. (*Loud and enthusiastic cheers for Her Majesty intermingled with cries of, " God bless our Empress, " were accordingly given, and repeated, again and again.*)

—
Dissolution
of the
Congress.
—

The proceedings of the Congress then terminated.

(*Although Mr. Bradlaugh only attended the Congress as a visitor and although the presentation to him of addresses by the Congress and by bodies and Associations belonging to all parts of the Empire, and his speech in acknowledgment of these, formed no part of the Congress proceedings, the Congress having been dissolved before the presentation of the addresses commenced ; still, in accordance with the universal wish of the Delegates, a brief report of the proceedings in connection with the addresses, is subjoined.*)

PRESENTATION OF ADDRESSES TO MR. C. BRADLAUGH, M.P.

AT ABOUT 7 p.m. a very large crowd assembled in the Congress Hall to witness the presentation of addresses to Mr. Bradlaugh. All the delegates were, we believe, present and fully four thousand other persons amongst whom were a very considerable number of the European community of Bombay who had not thus far honoured the Congress by their presence in force, at its sittings. All the other races and classes of India were of course as fully represented as they had been throughout the Congress.

—
Presentation of
Addresses
to Mr. C.
Bradlaugh,
M.P.

The large table on the platform (some 18 feet by 4½ feet) which served during the Congress as the President's table, was crowded from end to end, and piled up, with rugs, mats, and similar Indian offerings and with endless addresses many of them in very beautiful silver and gold and silver and carved ebony, and sandal-wood cases.

Mr. Bradlaugh had declined to receive any presents of value, such as the beautiful shawl which had been sent down from Cashmir, but accepted small rugs, mats, wood carvings, &c., of little or no intrinsic value, but interesting not only for the spirit in which hundreds of poor men had travelled hundreds of miles to present them, but as illustrative of indigenous Manufactures in out-of-the-way nooks and corners of this great Empire.

MR. PHEROSHAH M. MEHTA (who had been Chairman of the Congress Reception Committee) was voted to the chair, and having at last succeeded in obtaining something like silence amidst the vast, eager and enthusiastic crowd that filled every portion of the great hall, addressed them as follows :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I stand here to-night in the proud position—I think I can truly say, in the proud position—of being the spokesman of the peoples of India, in formally giving their welcome to our illustrious guest, Mr. Charles Bradlaugh. (*Cheers.*) Many and various have been the ways in which greeting and welcome have poured in from all parts of the country ; but we are met here to join in one formal welcome the whole voice of the country. (*Cheers.*) Gentlemen, if you ask me for my credentials I will point to the hundreds of meetings which have been held all over the country, to the telegrams which we have been receiving in shoals, day after day, to the addresses which have poured in upon us from every nook and corner of this vast and various country. And, I think, gentlemen, I can say that I truly represented the feeling of the country the other day, when I said that our hearts were unutterably stirred within us, at finding amongst us Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, restored to health and usefulness. (*Cheers.*) Ladies and Gentlemen, I need not tell you—the people assembled here to-day—what it is that promotes this simple and heartfelt welcome to Mr. Bradlaugh. The country, deeply grateful, enthusiastically appreciates the high and unselfish endeavours, by a gentleman who never saw us before and on whom we have no peculiar claim, to promote its welfare, its prosperity, and its best interests. I am not going to give you a long address to-day. I shall be short, for the simple reason that Mr. Bradlaugh may have time to be long. There is a ceremony to be performed. It is impossible, as I have said already, that all the addresses which have poured in upon us, should be read or presented. The utmost that can be done to-night is, that an address representing the joint united feelings of the country, through the mouths of the numerous representatives that have assembled in this city for the purpose of sitting in the Fifth Indian National Congress, be read. Then all that we can do is to ask the representatives of some of the principal addresses to come up and present them to Mr. Bradlaugh. After that all the other addresses will be taken as having been read and presented.

I will now call upon the much-beloved President of the late Congress, Sir William Wedderburn, to present the address on behalf of the Congress. (*Cheers.*)

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, who was most cordially received, then read the following address :—

To Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., Member for Northampton in the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland.

SIR,—On behalf of the Fifth Indian National Congress, assembled at Bombay, we beg to offer you our united and most heartfelt welcome and through you we desire to convey our thanks to the electors of Northampton who have permitted you to espouse the cause of India. (*Cheers.*)

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You come to us a stranger in person, not repute. For your disinterested advocacy of the claims, (founded on the unanswerable demands of human progress and the solemn promises of their Queen) preferred by millions—whose appeals for justice have evoked a widespread response since you aroused the people of Great Britain into a sympathetic recognition of India's needs—will enshrine your name for all time in the proudest and most imperishable of human homes, the hearts and traditions of a loving and a grateful race. (*Cheers.*)

Brilliant as was the tribute of national respect which your illness elicited from the fellow-countrymen who for long years had been the daily spectators of your labours and your triumphs in England, you have won, sir, in the mental distress and prayerful anxiety with which the population of India followed you in the tribulation of your sickness, a homage the more unique and tender that it is not matched in the recorded history of any living statesman. (*Cheers.*) They have appreciated the unflinching courage with which, throughout your political career, you have confronted error and have championed truth. You have enchained their admiration by your inalienable fidelity to the popular cause. (*Cheers.*)

Proud in your possession of such qualities, and thankful for your efforts in our cause, we trust that you may be spared to complete the great work you have begun (*cheers*), and to read the vindication of your generous interpretation of our political aspirations, as well in the ever closer union of India and of England, as in the quickened vigour and expanding energies of a country regenerated by the partial redemption of pledges too long permitted to remain unfulfilled. (*Loud cheers.*)—We have, &c.

In reply, Mr. BRADLAUGH said :—Sir William, and Delegates of the Indian National Congress, I thank you not so much for myself, for I have not yet deserved the tribute you pay me. I thank you for my Electors without whom I should not have the right to do all the work I do. And in their name and because I believe that their example will be followed by other constituencies (*cheers*), I feel grateful to you and only do not translate my gratitude into words because no words can express what I feel. (*Loud cheers.*)

Then followed the presentation of a few of the articles and addresses with which the table was piled—some forty or fifty of the larger and more beautiful caskets containing addresses, were touched or lifted and the names of the places presenting them were mentioned and one or two small articles of native manufacture were formally given over, and then all the addresses were taken as read and all presentations as made. This was unavoidable. Mr. Bradlaugh's health was still delicate. Even this little show of presenting addresses occupied fully one hour. The heat, owing to the excessive crowding of the hall and the numbers of lamps and lights of various kinds burning, was getting, despite the lateness of the hour, trying. There was scarcely a town of any size in the Empire of India proper (we exclude Burmah) from which there was not at least one address, while many of these, like that of the Madras city had attached to them scores of addresses from smaller places, and from local Societies, Associations, Guilds and Professions. If one was to be read, all must be read. The thing was out of the question and all that could be done, was, as *was* done, just to mention the names of the places, from which the most striking or beautiful caskets came, and assume the function completed.

Silence having been again secured (for the people kept cheering as each address was referred to) Mr. Bradlaugh, still as all grieved to see, somewhat enfeebled by his recent severe illness, rose and addressed the assembly.

Mr. BRADLAUGH said :—Friends, fellow-subjects, and fellow-citizens! I address you as friends, for the greeting you have given me entitles me to use the same language to you as I would use to those at home, and you have made me feel since I have been in Bombay that the word home has a wider significance than I had given it. I have learned that if I have only a little home, I have a larger one in your sympathies and in your affections, and, as I trust, to deserve by future work, in your love. I address you as fellow-subjects; we are here loyal to one rule with the best of loyalty. (*Cheers.*) That is no real loyalty which is only blind submission. (*Cheers.*) Real loyalty means that the governed help the governors by leaving little for the Government to do. Real loyalty means that the claim of right is made with the consciousness of duty; and I feel proud to be a fellow-subject with you in the hope that the phrase fellow-citizens may grow into a reality even before my life-time ends. (*Cheers.*) I pray your indulgence to-night, for it is the first speech I have made since I looked into the blackness of the grave, and I am not sure how far I can trust my tongue to interpret what I would wish to say. Of one thing I am sure, you have overrated alike my work and my ability. (*No, no.*) I pray you, be as indulgent to me as you have been generous; and if you disagree with what I say let me say it in my own poor

fashion, so that you may find at least my meaning clear to you. I am only here as a visitor by your courtesy, a member of a great assembly, the mother of Parliaments in the world, of which I am one of the poorest members; and as to any force that I may have had in advocating the cause of those to whom I belong at home, let me say I was sorry to hear that I was thanked for my work in the popular cause. For whom should I work if not for the people? Born of the people, trusted by the people, I will die of the people. (*Cheers.*) And I know no geographical or race limitations. If the nationality—pardon the word—to which I am proud to belong has raised its Empire, the rule carries with it the duty on the part of every citizen to recognise that which I recognise in you, lawful constitutional association for the assertion of your just claims and for the advancement of your homes and interests. (*Cheers.*)

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 M.P.
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I will ask you not to expect too much. One man is only a water drop in the ocean of human life: you are the breeze driving the water drop on the western side of the seas, and by your encouragement, adding others to it, and giving it a force that shall wash it into the old rock of prejudice that hindered; you will make those on the other side hear, as I have heard, the clear English sounds which show that you share our language, our traditions, and our hopes, and are willing to work with us and to make common cause with us. (*Cheers.*)

Not only do not expect too much, but do not expect all at once. Great as this assembly is in its suggestiveness, by its delegates travelling hundreds and thousands of miles, you are yet only the water drop of the two hundred and ten millions whom you number under our Empire, yours and mine—not mine against yours, not English against Indian, but our common Empire for common purposes. (*Cheers.*) Don't be disappointed if of a just claim only some thing is conceded. It is new but shall be every day coming; it is new but you have those who stand in the House of Commons to plead for you; not I alone, but members as devoted to you as I can possibly be; and I hope soon to see added to their ranks, with the authority of his knowledge and of the position which his presiding here has given him—Sir William Wedderburn. (*Cheers.*) I would remind you, as an encouragement to you to be patient, that in England great reforms have always been slowly won. Those who first enterprised them were called seditious, and sometimes sent to jail as criminals; but the speech and thought live on. No imprisonment can crush a truth; it may hinder it for the moment, it may delay it for an hour, but it gets an electric elasticity inside the dungeon walls, and it grows, and moves the whole world when it comes out. (*Cheers.*) Your presence here to-day confutes and answers in anticipation one sneer that I have heard spoken within the walls of Parliament. It is said, "There is no Indian Nation, there can be no Indian National Congress; there is no Indian people, there are only two hundred millions of diverse races and diverse creeds." The lesson I read here is that this Congress movement is an educational movement hammering upon the anvil of millions of men's brains until it welds into one common whole men whose desire for political and social reforms is greater than all distinctions of race and creed. (*Cheers.*)

It will be my duty, as it is my right, to present to Parliament directly I get back, on the very day of its opening, the claim you make to have the Bill considered. On the second day the Bill will be introduced. For so much I can answer; but I can answer for nothing more. I think it is possible the Government may introduce some Bill itself. If they do it will take precedence of, but it will not avoid the one you have charged me with; because the Government Bill, in Committee, will come to the discussion of Parliament on every one of the propositions that you desire in the Bill you have charged me with. It is not easy work. There are differences; and I have been glad to see that you can meet and discuss differences as you have done. You have shown that you can meet together and listen to one another, and that you are worthy of public trust and the right of electing and being elected to help to make the laws which you so discuss.

Then you may take it that in your own Bill or the Government Bill this decision of the House of Commons will be taken. You can help that decision; you have a constitutional right, not of coming into the House and being heard yourselves, but of sending your petitions there from every division, from far off Sind, from every part, and I would ask you, if you want to make me really your mouth-piece in that house, send signatures to petitions which you understand, by the thousand, by the hundred thousand, by the million if you can, so that India's people may kneel—and there is no shame in kneeling—on the threshold where the mother of Parliaments sits, and ask that she may do the same justice to those six, seven or eight thousand miles away that she has done to those who can assemble and make themselves heard with the living voice. (*Cheers.*)

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We—you will permit me to say “we” although I am only a guest—are here engaged in no seditious movement. We are not even seeking (though if we did there would be no great crime in the high endeavour) to transplant the democratic Institutions of England to this land. We are only seeking in the hill which is hard to climb, to carve, steps in which the strongest may stand and through coming generations help the weaker brethren to higher posts. (*Cheers.*) It is said that there are many who stand aloof from this movement. I, looking at you, wonder that in its infancy so many have joined in it. It is said that there are influential men of this party and of that who have not yet come. Oh! but the sun’s rays grow as the sun rises. You are the dawn, I see the day, and I do not count the rays which are yet below the horizon, but I take account of the gilding of the clouds that I see from the rays. (*Cheers.*)

I feel that I should like to have the title that some have given me in sneer and some in hearty meaning of “Member for India.” (*Cheers.*) Dead men, whose measure I cannot hope to cope with, have partly held that title. But I should love to hold it not simply by great efforts made on great occasions, but by simple doings whenever there is injustice to be touched. I know how little, one can do, but *little* though one man can do, I will tell you *what* he can do. When after rain and storm the waters have gathered, one man may make a little boring through which the water begins to percolate, that washes all away; and I will try and be that one man, leaving greater ones than I can ever be, to swim on the tide when the water flows. (*Cheers.*)

I am here because I believe you loyal (*cheers*) to the law which I am bound to support. (*Cheers.*) I am here because I believe you wish, as we in England have done, to win within the limits of the constitution the most perfect equality and right for all. (*Cheers.*) I have no right to offer advice to you; but if I had and if I dared, I would say to you, men from lands almost as separate, although within your own continent, as England is from you, I would say to you, men with race traditions and caste views and religious differences, that in a great Empire like ours all we have the right to is equality before the law for all, equality of opportunity for all, equality of expression for all, penalty on none, favoritism to none, and I believe that in this great Congress I see the germ of that which may be as fruitful as the most hopeful tree that grows under your sun. (*Cheers.*)

I am glad to see that you have women amongst you; glad, although they are few; glad for they are your mothers and teach your children; glad for in our land the wives may count through their husbands, and great thoughts and great endeavours are not made less because the man turns to the woman for counsel in his hour of need and thus makes the woman stronger than the man.

I fear I have already spoken to you too long (*no, no*) if not for you at any rate for myself. (*Laughter.*) I beg you—the most eloquent whom I have heard among you—to put into your own words and your own thoughts what you would have me say of hope for you; and let that be said. (*Cheers.*) One thing be sure of, I will only advocate the right. I must judge the right I advocate, and I may not always judge it as you do; but as long as you let me speak for you I will only speak that which seems to me to be right and true. (*Cheers.*) In this movement no force save the force of brain: no secret union; all open frank before the Law. So far as one man may and so far as one man’s speech can do, English liberty shall put itself on the side of yours. (*Cheers.*) This is the first and it may be the last speech that I may ever make to you (*no, no,*) but let me beg of you to think, and let me think, that you are listening and that if I do rightly you will be generous with me in your judgment, and that even if I do not always plead with the voice that you would speak with, you will believe that I have done my best and that I meant my best to be, greater happiness for India’s people, greater peace for Britain’s rule, greater comfort for the whole of Britain’s subjects. (*Loud and long continued cheering and waving of handkerchiefs.*)

The proceedings then terminated and the great assembly slowly, and as it were grudgingly, separated and dispersed.

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

FIFTH INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT BOMBAY, DECEMBER, 1889.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1	Madras	Madras	1st City, Electoral Division.	Mr. John Adam, M.A. ...	Christian, European.	Principal, Pacheappah's College, and Fellow, Madras University, Black Town.	At a Public Meeting, 13th December 1889, held at Pacheappah's Hall.
2	"	"	"	Rev. Mr. G. M. Cobban ...	do.	Missionary, Madras. ...	do.
3	"	"	"	Row Saheb S. Guruswami Chetty, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Vysia.	Vakil, High Court, and Municipal Commissioner, Black Town.	do.
4	"	"	"	Mr. T. Numbermal Chetty, B.A.	do.	Merchant, Madras ...	do.
5	"	"	"	Row Saheb S. Ramiah Chetty.	do.	Merchant, and Member District Board, Cuddappah.	do.
6	"	"	"	Mr. M. Rangaswamy Iyengar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Barrister-at-Law, Madras ...	Do. and at Purnapakan, Madras, on the 15th December, 1889.
7	"	"	"	Sait Lalji Valji ...	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Black Town ...	Public Meeting held at Pacheappah's Hall, on the 13th December, 1889.
8	"	"	"	Mr. P. K. A. Komarappa Chetty.	Hindu Nattukkottai Chetty.	Proprietor, P. K. A. Money Trading Co., Madras.	Do. and at meetings of City Merchants' Association, and Chetty's Association, Kunnacudy, on 19th and 5th December, respectively.
9	"	"	"	Mr. N. Appusundram Pillay.	Hindu Vellala.	Assistant Cashier, C. M. Bank, Madras, & Landed Proprietor.	By a Public Meeting, held at Pacheappah's Hall, on the 13th December, 1889.
10	"	"	"	Mr. K. Etharaja Pillay ...	Hindu.	Contractor, Blacktown...	do.
11	"	"	"	Mr. Kalavai Annadurai Iyer.	Hindu Brahmin.	1st Grade Pleader and Law Books Publisher, Madras.	do.
12	"	"	"	Mr. C. Ponnuswamy Mudaliar.	Hindu Vellala.	Landed Proprietor ...	do.
13	"	"	"	Mr. D. Narasiah ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Editor, "People's Friend," Madras.	do.
14	"	"	"	Thakur Alwarpet R. Balaji Singh.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Contractor, Blacktown...	At a Public Meeting, held by the "Black Town Progressive Union" on the 15th December, 1889.
15	"	"	"	Mr. Kolapanjeri Kuliamsundram Mudaliar.	Hindu Vellala.	Blacktown ...	Public Meeting, held at Pacheappah's Hall, on the 13th December, 1889.
16	"	"	"	Mr. Arcot Lokanatha Mudaliar.	do.	Merchant, Blacktown ...	do.
17	"	"	"	Mr. Oratoor Krishnaswamy Pillay.	Hindu.	Contractor and Merchant, Blacktown.	do.
18	"	"	"	Mr. I. J. Sriramaloo Naidu.	do.	Merchant, Blacktown ...	do.
19	"	"	"	Mr. Kolapanjeri Appadurai Mudaliar.	Hindu Vellala.	Contractor and Merchant ...	do.
20	"	"	"	Mr. Mylapore Thiruvengadaswamy Naick.	Hindu.	Do. ...	do.
21	"	"	"	Mr. Conjevaram Singaravelu Ekambara Mudaliar.	do.	Assistant Dubash, Blacktown...	do.
22	"	"	"	Mr. Mallisetti Krishnaswamy Naidu.	do.	Dubash, Blacktown ...	do.
23	"	"	"	Mr. N. Appalaju Naidu....	do.	Merchant, Blacktown ...	do.
24	"	"	"	Mr. P. M. Sivagnana Mudaliar, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Madras ...	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
25	Madras.	Madras.	Blacktown 1st City, Electoral Division.	Mr. M. Ramaswamy Naidu.	Hindu.	Merchant, Contractor, and Manager, Tanjore Rama Naick's Charities, Madras.	Public Meeting, held at Pacheappah's Hall, on the 19th December, 1889.
26	"	"	"	Mr. V. J. Manickavulu Mudaliar.	do.	Printer and Publisher, Black Town, Madras.	do.
27	"	"	"	Mr. Koyar Chakravarti Srinivasachariar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Govt. Pensioner and Salt Agent to Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co., Madras.	do.
28	"	"	"	Mr. R. Sivasankara Pandiyaji, B.A., F.T.S.	Hindu Brahmin.	Head Master, "The Hindu Theological High School," Madras.	At a Public Meeting, held by the Sowcarpet Literary Association, on the 22nd December, 1889.
29	"	"	Egmore 2nd City, Electoral Division.	Rai Bahadur S. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, M.A., B.L.	Hindu.	High Court Vakil, Mittadar and Municipal Commissioner, and Fellow, Madras University, Poonamallee Road, Madras.	Public Meeting, held at Poursapakam, on the 13th Dec. 1889, and by the Mahajana Sabha, on the 17th.
30	"	"	"	Rao Saheb D. V. Srinivasa Raghavachariar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder, Conjevaram Taluq, Chingleput District.	Public Meeting, held at Poursapakam, on 15th December, 1889.
31	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur P. Ananta Charlu, B.L.	do.	High Court Vakil, Madras, and Municipal Commissioner, Madras.	Public Meeting, held at Poursapakam, on 13th December 1889, and by the Mahajana Sabha, on 17th December, 1889.
32	"	"	"	Rao Saheb P. Rangiah Naidu, B.L.	Hindu.	High Court Vakil, Zamindar, and Municipal Commissioner, Madras, Member, District and Taluq Boards, Chingleput, and President, Mahajana Sabha, Madras.	Public Meeting, held at Poursapakam, on the 15th December 1889, and by the Mahajana Sabha, on the 17th December, 1889.
33	"	"	"	Mr. P. Thanikachala Naikar	Hindu.	Merchant and Land-holder, Partner, P. S. Chetty & Co.	Public Meeting, held at Poursapakam, on 13th December, 1889.
34	"	"	"	Mr. V. Arunagiri Naidu ...	do.	Indian and Colonial Merchants, Madras.	do.
35	"	"	"	Mr. Meah Husain Shah...	Mahomedan Syed.	Hide and Indigo Merchant ...	do.
36	"	"	"	V. Mohamed Sherif Saheb Bahadur.	Mahomedan.	Merchant and Member, Harbour Trust Board.	Public Meeting, held at Poursapakam, on 15th December, 1889.
37	"	"	"	Mr. Bhaktavatsalu Naidu.	Hindu.	Merchant, Madras ...	Do., and also at that held at Pacheappah's Hall, on 13th December, 1889.
38	"	"	"	Mr. C. S. Theagaraya Mudaliar.	do.	do. ...	Public Meeting, held at Poursapakam, on the 15th December, 1889.
39	"	"	"	Mr. N. Krishnaswamy Naidu, B.A., and B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Madras ...	do.
40	"	"	"	Mr. T. Seshachella Row, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder ...	do.
41	"	"	"	Mr. P. Narayanaswamy Naidu.	Hindu.	Landlord and Merchant, Egmore.	do.
42	"	"	"	Mr. M. Lakshmanaswamy Mudaliar.	do.	Tutor in Biology, Madras Christian College.	Public Meeting, held at Poursapakam, on the 13th December, 1889.
43	"	"	Triplicane 3rd City, Electoral Division.	Rajah T. Rama Rao, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Fellow, Madras University, and Member Legislative Council (1881-87), Madras.	Public Meeting, held at Triplicane, on the 8th December, 1889.
44	"	"	"	Mr. Eardley Norton, B.A...	Christian European.	Barrister-at-Law and Municipal Commissioner, "The Luz," Mylapore, Madras.	do.
45	"	"	"	Mr. M. O. Parthasaradhi Iyengar, M.A., M.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Advocate, High Court, Madras.	Do. and at a Special Meeting of "Triplicane Literary Society," on the 7th December, 1889.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Deligates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and address.	How and when elected.
46	Madras.	Madras.	Triplicano 3rd City, Electoral Division.	Mr. T. V. Sashaghory Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Madras ...	Public Meeting, held at Triplicane, on the 8th December, 1889.
47	"	"	"	Mr. T. P. Kothandarama Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do.	do. ...	Do. and at a Special Meeting of the "Triplicano Literary Society," on the 7th December 1889.
48	"	"	"	Mr. R. Shadagopa Chariar, B.A., B.L.	do.	do. ...	Public Meeting, held at Triplicane, on the 8th December, 1889.
49	"	"	"	Mr. R. Venkata Subba Row, B.A., B.L.	do.	do. ...	do.
50	"	"	"	Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, B.A.	do.	Editor, "The Hindu," Madras..	do.
51	"	"	"	Mr. C. Srinivasa Chariar ...	do.	Merchant, Printer and Publisher, Madras.	do.
52	"	"	"	Mr. A. C. Parthasarady Naidu.	Hindu.	Editor, "Aundra Prakasika," Madras.	do.
53	"	"	"	Mr. M. Viraraghava Chariar B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Joint Editor, "The Hindu," Madras.	do.
54	"	"	"	Mr. G. Krishnamachary ...	do.	Merchant, Triplicane ...	do.
55	"	"	"	Mr. S. Viraraghavacharry.	do.	do. ...	do.
56	"	"	"	Mr. M. Kuppaswamy Chetty.	Hindu.	Salt Merchant ...	do.
57	"	"	"	Mr. G. Ramaswamy Naidu	do.	Merchant and Contractor, Triplicane.	do.
58	"	"	"	Mr. K. V. Subramania Iyer	Hindu Brahmin.	Editor, "Tharangani Nesan."...	Public Meeting of the "Triplicane Association" on the 22nd December, 1889.
59	"	"	"	Mr. S. Siva Subramania Iyer.	do.	Mirasdar, Triplicane ...	do.
60	"	"	"	Mr. Alagadda Lokiah Raju.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Pensioner Triplicane ...	Public Meeting, held at Triplicane, on the 8th December, 1889.
61	"	"	"	Mr. V. Viswanatha Sastri.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder, Triplicane ...	do.
62	"	"	"	Mr. P. N. Muthuswami Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Madras, Triplicane.	At a Public Meeting, held by the "Young Men's Association," Madras, in December, 1889.
63	"	"	"	Mr. M. A. Parthasarady Iyengar, B.A.	do.	Joint Secretary, "Triplicane Literary Society," Madras.	At a Public Meeting held at Triplicane, on 8th December, 1889.
64	"	"	"	Mr. T. Venkatragachary.	do.	Land-holder, No. 64, Banknadi Street, High Road, Triplicane, Madras.	At a General Meeting of the "Triplicane Literary Society," held in December, 1889.
65	"	"	"	Mr. M. K. Lakshmanachariar, F.H. F.A.	do.	Agent, Oriental Government Security Life Assurance Company, Bombay, Limited; Triplicane, Madras.	By a Public Meeting, held at Triplicane, on the 8th December, 1889.
66	"	"	"	Mr. Kuppaswamy Sarma, B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Madras ...	Do. and at a Special Meeting of the "Triplicano Literary Society," on the 7th December, 1889, and at a Public Meeting, held at Srivangam, Trichinopoly District, on the 13th December, 1889.
67	"	"	Piler, Cuddapah District.	Mr. Varanasi Ramasawmy Reddy.	Hindu.	Abkari Contractor ...	By a Public Meeting, held at Piler in December, 1889.
68	"	"	Srivilliputtur, Tinnevely Dist.	Mr. Peter Paul Pillai ...	Christian.	Agriculturist ...	By a Public Meeting held at Srivilliputtur on the 3rd November, 1889.
69	"	"	Triplicane 3rd City, Electoral Division.	Mr. Sreshtalur Viraraghavachariar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Merchant, Mount Road, Madras.	By a Public Meeting, held at Triplicane, 8th December, 1889.
70	"	"	"	Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar	do.	Pleader, District Court, Chingleput, No. 26, Tolasingaperumal Street, Triplicane.	do.
71	"	"	"	Mr. C. Gopal Rao, B.A. ...	do.	Teacher, Pacheappah's College, Madras.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
72	Madras.	Madras.	4th City, Electoral Division.	C. Ramachandra Row Saheb, B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Madras ...	By a Public Meeting, held at Mylapore, on the 14th December, 1889.
73	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur S. Subramania Iyer, B.L., C.I.E.	do.	do.	Do., and by that of "The Mahajana Sabha," on the 17th December, 1889.
74	"	"	"	The Hon'ble C. Sankara Nair, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Do., and Member, Legislative Council, Madras.	By a Public Meeting, held at Mylapore, on the 14th December, 1889.
75	"	"	"	Mr. N. Subramanyam ...	Christian Indian.	Barrister-at-Law, "The Luz," Mylapur.	do.
76	"	"	"	Mr. K. P. Sankara Menon, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	High Court Vakil, Madras ...	do.
77	"	"	"	Mr. K. Narayana Row, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	do.	Do., and by the Mahajana Sabha, on the 17th December, 1889.
78	"	"	"	Mr. K. P. Govinda Menon, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	do.	By a Public Meeting, held at Mylapore, on the 14th December, 1889.
79	"	"	"	Mr. R. Reuga Row, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	do.	do.
80	"	"	"	Mr. V. Krishnaswamy Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do.	do.	do.
81	"	"	"	Mr. P. R. Sandara Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do.	do.	do.
82	"	"	"	Mr. M. Venugopaul Pillay.	Hindu.	Retired Government Servant.	do.
83	"	"	"	Mr. P. Subramanya Iyer.	Hindu Brahmin.	Attorney-at-Law, High Court, Madras, Mylapur.	do.
84	"	"	"	Mr. D. V. Narasimha Chariar, B.A.	do.	Landholder, Conjevaram Taluk, Chingleput District.	Public Meeting, held at Mylapore, on the 8th December, 1889.
85	"	"	"	Mr. V. Rangachariar, B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, High Court, Madras ...	By a Public Meeting, held at Mylapore, on the 14th December, 1889.
86	"	"	"	Mr. W. S. Gantz ...	Christian Eurasian.	Barrister-at-Law and President, Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, Madras.	do.
87	"	"	Mahajana Sabha, Madras.	Mr. P. Somasundrum Chettiar.	Hindu.	Merchant, and Trustee, Town Hall, Madras.	By a Meeting of the Sabha, on the 17th December, 1889.
88	"	"	"	Rao Saheb G. Mahadava Chettiar.	do.	Merchant, and Member, District Board, Chingleput.	do.
89	"	"	"	Mr. C. V. Ganappiah ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar, Kasserigode...	do.
90	"	"	"	Mr. J. Krishna Rao, B.A....	do.	Teacher, Madras Christian College.	do.
91	"	"	"	Mr. K. Srinivasa Rao, B.A.	do.	Pleader, Bellary ...	do.
92	"	"	"	Mr. K. S. Krishnamachariar.	do.	Assistant Master, A. V. School, Triplicane.	do.
93	"	"	"	Saheb Bahadur A. Azce-mudin.	Mahomedan.	Merchant ...	do.
94	"	"	"	Mr. K. P. Padmanabhu Menon, B.L.	Hindu.	High Court Vakil, Madras ...	do.
95	"	"	Vizianagaram.	Mr. J. Syama Sundara Rao Pantulu.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landlord ...	Public Meeting, held at the Maharajah's College, Vizianagaram, on 1st December, 1889.
96	"	"	"	Rao Saheb J. V. Narasimha Raju.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Landed proprietor ...	do.
97	"	"	Vizagapatnam.	Mr. Venkata Jagga Row...	Hindu.	do.	Public Meeting, held on the 15th December, 1889.
98	"	"	"	Mr. S. B. Senkaram, Pantulu.	Hindu Brahmin.	2nd Grade Pleader, Vizagapatnam, and Land-holder.	do.
99	"	"	Coconada (Godavery District.)	Mr. D. Subramaniam ...	do.	Pleader ...	Public Meetings held in Coconada, on the 16th November, 1889, and in Ellore, on the 21st December, 1889.
100	"	"	"	Mr. G. Venkatratnam Gara	Hindu Brahmin.	1st Grade Pleader ...	do.
101	"	"	Rajamundry (Godavery District.)	Mr. Ramabrahnam Chetty	Hindu.	Pleader, Secretary, Godavery Association.	Public Meeting held in Rajamundry, on the 10th November, 1889.
102	"	"	"	Mr. S. Sambasiva Row ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Rajamundry ...	Do., and at that held in Ellore, on the 21st December, 1889.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
103	Madras.	Madras.	Rajamundry (Godaveri District.)	Mr. T. S. Muthuswamy Sastri.	Hindu Brahmin.	Head Master, Mahratta High School, Rajamundry.	Public Meeting, held in Rajamundry, on the 10th November, 1889.
104	"	"	"	Khaja Ahmedulla Khan Sahab.	Mohamedan.	Municipal Councillor ...	do.
105	"	"	Ellore (Godaveri District.)	Mr. D. Venkata Nagoswara Sastri.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Senior Assistant Agent's Court.	Public Meeting, held in Ellore, on the 21st December, 1889.
106	"	"	Tannuku (Godaveri District.)	Mr. I. Sangamiah...	do.	Pleader ...	Do., and at that held in Tannuku, on the 20th December, 1889.
107	"	"	Masulipatam (Krishna District.)	Rao Sahab K. Krishnamachariar, B.A.	do.	Head Master, Hindu High School, and Member, District and Taluq Boards, Masulipatam.	By a Public Meeting, held on the 17th November, 1889.
108	"	"	"	Mr. V. V. S. Avadhani, B.A.	do.	Pleader, District Court ...	By Public Meetings, held in Masulipatam and Gudivada, on the 17th and 24th November, 1889.
109	"	"	"	Mr. D. Venkatappiah Garu, B.A.	do.	Government Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting, held in Masulipatam, on the 17th November, 1889.
110	"	"	"	Mr. P. Gaurinatha Sastri, B.A., B.L.	do.	Assistant Master, Hindu High School, Masulipatam.	Do., and by a Public Meeting, held in Kollur, on the 16th November, 1889.
111	"	"	"	Mr. M. Venkataratnam Pantulu, B.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, District Court ...	By a Public Meeting, held on the 17th November 1889.
112	"	"	"	Mr. C. Purushothamiah Pantulu.	do.	Editor, "Union Desabhimani," Landholder and Secretary, "Native Theological School."	By a Public Meeting, held on the 19th November, 1889.
113	"	"	"	Mr. M. Kalyan Nagbhashana Naidu.	Hindu.	Merchant. ...	By a Public Meeting, held on the 17th November, 1889.
114	"	"	"	Rao Sahab M. Bitchi Venkatreddi Naidu.	do.	Carpet Merchant and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
115	"	"	Karempudy (Krishna District.)	Mr. N. Anjeneyulu ...	do.	Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting, held on the 13th December, 1889.
116	"	"	Guntoor (Krishna District.)	Mr. V. Bhavanaachary, F.T.S.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Vice-President, Mahajana Sabha Branch, and Sanserit High School Committee, and Honorary Magistrate, Guntur.	By a Public Meeting, held in Guntur, on the 4th December, 1889, and that of Vidwan Manoranjani Sabha, on the 7th December, 1889.
117	"	"	Ongole (Nellore District.)	Mr. K. Ramakrishnamachary.	do.	Teacher, Baptist Mission School, Ongole.	By a Public Meeting, held on the 5th December, 1889.
118	"	"	Nellore.	Rao Sahab C. Kotiah Chettiar.	Hindu.	Pensioned Deputy Inspector of Schools.	By a Public Meeting, held on the 3rd December, 1889.
119	"	"	"	Mr. I. Venkatramaniah.....	do.	Merchant. ...	do.
120	"	"	"	Mr. K. Chenchiah Chetty..	do.	do.	do.
121	"	"	"	Rao Sahab A. Venkiah Garu.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, and Municipal Councillor.	By Public Meetings, held in Nellore and Venkatagiri, on the 3rd and 9th December, 1889.
122	"	"	"	Mr. P. Lakshminarasu Pantulu.	do.	Government Pleader, Nellore...	By a Public Meeting, held in Nellore, on the 3rd December, 1889.
123	"	"	"	Rao Sahab T. V. Venkatramier, B.A., B.L.	do.	High Court Wakil, Municipal Councillor and Member, District Board, Nellore.	Do., and by Public Meetings, held in Ongole and Venkatagiri, on the 5th Nov. and 9th Dec., respectively.
124	"	"	"	Rao Sahab N. Suryanarayana Row.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Nellore, and Municipal Commissioner, Ongole.	By a Public Meeting, held in Nellore, on the 3rd December, 1889.
125	"	"	"	Mr. R. Jaggannath Rao Garu.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
126	"	"	"	Mr. Mohamed Abdul Husson.	Mohamedan.	Shrotriamdar ...	do.
127	"	"	"	Mr. I. Venkatasubbiah ...	Hindu.	Merchant ...	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
128	Madras.	Madras.	Nellore.	Mr. N. Venkatramacharu.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader	By a Public Meeting, held in Nellore, on the 3rd December, 1889.
129	"	"	"	Mr. N. Srinivasachari ...	do.	Landholder	do.
130	"	"	"	Mr. Mohamed Abdal Kadir Saheb.	Mahomedan.	do.	do.
131	"	"	"	Mr. M. Venkataramanuja Row.	Hindu Brahmin.	do.	do.
132	"	"	"	Mr. M. Venkatasubba Row	do.	Pleader... ..	do.
133	"	"	Vadayur (Chingleput Dist.)	Mr. C. Venkata Subramania Iyer.	do.	Zemindar, Trivellore	By a Public Meeting, held at Vadayur, in December, 1889.
134	"	"	Trivellore (Chingleput Dist.)	Mr. M. Bhashyam Iyengar	do.	Mirasdar and Pleader	By a Public Meeting, held in December, 1889.
135	"	"	Conjevaram (Chingleput Dist.)	Rao Saheb D. A. Ramanujachariar.	do.	Landholder, Conjevaram Taluq, Chingleput District, and Member, District Board.	By a Public Meeting, held at Conjevaram, on the 23rd December, 1889.
136	"	"	"	Mr. T. E. Kumara Venkatacharyar.	do.	Pleader and Landholder, Chingleput.	do.
137	"	"	Kaveripak (N. Arcot Dist.)	Mr. K. Deva Mudaliar ...	Hindu.	Mirasdar and Merchant	By a Public Meeting of the S. A. M. R. Sabha, held on the 22nd December, 1889.
138	"	"	"	Mr. S. Krishna Shastri ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Teacher and Mirasdar... ..	do.
139	"	"	"	Mr. K. Muniswamy Iyer...	do.	Mirasdar	do.
140	"	"	"	Mr. A. Lokanatha Naick...	Hindu.	Toddy-renter	do.
141	"	"	Tirupati (N. Arcot Dist.)	Mr. Vembakam V. Rangachary, B.A.	do.	Pleader, Tirupati	By a Public Meeting, held 18th December, 1889.
142	"	"	Chittore (N. Arcot Dist.)	Mr. N. Srinivasa Varadachary.	do.	1st Grade Pleader, Chittore. ...	By a Public Meeting, held on the 8th December, 1889.
143	"	"	"	Mr. D. V. Rajagopalachariar.	do.	1st Grade Pleader and Landholder, Chittore.	do.
144	"	"	"	Mr. C. V. Srinivasa Charlu, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Honorary Magistrate.	do.
145	"	"	"	Mr. T. A. Narsimhachariar, B.A., B.L.	do.	Vakil, Chittore	do.
146	"	"	Tirukoilore (S. Arcot District.)	Mr. V. Srinivasa Row ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Shrotriendar, 1st Grade Pleader, and Member, Taluq Board.	By a Public Meeting of the Mahajana Sabha Branch, held on the 1st December, 1889.
147	"	"	"	Mr. V. Krishnaswamiah..	do.	Mirasdar, Tirukoilore	do.
148	"	"	Chidambaram (S. Arcot District.)	Mr. T. N. Desikachariar...	do.	Mirasdar and 2nd Grade Pleader.	By a Public Meeting of the Mahajana Sabha, on the 23rd November, 1889.
149	"	"	"	Rao Saheb T. V. Desikachariar.	do.	Municipal Councillor and 2nd Grade Pleader, Chidambaram.	do.
150	"	"	Cuddalore.	Mr. A. Rama Row ...	do.	First Grade Pleader, Cuddalore.	By a Public Meeting of the Goddalore Mahajana Sabha, in November, 1889.
151	"	"	"	Mr. M. Coomaraswamy Pillay.	Hindu.	do.	do.
152	"	"	"	Mr. P. T. Shadagapachariar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Editor, "Desabhimani." ...	By a Public Meeting of the Mahajana Sabha, at (New Town) Cuddalore, on the 22nd December, 1889.
153	"	"	"	Mr. J. P. Kotilingam, M.A...	Christian Indian.	Principal, Cuddalore College ...	do.
154	"	"	Nannilam (Tanjore District.)	Mr. S. A. Raja	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder	By a Public Meeting of the Mirasdars' Association, Nannilam, held on the 24th November, 1889.
155	"	"	"	Mr. D. Natesa Aiyar ...	do.	do.	do.
156	"	"	Mayavaram (Tanjore District.)	Mr. P. Krishnaswamiah...	do.	Agent, Oriental Life Assurance Company, Mayavaram, and Dharmapuram Adhinam, Tanjore.	By a Public Meeting, held on the 22nd December, 1889.
157	"	"	"	Mr. N. P. Krishnaswamy Iyer.	do.	Mirasdar, and 1st Assistant, High School, Mayavaram.	By a Public Meeting, held at Mayavaram, on the 17th November, 1889, and also deputed by His Holiness The Thiruvada-thorni, Pandara Sannidhi.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
158	Madras.	Madras.	Mayavaram (Tanjore District).	Mr. M. Chinnaswamy Sastri.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder	By a Public Meeting, held at Mayaveram, on the 17th November, 1889.
159	"	"	"	Mr. T. Subramanya Iyer...	do.	Mirasdar, Mayaveram...	do.
160	"	"	Kumbaconum (Tanjore District).	Mr. Y. Sankaranarayana Sastri, B.A., B.L.	do.	1st Grade Pleader, Kumbaconum.	By a Public Meeting, held at Kumbaconum, on the 21st November, 1889.
161	"	"	"	Mr. Maruthakkudy Sambasiva Sastri.	do.	Landholder and Member, Tanjore People's Association.	do.
162	"	"	Negapatam (Tanjore District).	Rao Bahadur P. Rathnasabapathy Pillay, B.A.	Hindu.	1st Grade Pleader, Landholder, Chairman, Municipal Council, Negapatam, Member, District and Taluq Boards, Tanjore.	By a Public Meeting, held at Negapatam, on the 14th November, 1889.
163	"	"	Tanjore.	Rao Bahadur S. A. Swaminatha Iyer.	Hindu Brahmin.	Government Pleader, Landed Proprietor, Secretary, Raja Mirasdar Hospital Committee, Chairman, Municipal Council, Member, District Board, Tanjore, and Temple Committee, Kumbaconum.	By a Public Meeting, held at Tanjore and Shyalli, on the 19th November, and 23rd December, 1889.
164	"	"	"	Mr. V. Neelamegachariar .	do.	Editor, "Tanjai Jana Mithran."	By a Public Meeting, held by the Tanjore People's Association, on the 1st December, 1889.
165	"	"	"	Mr. Kotur Krishnaswamy Mudaliar.	Hindu.	Landed-proprietor, and Member, District Board, Tanjore.	do.
166	"	"	"	Mr. P. V. Ramachandra Iyer.	Hindu Brahmin.	Editor, "The Southern Star," Tanjore.	By a Public Meeting, held at Tanjore, on the 19th November 1889.
167	"	"	"	Mr. S. A. Swaminatha Sastri, B.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader and Secretary, Law Library, Tanjore.	do.
168	"	"	"	Mr. Kotur Rengaswamy Mudaliar.	Hindu.	Mirasdar, and Member, Local Fund and Taluq Boards, Tanjore.	By a Public Meeting of the Tanjore People's Association, on the 1st December, 1889.
169	"	"	Shyalli (Tanjore District).	Mr. S. Vadamalai Pillay...	do.	Landholder, and Member, District Board, Tanjore.	By a Public Meeting, held at Shyalli, on the 24th December, 1889.
170	"	"	Trichinopoly.	Srimath, S. V. Guruswamy Sarma Ayl.	Hindu Brahmin.	Headmaster, Hindu High School, Trichoor, (Cochin); Missionary, Religious, Political and Social; President-Founder, "Temperance Associations," South Madras; and Lecturer, Swadarmachara Samrakshana Sabha, Trichoor.	By Public Meetings, held at Trichinopoly Town Hall, Srirangam, and Trichoor, on 8th, 11th, and 18th December, respectively.
171	"	"	"	Rao Saheb B. Nilakantiah.	do.	1st Grade Pleader, Kulithali, Trichinopoly.	By a Public Meeting, held at Kulithalai, on the 15th December, 1889.
172	"	"	Madura.	Rao Saheb Sashadri Iyengar.	do.	Zemindar	By a Public Meeting, held at Madura, on the 17th November, 1889.
173	"	"	"	Rao Saheb G. Srinivasa Rao, B.A.	do.	Landholder, Pleader, and Member, District Board, Madura.	do.
174	"	"	"	Mr. J. M. Nallaswamy Pillay, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	High Court Vakil, Madura ...	By a Public Meeting, held on the 17th November, 1889.
175	"	"	"	Mr. P. Narayana Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	do. ...	do.
176	"	"	"	Mr. S. M. Sundara Iyer, B.A.	do.	Editor and Proprietor, "Madura Mail" and Member, District Board.	do.
177	"	"	"	Mr. A. Rajarau Iyer, B.A.	do.	1st Assistant, Native College, Madura.	By a Meeting of the Union Club, on the 24th November 1889.
178	"	"	Sivagunga (Madura District).	Mr. Peer Mohamed Saheb.	Mahomedan.	Village Munsiff, Tripatore ...	By a Public Meeting, held at Tripatore, in November 1889.
179	"	"	"	Mr. Muthuvadagu Pillay alias Chinnaswamy Pillay.	Hindu.	Landed-proprietor	By Public Meetings, held at Sivagunga and Tirukostiyur in November, 1889, and at Tripatore and Kaunakkady, in December, 1889.
180	"	"	"	Mr. Ramaswamy Pillay ...	do.	do. ...	By a Public Meeting, held at Sivagunga, in November, 1889.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
181	Madras	Madras	Sivagunga (Madura District).	Mr. V. Viswanatha Iyer ...	Hindu Brahmin.	2nd Grade Pleader, Sivagunga.	By a Public Meeting, held at Sivagunga, in November 1889.
182	"	"	"	Mr. Anantanarayana Iyer.	do.	do. ...	do.
183	"	"	"	Mr. K. Annaswamy Iyer...	do.	Agent to the Zemindar of Sivagunga.	do.
184	"	"	"	Mr. V. Subba Iyer ...	do.	2nd Grade Pleader, Sivagunga.	do.
185	"	"	"	Mr. M. G. Sankaranarayana Iyer.	do.	do. ...	do.
186	"	"	"	Mr. M. S. Sankara Iyer, B.A.	do.	Head Master, Zemindar High School, Sivagunga.	do.
187	"	"	Dindigul (Madura District).	Mr. N. Elumalai Chettiar.	Hindu.	Merchant and Municipal Commissioner.	By a Public Meeting, held on the 28th November, 1889.
188	"	"	"	Mr. Vadagiri Pillay ...	do.	Merchant ...	do.
189	"	"	"	Mr. P. R. Narayana Iyer.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader ...	do.
190	"	"	"	Mr. V. P. Rajam Iyer ...	do.	do. ...	do.
191	"	"	"	Mr. R. Sundaram Iyer ...	do.	Head Master, Hindu High School, Dindigul.	do.
192	"	"	"	Mr. T. Ponnaubala Mudaliar.	Hindu.	Mirasdar ...	do.
193	"	"	"	Mr. R. Vengu Iyer ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader ...	do.
194	"	"	"	Mr. P. M. Ramier...	do.	do. ...	do.
195	"	"	"	Mr. Karuppan Chettiar ...	Hindu.	Cultivator and Merchant ...	do.
196	"	"	"	Mr. Atmanatha Iyer ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Municipal Councillor.	do.
197	"	"	"	Mr. P. N. Subramania Iyer.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
198	"	"	"	Mr. T. Rajagopal Naidoo.	Hindu.	do. ...	do.
199	"	"	Kalakkad (Tinnevely District).	Mr. D. A. Pichumani Iyer.	Hindu Brahmin.	Mirasdar ...	By a Public Meeting, held at Kalakkad in December, 1889.
200	"	"	Tinnevely.	Mr. A. S. Appaswamy Pillay.	Hindu.	Pleader, Palamcottah ...	By a Public Meeting, held on the 9th December, 1889.
201	"	"	"	Mr. G. Chandrasekara Iyer	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Viraraghavapuram.	do.
202	"	"	"	Mr. M. R. Ramakrishna Iyer, B.A., B.L.	do.	High Court Vakil, Tinnevely...	By a Public Meeting, held on the 9th December 1889.
203	"	"	"	Mr. P. N. Venkatchellam Iyer, B.A.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
204	"	"	"	Mr. Roche Victoria ...	Christian Indian.	Merchant, Tuticorin ...	do.
205	"	"	"	Mr. N. S. Appaswamy Pillay.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Tinnevely	do.
206	"	"	"	Mr. Mahomed Ally Taraganar.	Mahomedan.	Landholder and Merchant ...	do.
207	"	"	"	Mr. A. Krishnaswamy Iyer.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Kailasapuram	do.
208	"	"	"	Mr. N. Sundaram Iyer ...	do.	Pleader, Shenkottai ...	By a Public Meeting, held in Thenkasi, on the 14th December, 1889.
209	"	"	"	Mr. R. M. Chithambam Iyer.	do.	2nd Grade Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting, held at Srivalliputtoor, on the 3rd November, 1889.
210	"	"	Madanapalle (Cuddnapah District).	Mr. Seshagiri Row ...	do.	Assistant Master, Congress High School.	By a Public Meeting, held on the 3rd November, 1889.
211	"	"	"	Mr. M. K. Subba Row ...	do.	1st Grade Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting, held on the 10th November, 1889.
212	"	"	"	Mr. R. Giri Row, B.A. ...	do.	Head Master, Congress High School.	do.
213	"	"	"	Mr. O. Lakshmana Sarma.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
214	"	"	Vayalpad (Cuddnapah District).	Mr. T. Narayana Sastri ...	do.	1st Grade Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting, held on the 3rd November, 1889.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, &c.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
215	Madras.	Madras.	Vayalpad (Cuddapah District).	Mr. P. C. Venkatramiah Chetty.	Hindu.	Landholder and Money-lender.	By a Public Meeting, held on the 3rd Nov. 1889.
216	"	"	"	Mr. G. Sambhoo Row ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Law Agent, and Member, Vayalpad Union Panchayet.	do.
217	"	"	"	Mr. Bhujanga Row ...	do.	Landholder	do.
218	"	"	Prodatur (Cuddapah District).	Mr. K. Thimmappa Chetty.	Hindu.	Pleader and Landholder ...	By a Public Meeting, held on the 4th Dec. 1889.
219	"	"	Cuddapah.	Rao Bahadur C. Jambulinga Mudaliar, B.A., M.L.	do.	High Court Vakil, and Vice-President, District Board, Cuddapah.	By a Public Meeting, held in November, 1889.
220	"	"	"	Mr. C. Ruthnam Mudaliar.	do.	Merchant	do.
221	"	"	"	Mr. A. Nunjundappah, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, Cuddapah	do.
222	"	"	Kurnool.	Mr. C. Buddappah ...	Hindu.	Merchant	By a Public Meeting, held on the 23rd Nov., 1889.
223	"	"	"	Mr. K. Peda Alpurappah...	do.	do.	do.
224	"	"	"	Mr. C. Tippannah... ..	do.	do.	do.
225	"	"	"	Seth Matangappah ...	do.	do.	do.
226	"	"	"	Mr. C. Coidaiah ...	do.	do.	do.
227	"	"	"	Mr. A. Baliah Chetty ...	do.	do.	do.
228	"	"	"	Mr. I. Krishnaswamy Chetty.	do.	do.	do.
229	"	"	"	Mr. J. Chelamiah Chetty ..	do.	do.	do.
230	"	"	"	Mr. B. Seshachella Chetty.	do.	do.	do.
231	"	"	"	Mr. A. Subbannah Chetty.	do.	Merchant, Nandyal	do.
232	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Adoni Subba Row.	Hindu, Brahmin.	1st Grade Pleader; Municipal Councillor; Member, District Board; and President "Kurnool Union Club," Kurnool.	do.
233	"	"	"	Mr. P. Ramanna Chetty...	Hindu.	Merchant	do.
234	"	"	"	Mr. Sheik Burandin Saheb.	Mahomedan.	Manager, Municipal Commissioner's Office.	do.
235	"	"	"	Mr. Misrikhan Khalibkhan Saheb.	do.	Merchant, Kurnool	do.
236	"	"	"	Mr. Kodumur Dade Saheb, Khan Saheb.	do.	do.	do.
237	"	"	"	Mr. Nawazeish Ally Khan Khalib.	do.	do.	do.
238	"	"	"	Mr. Shikarkhana Ahmed Saheb.	do.	do.	do.
239	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Tomucherla Chidambara Rao, B.A.	Hindu, Brahmin.	Municipal Councillor; Secretary, Union Club; 1st Grade Pleader; President, Desabhimani Sabha, and Sanscrit School, Kurnool	do.
240	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Atmakur Venkoba Row.	do.	1st Grade Pleader, Public Prosecutor and Chairman, Municipal Council, Kurnool.	do.
241	"	"	"	Mr. Kodumur Lakshmanacharu	do.	2nd Grade Pleader, and Vice-President, Sanscrit School, and Desabhimani Sabha, Kurnool.	do.
242	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Bavanchikar Row.	do.	2nd Grade Pleader, and Member, Taluq Board, Nandyal.	do.
243	"	"	"	Mr. Meloor Srinivasa Row, M.A.	do.	Head Master, Municipal High School, Kurnool.	By a Meeting of the Kurnool Desabhimani Sabha, on the 29th Dec. 1889.
244	"	"	Bellary.	Rao Bahadar K. Venkat Row.	do.	1st Grade Pleader and Chairman, Municipal Council, Bellary.	By a Public Meeting, held on the 24th November, 1889.
245	"	"	"	Mr. C. Doraiswamy Naidu.	Hindu.	Attorney-at-Law	do.
246	"	"	"	Mr. B. Janardanam Pillay.	do.	Railway Contractor	do.
247	"	"	"	Mr. A. Moonniah	Hindu, Brahmin.	Contractor and Money-lender...	do.
248	"	"	"	Mr. B. Puttiah Chetty ...	Hindu.	Merchant	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
249	Madras.	Madras.	Bellary.	Mr. G. Venkatannah ...	Hindu.	Merchant	By a Public Meeting, held on the 24th November, 1889.
250	"	"	"	Mr. N. Govindappah ...	do.	do.	do.
251	"	"	"	Mr. V. Seshappah ...	do.	do.	do.
252	"	"	"	Rao Saheb C. H. Gowd ...	Hindu	Landlord and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
253	"	"	"	Rao Saheb M. Vasudeva Naidu.	Brahmin.	1st Grade Pleader and Contractor.	do.
254	"	"	"	Mr. C. Annamalai Mudaliar	Hindu.	Agricultural Agent, Bellary. Graduate of the College of Agriculture.	do.
255	"	"	"	Mr. H. Pampanna Gowd...	do.	Landholder	do.
256	"	"	"	Rao Saheb D. Krishnamacharu.	Hindu.	1st Grade Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
257	"	"	"	Mr. K. Rengu Row ...	Brahmin.	1st Grade Pleader and Landholder.	do.
258	"	"	"	Mr. V. Krishna Row.	do.	Money-lender, Hospet...	do.
259	"	"	"	Mr. D. Venkatramanacharu.	do.	Landholder	do.
260	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur A. Sabapathy Mudaliar.	Hindu.	Landholder, Merchant, Member, District Board, and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
261	"	"	"	Mr. A. Narasimhalu ...	Hindu	Telugu Pandit, Municipal High School.	do.
262	"	"	"	Mr. G. Krishnam Chetty...	Brahmin.	Cashier, Bank of Madras, Bellary.	do.
263	"	"	"	Mr. M. Ramanjulu Naidoo,	do.	Railway Contractor	do.
264	"	"	"	Mr. R. Venkatanarasiah...	do.	Manager, Spinning and Weaving Mill.	do.
265	"	"	"	Mr. C. Lakshmana Row ...	Hindu	Head Master, Wardlaw Institution.	do.
266	"	"	"	Mr. H. Seenappah ...	Brahmin.	Karnam Mirasdar	By a Meeting of the Samnarga Samaj, in December, 1889.
267	"	"	"	Mr. V. Krishnama Chetty.	do.	Private Service in the "Sabapathy Press."	do.
268	"	"	"	Mr. R. V. Krishniah ...	Hindu	Money-lender	do.
269	"	"	"	Mr. D. Virupaksha Row ...	Brahmin.	Private Service... ..	do.
270	"	"	"	Mr. Swamy Chetty ...	do.	Merchant	By a Public Meeting, held at Hospet, Bellary, in December, 1889.
271	"	"	"	Mr. K. Raghavacharu ...	Hindu	Landholder and Priest	do.
272	"	"	"	Mr. D. Gopalacharu ...	Brahmin.	do.	2nd Grade Pleader
273	"	"	"	Mr. D. Rajhavendra Naick	do.	Merchant and Landholder ...	do.
274	"	"	"	Mr. Virupakshi Mari ...	Hindu.	Do., and Honorary Magistrate.	do.
275	"	"	"	Mr. G. Karigangappah ...	do.	Merchant and Honorary Magistrate.	do.
276	"	"	"	Mr. A. C. P. Iyer... ..	Hindu	Landholder	At a Meeting of the "Hindu Club," in December, 1889.
277	"	"	"	Mr. Subba Sastrulu ...	Brahmin.	Inamdar... ..	At a General Meeting of the D. J. Sabha, in December, 1889.
278	"	"	"	Mr. K. Sashagiri Row ...	do.	Contractor	do.
279	"	"	"	Mr. V. Chandriah... ..	Hindu.	Merchant	At a Meeting of the Cowli Bazaar People's Association, in December, 1889.
280	"	"	Coimbatore.	Mr. K. S. Venkatrama Sastri.	Hindu	Mirasdar, Kadathore Kanyur; and Member, Taluq Board.	By a Public Meeting, held at Coimbatore, in the 15th December, 1889.
281	"	"	"	Mr. T. S. Balakrishna Iyer, B.A., B.L.	Brahmin.	High Court Vakil, Coimbatore..	do.
282	"	"	"	Mr. C. M. Padmanabhar, B.A., B.L.	do.	do.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
283	Madras.	Madras.	Coimbatore	Mr. N. Kolanthaiyvelu Pillay.	Hindu.	Merchant and Municipal Councillor.	By a Public Meeting, held on the 16th November, 1889.
284	"	"	Kanyur (Coimbatore District).	Mr. Yagnier	Hindu Brahmin.	Mirasdar Kanyur	By a Public Meeting, held at Kanyur, on the 20th November, 1889.
285	"	"	"	Mr. C. A. Subramanya Iyer.	do.	do.	do.
286	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Venkatrama Sastri, B.A.	do.	Proprietor, Amravati High School, and Member, District Board.	do.
287	"	"	"	Mr. K. Narayana Sastri, B.A., B.L.	do.	High Court Vakil, and Member Taluq Board, Pollachi.	do.
288	"	"	"	Mr. C. S. Anantkrishnier.	do.	Mirasdar, Komaralingam. ...	do.
289	"	"	"	Mr. K. Ramaswamy Iyer.	do.	do.	do. and by that held at Coimbatore, on the 15th December, 1889.
290	"	"	"	Mr. K. Venkatakrishna Iyer.	do.	Mirasdar and Member, Devasthanam Committee.	do.
291	"	"	"	Mr. V. S. Ramaswamy Iyer.	do.	Vakil, Udumalpet	By a Public Meeting, held at Kanyur, on the 20th November, 1889.
292	"	"	Gooty (Anantapur District).	Mr. P. Balakrishna Pillay.	do.	Contractor	By a Public Meeting, held at Gooty, on the 9th November, 1889.
293	"	"	"	Rao Saheb P. Kesava Pillay.	do.	Pleader and Member, District Board.	do.
294	"	"	"	Mr. M. Nagesa Row	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader	do.
295	"	"	"	Rao Saheb J. Srinivasa Row.	do.	Pleader and Vice-President, Taluq Board.	do.
296	"	"	"	Mr. R. Seshiah	do.	Pleader, Honorary Chairman, Gooty Major Union.	do.
297	"	"	"	Mr. Mudiom Nagesa Row.	do.	2nd Grade Pleader, Gooty ...	do.
298	"	"	Penukonda (Anantapur District).	Mr. Venkata Renganada Chakravarti Iyengar.	do.	Pleader, Ceded Districts ...	By a Public Meeting, held on the 13th November, 1889.
299	"	"	Pamdurti (Anantapur District).	Mr. P. Venkata Reddi ...	Hindu.	do.	do.
300	"	"	Anantapur	Rao Saheb S. Vedaji Row.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Member, District and Taluq Boards and Municipal Councillor.	By a Public Meeting, held on the 12th December 1889.
301	"	"	Salem.	Mr. B. A. Ratnaswami Pillay.	Christian Indian.	Mirasdar and Contractor ...	By a Public Meeting, held on the 8th December, 1889.
302	"	"	"	Mr. T. S. Ayakannu Chettiar.	Hindu.	Merchant, Tirupatur	do.
303	"	"	"	Rao Saheb S. A. Kutti Chettiar.	do.	Money-lender and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
304	"	"	"	Rao Saheb C. Renganada Mudaliar.	do.	1st Grade Pleader and Member, L. F. B., Tirupatur.	do.
305	"	"	"	Mr. T. Muthialu Chettiar.	do.	Merchant	do.
306	"	"	"	Rao Saheb T. Narasinga Row.	Hindu Brahmin.	Shrotriem Pensioner and Municipal Councillor.	do.
307	"	"	"	Mr. Subrama Iyer	do.	Pleader, Namkal	do.
308	"	"	"	Mr. Velappa Kowndar ...	Hindu.	Zemindar, Velakurihi ...	do.
309	"	"	"	Mr. T. V. Raghavachariar.	Hindu Brahmin.	1st Grade Pleader	do.
310	"	"	"	Mr. C. Venkatachariar ...	do.	Mirasdar and Member, L. F. B.	do.
311	"	"	"	Mr. P. Sundram, B.A. ...	Christian Indian.	Head Master, L. M. High School.	do.
312	"	"	"	Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachary.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Salem.	do.
313	"	"	"	Mr. V. Vythi Iyer	do.	Government Pleader, Salem ...	do.
314	"	"	"	Mr. S. V. Mohamed Meera. Hassain Rowthar	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Shevapet, Salem ...	do.
315	"	"	"	Mr. Mohamed E. P. Madar Saheb.	do.	Merchant, Vaniembady, Salem.	do.

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316	Madras.	Madras.	Salem.	Mr. Feerzada Syed Allaudin Sahab.	Mahomedan.	Jagirdar, Ammapalayam, Salem.	By a Public Meeting, held on the 8th December, 1889.
317	"	"	"	Mr. Feerzada Syed Shah Mirdeen Sahab, Shutari.	do.	do.	do.
318	"	"	"	Mr. V. Raghavachariar ...	Hindu Brahmin.	1st Grade Pleader, Salem ...	do., and by the Madras Mahajana Sabha, on the 17th Dec., 1889.
319	"	"	"	Mr. Y. Seshachellam Iyer.	do.	Mirasdar and Secretary to Lord Ripon Excelsior Institute, Trichengode.	By Public Meetings, held at Salem and Trichengode, in December, 1889.
320	"	"	Tellicheri (N. Malabar District).	Mr. Thomas Richmond ...	Christian.	1st Grade Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	By a Public Meeting, held on the 8th December, 1889.
321	"	"	"	Mr. V. Ryen Nambiar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	High Court Vakil ...	do.
322	"	"	"	Mr. Raman Nayanar ...	do.	Landholder ...	do.
323	"	"	"	Mr. T. C. Narayana Kurup, B.A., B.L.	do.	High Court Vakil and Municipal Councillor.	do.
324	"	"	"	Mr. M. Gopala Menon ...	do.	1st Grade Pleader and Municipal Councillor.	do.
325	"	"	Calicut (N. Malabar District).	Mr. S. Anantanarayana Putter.	Hindu Brahmin.	Government Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting, held on the 23rd November, 1889.
326	"	"	"	Mr. K. R. Ramaswamy Iyer.	do.	1st Grade Pleader and Municipal Councillor.	do.
327	"	"	"	Mr. C. Kunji Raman Menon, B.A.	Hindu.	Editor, "Kevala Patrika," and Member, District Board.	do.
328	"	"	Palghat (N. Malabar District).	Mr. S. Ramachendra Iyer..	Hindu Brahmin.	1st Grade Pleader ...	By a Public Meeting, held on the 29th November, 1889.
329	"	"	"	Mr. P. T. Chinnaswamy Pillay.	Hindu.	Municipal Councillor and Member, District Board.	do.
330	"	"	"	Mr. K. P. Achyutha Menon.	do.	1st Grade Pleader and Municipal Councillor.	do.
331	"	"	"	Mr. K. Raman Unni Mupill Nair.	do.	Landlord ...	do.
332	"	"	"	Mr. V. Raman Nair, B.A....	do.	Landed-proprietor ...	do.
333	"	"	"	Mr. V. Vengu Iyer ...	Hindu Brahmin.	1st Grade Pleader ...	do.
334	"	"	"	Mr. S. Ramakrishna Iyer..	do.	do. ...	do.
335	"	"	"	Mr. S. Viraraghava Iyer...	do.	Landed-proprietor and Municipal Councillor.	do.
336	"	"	Kaserode (S. Canara District.)	Mr. N. Krishna Row ...	do.	Private Gentleman ...	By a Public Meeting, held at Kaserode, on December, 1889.
337	"	"	"	Mr. N. Srinivasa Row ...	do.	Merchant ...	do.
338	"	"	"	Rao Sahab D. Venkata Row.	do.	do., and Zemindar...	By a Public Meeting, held at Kundapur, in December, 1889.
339	"	"	"	Mr. N. Raghavendra Row.	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
340	"	"	Mangalore (S. Canara).	Mr. T. Bhavani Row ...	do.	Vakil, District Court ...	By a Public Meeting, held in December, 1889.
341	"	"	"	Mr. B. A. Brito ...	Christian.	Merchant ...	do.
342	"	"	"	Mr. Narasiah Prabhu ...	Hindu Brahmin.	do. ...	do.
343	"	"	"	Mr. Krishna Prabhu ...	do.	Merchant and Zemindar ...	do.
344	"	"	"	Mr. M. Narasiah Shanbog.	do.	Landlord ...	do.
345	"	"	"	Mr. K. Narayen Shatti ...	Hindu.	do. ...	do.
346	"	"	"	Mr. George Vas ...	Christian.	Private Gentleman ...	do.
347	"	"	"	Mr. M. Subba Row ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, District Court ...	do.
348	"	"	"	Mr. J. N. Coelho ...	Christian.	Merchant ...	do.
349	"	"	"	Mr. J. T. D'Souza, B.A. ...	do.	Pleader, District Court ...	do.
350	"	"	"	Mr. N. Subba Row ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar ...	do.
351	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur N. Shiva Row	do.	Vakil and Zemindar ...	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
352	Madras.	Madras.	Mangalore (S. Canara.)	Mr. K. Deva Bow...	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, District Court ...	By a Public Meeting, held in December 1889.
353	"	"	"	Mr. N. Krishna Bhattar, B.A. and B.L.	do.	High Court Vakil and Municipal Councillor.	do.
354	"	"	"	Mr. M. Subraya Shastri ...	do.	Retired District Court Vakil and Landholder.	do.
355	"	"	"	Mr. H. Madappiah ...	do.	Landlord ...	do.
356	"	"	Mangeswar.	Mr. M. Ramakrishna Row.	do.	Zemindar ...	By a Public Meeting, held at Mangeswar.
357	"	"	"	Mr. M. Rengappah ...	do.	do. ...	do.
358	"	"	Puttoor.	Mr. Kallianpur Narayana Row.	do.	Merchant and Zemindar ...	By a Public Meeting, held at Puttoor.
359	Govt. of India.	"	Secundrabad.	Mr. K. Edulji ...	Parsi.	Pleader, Secunderabad ...	By a Public Meeting, held on the 27th November, 1889.
360	"	"	"	Mr. C. Rungiah ...	Hindu.	Merchant and Banker...	do.
361	"	"	"	Mr. R. M. Ramannah ...	do.	Merchant ...	do.
362	"	"	"	Mr. Shaik Sunnah ...	Mahomedan.	do. ...	do.
363	"	"	"	Mr. D. Krishtamiah ...	Hindu.	do. and Banker ...	do.
364	"	"	"	Mr. P. Ramachandra Pillay.	do.	Pleader, Hyderabad and Berar, Secundrabad.	do.
365	"	"	"	Mr. B. Krishna Iyengar, F.R.S.	Hindu Brahmin.	Attorney-at-Law, Madras High Court; Advocate, Mysore Chief Court and the High Court, Hyderabad. and Member, Local Fund Committee—Residency Bazaar, Chudderghat, Hyderabad (Deccan).	do.
366	"	"	Bangalore.	Dr. J. Sansman, M.D. ...	Eurasian.	Retired Surgeon, Bangalore ...	By a Meeting of the Eurasian Association, Bangalore.
367	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Raghunath Bajirao Potnis.	Purbhu Hindu.	Jahagirdar ...	Public Meeting at Poona, 15th December, 1889.
368	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Gunesh Agarkar, M.A.	Brahmin.	Teacher and Journalist. Professor, Fergusson College, Editor, Sudharak.	do.
369	"	"	"	Mr. Mahadev Ballal Namjoshi.	do.	Municipal Commissioner, Journalist, Secretary, Provincial Conference, Bombay, Secretary, Standing Congress Committee, Deccan, Editor, Shilpa Kala Vidhana.	do.
370	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudev Harihar Pandit, alias, Shri Baba Maharej.	do.	1st Class Sirdar of the Deccan, Spiritual priest to H. H. the Maharaj of Kolhapur.	do.
371	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh, Ex-Member of the Legislative Council.	Hindu Maratha Brahmin.	First Class Sirdar of the Deccan, Fellow of the University of Bombay; Justice of the Peace for the Town and Island of Bombay, President, Aryasamaj.	do.
372	"	"	"	R. B. Narayen Bhai Dandekar.	Hindu.	Late D. P. Instruction...	do.
373	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Narayen Ghotwadekar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Proprietor, Shetkari Press, and Secretary to the Agricultural Association, Umraoti.	do.
374	"	"	"	Mr. Bhimrao Madhavrao Potnis.	Hindu.	Inamdar, Poona, and 1st Class Sirdar.	do.
375	"	"	"	R. S. Ramnaryan Ameerschand.	do.	Merchant and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
376	"	"	"	R. S. Gangaram Bhaoo, Mhuske.	Maratha.	Pleader, and Member S. Sabha.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
377	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Narayen Krishna Dbarap, B.A.	Brahmin.	Teacher, New English School, Poona.	Public Meeting at Poona 15th December, 1889,
378	"	"	"	R. S. Sitaram Hari Chip-lonker.	do.	Editor, " Dyana Prakash," Member S. Sabha.	do.
379	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Mahadeo Gadre.	do.	Pleader, Member, Sarvajanic Sabha.	do.
380	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnarow Bapoojee Mande.	do.	Editor, " Shri Shiwajee " ...	do.
381	"	"	"	Mr. Keshevrow Pandurang Godbole.	do.	Schoolmaster	do.
382	"	"	"	Rao Bahadoor Dajee Nil-kant Negarkar,	do.	Late Professor Engineering College, Poona, Fellow of the Bombay University, and Land-lord.	do.
383	"	"	"	Mr. Naro Bhaskar Dev-dher.	do.	Inamdar, Poona Shanwar Peit...	do.
384	"	"	"	Mr. Chintaman Ballal Gharpre.	do.	Sowkar, Poona	do.
385	"	"	"	Mr. Vishnudas Harikisan-das.	Gujarathi Hindu.	Merchant, Poona, and Sarpanch Guzerathi Committee.	do.
386	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudev Lakshuman Athavale.	Brahmin.	Money lender, Poona City Narayen Pait House No. 464.	By a Public Meeting, held at Poona, under the aus-pices of P. S. Sabha, and by the Mercantile Association, Poona, on the 17th of December, 1889.
387	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Marutishet Da-modhar Malwalkar.	Namdeo-simpi, Hindu.	Merchant, Municipal Com-missioner.	Public Meeting, Poona, 15th December, 1889.
388	"	"	"	Mr. Balaji Babaji Godbole.	Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner	do.
389	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Kashinath Go-vind Natu.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Poona, and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
390	"	"	"	Mr. Bapurao Ramchander Pandit.	do.	Merchant and Sowkar... ..	do.
391	"	"	"	The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Krishnaji Luxman Nul- kar, C.I.E.	Hindu Brahmin.	Late Dewan of Cutch, Member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, and also of the Legis-lative Council, Bombay.	do.
392	"	"	"	Mr. Banaji Krishna Pa-rasnis.	Brahmin.	Jahagirdar of Temple	do.
393	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Bapuji Ka-nitkar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Poona.	do.
394	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Damodar Vi-dyadhar Gokhale.	Brahmin.	Asst. Government Prosecutor and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
395	"	"	"	Mr. Vishnu Narayen Apte.	do.	Assistant Manager and Ac-countant of the Deccan Paper Mills Company, Limited, Honorary Secretary of the Poona Mercantile Association, Honorary Secretary of the Poona Sanskrit Pathshala.	do.
396	"	"	"	Mr. Rajuna Lingoo ...	Telugu.	Pleader	do.
397	"	"	"	Mr. Dalpat Manchund ...	Gujarathi Hindu.	Merchant	do.
398	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Vasudev Ba-puji Kanitkar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Justice of the Peace and Fellow of the Bombay University, Pensioned Executive Engineer.	do.
399	"	"	"	Mr. Abraham David Eze-kiel.	Jew.	Merchant, Synagoge Street ...	do.
400	"	"	"	Dr. Ganesh Krishna Gar-de, L.M. and s.	Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner	do.
401	"	"	"	Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahmin.	Professor, Fergusson College, and Journalist.	do.
402	"	"	"	Mr. Vamanrao Balkrishna Ranade.	Brahmin.	Editor, " Dnyan Chakshu." ...	do.
403	"	"	"	Mr. Vishnu Govind Chi-napatnum.	do.	Merchant	do.
404	"	"	"	Khan Bahadur Adarji Do-rabji Ghaswalla.	Parsee.	Merchant	do.
405	"	"	"	Rao Sahob Daji Shripat Nagpurkar.	Brahmin.	Municipal Commissioner ...	do.
406	"	"	"	Mr. Ramji Bhor	Maratha Christian.	.....	do.
407	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Coopsawami Mudliar.	Telugu.	Municipal Commissioner ...	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religions denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	Row and when elected.
408	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Ravaji Shridhar Gondhalekar.	Brahmin.	Proprietor, Jagadhitechu Press.	Public Meeting Poona, 16th December, 1889.
409	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Madu Krishna Mudliar.	Telugu.	Municipal Commissioner ...	do.
410	"	"	"	Dr. Narayan Vinayak Chhatre, B.A., L.M. & S.	Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner ...	do.
411	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Keshev Limaye.	do.	Pleader, Peit Sadashiv, Poona.	do.
412	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Sadashivarao Raghunath Medadkar.	do.	Inamdar, 11 Shunwar Peit, Poona; Member, Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, and Honorary Magistrate, Poona.	do.
413	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Ramchander Vaidya.	Brahmin.	Pleader, D. C., Poona ...	16th December, Pleaders' Association.
414	"	"	"	Mr. Vaman Ganesh Ghanskar.	do.	do. ...	do.
415	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Pandurang Buchaji Baholikar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader D. C., Poona, Municipal Commissioner.	do.
416	"	"	"	Mr. Luxman Krishna Nulkar, B.A., L.L.B.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
417	"	"	"	Mr. Ganpatrao Krishna Bavdekar, B.A.	do.	District Pleader, Poona Shanwar Peit, Bavdekar's house.	Elected by the General Meeting of the Poona Arbitration Court on the 10th December, 1889.
418	"	"	"	Mr. GopalKrishna Gokhale, B.A.	Brahmin.	Teacher and Professor, Fergusson College, Joint Secretary, Provincial Conference, Joint Editor, Sudharak, Editor, Quarterly Journal Sarvajanic Subha.	Public Meeting, Poona and Sarvajanic Subha, on the 15th December, 1889.
419	"	"	"	R. B. Vishnoo Moreshwar Bhide.	Hindu Brahmin.	Chairman, Poona Sarvajanic Sabha and First Class Honorary Magistrate. Pensioned Sub-Judge.	do.
420	"	"	"	R. S. Chintamanrao Vishwanath Natu, Sirdar.	Brahmin.	Inamdar, Member, Local Board, Poona, and Member, Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, Chairman, Poona, Mercantile Association, Landlord, Resident, Shanwar Peith, Poona.	do.
421	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Raghunath Daji Nagarkar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Member, Poona Municipal Corporation, Member, District Local Board, inamdar, Landlord and Member, Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, Secretary, Poona Mercantile Association, Resident Poona Raviwar Peit.	do.
422	"	"	"	Mr. Shivram Hari Sathe ...	do.	Secretary, P. S. S., and Editor, Nyayashraya Monthly Magazine.	do.
423	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Yaman Prabhaker Bhawe.	Brahmin.	Principal, Poona Native Institution, Municipal Commissioner, and Member, Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.	do.
424	"	"	"	Mr. Waman Shivaram Apte, M.A.	Brahman.	Principal, Fergusson College, Poona, Member, Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.	21st December, 1889, Sarvajanic Sabha.
425	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayak Ramchandra Jainapurker.	Brahmin.	Science Lecturer, Poona Native Institution, and Member, Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.	Elected on the 15th and 21st December, 1889, by a Public Meeting, held in Poona and by the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.
426	"	"	"	Mr. Bapurao Narayan Natar.	Hindu.	Pleader, District Court, Poona...	Poona, 15th December, 1889, Dinbandhu Sarvajanic Sabha.
427	"	"	"	Mr. Khanderao Narayan Vaidya.	Hindu Brahmin.	Native Physician Poona, Boodwar Peit, Arya Oshadey, Sangrahalaya.	On 17th December, by Merchants' Association.
428	"	"	"	Shet Haridas Nanubhai.	Guzerati.	Banker ...	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
429	Bombay.	Deccan.	Poona.	Mr. Lachmandas Rughonathdass.	Hindu Guzerati.	Poona Soogandhi	On 17th December by Merchants' Association.
430	"	"	"	Mr. Narayen Babaji Joshi, L.C.E.	Brahmin.	Pensioner and Merchant	do.
431	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayak Narayen Apte.	do.	Merchant	do.
432	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudeva Ganesh Joshi	do.	Manager, Chitra Shala Press ...	do.
433	"	"	Junnar (District, Poona.)	Munshi Shaik Hussen, Valad Shaikh Chand.	Mahomedan.	Public Preacher, Islam, Village Munsiff, Municipal Commissioner, Local Board, Commissioner.	Public Meeting, Junnar, 30th November, 1889.
434	"	"	Baramati (Poona District.)	Rao Saheb, Bhikaji Anandrao Deshpande.	Brahmin.	Pleader. Inamdar, Chairman of the Baramati Municipality and a Local Board Member of the Bhimthadi Taluka.	Public Meeting, Baramati, in the Poona District, 13th December, 1889.
435	"	"	Supa (District, Poona.)	Rao Saheb Lakshman Anandrao Deshpande.	Brahmin.	A member of the Local Board Taluka Bhimthadi, in the Poona District, and an Inamdardar.	Public Meeting, Supa in the Poona District, 25th November, 1889.
436	"	"	"	Mr. Baji Rao Bhim Rao Chavan Deshmukh.	Maratha.	Khote and Zamindar, Member of the Local Board, Taluka Bhimthadi District, Poona.	do.
437	"	"	Saswad, (District, Poona.)	Mr. Maruti Antoba Nirgude	Shimpi.	Merchant	Public Meeting, Saswad, 20th November, 1889.
438	"	"	"	Mr. Gunpat Mahadev Badhe.	Mahratta.	Agriculturist	do.
439	"	"	Bagewadi.	Mr. Bhim Rao Ramaji Gutkar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader	Public Meeting at Bagewadi, 3rd Nov. 1889.
440	"	"	Indapur Taluka, (District, Poona.)	Mr. Vaman Rao Vishnu Lele	Brahmin.	Pleader District Court, Poona, and Member Puna Sarvajanika Sabha, Member Poona Arbitration Court.	Public Meeting at Indapur District, Poona, 16th December, 1889.
441	"	"	Sholapur.	Mr. Ramchandra Sakharam	Gujar.	Merchant and Agriculturist ...	Public Meeting, held at Sholapur, on 6th December, 1889.
442	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Venayak Patwardhan.	Brahmin.	District Pleader	do.
443	"	"	"	Mr. Bhagwandas Rajaram.	Nagar.	Merchant	do.
444	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Balkrishna ...	Brahmin.	District Pleader	do.
445	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Rao	do.	Contractor	do.
446	"	"	"	Mr. Dinkar Ballal Chakrade.	do.	District Pleader	do.
447	"	"	"	Mr. Prabhakar Balaji Keskar.	Christian.	Medical Practitioner	do.
448	"	"	"	Mr. Anna Anandrao ...	Lingayet.	District Pleader	do.
449	"	"	"	Mr. Balasahib Deshmukh	Maratha.	Agriculturist	do.
450	"	"	"	Mr. Malkarjunappa Sidramappa Pasare.	Vishaiya Lingayet Brahmin.	Merchant	do.
451	"	"	"	Mr. Sakharam Nemchand.	Gujar, Hindu.	Merchant	do.
452	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Motichand Shaha.	do.	Merchant	do.
453	"	"	"	Mr. Nanchand Fattechand.	Gujar.	Merchant	do.
454	"	"	"	Mr. Bapuji Parashram Phadke	Brahmin.	District Pleader	do.
455	"	"	"	Mr. Prabhakar Laxuman Nagpurkar.	do.	District Pleader	do.
456	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Pandharinath Kavathekar.	Komta.	Merchant	do.

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457	Bombay.	Deccan.	Sholapur.	Mr. Lachmee Narayan Sardar.	Marwadi.	Merchant	Public Meeting, held at Sholapur, on 6th December 1889.
458	"	"	"	Mr. Mahadeo Ramchandra Ranade.	Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Sholapur.	do.
459	"	"	"	Mr. Shidram Appa Jamna.	Lingayet.	Agriculturist and Artisan ...	do.
460	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Narayan Govind Deshmukh.	Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Sholapur-Bejapur.	do.
461	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Sakharam Ramchander Kirloskur, B.A.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Sholapur, President Sholapur Municipality.	do.
462	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Mallappa Basappa, Warad.	Wani Lingayet.	Merchant, Municipal Commissioner, Sholapur.	do.
463	"	"	"	Mr. Sitaram Vishnu Bhawe.	Brahmin.	District Pleader... ..	do.
464	"	"	"	Mr. Panchappa Umbarjee.	Bania Lingayet.	Merchant	do.
465	"	"	"	Mr. Heerachand Nemchand Guzar.	Guzerathi Hindu.	Sowkar, Sholapur, and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
466	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Ganpntdass Khushal.	Guzerathi Hindu.	Municipal Commissioner and Merchant.	do.
467	"	"	"	Mr. Chinabupsapa Boramain.	Lingayet.	Merchant	do.
468	"	"	"	Mr. Chinabupsapa Chawan.	do.	do.	do.
469	"	"	"	Mr. Y. N. Banade, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Sholapur, Bijapur, and Editor, "English Opinion on India."	do.
470	"	"	"	Khan Saheb Kazi Sulta...	Mahomedan.	Municipal Commissioner, Sholapur.	do.
471	"	"	"	Khan Saheb Kazi Abdul Kadar.	do.	Municipal Commissioner ...	do.
472	"	"	Pandharpur (District Sholapur.)	Mr. Ganesh Rajaram Keshakar.	Brahmin.	Pleader at Pandharpur ...	By a Public Meeting, held on the 5th December, 1889, and at a Meeting of the Sholapur People's Association, 6th December 1889.
473	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Narayan Karandikar.	do.	Vakil at Pandharpur, Conciliator, Municipal Commissioner.	do.
474	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Daji Dharurker.	do.	Merchant at Pandharpur Municipal Commissioner, Taluka Local Board and District Local Board Member.	do.
475	"	"	Barsi (Sholapur.)	Mr. Kallyanji Khemji ...	Guzar Hindu.	Merchant	Public Meeting, Barsi, 6th December 1889.
476	"	"	"	Mr. Sunder Malhar ...	Brahmin.	Agriculturist	do.
477	"	"	"	Mr. Abasahib Panso ...	do.	do.	do.
478	"	"	"	Mr. Visanji Viraji ...	Guzar Hindu.	Merchant	do.
479	"	"	"	Mr. Parushram Jugganath Pardeshi	Rajput Hindu.	do.	do.
480	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Panduraug Kasid.	Kasid Hindu.	do.	do.
481	"	"	Aknj (Sholapur.)	Mr. Gulabchanda Lakhanichand.	Guzar.	Merchant, Akhuj Taluka, Malshiras, Zilla Sholapur.	do.
482	"	"	Velapur (Sholapur.)	Mr. Dutto Balvant Agnihotri.	Brahmin.	Inamdar	Public Meeting, Velapur Malshiras, 5th December, 1889.
483	"	"	Sangola (Sholapur.)	Mr. Vishwanath Vithoba Patne.	Lingayet.	Merchant, Member, Sangola Municipality.	Public Meeting, in November 1889.
484	"	"	Nevri (Sholapur.)	Mr. Haibatrao Malhar ...	Brahmin.	Inamdar... ..	Public Meeting, Nevri Taluka Malshiras.
485	"	"	Ahmednagar.	Mr. Vithuram Nandram ...	Marvari.	Money-lender	Public Meeting, Ahmednagar, 3rd Dec., 1889.
486	"	"	"	Rev. Mr. R. A. Hume, M.A.	Christian American.	American Missionary	do.

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487	Bombay.	Deccan.	Ahmadnagar.	Mr. Samuel G. Lee Pillai	Protestant Christian (Vellala Caste).	Professor of Mathematics and Logic, Ahmednagar College Graduate, Jaffna College, Ceylon.	Public Meeting, held at Ahmednagar, on 3rd December 1889.
488	"	"	"	Mr. Kondo Kanji	Hindu.	Vakil	do.
489	"	"	"	Sirdar Rao Bahadur Yeshwantrao T. Mirikar,	Brahmin.	Jahagirdar Miri, Exercising Civil and Criminal Powers.	do.
490	"	"	"	Mr. Mahadev Keshav Rishi	do.	Money-lender	do.
491	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Sahadu Ravji Bagde.	Hindu.	Merchant, Municipal Commissioner.	do.
492	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnaji Rautuji Tangle.	Christian.	Pundit and Preacher	do.
493	"	"	"	Kaji Shirajo Din Saheb Bahodiu Saheb.	Mahomedan.	Municipal Commissioner, Sanganner.	do.
494	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Daivalutram Hambirmal.	Marwari Jain.	Merchant, Ahmednagar, Sowkar and Municipal Commissioner, Member, Ahmednagar Educational Society.	do.
495	"	"	"	Mr. Surajmal Nemidas Khothare.	Marwari.	Merchant and Landholder	do.
496	"	"	"	Mr. Vaman Moreshwar Potdar, B.A.	Brahmin.	Teacher, Ahmednagar... ..	do.
497	"	"	"	Mr. Kashinath Bapurao Limaye.	Brahmin Hindu.	Editor of Jagadadarshi, Ahmednagar.	do.
498	"	"	"	Mr. Shankar Vinayek Vable.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Ahmednagar.	do.
499	"	"	"	Mr. Narayanrao Keshao.	Brahmin.	Merchant, Pleader, and Municipal Member.	do.
500	"	"	"	Mr. Kondaji Madhavrao Bhagure.	Maratha.	Merchant and Banker... ..	do.
501	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Trimback Krishna Joshi.	Brahmin.	Vakil, Sub-Judge's Court, Newasa, Local Board Member.	do.
502	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Bapu Narhar Sohani.	do.	General Merchant, Conciliator, Money-lender.	do.
503	"	"	"	Mr. Yamaji Bin Bapuji Chandagude.	Maratha.	Agriculturist, Patel of Chass, T. Kopargaon District, Ahmednagar.	do.
504	"	"	"	Mr. Kisandass Navalmall.	Jain	Banker	do.
505	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Mohonlal Hirallal.	Marwari. Kayesth.	Municipal Commissioner, Pleader and Merchant, Member, Ahmednagar Education Society.	do.
506	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Govind Shaligram.	Brahmin.	Kulkarni, Sowkar Agriculturist, Taluka, Akola.	do.
507	"	"	"	Mr. Shitaram Gauresh Deodhar.	do.	Teacher, American Mission High School.	do.
508	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Trimback Pornarak.	do.	Sowkar and Trader	do.
509	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Ramchandra Saraph.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Ahmednagar.	do.
510	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudeo Vishnu Ketkar.	do.	Vakil, Sub-Judge's Court	do.
511	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayek Balwant Chaukar.	do.	Secretary, Ahmednagar Education Society, Pleader, Ahmednagar.	do.
512	"	"	"	Mr. Sadashiv Vyankatesh Jog.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Ahmednagar.	do.
513	"	"	"	Mr. Vaman Vishwanath Mahajan.	do.	Private Medical Practitioner	do.
514	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Haridas Damodhadas.	Vaishnava Nagar Bania.	Sowkar and Municipal Commissioner, Ahmednagar.	do.
515	"	"	"	Mr. Martand Ramchandra Deshmukh.	Brahmin	Trader and Sowkar, Ahmednagar, Inamdar.	do.
516	"	"	"	Mr. Bhaskar Anant Kunti.	do.	Private Teacher	do.
517	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchander Mahadeo Despande.	do.	Kohilay	do.

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518	Bombay.	Deccan.	Ahmednagar.	Rao Saheb Ragunathrao Govind Jinsiwale.	Brahmin.	Local Board Member, Banker and Municipal Commissioner.	By a Public Meeting, held at Ahmednagar on 3rd December 1889.
519	"	"	"	Mr. Vithal Mahadeo Bhato.	do.	Banker, Member Taluka Local Board.	do.
520	"	"	"	Mr. Madhavrao Gungadhar	do.	Subordinate Government Pleader, Akola, Member, Local Board.	do.
521	"	"	"	Mr. Vaman Trimbak Godbole.	do.	Vakil, Local Board, Member, Partner.	do.
522	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Keshav Bapuji.	do.	Member, Municipality, Sangamnair and Vakil, Chairman, School Board.	do.
523	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnaji Keshev Gharpurey.	do.	Khot, Ahmednagar, New Peit.	do.
524	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Babaji Ganesh Deshpande.	Hindu Brahmin.	Government Pleader, and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
525	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Gajanan Daji Nisal.	Brahmin.	District Local Board Member and Sowkar, Member of Educational Society, Ahmednagar.	do.
526	"	"	"	Sardar Rao Saheb Vasudev Shivrao Shastri.	do.	Jahagirdar of Baku Pimpalgaon Toka Taluka, Nevasa.	do.
527	"	"	"	Mr. Keshev Vishwanath Patwardhan, B.A.	do.	Member, District Local Board.	do.
528	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Sawliaram Dinanath.	Hindu Pardeshi.	Vakil, Ahmednagar District ...	do.
529	"	"	"	Mr. Chandrarao Eknath, Dharmadhikari.	Hindu Brahmin.	Member, District Local Board, and Pleader.	do.
530	"	"	"	Mr. Hasankhan Amirkhan, Pathan.	Mahomedan.	Agriculturist	do.
531	"	"	"	Sirdar Rao Saheb Moro Krishna Dabholkar.	Brahmin.	Contractor	do.
532	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Krishna Dabholkar.	do.	Jahagirdar of Akolner, Exercising Civil and Criminal Powers, Member of the District Local Board and a Sardar of the Deccan.	do.
533	"	"	Sangamner (Ahmednagar District).	Mr. Balaji Yeshwant Gatre	do.	Jahagirdar of Akolner.	do.
534	"	"	"	Mr. Shanker Rao Deshpande.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Ahmednagar and Village Munsiff.	do.
535	"	"	Nasik.	Mr. Shankarrao Daji Kanade.	Hindu. Lingayat.	Agriculturist	do.
536	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Mahadeo Janardan Palutkar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Banker, Malegaon, Nasik District.	Elected by the Nasik Sarvajanik Sabha, on 1st December 1889.
537	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Anant Kalkarni.	Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Nasik, Municipal Commissioner.	do.
538	"	"	"	Mr. Ballajee Narayan Vaidya.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Satana, Nasik.	do.
539	"	"	"	Mr. Parsharam Vishnoo Yogee.	do.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Malegaon City.	do.
540	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Hari Kalo.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Nasik City.	do.
541	"	"	"	Mr. Ambadas Ramchandra Pimpaladker.	do.	Merchant and Manager, Nasik Vritta, Press.	do.
542	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Janardan Raghunath Nimbkar.	do.	Jahagirdar, Monje Pimpalad Taluka, Chandwad, Nasik.	do.
543	"	"	"	Mr. Daji Vishnoo Ketkar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader District Court, Nasik City, Chandwadkar's Alli, and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
544	"	"	"	Mr. Shridhar Annaji Chawdhari.	do.	Pleader, District Court ...	do.
545	"	"	"	Shrimant Ganpatrao Damodar alias Abasaheb Chandwadker.	do.	Vakil	do.
						Banker	do.

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546	Bombay	Deccan.	Nasik.	Shrimant Damodarrao Krishna Hingre.	Brahmin.	Jahagirdar of Chaudore, 2nd Class Sardar.	Elected by the Nasik Sarvajanik Sabha, on 1st December 1889.
547	"	"	"	Mr. Shitaran Damoder Bhonde.	Hindu Brahmin.	Merchant and District Local Board Commissioner.	do.
548	"	"	"	Mr. Ragho Narotum ...	Pardeshi.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Satana.	do.
549	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Kashinath Kelkar	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Satana.	do.
550	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Ganesh Raoji Kshirsagar.	do.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Satana, Municipal Commissioner, District Local Board Member.	do.
551	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Balaji Narayan Vaidya.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Malegaon, Municipal Commissioner.	do.
552	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Gangadhar Narshive Ketkar.	Hindu Brahmin.	District Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Nasik.	do.
553	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Kachardas Mayam.	Marwadi.	Merchant and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
554	"	"	"	Mr. Vishnu Vinayek Sathaye.	Hindu Brahmin.	Teacher and Proprietor of Yeshwant English School.	do.
555	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnarao Jairam Gupte.	Purbhu.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Malegaon.	do.
556	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Ganesh Pandurang.	Brahmin.	Government Pleader Nasik, Chairman, Nasik Municipality, and a Member of the Local District Board.	do.
557	"	"	"	Mr. Naysukha Kevalchand.	Jain Marwari.	Merchant	do.
558	"	"	"	Mr. Sitaram Vishnoo Vaidya.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil	do.
559	"	"	"	Mr. Vithal Bhikaji Bhide.	do.	Pleader of the Sub-Judge's Court at Pimpalgaon, Baswant.	do.
560	"	"	"	Shrimant Lakshmanrao Ramarao alias Dada Saheb Sukenkar.	do.	Jahagirdar of Satana	do.
561	"	"	"	Mr. Trimbak Ganesh Takle.	do.	Merchant	do.
562	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Wasudev Rao Balkrishna Takleskar.	do.	Jahagirdar, Municipal Commissioner, Local Board Member Nighed and Nasik Taluka District Local Board Member and Honorary Magistrate, Panchawati, Nasik.	do.
563	"	"	"	Shrimant Ramchandra Rajaram alias Daji Saheb.	Brahmin.	Jahagirdar	do.
564	"	"	"	Mr. Ramachandra Ballal Godbole.	do.	Superintendent, Yeshwantrao Maharaj English School.	do.
565	"	"	"	Mr. Jairam Abaji Joshi ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Nasik.	do.
566	"	"	"	Mr. Vishnu Hari Kale ...	Brahmin.	Banker, Nasik	do.
567	"	"	"	Mr. Vishwanath Sitaram Takale.	Hindu Brahmin.	Merchant	do.
568	"	"	"	Mr. Shivaram Govind Phalke.	Brahmin.	Teacher, Trimbak	do.
569	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Vishwanat Patwardhan.	do.	District Pleader	do.
570	"	"	"	Mr. Shunker Luxuman Date.	Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Nasik.	Public Meeting, Nasik, 1st December 1889.
571	"	"	"	Mr. Hiralal Ramdin ...	Jain Marwari.	Merchant and Sowkar... ..	do.
572	"	"	"	Mr. Anant Waman Joshi...	Brahmin.	Merchant	do.
573	"	"	"	Mr. Chunilal Ravatmal ...	Marwari.	Merchant	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
574	Bombay.	Deccan.	Nasik.	Sirdar Shrimant Ramrao, Krishna alias Baba Saheb Vinchurkar.	Brahmin.	Jahagirdar of Vinchur...	Public Meeting, held in Nasik, on the 1st December, 1889.
575	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Gunesh Mundle, B.A., LL.B.	do.	High Court Pleader ...	do.
576	"	"	Manamad (Nasik.)	Mr. Sakharan Chhajmal.	Jain	Merchant and Cultivator ...	do.
577	"	"	Yeola (Nasik.)	Rao Saheb Khemachanda Dajiba Shet.	Hindu Brahmin.	General Merchant, Cultivator, Municipal Commissioner, Member, Arya Samaj.	Public Meeting, held at Yeola, on the 17th November, 1889.
578	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Shankar Narhar Dhande.	Brahmin.	Municipal Commissioner ...	do.
579	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnarao Trimbnk.	do.	Pleader and Inamdar ...	do.
580	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Purshotam Damodar Barve.	Maratha Hindu Brahmin	Landlord, Yeola, Zilla Nasik, Sir Deshmukha, Political Pensioner, Municipal Commissioner and Member, Arya Samaj.	do.
581	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Keshav Nandram, Marwadi.	Hindu Jain.	Cultivator and Merchant, Member, Local Board, Yeola.	do.
582	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Ramkant B. Thathe.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Yeola, Zilla Nasik, and Member of the Municipal and Local Boards.	do.
583	"	"	"	Shet Jagjivan Khemchandra Gurothi.	Hindu Gazar.	General Merchant and Cultivator, Member, Arya Samaj.	do.
584	"	"	"	Mr. Damodar Narayen.	Hindu Guzeratti.	General Merchant and Banker, Member, Arya Samaj, Yeola.	do.
585	"	"	"	Shrimant Murlidhar Nathubhai.	Hindu Guzar.	Banker, Cultivator and General Merchant.	do.
586	"	"	"	Shet Balmukand ...	Hindu Guzeratti.	Merchant, Agriculturist, Yeola.	do.
587	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Damodhar Mohanlal.	do.	General Merchant, Municipal Commissioner.	do.
588	"	"	"	Mr. Raoji Parasharam Jogalekar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Mukhtiar ...	Yeola "Arya Samaj."
589	"	"	Sinnar (Nasik.)	Rao Saheb Sakharan Dhondeo.	do.	Sowkar Vavi Taluka Sinnar, Nasik District, Landlord, General Merchant, and a Member of the Taluka Local Board.	Elected by a Public Meeting, on the 6th December, 1889.
590	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Anant Raoji Kavale.	do.	Pleader, Sinnar, Zilla Nasik, Municipal Commissioner and Chairman of the Sanitation Committee.	do.
591	"	"	"	Mr. Parasharam Jayaram Gupte.	Hindu Purbhu.	Vakil and Secretary of the Native General Library, Shemur.	do.
592	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Vamauro Mahadeo Pradhan.	do.	Government Pleader, Member of the District Local Board, Municipal Commissioner and Chairman.	do.
593	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Kshiraja Gopal Deshpande.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landlord, Sinnar, Nasik District, Member of the Local Board, Municipal Commissioner.	do.
594	"	"	"	Mr. Balvant Gunesh Novle.	Hindu.	Merchant ...	do.
595	"	"	"	Mr. Trimbnck Kasheeran Shet.	Shimpee.	Landlord and General Merchant, Vadeengule, Sinnar Taluka, Nasik District.	do.
596	"	"	"	Mr. Waman Bapuji Pradhan alias Appasaheb.	Hindu Purbhu.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Pimpalgaon, Baswant.	do.
597	"	"	Khandesh.	Mr. Ganoo Bhica...	Hindu Marathi.	Merchant, Municipal Commissioner.	By Public Meeting, on 16th November, 1889.
598	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Chintaman Bapuji.	Brahmin.	Pleader and Vice-President, Municipality.	do.

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599	Bombay.	Deccan.	Khandesh.	Mr. Janardhan Bhicajee Khare.	Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Dhulia, Municipal Commissioner.	Public Meeting, 17th November, 1889.
600	"	"	"	Mr. Damodar Laxman Deshpande, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader, District, Khandesh ...	do.
601	"	"	"	Shaik Sandemiya Walad, Shaik Bulan.	Mahomedan.	Money Lender and Agriculturist	At a Public Meeting, on the 24th November, 1889.
602	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Martand Luxmon Harat.	Hindu. Maratha.	Inami Jahagirdar, Member of the Taluka and District Local Board and Municipal Commissioner.	Community of Dhulia and Taluka, on the 17th November, 1889.
603	"	"	Dhulia (Khandesh)	Mr. Madhowrao Narayen Gudre.	Hindu Brahmin.	Government Pleader, Vice-President of Taluka Local Board, Dhulia, and Municipal Commissioner.	Public Meeting, Dhulia, 25th November, 1889.
604	"	"	"	Mr. Krishna Dhanaji ...	Nhavi.	Medical Practitioner.	At a Meeting, held at Dhulia, on 17th November, 1889.
605	"	"	"	Mr. Yadav Vyanktesh Niphadkar.	Brahmin.	District Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
606	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Govindrao Ramchandra Garud.	do.	District Pleader, Vice-President, District Local Board and Municipality, Dhulia, Khandesh.	do.
607	"	"	"	Mr. Tukaram Arjun, Maistry.	Hindu.	Municipal Commissioner, and Merchant.	do.
608	"	"	"	Mr. Sakharan Dulab Das.	Jain.	Municipal Member ...	do.
609	"	"	Jalgaon (Khandesh)	Mr. Abaji Ragho Mhalas.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Jalgaon, Khandesh ...	Elected by a Public Meeting, on the 17th November, 1889.
610	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Sitaram Mahadeo Barve.	do.	Pleader and Member of the District Local Board, Landlord and Khote.	do.
611	"	"	Bhusawal.	Mr. Sakharan Ganesh Patankar.	Brahmin.	Municipal Member, Bhusawal, and Pleader.	Bhusawal, Khandesh, 16th November, 1889.
612	"	"	"	Mr. Vithal Govind ...	do.	Pleader ...	do.
613	"	"	"	Mr. Keshav Ballal ...	do.	Contractor and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
614	"	"	Amalner.	Mr. Rupchand Magaudas...	Guzerathi Jain.	Merchant ...	Public Meeting, Amalner, 24th November, 1889.
615	"	"	"	Mr. Dhondo Sadashive Panwalkar.	Brahmin.	Vakil, Amalner ...	do.
616	"	"	"	Mr. Narayen Vishnu Parajpe.	do.	Vakil, Sub-Judge's Court, Amalner, Vice-President, Taluka, Local Board, and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
617	"	"	"	Mr. Wasudeo Daji Mwthe.	Hindu Brahmin.	Member, Taluka Local Board, Municipal Commissioner and Sowkar.	do.
618	"	"	Yawal (Khandesh)	Mr. Baburao Moreswar Halbe.	Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Yawal, Zilla Khandesh.	Public Meeting, 17th November, 1889.
619	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Dhondoo Bhawji Deshmukh.	Kunbi.	Merchant, Member, Municipality, Yawal, and District Local Board, Khandesh.	do.
620	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Ghanasham Khushal.	Lingayet.	Government Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Vice-President, Municipality, Yawal, and Taluka Local Board, Sowda, Khandesh.	do.
621	"	"	"	Mr. Gangadher Narayan Late.	Brahmin.	Pleader, and Member, Municipality, Yawal, Taluka Sowda, Khandesh.	do.
622	"	"	"	Mr. Sakharan Pandurang Gupte.	Hindu Parbhu.	Pleader ...	do.
623	"	"	Jamnor (Khandesh)	Mr. Waman Ganesh Sath.	Hindu Brahmin.	Merchant, Money-lender, and Landlord.	Elected by a Meeting, on the 14th December.
624	"	"	Thalnar (Khandesh)	Mr. Hari Ramdas...	Hindu Wani.	Member, Local Board, Merchant, and Landlord.	Public Meeting, Thalner, 1st December, 1889.

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625	Bombay.	Deccan.	Shirpur (Khandesh District).	Rao Saheb Ramchandra Chintaman Khare.	Brahmin.	Pleader at Shirpur, Khandesh District, Vice-President, Municipality of Shirpur, Chairman, Taluka Local Board, Shirpur.	Elected 1st December, 1889, at a Public Meeting in Shirpur.
626	"	"	"	Mr. Wasudev Vinayek Karandikar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader	Public Meeting, Shirpur, in Khandesh, 17th November, 1889.
627	"	"	Erandol Taluka (Khandesh District.)	Rao Saheb Bhikaji Dhonde Nigudkar.	Brahmin.	Member, District Local Board, Pleader, and Chairman, School Committee, Erandol.	Public Meeting at Erandol, 30th November, 1889.
628	"	"	Sawada (Khandesh Taluka.)	Mr. Tarachand Amarchund Nahatta.	Jain Oswal Marwari.	Banker, and Member Local Board.	Public Meeting, at Bama, nod, Sawada Talooka, 10th December, 1889.
629	"	"	Raver (Khandesh)	Mr. Dayaldas Kunjalal.	Marwari.	Sowkar	Raver, Khandesh, 12th December, 1889.
630	"	"	"	Mr. Dovidas Devial ...	do.	do.	do.
631	"	"	"	Mr. Mahadev Vishnu Bhallerao.	Brahmin.	do.	do.
632	"	"	"	Shrimant Raje Raghnathrao Jaykrishnarao.	do.	Deshmukh Deshpande, Member, District Local Board, and Jahagirdar.	do.
633	"	"	Tasgaon (Satara.)	Mr. Anant Narayan Kaulgikar.	do.	Editor, Chandausha	Public Meeting, at Tasgaon 20th November, 1889.
634	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayak Daji, Kaulgikar.	do.	Inamdar	do.
635	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayak Ragumath Mahiskar.	do.	Inamdar and Merchant	do.
636	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayak Wishwanath Huprikar.	do.	Municipal Commissioner, Tasgaon.	do.
637	"	"	"	Mr. Shrinivas Laksman Chipade.	do.	Pleader, Tasgaon	do.
638	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Anantrao ...	Maratha Hindu.	Saran Inamdar, Tasgaon, Satara, and Zilla Local Board Member.	do.
639	"	"	"	Mr. Ababhai W. Shirajibhai Mounin.	Mahomedan.	Trader	do.
640	"	"	"	Mr. Datatraya Shewram, Sidhore.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Tasgaon, Satara	do.
641	"	"	Satara.	Mr. Lakshman Dadaji Pathak.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Inamdar	Satara, Public Meeting 17th November, 1889.
642	"	"	"	Shrimant Sakharam Nilkanth Kanhere.	do.	Inamdar	do.
643	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnarao Sakharam.	do.	Mahajani Inamdar	do.
644	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Balvant Shridhar Sahasrabuddhe.	do.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, and Secretary, Sarvanjanik Sabha.	do.
645	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Ganesh Pandurang Agte.	do.	Inamdar, Vice-President, Satara Municipality, Vice-President, District and Taluka Local Boards, Honorary Bench Magistrate and Chairman, School Board.	do.
646	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Pandurang Nilkauth Bhadkamkar.	do.	Assistant Government Pleader, District Court, Municipal Commissioner, and Inamdar, Satara.	do.
647	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Vaman Ganesh Phadnis.	do.	Inamdar and Municipal Commissioner, Satara, and Member, Taluka Local Board, Satara.	do.

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648	Bombay.	Deccan.	Satara.	Mr. Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar.	Hindu Brahmin.	High Court Pleader, Secretary, Sarvajanik Sabha.	Satara, Public Meeting, 17th November, 1889.
649	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Malhar Khanderno Chitnis, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Parbhui.	Municipal Commissioner, High Court Pleader, and Inamdar.	do.
650	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Laxman Balwant Mutalik.	Hindu Brahmin.	Inamdar, Municipal Commissioner, Member, Taluka and District Local Boards, Honorary Bench Magistrate and Conciliator under the Deccan Agriculturist Act.	do.
651	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Vishnu Laxman Rangole.	Hindu Kasar.	Trader, Municipal Commissioner, Member, Taluka Local Board, and Honorary Bench Magistrate.	do.
652	"	"	"	Mr. Gokuldas Shitaran Gandhi.	Hindu Gujar.	Trader	do.
653	"	"	"	Rev. Mr. Kasambhai Muhammad.	Christian.	Preacher	do.
654	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Govind Vishnu Ranade.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader	do.
655	"	"	"	Mr. Ganpatdas Hirachand Devi.	Gujarati.	Contractor and General Merchant.	do.
656	"	"	"	Mr. Dattatraya Balwant, Parasnis.	Hindu Brahmin.	Proprietor, "Maharashtra Kolkil."	do.
657	"	"	"	Mr. Shuaodin Haji Abab-saly.	Mahomedan.	General Merchant	Anjuman-e Ahbab, Khadematubh, Satara, 20th November, 1889.
658	"	"	"	Mr. Vaman Anant Bhide...	Hindu Brahmin.	Trader	Traders' Association, Satara, 15th December, 1889.
659	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Pandurang Agte.	Hindu Brahmin.	Trader	do.
660	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnaji Ramchandra Ranbhor.	do.	Pleader	do.
661	"	"	"	Mr. Rangoo Ramchandra Ranbhor.	do.	Trader	Satara, Public Meeting, Ashta, 24th November, 1889.
662	"	"	"	Mr. Ann Jinapa	Hindu Jain.	Agriculturist and Money-lender.	do.
663	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Govind Dhondadeo Limaye.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Merchant, Member, Local Board, Satara, Vice-President, Taluk Local Board, Chairman, and Vice-President, Municipality.	do.
664	"	"	"	Mr. Ganapatrao Vitthalrao Deshamukh.	Hindu Lingayat.	Member, Local Board and Inamdar.	do.
665	"	"	"	Mr. Pandurang Vaman Chitnis.	Hindu Parbhui.	Inamdar	do.
666	"	"	"	Mr. Murori Chopadi Shinde	Hindu Maratha.	Cultivator and Money-lender ...	do.
667	"	"	"	Mr. Rudrapa Guru Lingappa.	Hindu Lingaynt.	Trade	do.
668	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Hari Ramkrishna Hardikar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Agriculturist, Money-lender, Member, Local Board, Walwa.	do.
669	"	"	Walwa (Satara).	Mr. Krishnaji Luxman Desai.	do.	Pleader	do.
670	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Krishna Talvadkar.	Hindu.	do.	do.
671	"	"	"	Mr. Balaji Damodar Hasannis.	Hindu Brahmin.	Agriculturist and Money-lender.	do.
672	"	"	"	Mr. Balaji Venkatesh Hasannis.	do.	Agriculturist	do.
673	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Vishnu Hasannis.	do.	do.	do.
674	"	"	"	Mr. Vanaji Hukunaji ...	Hindu Marwari.	Trader and Money-lender ...	do.
675	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Bhaw, Patel.	Hindu Maratha.	do.	do.

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676	Bombay.	Deconan.	Walva (Satara)	Rao Saheb Sambhu Rann Patel.	Hindu Maratha.	Agriculturist, Money-lender, Chairman, Municipality, Walva, Vice-President, Municipality, and Village Moonsiff.	By a Public Meeting, 24th November, 1889.
677	"	"	"	Mr. Keshav Raghunath Fadke.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader	do.
678	"	"	"	Mr. Balvant Narayan Tagare.	do.	Money-lender, and Municipal Chairman.	do.
679	"	"	Taluka Karhad (District Satara.)	Rao Saheb Bhasker Gopal Savarkar.	do.	Government Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Karhad District, Satara, and President of the Karhad Municipality, and Vice-President of the Taluk Local Board, Karhad.	By Public Meeting, on 19th November, 1889.
680	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Vaman Narayan Kirane.	do.	Member of the District Local Board, Satara.	do.
681	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Ganesh Chintaman Bhate.	do.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Karhad District, Satara.	do.
682	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Vitthal Mahipat Supanekar.	do.	Do. and Member of the Taluk Local Board, Karhad.	do.
683	"	"	"	Naro Vitthal Ghate ...	Brahmin.	Inamdar and Local Board Member, and Municipal Commissioner, Karad District, Satara.	Karhad, 2nd December, 1889.
684	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Gopal Kelkar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader	Public Meeting held at Karhad, on 10th November, 1889.
685	"	"	"	Mr. Gangadhar Ramkrishna Kirane, L.C.E.	Brahmin Karhada.	Money-dealer and Farmer ...	do.
686	"	"	"	Khan Saheb Chandsha Manesha.	Mahomedan	Kazi, Inamdar, Member, Taluka Local Board, and Municipal Commissioner.	Karhad, Public Meeting, 2nd December, 1889.
687	"	"	Wai Taluka (Satara-District.)	Rao Saheb Ramchandra Krishna Kothavale.	Hindu Brahmin.	Inamdar, Member of the Satara District Local Board and Municipal Commissioner, Wai Municipality.	Public Meeting, Wai, 17th November, 1889.
688	"	"	"	Mr. Sudashiv Ramchandra Bakhle.	do.	Merchant	do.
689	"	"	Taluka Rahimut-poor (Satara District)	Mr. Sitaram Anant Bhide, Pleader.	do.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Rahimut-poor Taluk, Koregaon.	Elected by the Rahimut-poor Congress Sub-Committee on 24th November, 1889.
690	"	"	"	Mr. Mahadey Khande Vaidya.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Rahimut-poor Taluk, Koregaon.	do.
691	"	"	Khanapur (Satara District.)	Rao Saheb Gopal Keshava Limaye.	do.	Pleader, and Chairman, Vita Municipality.	Vita Khanapur, Public Meeting, 10th December, 1889.
692	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Vishnu Ranade.	do.	Inamdar, and Trader	do.
693	"	"	"	Mr. Shankarrao Ragunnath Agashe.	do.	Sawkar, Taluka, Patan District, Satara.	Public Meeting, 20th November, 1889.
694	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Krishnarao Ramchandra Garvare.	do.	Inamdar, Trader, and Member, District, Local, and Taluka Board.	Vita Khanapur, Public Meeting, 10th December, 1889.
695	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Vaman Shri-dhar.	do.	Pleader, Vice-President, Taluka Local Board, and Member of the District Local Board.	do.
696	"	"	Bijapur.	Rao Saheb Raghobadra Krishna.	do.	Landholder and Pleader, Vice-President, District Local Board, Bijapur, and Municipal Commissioner.	Public Meeting at Bijapur, 10th November, 1889.

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697	Bombay.	Deccan.	Bijapur.	Rao Saheb Sheshjirao Rayaji.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Chairman, Municipality, Bijapur, and Vice-President, Taluka Local Board.	Public Meeting at Bijapur, 10th November, 1889.
698	"	"	"	Mr. Balwantrao Moreswar Joshi.	do.	Merchant	do.
699	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Narharrao Ramchandra.	do.	Landholder, Vakil, Municipal Commissioner, Bijapur, and Member, District Local Board.	do.
700	"	"	"	Khan Saheb Haji Ibrahim Mahomed Goshmirasahib, Mutuwally.	Mahomedan.	Jahagirdar, and Member, District Local Board.	do.
701	"	"	"	Khan Saheb Mahomed-saheb.	do.	do.	do.
702	"	"	Bagalcote (District Bijapur.)	Azum Virbhudruppe, late Bhadmshetti.	Lingayat.	Merchant	Public Meeting, held on the 3rd of December, 1889, at Bagalcote Town.
703	"	"	"	Mr. Bulwantrao Bhimrao Jambhekar.	Brahmin.	Citizen of the Town of Bagalcote.	do.
704	"	"	"	Mr. Dhondidas Gunneshdas.	Guzerati Wanees.	Banker, Bagalcote	do.
705	"	"	"	Mr. Sitaram Hanmantrao Nimbgamkar.	Brahmin.	Journalist, Proprietor of the Shri-Ramdas Press at Bijapur, and the Kumind Punch, Bagalcote.	do.
706	"	"	"	Mr. Venkatidas Tukaidas.	Hindu Gujar.	Merchant	Public Meeting at Bagalcote, 10th Dec. 1889.
707	"	"	"	Azum Rukmuddin Saheb, Jubbur.	Mahomedan.	Merchant and Municipal Commissioner, Bagalcote.	Meeting held on the 3rd of December, 1889.
708	"	"	"	Mr. Nubne Saheb Jamadar.	do.	Land-holder	do.
709	"	"	Indi (District Bijapur.)	Mr. Sadashiva Laxman Kalekar.	Hindu Shudra.	Merchant and Land-holder ...	Public Meeting at Indi, 14th December, 1889.
710	"	"	Mudebihal (Bijapur.)	Mr. Venkatrao Appaji Gothe.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader at Mudebihal	Public Meeting, Mudebihal, 12th December, 1889.
711	"	"	Belgaum.	Mr. Anandrao Sidoji Mane.	Maratha.	Honorary Magistrate, Banker, and Cloth Merchant.	Public Meeting, Belgaum District, 8th December, 1889.
712	"	"	"	Mr. Bhimrao Shrinivasrao Pridi.	Brahmin.	Land-holder	do.
713	"	"	"	Mr. Shripad Anant Chhatre.	do.	Pleader	do.
714	"	"	"	Mr. Shankar Raghunath Patherpekar Pili.	Maratha.	1st Assistant Master, London Mission High School.	do.
715	"	"	"	Mr. Vaman Vithal Kulkarni.	Brahmin.	Land-owner, and Vatandar, Sankeshvar, Belgaum District.	do.
716	"	"	"	Mr. Rao Saheb Appaya Dhamagi.	Lingayat.	Merchant and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
717	"	"	"	Mr. Bhimrao Apaji Mahajan.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Chikodee, Land-owner, Gokak, Belgaum.	do.
718	"	"	"	Mr. Anant Mangesh Birdikar.	Goan Brahmin.	District Pleader, Land-holder, Joint Secretary, District Association, Belgaum, Khanapore.	do.
719	"	"	"	Mr. Vaman Govind Palekar.	Guzerati Brahmin.	Pleader, Belgaum	do.
720	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Vinayak Velankar.	Brahmin.	do.	do.
721	"	"	"	Mr. Vishnu Raghunath Natu, B.A., LL.B.	do.	District Pleader and Secretary, Belgaum District Association.	do.
722	"	"	"	Mr. Maheshvar Lakshman Gadgil.	do.	Pleader	do.
723	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Mahdevrao Narayan Jogalekar.	do.	Vice-President, Municipality, Belgaum.	do.
724	"	"	"	Khan Saheb Ibrahim Saheb Khateb, Inamdar, Khamkarhatti.	Musalman.	Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Member of the District Local Board, Member, Agricultural Committee, Contract Association.	do.
725	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Appaya Basing Appa Halagi.	Lingayat.	Merchant, and Municipal Commissioner.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
726	Bombay.	Deccan.	Belgaum.	Mr. Abdul Rahiman Saheb.	Mahomedan.	Inamdar, Khateb, Belgaum ...	By Public Meeting, 8th December, 1889.
727	"	"	"	Mr. Mukdoom Saheb Arcot.	do.	Merchant	do.
728	"	"	"	Mr. Golam Hoosen Saheb.	do.	Sarnur Moulvi	do.
729	"	"	"	Mr. Raoji Gaugadhar Khot.	Good Brahmin.	Pleader, Belgaum	do.
730	"	"	"	Mr. Burjorjee Framjee ...	Parsee.	Land-owner, and Contractor ...	do.
731	"	"	"	Mr. Vyankatarao Krishna Mahajan.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader	do.
732	"	"	"	Mr. Hanamant Dattatraya Kulkarni.	do.	Landholder and Contractor ...	Public Meeting, 24th November, 1889.
733	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Dhondo Kulkarni.	do.	Landholder and Sowkar ...	do.
734	"	"	Sankeswar (Belgaum.)	Mr. Keshev Abaji Kulkarni.	Brahmin.	Village Accountant	Public Meeting, Sankeswar, Belgaum District, 19th December, 1889.
735	"	"	Chikodi (Belgaum.)	Rao Saheb Sadashiv Balkrishna Bhate.	do.	Chairman, Schools Committee, Belgaum Municipality and District Court Pleader.	Public Meeting, Chikodi, 24th November, 1889.
736	"	"	Dharwar.	Rao Saheb Ramchandra Swamirao, Malapur.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Dharwar, Member of the Local Board (District and Taluka).	In Public Meeting, 16th August, 1889.
737	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Bhimrao Jambhekar, B.A.	do.	Head Master, Victoria High School, Dharwar.	do.
738	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Anant Vyankatesh Panindikar.	Hindu Saraswat.	Pleader, District Court, Dharwar, Honorary Magistrate, and Member District Local Board.	do.
739	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnarao Hanmant.	Brahmin.	Pleader and Honorary Magistrate.	do.
740	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Appa Krisnapappa Konaraddi.	Hindu Raddi Caste.	Land-holder and Merchant, Dharwar.	do.
741	"	"	"	Mr. Antaji Ramchandra Joglekar.	Brahmin.	Editor "Dharwar Vritta" Newspaper.	Public Meeting, Dharwar, 21st July, 1889.
742	"	"	Hubli (District Dharwar)	Mr. Gururao Babaji Morah.	do.	Pleader	Public Meeting, 13th August, 1889.
743	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnarao Raghavendra Valeekar.	Hindu Brahmin.	do.	Public Meeting, Hubli, held on 8th October, 1889.
744	"	"	"	Mr. Sitaram Narayen Guttal.	do.	do.	do.
745	"	"	"	Mr. Narayenrao Shrinewas Chitgupi.	do.	Merchant	do.
746	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Subrao Ramchandra Behatti.	Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Dharwar, Chairman, Municipality, and Member Local Board.	do.
747	"	"	Gadag (District Dharwar.)	Mr. Subrao Sheshoo ...	do.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Gadag.	Public Meeting, held on the 15th December, 1889.
748	"	"	"	Mr. Vyankatrao Narayen Arur.	do.	Pleader, District Court, Dharwar.	do.
749	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Raghavendra Rao Krishna Mulgundhakar.	do.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Gadag, Member, Local Board.	do.
750	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudevdas Venkatidos.	Guzeratti.	Sowkar Merchant, and Chairman, Gadag Municipality.	do.
751	"	"	"	Mr. Gopaldas Govindas ...	do.	Sowkar Merchant, Gadag ...	do.
752	"	"	"	Mr. Venkatesh Ganesh Sashihital.	Brahmin.	Pleader	do.
753	"	"	"	Mr. Nasarwanji Hormasji Padsha.	Parsee.	Agent, Framjee & Co.	do.
754	"	"	Karajagi (Dharwar.)	Mr. Hari Sakharam Jogalekar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Sowkar Landholder, and Honorary Magistrate, Karajagi, Dharwar.	Elected at Public Meeting, held at Karajagi, 27th September, 1889.
755	"	"	"	Mr. Vishwanath Keshav Joglekar.	Brahmin.	Merchant, and Vice-President, Local Board.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
756	Bombay	Deccan.	Karwar (Kanara)	Rao Saheb Shanker Wentsh Take.	Brahmin.	Member, District Local Board and Municipal Commissioner.	Public Meeting, held on 17th November, 1889.
757	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Subrao Nannappa Wagle.	do.	Landholder, and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
758	"	"	"	Mr. Atmaram Hari Suktankar.	do.	Medical Practitioner	do.
759	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Anant Vinkar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleaser, District Court, Karwar.	do.
760	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Shivaram Subrao Nagarkathe.	do.	Member, District Local Board, Kanara, and Pleaser, District Court, Karwar.	do.
761	"	"	"	Mr. Subrao Narayan Kamat.	do.	Landholder	do.
762	"	"	Gokarna (Kanara.)	Mr. Narshiava Ganesh Bhut.	Brahmin.	Native Doctor	Public Meeting, 29th October, 1889.
763	"	"	"	Mr. Hosmani Nageshroo Shantaya Gokarnakar.	Hindu Saraswata.	Landholder, Gokarna	do.
764	"	"	Kumta (District Kanara.)	Mr. Nannji Bhanjee Shet.	Hindu Thakkar.	Merchant	Kumta Town, 3rd November, 1889.
765	"	"	"	Sayad Kassim Sayad Mahomed.	Mahomedan.	Merchant	do.
766	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Haji Sayad Hoosein Sayad Yasoofalli Perjade.	do.	Merchant, Landholder and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
767	"	"	Ankola (District Kanara.)	Mr. Damodar Pandurang Prabhu.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder	Public Meeting, Ankola, September 1889.
768	"	"	Sirsi (District Kanara.)	Mr. Mahableshwar Bhat Bhadrabhat Gopi.	Dravid Hindu Brahmin.	District Pleaser, Kanara, President, Kanara Vanadukha, Nivarini Sabha.	Sirsi, Public Meeting, 19th November, 1889.
769	"	"	"	Mr. Pundlik Narayan	Hindu Brahmin.	Municipal Commissioner, Vice-President, Kanara, Vanadukha Nivarini Sabha and District Pleaser.	do.
770	"	"	"	Mr. Devar Hegde Devappa Hegde.	do.	Landholder	do.
771	"	"	"	Mr. Motensar Manjappa Hegde bin Paramaya Hedge.	do.	Merchant and Zemindar	do.
772	"	"	"	Mr. Anappa Hegde Venkappa Hegde.	do.	do.	do.
773	"	"	"	Mr. Ramaya Hegde, Paramaya Hegde.	Dravid Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar	do.
774	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Appa Hegde Permaya Hegde.	Havik Brahmin.	Agriculturist	do.
775	"	"	Sangali State.	Mr. Dattatraya Ramchandra Tilvi.	Goat Brahmin.	Superintendent, Dhunduraji Printing Press, Shahapur.	At a Public Meeting held on 16th December, 1889.
776	"	"	Miraj.	Mr. Gangadhur Amrit Joshi.	Brahmin.	Pleaser	Public Meeting, 8th December.
777	"	"	Sangali	Mr. Anant Ramchandra Patkar.	do.	Pleaser and Public Prosecutor.	Public Meeting, at Dighraj, Sangali State, 29th November, 1889.
778	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Balwant Garde	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleaser at Sangali	Public Meeting 9th October 1889.
779	"	"	"	Mr. Atmaram Balwant Khandekar.	Brahmin.	Pleaser	do.
780	"	"	"	Mr. Yeshwant Balkrishna Lagu.	Hindu Brahmin.	Inamdar	do.
781	"	"	"	Mr. Kondo Vittal Godbole.	do.	Sangali, S.M. Country, Merchant	do.
782	"	"	"	Mr. Keshava Narayen Bakhle.	do.	do. Agriculturist.	do.
783	"	"	Mangal Wedhe.	Mr. Gunesh Laxman Page.	Brahmin.	do. Landholder and Merchant.	Public Meeting, 9th December, 1889.
784	"	"	Kolhapur.	Mr. Ramchandra Narshinh Kulkarni.	do.	School Master, Kolhapur	Public Meeting, 24th November, 1889, at Kolhapur.
785	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Krishna Sohoni, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleaser and Landholder, Kolhapur.	do.
786	"	"	"	Mr. Kallapa Anna Ash-tokar.	Jain.	Pleaser	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
787	Bombay.	Deccan.	Ajara (Kolhapur.)	Mr. Chintaman Hari Sohoni	Brahmin.	Pleader and Inamdar ...	Ajara Public Meeting 24th November, 1889.
788	"	"	Gad Ingolaj (Kolhapur.)	Mr. Shrinivas Vyankatesh Deshpande.	do.	Inamdar... ..	Gad Ingolaj, Kolhapur.
789	"	"	Kurundwad (Kolhapur.)	Mr. Krishnaji Ballal Godbole.	Hindu Brahmin.	Superintendent B h a n n a n a Press, Kurandwad, S. M. Country.	By Public Meeting held at Kurundwad on the 4th December 1889.
790	"	"	Inchulkaranji (Kolhapur.)	Mr. Keshav Ganesh Sabins, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin.	District Pleader, Belgaum, Pleader, Miraj, Kurundwad and Saugli States.	Public Meeting, 22nd November 1889, Indian National Congress Hall, Inchulkaranji.
791	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Bobdeo Apte.	do.	Pleader, Member, A. V. School Committee, Inchulkaranji ...	do.
792	"	Guzerat.	Akmedabad.	Rao Bahadur Rancholelal Chotolal, C.I.E.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Manager of a Cotton Mill and Municipal President.	Public Meeting, 4th December, 1889.
793	"	"	"	Mr. Behecherlal Nathooram Bhat.	Hindu Brahmin.	Manager, Vag Bhatt Vaidaka Grantha Bhashantar, Member of Swadesha Vatsal Society.	At a Meeting held at Ahmedabad of the Swadesha Vatsal Society on the 17th December 1889.
794	"	"	"	Mr. Purnanand Mahanand Bhatt.	Rayakwal Hindu Brahmin.	Late Naib Dewan to His Highness Sir Shri Keshrisingjee, K.C.S.I., Maharaja of Idar, Mahikanta Agency.	do.
795	"	"	"	Seth Manibhai Premabhai.	Jain Bania.	Banker	Public Meeting, 4th December, 1889.
796	"	"	"	Mr. Dalsukhram Hargovind.	Hindu Kunbi.	Merchant	do.
797	"	"	"	Mr. Sakalchand Ratanchand Vohora.	Jain Bania.	Pleader	do.
798	"	"	"	Mr. Narbheram Raghunathdas.	Hindu Kshatri.	Government Pleader	do.
799	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Chunilal Raghunathdas.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
800	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Vrijrai Sakarlal.	do.	Do. do. ...	do.
801	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Chunilal Kapurchand.	Hindu Bania.	Pleader and Assistant Public Prosecutor, Ahmedabad, and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
802	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Keshavlal Motilal.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
803	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Trikamlal Vadilal.	Jain Bania.	Banker and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
804	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Someshvar Narayenji Trivadi.	Hindu Brahmin.	Government Pleader I Punch Mahals.	do.
805	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Desaibhai Kalidas.	do.	Government Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
806	"	"	"	Khan Saheb Cowasji Mancherji Karanjawalla.	Parsee.	Merchant and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
807	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnalal Lullubhai Mehta.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	District Court Pleader... ..	do.
808	"	"	Broach.	Mr. Pranshankar Narotum.	Hindu Brahmin.	District Pleader	do.
809	"	"	"	Mr. Ratanram Amratram Thanki.	Hindu Brahmin.	Head Master, Loka Hitechhu Sabha's School, Broach.	At a Public Meeting, of the Zilla, at Broach, and the Loka Hitechhu Sabha, on the 1st of December, 1889.
810	"	"	"	Mr. Madhavram Narbheram	do.	Judge Sirdar Court, Baroda ...	1st December, 1889, at a Public Meeting, of the Zilla, Broach.
811	"	"	"	Mr. Motilal Jamnadas Shroff.	Hindu Bania.	Shroff	do.
812	"	"	"	Mr. Mohunlal Manaklal ...	Vishlad Hindu Bania.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Chairman, School Board.	do.
813	"	"	"	Mr. Kanayalal Maneklal Desai.	Hindu Kshatri.	Zamindar	do.
814	"	"	"	Mr. Acharatlal Govinddas Ihanvi.	Hindu Bania.	District Pleader	do.
815	"	"	"	Mr. Tiludhur Ramchander.	Baj Khedaval Hindu Bania.	Money-lender and Landholder, Municipal Commissioner.	do.

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816	Bombay.	Guzerat.	Broach.	Mr. Manmohandas Ranchordas Javeri.	Hindu Bania.	Banker and Zamindar, President, Prarthna Samaj.	1st December 1889, at a Public Meeting of the Zilla, held at Broach.
817	"	"	"	Mr. Subhrai Ramchander.	Khedaval Hindu Brahmin.	Land-holder and Pleader, Vice-President, Taluq Board, Member, District Local Board.	do.
818	"	"	"	Mr. Anupram Mithalal Din Bundhw.	Hindu Brahmin.	Land-owner, Bahadur Buraj, Secretary, Guanadaya Sabha.	do.
819	"	"	"	Mr. Sukerlal Purmodrai ...	Brahmin Kshatri Hindu.	Pleader and Land-holder, Member of the Taluq Board, Vagra.	do.
820	"	"	"	Mr. Nathubhai Shunkerdas	Mohod Bania Hindu.	Shroff	do.
821	"	"	"	Mr. Itchalal Parmanand Munshi.	Hindu Bania.	Member, Bombay Presidency Association, and Secretary Khaduta Educational Fund.	do.
822	"	"	"	Mr. Magerrelal Mohanlal Javeri.	Hindu Mohod Bania.	Land-holder.	do.
823	"	"	"	Mr. Dayabhai Dalpatbhai Dalal.	Hindu Jain Vishu Shrimali Shrivik.	Assistant Master, Loka Hitechhu Sabha, English School.	By a Public Meeting, of the Jain Community of Broach, held on 20th November, 1889, of the Loka Hitechhu Sabha, and at Broach on 1st December, 1889.
824	"	"	"	Mr. Damodhar Rao Dadaji Delpate.	Hindu Parbhur or Patbare Kshatri Somwashi.	District Pleader and Medical Practitioner, Ankleswar.	Ankleswar Taluka, Public Meeting, 3rd November, 1889, Broach Zillah, Public Meeting, 18th December, 1889.
825	"	"	"	Mr. Motilal Dalpatram Desai, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Bania.	Solicitor High Court, Bombay, Member Guzerat Social Union, Member, Hindu Club, Bombay.	Broach Zillah, Public Meeting, 15th December, 1889.
826	"	"	Ankleshwar.	Khan Sahab Jamsetti Nusserwanji Gunwalla.	Parsee.	Abkari Contractor, Cotton Merchant, Member, Municipal and Local Boards of Ankleshwar, Joint Secretary Sub-divisional Congress Committee, Ankleshwar.	At a Meeting, held at Ankleshwar and Broach, on the 30th November, 1889.
827	"	"	Surat.	Mr. Hardeoram Nanabhai Haridas.	Hindu Kayastha.	Landowner	Public Meeting at Surat, 8th December, 1889.
828	"	"	"	Mr. Mansukhlal Hiralal Nagar.	do.	Merchant	do.
829	"	"	"	Mr. Harilal Harshadai Dhruva, B.A., LL.B. (Bombay) D.L.A. (Sweden) M.B.A.S. (Great Britain and Ireland).	Nagar Brahmin Hindu.	President, Prajahit Vardhak Sabha, Surat, Member, Guzerat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, Member, Anthropological Society, Bombay, Member, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.	At a Public Meeting, Ahmedabad, 5th December, 1889, and at Surat, 8th December, 1889. Withdrew after assemblage of Congress under orders of the Baroda Government whose servant he is.
830	"	"	"	Mr. M. D. Dadysett ...	Parsi.	Barrister-at-Law, Municipal Commissioner.	Public Meeting at Surat, 8th December, 1889.
831	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Narbheram Mansookram.	Hindu Bisnagra Nagar Brahmin.	Contractor and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
832	"	"	"	Mr. Bulram Motiram Munshi.	Nagar Hindu Brahmin.	District Pleader	do.
833	"	"	"	Mr. Motabhai Motilal Desai	do.	High Court Pleader, Surat ...	do.
834	"	"	"	Mr. Gulabdas Bhaidas ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
835	"	"	"	Mr. Jamietram Jivamram, B.A.	do.	.....	do.
836	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Gulabdas Puroshotamdes.	Hindu Bania.	Banker	do.
837	"	"	"	Mr. Monchershaw Pallonji Kulkobad.	Parsee.	Head Master, Mission High School, Surat.	do.
838	"	"	"	Mr. Naraindas Parsotamdas	Hindu Bania.	Merchant	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
839	Bombay.	Guzerat.	Surat.	Mr. Anoopram Kirparam.	Hindu	Secretary to Nawab Mir Goolam Babu Khan Bahadur of Surat, and Vakil.	At a Public Meeting held at Surat, on 8th December, 1889.
840	"	"	"	Mr. Hargovind Harnarayan Vyas.	Anavla Brahmin.	Pleader	do.
841	"	"	"	Mr. Mohanlal Ranchhordas	Hindu	Educational Inspector, Pensioner.	do.
842	"	"	"	Mr. Motilal Moogutial, Munshi.	Bania.	Pleader, High Court	do.
843	"	"	"	Mr. Ishwardas Jugjivandas Store.	Hindu.	Shroff and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
844	"	"	"	Mr. Ratiram Durgaram Dave, B.A.	do.	Articled Clerk	do.
845	"	"	"	Mr. Maharaj Vallabhadas Dwarikadas	Hindu	Shroff and Landed Proprietor...	Public Meeting, on 13th December, 1889.
846	"	"	"	Mr. Desaiji Harraji Babubhai.	Hindu	Jaghirdar	8th December, Surat, 12th December, Bulsar and Navsari.
847	"	"	"	Mr. Manchhashenkar Jivram, B.A. & LL.B.	Anavla Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, Bombay ...	At a Meeting of the Praju, Hitvardhak Sabha of Surat.
848	"	"	"	Mr. Hormasji Fardunji Doctor.	Brahmin.	Teacher, Mission High School.	do.
849	"	"	"	Mr. M. B. Bhatt	Parsee	Landed Proprietor	Public Meeting at Mandvi District, Surat, on 13th December, 1889.
850	"	"	"	Mr. Rustomji Jamesji Garda.	Hindu	Landlord, Rustom Bag, Jalalpore, Nowsaree.	Elected by a Public Meeting at Bulsar, on 12th December, 1889, and at Jalalpore, on 13th December, 1889.
851	"	"	"	Mr. Narotamdas Indrajit Vaishnav, M.B.B.S.	Parsee	Medical Practitioner, Junagadh.	Praju Hathvarthak Sabha's Meeting.
852	"	"	Rajkot (Kathiawar).	Mr. Ghansham Narayan Pandit, B.A., LL.B.	Nagar Brahmin.	Pleader, Rajkot... ..	Public Meeting, Rajkot, 20th December, 1889.
853	"	"	"	Mr. Lakshmidhand Pitambar Adulja.	Hindu	Pleader, High Court, Translator, Katthiawad Political Agency.	do.
854	"	"	"	Mr. Heridas Wakhatchand Vora.	Bania.	Pleader, High Court, Banker, and Millowner.	do.
855	"	"	"	Mr. Hormasji Ardeshir Wadia.	do.	Barrister-at-Law, Civil Station, Rajkot.	do.
856	"	"	"	Mr. Virpal Daya Parekh...	Parsee.	Merchant, Rajkot	do.
857	"	"	"	Mr. Damodardas Gordhandas Thakar.	Bania.	Printer and Publisher	do.
858	"	"	"	Mr. Abubaker Jamal	Luana.	Merchant	do.
859	"	"	"	Mr. Gulam Mahomed B. Munshee.	Mahomedan	Judge, Sudder Adalat, Junaghur, Kathiawar, Barrister-at-Law.	do.
860	"	"	Amreli (Kathiawar)	Mr. Vorji Shivdas... ..	do.	Landed Proprietor and District Pleader, Amreli.	By a Public Meeting, held at Amreli, 21st Dec. 1889.
861	"	"	"	Mr. Jasraj Rupsi	Kapole Bania	Japtedar Harmaduja	do.
862	"	"	Kaira.	Mr. Goverdanram Madhvaram Tripathi, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu	Pleader, High Court	In a Public Meeting, 8th December, 1889.
863	"	"	"	Mr. Girdhardas Mangaldas.	Brahmin.	Desai of Nadiad... ..	do.
864	"	"	"	Mr. Harilal Kirparam Pandia.	Patidar	Pleader, High Court	do.
865	"	"	"	Mr. Manilal Nabhubhai Dwivedi, B.A.	Hindu	State Service and late Professor of Sanskrit, Jamaldas College.	do.
866	"	"	Balsar.	Mr. Goolabhai Vassanjee Desai, B.A.	Brahmin.	Private Service, Balsar ...	By a Public Meeting, held on the 12th December, 1889.
867	"	"	"	Mr. Vasanty D. Desai, G.M.A.E.	Hindu	Landholder, Chikhli, Surat ...	do.
868	"	"	"	Mr. Jivanji Haribhai	do.	District Pleader	do.
869	"	"	"	Mr. Jivanji Gulabhai Desai.	Anavla Brahmin.	do.	do.
870	"	"	Thasra.	Rao Saheb Amritlal Maneklal Desai.	Hindu	Zemindar, Thasra District, Kaira, Vice-President, Taluka Board.	Public Meeting, held on the 17th November, 1889.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
871	Bombay.	Guzerat.	Thesra and Dakor.	Mr. Chunnilal Lallubhai Parekh.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin.	Merchant and Vakil, Balasinor State.	Elected by Public Meetings at Thesra, on the 17th November, and at Dakor, on the 18th November, 1889.
872	"	"	Gogo.	Mr. Parmanand Jeewandas	Hindu Bania.	Landlord, Municipal Commissioner, Vice-President, Taluka Board.	14th December, 1889, Public Meeting.
873	"	"	Guzerat.	Mr. Ratanbhudra Manikbhudra, L.M. & s.	Hindu Nagar Brahmin	Civil Surgeon, Amreli ...	Elected by the Sankir Swami of Jotirvat, 13th December, 1889.
874	"	"	Wadhwan.	Mr. Vanayakrao Ganpatrao Kothare.	Prabhu Hindu.	Barrister-at-Law, Rajkot ...	At a Public Meeting, held on the 23rd December, 1889.
875	"	"	Nariad.	Mr. Jamadar Yusufali Yakubali, B.A.	Mahomedan.	Service, Navsari ...	By a Public Meeting at Nariad.
876	"	"	"	Mr. Ganpatram Nanalal Bhatta.	Hindu.	Late Tutor to the Kumar Sahab of Porbander.	Alukhatra Nager Association.
877	"	Sind.	Karachi.	Mr. N. Gupta ...	Hindu Vaidya.	Proprietor and Editor, <i>The Phoenix</i> , Karachi, Municipal Commissioner, Member, Cantonment Committee.	8th December, 1889, Sind Sabha Meeting, Karachi.
878	"	"	"	Mr. Harohandrai Vishindas, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Pleader, Karachi, Municipal Commissioner, Member, Taluka Board, Kotri.	do.
879	"	"	"	Mr. Hiranand Showkiram Advani, B.A.	Hindu Brahmo.	Head Master, Union Academy, Hyderabad (Sind), Honorary Secretary, Countess Dufferin Fund, Hyderabad Broach, Honorary Superintendent Girls' School, Hyderabad.	do.
880	"	"	"	Mr. Faiz Mahomed Futehali.	Mahomedan.	Merchant ...	do.
881	"	"	"	Seth Vishindas Fatehchand.	Hindu.	do. ...	do.
882	"	"	"	Mr. Wadhupal Belaram ...	Hindu Amil.	Pleader ...	do.
883	"	"	"	Mr. Manghanmal Kundanmal Advani.	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
884	"	"	"	Mr. Balchand Kundunmal.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
885	"	"	Sukkur.	Rao Sahab Pesumal Towkiram.	Hindu.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Member, Taluka Local Board.	do.
886	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Dhunrajmal ...	do.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
887	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Chetanram Awatrai Malkani.	do.	do. ...	do.
888	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Govindhur Awatrai.	do.	Pleader and Zemindar, Vice-President, Sukkur Municipality, Member, District Local Board, Member, Sind Arts College Board.	do.
889	"	Bombay.	Bombay Presidency Association.	Dr. A. D. Mody, L.M. & s.	Parsi.	Medical Practitioner, Grant Road.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association, on 17th December, 1889.
890	"	"	"	Mr. Allibhoj Cassam Soomar.	Mahomedan.	do. ...	do.
891	"	"	"	Mr. Abdulla M. Dharamsey, M.A., LL.B.	do.	Solicitor, High Court, Pedder Road, Member, Municipal Corporation.	do.
892	"	"	"	Mr. Ali Mahomed Bhimjee.	do.	Contractor... ..	do.
893	"	"	"	Atmaram Pandurang, G.S.M.C.	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner, Chowpatty.	do.
894	"	"	"	Mr. Ameerudin Tyabji ...	Mahomedan.	Khetwady, Member, Municipal Corporation.	do.
895	"	"	"	Mr. A. P. Cama, L.M. & s.	Parsi.	Medical Practitioner, Gowalia Tank Road.	do.
896	"	"	"	Mr. Bhalchandra K. Bhatavadekar, L.M. and s.	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner, Girgaum.	do.
897	"	"	"	Mr. Bhaishankar Nanabhai	do.	Solicitor, High Court, Girgaum.	do.
898	"	"	"	Mr. Byramji D. Panday ...	Parsi.	Assistant, Ritchie Steuart, & Co.	do.

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899	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay Presidency Association.	Mr. Carsondas Vallabhdas.	Hindu.	Millowner, Bazaar Gate Street.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association, on 17th December, 1889.
900	"	"	"	Mr. Cowasji Hormusaji, G.G.M.C.	Parsi.	Medical Practitioner, Member, Municipal Corporation, Chira Bazaar.	do.
901	"	"	"	Mr. Chutoorbhooj Morarji.	Hindu.	Merchant, Mandevi. ...	do.
902	"	"	"	Mr. Damodar Gokuldas ...	do.	do. Cloth Bazaar. ...	do.
903	"	"	"	Mr. Dinsha D. Davar ...	Parsi.	Barrister-at-Law, Eldon Road.	do.
904	"	"	"	Mr. Dayabhai Jaduram, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Solicitor, High Court, Apollo Street.	do.
905	"	"	"	Mr. D. F. Cama ...	Parsi.	Lower Colaba ...	do.
906	"	"	"	Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Pleader, High Court, Girgaum.	do.
907	"	"	"	Mr. Dhondo Shamrao Garud, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Solicitor do. do.	do.
908	"	"	"	Mr. Dinsha Eduljee Wacha.	Parsi.	Mill Agent, Member, Municipal Corporation, Secretary, Bombay Presidency Association, Mody Street.	do.
909	"	"	"	Mr. Devidas Harivallabhdas.	Hindu.	Merchant ...	do.
910	"	"	"	Mr. Dharamsey Moorarji Goculdas.	do.	Millowner, Girgaum. ...	do.
911	"	"	"	Dorabji C. Shroff ...	Parsi.	do. Hornby Row. ...	do.
912	"	"	"	Mr. Damodar Thakersey Mulji.	Hindu.	do. Member, Municipal Corporation, Hanuman Lane.	do.
913	"	"	"	Mr. Dharamsey Sunderdas.	do.	Millowner, Hanuman Lane ...	do.
914	"	"	"	Mr. Ellapa Balaram ...	do.	Contractor ...	do.
915	"	"	"	Fattehalli Shaik Ahmed...	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Khetwadi ...	do.
916	"	"	"	Fazulbhoy Cassam Gangji.	do.	do. ...	do.
917	"	"	"	Mr. Fakirchand Premchand Raychand.	Jain.	Broker, Kalbadevi ...	do.
918	"	"	"	Mr. Furdunji M. Banaji ...	Parsi.	Secretary, Manekji Petit Mills, Malabar Hill.	do.
919	"	"	"	Mr. Gordhandas K. Makanji.	Hindu.	Millowner, Malabar Hill ...	do.
920	"	"	"	Mr. Gordhandas Goculdas Tejpal.	do.	do. do. ...	do.
921	"	"	"	Mr. Goculdas K. Parekh, M.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court, Girgaum.	do.
922	"	"	"	Mr. Ganput Sadashiv Rao, M.A., LL.B.	do.	do. Kalbadevi Road.	do.
923	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Krishna Deshmukh, B.A., LL.B.	do.	do. Girgaum...	do.
924	"	"	"	Mr. Ghanasham Nilkanth, B.A., LL.B.	do.	do. Girgaum...	do.
925	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh R. Kirloskar, M.A., LL.B.	do.	do. do. ...	do.
926	"	"	"	Mr. Hariprasad Santookram.	do.	Merchant and Banker, Kalbadevi.	do.
927	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Shitaram Discit.	do.	Solicitor ...	do.
928	"	"	"	Mr. Hiralal Tribhuwandas.	do.	Merchant ...	do.
929	"	"	"	Mr. Haji Essaka Sob ...	Mahomedan.	do. ...	do.
930	"	"	"	Mr. Jivaji Dinshaw Gandy, B.A., LL.B.	Parsi.	Solicitor, Breach Candy ...	do.
931	"	"	"	Mr. Dhala Jairaj ...	Mahomedan.	Juma Masjid Street ...	do.
932	"	"	"	Mr. Javerilal U. Yajnik ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Member, Municipal Corporation, and Sheriff of Bombay, Cowasji Patel Tank Road.	do.
933	"	"	"	Mr. Jamsetji Cursotji Jamsetji.	Parsi.	Mazagon Castle...	do.
934	"	"	"	Mr. Jehanghir B. Marzban.	do.	Proprietor, <i>Advocate of India</i> and <i>Jam-e-Jamshed</i> Press, Gowalia Tank Road.	do.
935	"	"	"	Mr. Joejeebhoy Pestonjee Mistri, M.A.	do.	Articled Clerk, Fort ...	do.

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936	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay Presidency Association.	Mr. Jagmohandas Vandrawandas.	Hindu.	Merchant	At the Meeting of the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association, on 17th December 1889.
937	"	"	"	Mr. Jamssetjee Ardashir Wadia.	Parsi.	Millowner, Chinchpogly ...	do.
938	"	"	"	Mr. Jivandas Mulji ...	Hindu.	do. Fort	do.
939	"	"	"	Mr. Jamssetji Cursetji Cama	Parsi.	Solicitor, High Court, Mount Road.	do.
940	"	"	"	Dr. K. B. Bullel, L. M. & S.	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner	do.
941	"	"	"	Mr. Karimbhoy Nensey ...	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Malabar Hill ...	do.
942	"	"	"	Mr. K. M. Shroff	Parsi.	Proprietor, <i>Advocate of India</i> and Bombay <i>Jam-e-Jamshed</i> , Member, Municipal Corporation.	do.
943	"	"	"	Mr. Noormahomed Jairaj Peerbhoy.	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Breach Candy ...	do.
944	"	"	"	Mr. Khimji Jeva	Hindu.	Iron Merchant, Mandevi ...	do.
945	"	"	"	Mr. Lilladhar Jairam Naraji	do.	Millowner, do.	do.
846	"	"	"	Mr. Lilladhar Shamji ...	do.	do. Waudby Road ...	do.
947	"	"	"	Mr. Mansukram Surajram.	do.	Girgaum	do.
948	"	"	"	Mr. Makund Ramchandra, C.E.	do.	Retired, Government Engineering Dept., Officer, Kandewady.	do.
949	"	"	"	Mr. Manchashankar Jai-shanker.	do.	do.	do.
950	"	"	"	Mr. Lakhmedas Khemji ...	do.	Millowner, Malabar Hill ...	do.
951	"	"	"	Mr. Mathurdas Lilladhar Shamji.	do.	do. Waudy Road ...	do.
952	"	"	"	Mr. Fuzulbhai Joomabhai Lalji.	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Breach Candy ...	do.
953	"	"	"	Mr. Manekji Burjorji ...	Parsee.	Proprietor and Editor, <i>Bombay Samachar</i> , Frere Road.	do.
954	"	"	"	Mr. Maniksha Jahangirsha, M.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court, Chowpaty	do.
955	"	"	"	Mr. Mulji Bhawanidas Barbhaya.	Hindu.	Solicitor, High Court, Member, Municipal Corporation, Hornby Row.	do.
956	"	"	"	Mr. Mancherji Nowraji Banaaji.	Parsee.	Millowner, Member, Municipal Corporation, Mazagon.	do.
957	"	"	"	Mr. Motilal Jamnadas Shroff.	Hindu.	Merchant, Kalbadavie	do.
958	"	"	"	Mr. Nanabhoy R. Ranina...	Parsee.	Proprietor, Union Press, Chandanwady.	do.
959	"	"	"	Mr. Narayen Vishnu Gokhle, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	Pleader, High Court, Kandawady.	do.
960	"	"	"	Mr. Nazir Mahomed Fattahalli.	Mahomedan.	Merchant	do.
961	"	"	"	Mr. Narotam Gordhandas...	Hindu.	Merchant, Member, Municipal Corporation.	do.
962	"	"	"	Mr. Narayen Ganesh Chandavarkar, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court, Girgaum..	do.
963	"	"	"	Mr. N. N. Katruck, L.M.&S.	Parsee.	Medical Practitioner, Fort ...	do.
964	"	"	"	Mr. Nasirbhoy Abdulla ...	Mahomedan.	Merchant	do.
965	"	"	"	Mr. Najmuddin Tyabji ...	do.	do.	do.
966	"	"	"	Mr. Nenseybhoy Peeroomahomed	do.	Merchant, Malabar Hill ...	do.
967	"	"	"	Mr. Pherozsha M. Mehta, M.A.	Parsee.	Barrister-at-Law, Member, Municipal Corporation.	do.
968	"	"	"	Mr. Pestonji Byramji Dantara.	do.	3rd Marine Line Street ...	do.
969	"	"	"	Mr. N. D. Setna, B.A., LL.B.	Parsi.	Barrister-at-Law, Chinchpogly.	do.
970	"	"	"	Mr. Purshotam P. Khare, B.A., LL.B.	do.	High Court Pleader, Thakordwar.	do.
971	"	"	"	Mr. Premchand Roychand.	do.	Broker, Kalbadevi	do.
972	"	"	"	Mr. Rustom K. R. Cama, M.A., LL.B.	Parsee.	Solicitor, High Court, Breach Candy.	do.
973	"	"	"	Dr. R. N. Khory, L.M. & S.	do.	Medical Practitioner, Malabar Hill.	do.

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974	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay Presidency Association.	Mr. Ramchandra V. Madgavkar.	Hindu.	Salesman, Graham & Co., Chowpatty.	At the Meeting of the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association, on 17th December 1889.
975	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Hemraj...	do.	Secretary, Jewraj Baloo Mill Company, Bazaar Gate Street.	
976	"	"	"	Mr. Raoji V.J. Shankarsett.	do.	Girgaum... ..	do.
977	"	"	"	Mr. Rattsonsey Mulji ...	do.	Merchant	do.
978	"	"	"	Mr. Shivji Dharmaji ...	do.	Contractor	do.
979	"	"	"	Mr. Shaik Ahmed bin Essa Khalifa.	Mahomedan.	Pearl Merchant, Fors Road ...	do.
980	"	"	"	Mr. Sorabji Dadabhoy Bastavala, B.A.	Parsee.	Articled Clerk, Mody Street ...	do.
981	"	"	"	Mr. Sorabji Kavasji Khambatta.	do.	Journalist, Girgaum	do.
982	"	"	"	Mr. Shamrao M. Rele ...	Hindu.	Pleader, High Court, Girgaum..	do.
983	"	"	"	Dr. Sadashiv Yaman Kane.	do.	Medical Practitioner	do.
984	"	"	"	Mr. Shivram V. Bhandarkar B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court	do.
985	"	"	"	Mr. Sadanand T. Bhendare.	do.	Assistant, Wallace & Co., Apollo Street.	do.
986	"	"	"	Mr. Shamrao Vithal ...	do.	Pleader, High Court, Girgaum .	do.
987	"	"	"	Mr. Shantaram Narayen ...	do.	Govt., High Court Pleader ...	do.
988	"	"	"	Mr. Sorabji Edulji Warden.	Parsee.	Merchant, Hornby Row	do.
989	"	"	"	Mr. S. Burjorji Bharucha.	do.	Broker, Fort	do.
990	"	"	"	Mr. Sorabji M. Kanga, M.A., LL.B.	do.	Solicitor, High Court	do.
991	"	"	"	Mr. T. Tukaram Tatia ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Bandora	do.
992	"	"	"	Mr. Nagindas Jannadas Shroff.	do.	Merchant, Bhuleshwar... ..	do.
993	"	"	"	Mr. Veerchand Deepchand.	do.	Millowner, do.	do.
994	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudev Gopal Bhandarkar, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court	do.
995	"	"	"	Mr. Veerchand Raghoji Ghandy, B.A.	do.	Articled Clerk, Love Lane ...	do.
996	"	"	"	Mr. Vishnu Krishna Bhattardekar, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Pleader, High Court, Editor, <i>Indu Prakash</i> , Girgaum.	do.
997	"	"	"	Mr. Vijbhukandas Atmaram.	do.	Merchant, Cowasji Patel Tank Road.	do.
998	"	"	"	Mr. Vandravandas Purshotumdas.	do.	Merchant, Member, Municipal Corporation, Malabar Hill.	do.
999	"	"	"	Mr. V. K. Dhairyawan ...	do.	Barrister-at-Law	do.
1000	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudeo Jagonnath Kirtikar.	do.	Pleader, High Court, Girgaum.	do.
1001	"	"	"	Mr. Vasanji Khimji ...	do.	Merchant, Mandvie	do.
1002	"	"	Bombay Mahomedan Community.	Shaik Cumroodin Furrulkhai.	Mahomedan Sooni.	22, Bellasis Junction Road ...	Elected at a Meeting of Mahomedans on 22nd Dec., 1889, when 500 Mahomedans were present, Moulvi Hidaytulla presiding.
1003	"	"	"	Moulvi Burkuttulla ...	do.	Grant Road	do.
1004	"	"	"	Mr. Ahmedbhai Somejee...	Khoja Mahomedan.	Agent, Cotton Ginning Factory at Dhallisgaum, Samuel Street.	do.
1005	"	"	"	Mr. Abdullabhai Laljee ...	do.	Merchant, Samuel Street ...	do.
1006	"	"	"	Mr. Esmailbhai Abdoola ...	do.	do.	do.
1007	"	"	"	Mr. Bandalibhai Hajeebhoy	do.	do.	do.
1008	"	"	"	Munshi Mahomed Baker..	Mahomedan Sooni.	Secretary to the Turkish Consul General, Tomkar Mohla, New Nagpada.	do.
1009	"	"	"	Mr. Ebrahim R. Dhurmssey.	Khoja Mahomedan.	Merchant, Mahaluxmi	do.

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1010	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay Mahomedan Community.	Mr. Peerbhai Kasambhai...	Mahomedan Khoja.	Furniture Merchant ...	Elected at a Meeting of Mahomedans, on 22nd Dec., 1889, when 500 Mahomedans were present, Moulvi Hidayetullah presiding.
1011	"	"	"	Mr. Abedin Peerbhai Damji.	do.	Merchant ...	do.
1012	"	"	"	Mr. Casumbhai Ahmedbhai.	Khoja Sooni Mahomedan.	Merchant, Dungri Street ...	do.
1013	"	"	"	Mr. Rahimtoola Noor Mahomed.	do.	Commission Agent, Dungri St. .	do.
1014	"	"	"	Mr. Bandalibhoy Sewjee ...	Khoja Mahomedan.	Merchant, Samnal Street ...	do.
1015	"	"	"	Syed Kathoodin Edroos ...	Mahomedan.	Medical Department, Byculla...	do.
1016	"	"	"	Munshi Mahomed Ismail Mackba.	do.	Landholder, Parel Road ...	do.
1017	"	"	"	Mr. Mahomed Eusuf Khate Khate.	do.	do. Old Kazi Street...	do.
1018	"	"	"	Mr. Abdul Kadar Khate Khate.	do.	do. do. ...	do.
1019	"	"	"	Mr. Abdul Rahman Mackba	do.	do. Parel Road ...	do.
1020	"	"	"	Mr. Mahomed Ebrahim Mackba.	do.	do. do. ...	do.
1021	"	"	"	Mr. Jafferbhai Sochedina...	Khoja Mahomedan.	Merchant, Juma Musjid ...	do.
1022	"	"	"	Mr. Salay Mahomed Noor Mahomed.	do.	do. do. ...	do.
1023	"	"	"	Mr. Moloobhai Nanji ...	do.	do. Chukka ...	do.
1024	"	"	"	Mr. Ahmedbhai Kurim ...	do.	do. do. ...	do.
1025	"	"	"	Mr. Dholabhai Jairaj ...	do.	do. Juma Musjid ...	do.
1026	"	"	"	Hakim Abdul Husain Abdul Kadar.	Mahomedan Bohra.	Native Doctor, Foolgally, Parel, Road.	do.
1027	"	"	"	Mr. Fazulbhai Mahomed Dama.	Khoja Sooni Mahomedan.	Merchant, Pydhoni Road ...	do.
1028	"	"	"	Mr. Peerbhai Khaki Padansi ...	Khoja Mahomedan.	Merchant, Khadak ...	do.
1029	"	"	"	Mr. Goolam Hussain Mooljeebhai Jewraj.	do.	do. ...	do.
1030	"	"	"	Mr. Zamilbhai Ahmedbhai.	Mahomedan Bohra.	Merchant, Modlikhana ...	do.
1031	"	"	"	Munshi Mahomed Alahuddin Khutib.	Mahomedan.	Mootwali of Juma Musjid, Kazi Street.	do.
1032	"	"	"	Moulvi Hidayetullah ...	Mahomedan Sooni.	Religious Preceptor ...	do.
1033	"	"	"	Mr. Ahmedbhoy Kassumbhoy Mooljeebhoy Jewraj.	Khoja Mahomedan.	Merchant, Khaduck ...	do.
1034	"	"	"	Mr. Talibali Shamsuddin Nazir.	Mahomedan Bohra.	Proprietor, "Alavi" Press, Bombay.	At a Meeting, held on the 23rd December 1889, at Bombay.
1035	"	"	"	Mr. Abdoolah R. Hubbibhoy.	Khoja Mahomedan.	Merchant ...	do.
1036	"	"	"	Mr. Nainselbhoy Peroo ...	do.	do. Crawford Market.	do.
1037	"	"	"	Mr. Ali Mahomed Nainsey.	do.	do. do. ...	do.
1038	"	"	"	Mr. Hajee Rahimtulla Hajee Dawood.	Mahomedan Memon.	do. do. ...	do.
1039	"	"	"	Mr. Jafferbhai Ladha Chutnu.	Khoja Mahomedan.	do. Khoja Mola ...	do.
1040	"	"	"	Mr. Mahomedbhai Dosa-bhai.	do.	do. Old Nagpada ...	do.
1041	"	"	"	Mr. Fazulbhai Ebrahim Uttunvala.	Mahomedan.	do. ...	Dada Meekha's Bungalow, on the 24th Nov. 1889.

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1042	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay.	Mr. Rangildas Bhukhandas.	Hindu.	Merchant, No. 23, Church Gate Street.	Public Meeting of China Traders, held on 24th December, 1889.
1043	"	"	"	Mr. Doolabdas Vallabdas...	Bania.	Banker	do.
1044	"	"	"	Mr. Maneklal Chukoobhoy.	Hindu.	Merchant and China Broker, Balaji Samsat Street.	do.
1045	"	"	"	Mr. Goolidas Madhewji ...	Bhatia.	Cotton Merchant	17th December, 1889, Meeting of the Cotton Merchants' Association.
1046	"	"	The Jain Association of India, Bombay.	Mr. Talakchand Manekchand.	Jain.	Merchant, Kharu Koona, Bombay.	At a Public Meeting of the Jain Association, on the 24th November, 1889.
1047	"	"	"	Dr. Jumnadas Premchand, L. M. & S.	do.	Doctor, Bhooleshwar, Bombay.	do.
1048	"	"	"	Mr. Maganlal Dalputram...	Hindu Jain.	Mukadam, Vitthalvadi, Bombay.	do.
1049	"	"	"	Mr. Mohanlal Maganbhai.	Jain.	Jeweller	do.
1050	"	"	Jain Union Club.	Mr. Amarchund P. Parmar.	do.	General Merchant and Commission Agent, Pydownee.	At a Meeting, held on 9th December, 1889, in the Hall of the Jain Union Club, Pydownee.
1051	"	"	"	Mr. Mohanlal Hemchund.	do.	Broker, Tambakanta, Honorary Secretary to the Jain Union Club.	do.
1052	"	"	Mandvie Bunder, Bombay.	Mr. P. Nemchand Vussongjee.	do.	Merchant and Commission Agent.	At a Meeting of the Community, held on 16th December, 1889, at Mandvie Bunder.
1053	"	"	"	Mr. Dewjee Purbat ...	Hindu Shrivak Bania.	Cotton Merchant	do.
1054	"	"	"	Mr. Manecklal Atmaram Tunksally.	Hindu.	Assistant Secretary, Bombay Pinjrapole Charitable Institution and Honorary Assistant Secretary, the Bombay Native Cotton Merchants' Association.	do.
1055	"	"	"	Mr. Shamji Mulji	Hindu Bania.	Cotton Merchant	do.
1056	"	"	"	Mr. Oomersey Nagsey ...	do.	do.	do.
1057	"	"	"	Mr. Callyanji Narayanji ...	Bhattia.	General Merchant	At a Public Meeting, on the 24th December, 1889, by the Merchants, Brokers and Residents of Mandvi Bunder.
1058	"	"	"	Mr. Mathuradas Goolidas..	do.	Cotton Merchant	do.
1059	"	"	"	Mr. Raghavji Jayakrishna, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin	Articled Clerk to Messrs. Jefferson, Bhaishanker, Dinshaw & Kanga.	do.
1060	"	"	Nagpada, Bombay.	Mr. Keshaw Vaman Pethe..	Hindu Brahmin.	Teacher and Landholder, Gopinath's Ohal.	New Nagpada General Meeting, 1st Dec., 1889.
1061	"	"	"	Mr. Anant Vaman Barve..	Hindu.	Author, Jagadiswar Press, Kandevadi, Editor Kutumb Shik-saka.	do.
1062	"	"	"	Mr. Anna Janardan Des-pande.	do.	Sub-Manager, No. 46, Khataralee, Landholder and Sub-Manager, I. P. Press.	do.
1063	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Ballal Deval.	Hindu Brahmin.	Author, and Passed Agricultural Pupil, Shantaram's Chal, Kandevadi.	do.
1064	"	"	Mitra Mandali Sabha, Bombay.	Mr. Damodar Chhabaram Bhatt.	do.	Secretary, The Oriental Oil and Flour Manufacturing Co., Ltd.	At a Meeting of the "Mitra Mandali Sabha," held at Bombay, on the 28th December, 1889.
1065	"	"	Swadesh Mitrotejack Mandalee, Bombay.	Mr. Moreswar Babulji Pane.	Hindu (Purbhu.)	Merchant, 371, Palow Road, Bombay, Market Post, President, Swadesh Mitrotejack Mandali.	Swadesh Mitrotejack Mandalee's General Meeting, 22nd December, 1889.
1066	"	"	"	Mr. Narayen Ramchandra Senjit.	do.	Merchant, 70, Jamboolvady, Kalkadevi Road, Bombay, Honorary Secretary, P. M. Mandalee.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1067	Bombay.	Bombay.	Lad Samaj Bombay.	Mr. Choonilal Motilal ...	Vishnav.	Stook Merchant... ..	Bombay Meeting, held on 16th December.
1068	"	"	"	Mr. Motilal Hurkisonadas Dalal.	do.	Doctor	do.
1069	"	"	Shiva-Dharma-Nishtha Sabha, Bombay.	Mr. Mangaldas Jamnadas...	Hindu.	Shroff	28rd November, by a Meeting held in Bombay.
1070	"	"	"	Shastri Shamji Valji ...	Vishnav.	Shastri and Editor	do.
1071	"	"	"	Mr. Manmohandas Trebhovandas.	do.	Service, Anant Rishi Oart, No. 31.	do.
1072	"	"	Veda Dharma Sabha.	Mr. Vishvanath Prabharan.	Brahmin.	Land-owner, 29, Portuguese Church Street, Bhuleshwar, Bombay.	At a Meeting of Vade Dharma Sabha, held on the 1st of December, 1889.
1073	"	"	"	Mr. Purbharam Jivanram Vaidya.	do.	Native Physician do.	do.
1074	"	"	Ayarveda Shodhaka Mandali, Bombay.	Mr. Trimbuklal Tribhuvandas.	Guzerati.	Native Physician, Ayurvedeshodhaka Mandali, President Barbhai Mohla, Bombay.	Elected at the Meeting, held of the said Mandali, on 25th December, 1889.
1075	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Krishna Nimbkar.	Brahmin.	Native Physician, Ayurvedeshodhak Mandali, Secretary, Thakurdwar Line, Jitekar's Chal, Bombay.	do.
1076	"	"	Calcutta Merchants' Association, Bombay.	Mr. Mowjee Madhavjee.	Hindu Bhatia.	Rice Merchant, Secretary, Calcutta Merchants' Association.	At a Meeting, held on 24th December, 1889, at Gokuldas Madhavji's Firm.
1077	"	"	"	Mr. Hunsraj Soorjee ...	do.	General Merchant, Cazeer Syed Street.	do.
1078	"	"	Cutchhi Dushashrimali Caste Bombay.	Mr. Panaohand Anandjee Parekh, F.R.S.	Hindu.	Merchant and American Commission Agent, 49, Hornby Row, Fort, Bombay.	Cutchhi Dashashrimali Caste, Meeting on the 18th December, 1889.
1079	"	"	"	Mr. Moolraj Panachand Parekh.	do.	49, Hornby Row, Fort, Bombay.	do.
1080	"	"	Kutchhi Oswal Community, Bombay.	Mr. Sha Champsey Purbat.	Jainsiu.	Cotton Merchant	At a Meeting, held on the 16th December, 1889, of the Kutchhi Oswal Community.
1081	"	"	Dasa Forward Bania Caste, Bombay.	Mr. Ranohoddas Valabhai.	Dasa Forward Bania.	Banker and Landowner	By a Caste Meeting, in December, 1889.
1082	"	"	"	Mr. Hurgowandas Cooberdas.	Dasa Forward Caste Hindu.	Banker	do.
1083	"	"	"	Mr. Tribhuvandas Veerji Gandhi.	Hindu.	Merchant	At a Meeting of the Caste, held on 24th December, 1889.
1084	"	"	"	Mr. Ramdas Keshowji ...	do.	do.	do.
1085	"	"	"	Mr. Mody Tribhovandas Ruttonji.	do.	do.	do.
1086	"	"	Arya Gyan Vardhuk Subha, Bombay.	Seth Luxmidas Khimjee...	Bhatia.	Millowner	At a Meeting of the 7th December, Arya Gyan Vardhuk Subha, at the Meeting of the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association.
1087	"	"	"	Mr. Nagurdas Jamnadas...	Hindu.	Shroff	do., and at a Meeting of the Lad Samaj, held on 15th December, 1889.
1088	"	"	"	Mr. Prahaladji Davshanker.	Brahmin.	Service, Fort, Holichakla, Shamji Latha's House.	At the General Meeting of the Sabha, held on 12th December, 1889.
1089	"	"	"	Mr. Jagonnath Ichharam...	do.	Surat	do.
1090	"	"	"	Mr. Kalianji Naranji ...	do.	Head Clerk, Greaves, Cotton & Co.	do.

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1091	Bombay.	Bombay.	Bombay.	Mr. Girijashanker Kashiram Dunivedy.	Brahmin.	Editor and Proprietor "Rajya-bhakta," Umarchadi Post, Bombay.	By the General Meeting of the Sabha, held on 12th December, 1889.
1092	"	"	"	Mr. Ramshanker Iswar Vyas.	do.	Service, Fort, Gorrira's House, Holichakla.	do.
1093	"	"	"	Mr. Utamram Jivanram ...	do.	Native Doctor, Loowarohal ...	do.
1094	"	"	Arya Mohila Samaj, Bombay.	Pundita Ramabai ...	Christian.	Teacher ...	Women's Christian Temperance Union Meeting on the
1095	"	"	"	Miss Serene Manock Cursetjee	Parsi.	Lady Superintendent Alexandra Girls' School.	Meeting of the Arya Mohila Samaj on the
1096	"	"	Women's Christian Temperance Union.	Mrs. Ryder ...	Christian.	Physician ...	Women's Christian Temperance Union Meeting on the
1097	"	"	"	Mrs. Trimbak ...	do.	Superintendent of School ...	do.
1098	"	"	"	Mrs. Nikambi ...	do.	Teacher ...	do.
1099	"	"	Arya Mohila Samaj, Bombay.	Mrs. Kanitkar ...	Hindu.	Journalist ...	Meeting of the Arya Mohila Samaj on the
1100	"	"	"	Mrs. Ghosal ...	do.	do. and Author... ..	do.
1101	"	"	"	Mrs. G. N. Dass ...	do.	44, Mulungasain, Calcutta ...	do.
1102	"	"	Thana District Association.	Mr. Namdeo Vithal Samant, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, High Court, Bombay, Banker and Landed Proprietor.	At a Public Meeting, held at Thana, on 1st December, 1889.
1103	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Bajee Thosar	do.	Pleader, Landholder and Jahagirdar.	do.
1104	"	"	"	Mr. John Joseph D'Almeida	East Indian Catholic Christian.	Member of the Thana Local Board, Landed Proprietor, Bandra.	do.
1105	"	"	"	Mr. Domingos Francis D'Almeida.	do.	Member of the Thana District, Local Board, Landed Proprietor, Condotun near Marol, Salsett.	do.
1106	"	"	"	Mr. Damodar Kisandas ...	Visalad Vani.	Pleader, Bassein ...	do.
1107	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Krishna Subnis.	Brahmin.	do. Kalyan ...	do.
1108	"	"	"	Mr. Sukbaram Keshav Bhagvat, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahmin.	do. District Court, Thana..	do.
1109	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Moroba Raikar.	Khsatriya Somawansi.	Municipal Commissioner and Member, Taluka Local Board, Bassein, Landholder.	do.
1110	"	"	"	Mr. Janardan Dhondey Karandikar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landed Proprietor ...	do.
1111	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Vamanaji.	Brahmin.	Landholder, Bassein, Member of Local Board.	do.
1112	"	"	"	Mr. Waman Ganesh Dandekar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Municipal Commissioner, Mahim, Landlord.	do.
1113	"	"	"	Mr. Motilal Hurgowandas..	Vani.	Merchant, Banker and Landlord.	do.
1114	"	"	"	Mr. Bapooji Cowasji Divecha.	Parsee.	Contractor ...	do.
1115	"	"	"	Mr. Gangadhar Moreswar Dandekar.	Brahmin.	Banker, Landholder, Merchant, K. Mahim.	do.
1116	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Appaji Valavalkar.	do.	Landholder and Contractor ...	do.
1117	"	"	"	Mr. Bhanu Rughoonath Thakur.	do.	do. ...	do.
1118	"	"	"	Mr. Balavnt Gownd Godbole.	do.	Pleader, Bandra... ..	do.
1119	"	"	"	Shet Mangaldas Devidas...	Hindu Vani.	Municipal Commissioner, Thana, General Merchant, Banker, Landlord.	do.
1120	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayok Balwant Shaligram.	Hindu Brahmin.	District Court Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Landlord.	do.
1121	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnaji Hari Kire, B.A., LL.B.	do.	Vakil, District Court, Thana ...	do.
1122	"	"	"	Mr. Atmaram Vithal Kharakar.	Prabhu.	Landholder ...	do.

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1123	Bombay.	Bombay.	Thana.	Mr. Hari Atmaram Mohile, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Parbhu.	Vakil, High Court	At a Meeting, held on 1st December, 1889, of the Thana Association.
1124	"	"	"	Mr. Narayen Daji Gupte ...	Parbhu.	Pleader, Thana	do.
1125	"	"	"	Mr. Mahadeva Ramchandra Nadkarni.	Brahmin.	do.	do.
1126	"	"	"	Mr. Luxuman Ballal Joglokar.	do.	do.	do.
1127	"	"	"	Mr. Shankar Damodar Gupte.	Parbhu.	do. Bassein	do.
1128	"	"	Bandra Rate Payers' Association (Thana.)	Mr. Vincent Almeida ...	Catholic East Indian.	Bandra	November 24th, 1889, at a General Meeting, held for that purpose.
1129	"	"	Ratnagiri.	Mr. Shivram Krishnamo Dalvi.	Hindu Kshatriya Maratha.	Government Pensioner and Landlord, Deogad.	Ratnagiri, elected by the Congress Committee, 10th November, 1889.
1130	"	"	"	Rao Sahob Shivram Mahadeo Namjoshi.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Member of the District Local Board, and Member of the Ratnagiri Municipality, &c.	do.
1131	"	"	"	Mr. Anant Mahadeo Damale, B.A., LL.B.	do.	do.	do.
1132	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Balkrishna Ranade.	do.	Landlord	do.
1133	"	"	"	Mr. Narayen Rao Babaji.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Rajapur.	do.
1134	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Motiram Saple.	Maratha Hindu Bania.	Merchant, Rajapur, Ratnagiri District.	do.
1135	"	"	"	Mr. Dhondo Mahadeo Barve.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Dapoli District, Ratnagiri, Khot Landlord, Municipal Commissioner, Town Municipality, Dapoli, and Member of the Taluka Local Board, Dapoli.	do.
1136	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Ramchandra Gogte.	do.	Manager of the Western India Arrowroot Plantation, Dapoli District, Ratnagiri.	do.
1137	"	"	"	Rao Sahob Vishnu Hari Barve.	do.	Banker, Khot, Landlord, Inamdar, President, Town Municipality, Dapoli, Member, District Local Board, Ratnagiri.	do.
1138	"	"	"	Mr. Gangadhar Luxuman Oka.	do.	Landlord and Sowcar, Palgad Taluka, Dapoli Zilla, Ratnagiri.	do.
1139	"	"	"	Rao Sahob Gangadhar Bhicaji Bapat.	do.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Deogad, Member, District Local Board, Ratnagiri.	do.
1140	"	"	"	Mr. Waman Bhaskar Kolkar.	do.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Deogad, Ratnagiri District.	do.
1141	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnajeo Hari Desai.	do.	Vatundar, Landlord	do.
1142	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Dinkar Bapat..	do.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Chiplun.	do.
1143	"	"	"	Mr. Janardan Hari Athale.	do.	Editor and Proprietor of the Jaghnnmitra Newspaper, Landlord, Inamdar.	do.
1144	"	"	"	Mr. Abdool Kadir Valad Shaik Enoos Kalsekar.	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Khot, Landlord, Dapoli Taluka, Rajapoor, Ratnagiri District.	do.
1145	"	"	"	Shaik Ahmed alias Dada Sahob Tambe.	do.	Landlord, Khot, Merchant and Member of the Talooka Local Board, Khed, Ratnagiri District.	do.
1149	"	"	"	Kaji Shirajudeen Valad Kaji Gulam Ahmed Parkar.	do.	Landlord and Inamdar, at Bankot Taluka, Dapoli District, Ratnagiri.	do.

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1147	Bombay.	Bombay.	Ratnagiri.	Rao Saheb Luxman Dhondoo Katre.	Hindu.	Pleader, District Court, Ratnagiri, Member, Ratnagiri City Municipality, Member of the District Local Board, Ratnagiri, Secretary.	At a Public Meeting, 10th November, 1889.
1148	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Kesbavshet Shet.	Hindu Bania.	Ratnagiri, Merchant, Agent, B. I. S. N. Co.	do.
1140	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Bhasker Vishnu Phadke.	Hindu.	Sowkar, President, Ratnagiri Municipality, Vice-President, District Local Board, Ratnagiri Town.	do.
1150	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnarao Balwant Paranjpe.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landlord, Member, Taluka Local Board, Dapoli.	do.
1151	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Raghunath Patwardhan.	Hindu.	Ratnagiri.	do.
1152	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Saji Dhond, B.A.	Hindu Gowd Brahmin.	do.	do.
1153	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Narayen Bopuji Samant.	do.	Landlord, Member of the District Local Board, Ratnagiri, Member, Taluka Board, Matwan, Late Secretary and Engineer, District Local Board, Ratnagiri, &c.	do.
1154	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Narayan Limaye.	Hindu.	Editor, Satya Shodhak Press, Member, Ratnagiri City Municipality.	do.
1155	"	"	"	Mr. Balaji Udho Joshi ...	do.	Head Master, Tedford New English School, Member, Ratnagiri Municipality, Member, Taluka Local Board, Ratnagiri.	do.
1156	"	"	"	Mr. Yeshwunt Narayan Adarkar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Vengorla.	Do., and Vengorla, 12th October, elected by the Hitachintak Sabha, Vengorla, and a Public Meeting.
1157	"	"	Murud (Ratnagiri)	Mr. Narhar Balkrishna Joshi, B.A.	Maratha Brahmin.	Teacher	At a General Meeting of Murud Survajani Sabha, 23rd December, 1889.
1158	"	"	"	Mr. Dhondo Keshav Karve, B.A.	do.	Proprietor of High School ...	do.
1159	"	"	Mahad (Kolaba District.)	Rao Saheb Chinnaaji Narayen Bhate.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Sub-Judge's Court, Mahad, Chairman, Municipality, Mahad.	Elected at a Public Meeting at Mahad, on 1st December, 1889.
1160	"	"	"	Khan Saheb Ismail Khan Sale Khan, Deshmukh.	Mahomedan.	Municipal Commissioner, Mahad, Member, District Local Board, Kolaba, Vatanadar Deshmuk, Mahad, Kolaba.	do.
1161	"	"	"	Mr. Hutaji Chintaman Damale.	Brahmin.	Head Master, 2nd Grade Anglo-Vernacular School, Mahad.	do.
1162	"	"	"	Mr. Antaji Ramchandra Hardikar.	do.	Secretary, Municipality, and Member, Taluka Local Board, Mahad.	do.
1163	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Krishnaji Luxman Ambekar.	do.	Chairman, Talook Local Board, Mahad, and Inamdar.	do.
1164	"	"	"	Mr. Mahadev Govind Bhuskute.	do.	Member, Taluka Local Board, Mahad, and Money-lender.	do.
1165	"	"	Pen (District, Kolaba.)	Mr. Narayen Krishna Ghanekar.	do.	Money-lender, Pen District, Kolaba.	At a Public Meeting, on the 17th of November, 1889, in Pen District, Kolaba.
1166	"	"	"	Mr. Waman Bopuji Deva...	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder and Merchant ...	do.
1167	"	"	"	Mr. Sitaram Babajishet Namoshi.	Vaishya Vani.	Merchant	do.

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1168	Bombay.	Bombay.	Pen (District, Kolaba.)	Mr. Sakharan Sadashiv Agashe.	Hindu Brahmin.	Head Master, Municipal English School, Pen District, Kolaba.	At a Public Meeting, held on 17th November, 1889, in Pen District, Kolaba.
1169	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayak Vasudev Barvo.	Brahmin.	District Pleader, Kolaba, Municipal Commissioner, Pen.	do.
1170	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayak Shivaram Dharkar.	Hindu Kayast Parbhu.	Zamindar, Khot, Merchant, Pen, Kolaba District.	do.
1171	"	"	"	Mr. Luxuman Govind Agarkar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Land-holder and Merchant. ...	do.
1172	"	"	"	Mr. Narayen Ganesh Mandlik.	do.	Land-holder, Editor, and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
1173	"	"	"	Mr. Vinayakrao Waman Dighe.	Hindu Parbhu.	Jahagirdar	Elected at a Public Meeting, held on 15th of December, of Kayastha Parbhu Community of Pen.
1174	"	"	"	Mr. Shankar Rao Keshav Gaudhe.	Hindu Brahmin.	Jahagirdar	do.
1175	"	"	Roha (Kolaba District.)	Mr. T. S. Charles, B.A. ...	Christian.	Head Master, American Mission School, Roha.	Elected at a Public Meeting in Roha, on 7th December, 1889.
1176	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudevi Setharam Paradkar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Teacher	do.
1177	"	"	Goregaon (Kolaba District.)	Mr. Hari Luxuman Adhikari.	do.	Merchant and Trader, Goregaon.	Elected at a Meeting, held at Goregaon, on 10th November, 1889.
1178	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Luxuman Rana.	do.	do.	do.
1879	"	"	Tala Taluka, Mangaum, (Kolaba District.)	Mr. Govind Narayen Sathe	do.	Vakil, Tala Taluka, Mangaum, Kolaba District.	At a Meeting, held at Tala, under the Presidency of Abaji Parshoram Bhat, on the 24th December, 1889.
1180	"	"	Mangaum (Kolaba District.)	Rao Sahab Anand Rao Putlaji.	Putharen Parbhu.	Kuvilvuhul, Mangaum Taluka.	By a Public Meeting, 12th December, 1889, at Mangaum.
1181	"	"	Panvel (Kolaba District.)	Mr. Jagannath Bhikaji Dapke.	Hindu Brahmin.	Merchant	General Meeting, 15th December, 1889.
1182	"	"	"	Mr. Luxuman Bapuji Dongre.	do.	do.	do.
1183	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnaji Kashinath Patwardhan.	do.	District Pleader... ..	do.
1184	"	"	"	Mr. Antaji Bhikaji Patwardhan.	do.	Landholder	do.
1185	"	"	"	Mr. Wasudeva Mahadeva Kamdikar.	do.	District Pleader, Panvel ...	do.
1186	"	"	"	Mr. Khanderao Bhikaji Belsar.	do.	School Master, English School, Panvel.	do.
1187	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnaji Shamrao Keskar.	do.	Merchant	do.
1188	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Nagpur	Mr. Gangadhar Rao Madhav Chitnavis.	Hindu.	Rais, Sowkar and Landlord, Honorary Magistrate, President, District Council, President, Loka Sabha, C. P., Member, Municipality.	Elected at a Public Meeting, held at Nagpur, on the 28th of October, 1889, and at a Meeting of the Loka Sabha.
1189	"	"	"	Seth Ramchandra... ..	Hindu Marwari.	General Merchant, Malguzar and Sowcar.	do.
1190	"	"	"	Mr. Bapu Rao Dada, M.A. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Secretary, Loka Sabha, Municipal Commissioner.	do.
1191	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Hari Bhide ...	do.	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Secretary, Gornakshini Sabha.	do.
1192	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Meghasham Budkas.	do.	Pleader	do.
1193	"	"	"	Mr. Sadasiva Ganpat Rao Subhedar, B.A.	do.	Rais and Landlord	do.
1194	"	"	"	Mr. Keshava Gopal Tamhan, B.A.	do.	Officiating Principal and Professor of Sanscrit, Morris College, Nagpur.	do.
1195	"	"	"	Mr. Diwakar Janardan Waze.	do.	Assistant Master, City Aided High School, Nagpur.	do.
1196	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Jairam Ratnaparkhy.	do.	Pleader	do.
1197	"	"	"	Mr. Atmaram Bhagwant...	do.	do. and Malguzar, Nagpur.	do.
1198	"	"	"	Mr. Rambhao Raghunath Bobade,	do.	do. and Landlord	do.

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1199	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Nagpur.	Mr. Sadasiva Jairam Dehdrai, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Professor of Sanscrit, Hislop College, Nagpur.	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Nagpur, on the 24th of October, 1889.
1200	"	"	"	Mr. Laxman Ganesh Sonak	do.	Malguzar... ..	do.
1201	"	"	"	Mr. Balanakunda Ramchandra.	Hindu Guzerati Bania.	Contractor	do.
1202	"	"	"	Mr. Visnu Pandita ...	Hindu Maharastra Brahmin.	Nagpur	do.
1203	"	"	"	Mr. Vithal Balkrishna Date, L.C.E.	Hindu Brahmin.	Contractor	do.
1204	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Ramkrishna Wardfande.	Brahmin.	Landholder and Private Service.	do.
1205	"	"	"	Seth Narayendas Patbisad.	Hindu Bania.	do.	do.
1206	"	"	"	Seth Ram Narain	Hindu Marwari.	Sowkar and Malguzar, Merchant.	do.
1207	"	"	"	Mr. Lakshman Prabhakar Panchkhede.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder	do.
1208	"	"	"	Mr. Ramkrishna Puree Padome Paree.	Gosavi.	Sowkar and Malguzar	do.
1209	"	"	"	Mr. Bapu Khem Patel ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Malguzar	do.
1210	"	"	"	Mr. Bhagiratha Prasada, B.A.	Hindu Kalara.	Professor of Mathematics, Hislop College, Nagpur, Municipal Member, Nagpur City, Member, Loka Sabha, Nagpur.	Elected to represent Loka Sabha, Nagpur, (for the Central Provinces), at a Meeting of the Managing Committee, held on 23rd November 1889.
1211	"	"	"	Mr. Narainswami Nayadu.	Hindu Nayadu.	Pleader and President, Municipal Committee, Nagpur.	do.
1212	"	"	"	Mr. Taty Balkrishna Kshersagar, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landowner, Member of Loka Sabha.	do.
1213	"	"	"	Mr. Rajaram Sitaram Dixit.	do.	Contractor	do.
1214	"	"	"	Pandit A. Krishnaswamy Aiyer.	do.	Pandit..... ..	do.
1215	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Narayen	Brahmin.	Malguzar	At a Public Meeting, held on the 18th October, 1889.
1216	"	"	Malguzari Association, Nagpur.	Mr. Shamrao Kishnaji ...	do.	Pleader and Malguzar	At a Meeting, of the Malguzar Association, Nagpur, 21st December 1889.
1217	"	"	"	Mr. Lakshman Rao Rajeshwar Chitnis.	Hindu Parbhu.	Malguzar... ..	do.
1218	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnarao Narayau Deshmuk.	Hindu Brahmin.	Do.	do.
1219	"	"	"	Mr. Tukaram Kashinath ...	do.	Malguzar and Secretary, Malguzari Association.	do.
1220	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Ganesh Narole.	do.	Pleader and Malguzar	do.
1221	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Anajee	Maratha Brahmin.	Sowkar and Teacher, Free Church Institution, Nagpur.	do.
1222	"	"	"	Mr. Ganpat Rao Gopal Ghatate.	Hindu Brahmin.	Malguzar and Sowkar, President Malguzari Association, Central Provinces, Nagpur.	do.
1223	"	"	"	Mr. Raghoba Ratiram ...	do.	Sowkar, Vice-President, Municipal Committee, Saoner.	do.
1224	"	"	Katol.	Mr. Govindrao Deshmukh..	Kunbi Hindu.	Malguzar	do.
1225	"	"	Wardha.	Mr. Hari Vaman Kelkar, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Member, Municipality.	Elected at a Meeting, held at Wardha, on the 8th of December 1889.
1226	"	"	"	Mr. Kesav Mahadeo Kavle	do.	Pleader and Malguzar, Vice-President, Municipality.	do.
1227	"	"	"	Mr. Jayakrishna Ramchandra.	do.	Malguzar and Cultivator, Member, Local Board.	do.
1228	"	"	"	Mr. Sheo Rao Chintaman Deshmuk.	do.	Malguzar and Cultivator ...	do.
1229	"	"	"	Mr. Parushottam Vithal Gole.	do.	Inamdar... ..	do.
1230	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Shripat Ingoley.	Kunbi Hindu.	Malguzar and Banker, Takli ...	do.
1231	"	"	"	Mr. Pralhad Bhaskar Deshpande.	Hindu Brahmin.	Agent and Malguzar	do.
1232	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Pandurang Kaliyan.	do.	Do.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1233	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Wardha.	Mr. Yadov Rao Pandurang Kalyani.	Hindu Brahmin.	Malguzar Sonagam	Elected at a Meeting, held at Wardha, on the 8th of December 1889.
1234	"	"	"	Mr. Baliram Chanaji Ingolay.	Hindu Kunbi.	do. and Banker, Takli ...	do.
1235	"	"	"	Mr. Tukaram Patel ...	do.	do. of Asta	do.
1236	"	"	"	Mr. Gunpatrao Kashinath Malguzar.	do.	do. and Banker, Takli ...	do.
1237	"	"	"	Mr. Damodar Nilkante Khare, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader	do.
1238	"	"	"	Mr. Balwant Keshav Bhawalkar.	do.	Technical Institute, Bombay ...	do.
1239	"	"	"	Mr. Purshotam Atmaram Palkar.	do.	Trader	do.
1240	"	"	"	Mr. Nilkant Damodar Tale Tulee.	do.	Malguzar and Banker, Sudi ...	do.
1241	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudev Vinayek Paranjpe.	do.	Pleader and Vice-President, Municipality, Secretary, District Council.	do.
1242	"	"	"	Mr. Datto Vinayek Gokhale	do.	Contractor, Sitabuldi	do.
1243	"	"	"	Mr. Amritrao Madhavrao Meghay.	Hindu Kunbi.	Malguzar and Banker	do.
1244	"	"	"	Mr. Madhav Sadashiv Soman.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader	do.
1245	"	"	"	Mr. Laxaman Govind Deoskar.	do.	Pleader, Member of Municipality and District Council, Wardha.	do.
1246	"	"	"	Mr. Gunpatrao Madhowji...	Hindu Kunbi.	Malguzar and Banker	do.
1247	"	"	"	Mr. Dada Patel	do.	do. do.	do.
1248	"	"	"	Mr. Ramkrishna Punjaji Bhat.	Bhat Hindu	Agent and Malguzar	do.
1249	"	"	"	Mr. Apliman Patel ...	Hindu Kunbi.	do.	do.
1250	"	"	"	Mr. Maroti Ramchandra...	Brahmin.	Pleader	do.
1251	"	"	"	Mr. M. Gupta, Barrister-at-Law, LL.B. (London).	Hindu.	do.	do.
1252	"	"	"	Mr. Ramkrishna Ramchandra Bunde.	Hindu Brahmin.	Cultivator	do.
1253	"	"	"	Mr. Vasudev Krishna ...	do.	Secretary, Local Board, Malguzar and Cultivator.	do.
1254	"	"	"	Mr. Gunpat Rao Keshev Deshnuton.	do.	Honorary Magistrate, Malguzar and Member, Local Board.	do.
1255	"	"	Harda.	Mr. Narayan Rao Govind Paroolkar.	Brahmin Mahratta.	Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate, and President, Harda Municipality.	At a Public Meeting, held on 17th November 1889.
1256	"	"	"	Mr. Mahomed Chandkhan Naik Kazi.	Mahomedan.	Law-Agent	do.
1257	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Rao Waman Kekre.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar	do.
1258	"	"	"	Mr. Krishna Rao Narayana Raigay.	do.	Jagirdar and Zamindar ...	do.
1259	"	"	"	Mr. Sadasheo Ramchandra Patwardhan.	do.	Zamindar, Pleader, Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Member, Editor and Proprietor, Nyaya Sudha.	do.
1260	"	"	"	Mr. Gulzarimal Choubey...	Hindu Chouby.	Pleader, Banker and Landlord...	do.
1261	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Shamrao Kekre.	Brahmin.	Zemindar	do.
1262	"	"	"	Mr. Balvant Rao Kashinath Agnihotri.	do.	Zemindar, Secretary's Branch, Loka Sabha Harda.	do.
1263	"	"	"	Mr. Narayen Balkrishna Nakhre Atreya.	do.	Suo Editor Nyaya Sudha, Harda.	do.
1264	"	"	Jabalpore.	Pandit Gangadbur Chintaman.	do.	Clerk in Railway Department...	At a Public Meeting at Jabalpur, 23rd Nov. 1889.
1265	"	"	"	Mr. Pandit Ganesh Wasudeo	do.	Contractor	do.
1266	"	"	"	Abdul Hussain Suleman ...	Mahomedan.	Merchant	do.
1267	"	"	"	Mr. R. Narayen Rao ...	Christian.	Head Master, Mission School...	do.
1268	"	"	"	Mr. Alfred Nandy... ..	do.	Barrister-at-Law, and Municipal Commissioner, Jabalpore.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1269	Central Provinces.	Nagpur.	Jubbulpore.	Mr. Gajadhr Shakool ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Manager, Cotton Mill ...	At a Public Meeting, held on 17th November 1889.
1270	"	"	"	Mr. Purnachandra Mukerjia, B.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader ...	do.
1271	"	"	Burhanpur.	Mr. Govindrao Runchandra	do.	Malguzar ...	Public Meeting, held at Burhanpur, 12th Dec. 1889.
1272	"	"	"	Mr. Gunpatrao Vithal ...	do.	do. ...	do.
1273	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Balkrishna Bhide.	do.	Proprietor of the Arya Vaidhaw Press.	do.
1274	"	"	Raipur.	Mr. Tukaram Vishnu Gosawi.	do.	Pleader ...	Raipur, 8th December 1889.
1275	"	"	"	Mr. Govinda Prnsada Dube.	do.	do. ...	do.
1276	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Rao Lakshay.	do.	Malguzar and Banker ...	do.
1277	"	"	Khandwa.	Mr. Vithal Waman Page...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader ...	At a Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Khandwa, held on 24th November 1889.
1278	"	"	"	Mr. Hormusjee Dhunjeebhoj.	Parsi.	Contractor ...	do.
1279	"	"	"	Munshi Said Mahomed ...	Mahomedan.	Clerk and Petition Writer ...	do.
1280	"	"	"	Seth Herallal Bondrusa ...	Hindu Mahajan Jain.	Banker and Trader ...	do.
1281	"	"	"	Mr. Haridas Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Secretary, District Council, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner.	do., and also at Burhanpur, on 12th December 1889.
1282	"	"	Bhandara.	Mr. Govind Balwant ...	do.	Pleader ...	At a Public Meeting held at Bhandara, on the 10th November 1889.
1283	"	"	"	Mr. Vishawanath Nelkant Pandit.	do.	do. ...	do.
1284	"	"	"	Mr. Sakharan Sitaram Walwar.	do.	do. ...	do.
1285	"	"	Raj Nandgaon.	Mr. V. Sarangapany Moodliar.	Hindu Vysia Madras.	Contractor and Manager, Balram Press, and Praja Hithyshi, Member, Municipality.	At a Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Raj Nandgaon, held on 1st December 1889.
1286	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Kasinath Khare.	Hindu Maharashtra Brahmin.	Contractor, Member, Municipality.	do.
1287	"	"	Saugor.	Mr. Behari Lal...	Hindu Vaishya.	Manager to the Estate of the Rajah of Pitchra.	At a Public Meeting, 1st December 1889.
1288	"	"	"	Mr. Jugganath Pershad ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Munshi ...	do.
1289	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Lakshamana Shrikhande.	Maratha Brahmin.	Municipal Commissioner and Legal Practitioner.	do.
1290	"	"	Narsinghpur.	Mr. P. Khubchandra Gudhowlia.	Brahmin.	Zemindar and Malguzar ...	Elected at Narsinghpur, 5th December, 1889, by the Local Arya Sanaj.
1291	"	"	"	Mr. Jivan Lal ...	Hindu Kaisth.	Pleader ...	do.
1292	Govt. of India.	"	Mhow.	Mr. Sadashivrao Ganesh Dighe.	Hindu Brahmin.	Jahagirdar ...	Public Meeting, Indore, 17th December 1889.
1293	"	"	"	Mr. Kedarnath ...	Hindu.	Head Master, Khan Bahadur Eduljee Pestonjee's High School, Mhow.	Meeting held at the Central India Association, Mhow, on the 17th December 1889.
1294	"	"	"	Mr. Bahnokund ...	do.	Merchant ...	do.
1295	"	"	"	Mr. Hyder Ali Rosulbhai...	Mahomedan.	Merchant, Mhow ...	do.
1296	"	"	"	Mr. Peer Bux ...	do.	Contractor, Mhow ...	do.
1297	"	"	"	Mr. Gangaram Choonilal.	Hindu.	Banker, Mhow ...	do.
1298	"	"	"	Kazi Hafiz Arun ...	Mahomedan.	Kazi, Mhow ...	do.
1299	"	"	"	Mr. Mohendranath Chatterjee.	Hindu.	Pleader, Mhow, Central India, Honorary Secretary, Central India Association, Mhow, Editor, Eastern Herald.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1300	Government of Indig.	Berar.	Berar Sarvajanik Sabha.	Mr. Moro Vishwanath Joshi, B.A. LL.B.	Hindu Maharashtra Brahmin.	High Court Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Vice-Chairman, Amraoti Municipality.	At a General Meeting of the Berar Sarvajanik Sabha, held at Amraoti, on 1st of December 1889.
1301	"	"	"	Mr. Yeshwant Govind Keskar.	do.	Proprietor and Editor, Pramoda Sindhu, Amraoti, Municipal Commissioner, Amraoti.	do.
1302	"	"	Amraoti	Mr. Prhlad Narayan Jog, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin Hindu.	High Court Pleader, Banker, Municipal Commissioner, Amraoti.	At a Public Meeting held at Amraoti, on the 24th of November 1889.
1303	"	"	"	Mr. Ragnath Narsinh Mudholkar, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Maharashtra Brahmin.	High Court Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Amraoti.	do.
1304	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Jairam Pendke.	do.	Banker, Municipal Commissioner, Amraoti.	do.
1305	"	"	"	Mr. Devji Damodar Amalia	Hindu Bhatia.	Agent, Empress Sabhapathy Mudeliar and Co.'s Amraoti Branch.	do.
1306	"	"	"	Mr. Tukaram Padmaji.....	Hindu Kunbi.	Deshmukh, Banker and Landholder, Jarood in Morsi Taluk, Amraoti District.	do.
1307	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Hari Karandikar.	Hindu Maratha Brahmin.	Pleader, Amraoti	do.
1308	"	"	"	Mr. Khrishnarao Raghav..	Hindu Maharashtra Brahmin.	Deshpande, Banker, Landholder, Member, and Honorary Secretary of the Local Committee, Badneira.	do.
1309	"	"	"	Mr. Wasudev Narayan Jog.	Brahmin Hindu.	Pleader	do.
1310	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Madhav	Hindu Maharashtra Brahmin.	Banker, Landholder and Patel, Varood in Morsi Taluk, Amraoti District.	do.
1311	"	"	"	Mr. Janardan Narayan Toke Pruvara Sangaukar.	do.	Pleader, Jahagirdar of Mhalapur, Ahmednagar District and Municipal Commissioner, Amraoti.	do.
1312	"	"	"	Mr. Antaji Govind Keskar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, and Municipal Commissioner, Amraoti.	do.
1313	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Govind Ketkar.	Hindu Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Amraoti.	do.
1314	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Narasinh Mudholkar, L.M. and s.	Hindu Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Municipal Commissioner, and Honorary Secretary of Amraoti Municipality.	do.
1315	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Narayan Kane.	Christian.	Pleader, Amraoti	do.
1316	"	"	"	Mr. Bhaskar Sakharan Thatte.	Hindu Brahmin.	Overscer, Amraoti Municipality, and Landholder.	do.
1317	"	"	"	Mr. Vishvanath Kashinath Kale.	do.	Amraoti.... ..	do.
1318	"	"	"	Mr. Balwant Venkajee Khot.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder, Municipal Commissioner, Amraoti, Head Clerk of Messrs. Gaddam, Bythell and Co's Amraoti Branch.	do.
1319	"	"	"	Mr. Narhar Bhagwant.....	Hindu Maharashtra Brahmin.	Deshpande, Jahagirdar, Patel and Pandit in Elichpur and Kholapur Amraoti Districts.	do.
1320	"	"	"	Mr. Vyankatrao Hanmant- rao.	do.	Jagirdar, Deshmukh and Landholder of Elichpur.	do.
1321	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Anant Deshpande	do.	Deshpande, Landholder and Trader of Anjan Singi Taluk, Chandur, Amraoti District.	do.
1322	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnaji Bapuji Kide.	do.	Banker, Landholder, Member and Honorary Secretary of the Local Committee, Karanja.	do.
1323	"	"	"	Mr. Nicholas Godfrey ...	Christian European.	Pleader and Honorary Secretary of the Amraoti Camp, Municipality.	do.
1324	"	"	"	Mr. Sakharan Chinnaji Gole.	Hindu Maharashtra Brahmin.	Secretary, Berar Agricultural Association, Landholder, Editor of the "Shetkari Amraoti."	do.
1325	"	"	"	Mr. Shivram Walad Awachitji Patel.	Hindu Kunbi.	Landholder	do.
1326	"	"	"	Mr. Ramkisan Sakharan Pethe.	Hindu Kalal.	Landholder and trader of Morsi.	do.
1327	"	"	"	Mr. Bapoo Mahadev Pendse	Hindu Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader Berar Court, Elichpur..	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1328	Government of India.	Berar.	Amraoti.	Mr. Keshav Balwant Deshpande.	Hindu Maharashtra Brahmin.	Banker, Landholder	At a Public Meeting, held at Amraoti, on 24th November 1889.
1329	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Renko ...	do.	Banker, Member of the District Local Board, and Landholder, Amraoti.	do.
1330	"	"	Berar Agricultural Association.	Mr. Sitaram W. Suryabhan Rund.	Hindu Kunbi.	Patel, Landholder	At a Meeting, of the Association held at Amraoti on the 22nd of December 1889.
1331	"	"	"	Mr. Sakharan Narayan Jog.	Hindu Brahmin.	Money-lender	do.
1332	"	"	Akola.	Rao Saheb Deorno Vinayak.	Hindu Deccan Brahmin.	High Court Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Akola.	At a Public Meeting held at Akola, on 1st December 1889.
1333	"	"	"	Mr. Dattatraya Vishnu Bhagvat, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Maharatta Brahmin.	High Court Pleader, Vice-Chairman of the Akola Municipality, and Vice-Chairman of the Akola District Board.	do.
1334	"	"	"	Mr. Puran Shamlal ...	Hindu Jain.	Banker and Special Magistrate, Khargam.	do.
1335	"	"	"	Mr. Nyamatkhan Wd. Belankhan.	Mahomedan.	Abkari Contractor, Balapur ...	do.
1336	"	"	"	Mr. Popatlal Parasram ...	Hindu Gujarati Jain.	Banker and Member of District Board, Akola.	do.
1337	"	"	"	Mr. Vyankatesh Ramchandra Mudholkar.	Hindu Maharashtra Brahmin.	Editor of Vaidarbha, Akola ...	do.
1338	"	"	"	Mr. Panachand Nathoosawat.	Hindu Gujarati Jain.	Banker, Balapur	do.
1339	"	"	"	Mr. Anant Vishnoo Bhag.	Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader, Tolhara	do.
1340	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Govind Ghosal...	Brahmin.	Cotton Merchant and Municipal Member, Shegaon.	do.
1341	"	"	"	Mr. Pandu Walad Nandaji.	Kunbi.	Money-lender and Agriculturist.	do.
1342	"	"	"	Mr. Shankar Govind ...	Hindu Maharashtra Brahmin.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner, Akola.	do.
1343	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Ramachandra Auvikar.	Hindu Krishna Pakshi.	Editor of "Shudha Varhadi," Newspaper.	do.
1344	"	"	"	Mr. Pandurang Bapuji Rajandekar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Merchant, Vice-Chairman of Akola, Taluka Board, and Member of Akola District Board.	do.
1345	"	"	"	Mr. Gopaldas Naraindas ...	Hindu Gujarathi.	Banker	do.
1346	"	"	"	Mr. Vyankatesh Krishna Desai.	Hindu Deccan Brahmin.	Pleader	do.
1347	"	"	"	Mr. Yeshwantrao Govind Hoondiwale.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder and Member of Taluk Board, Balapoor.	do.
1348	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Vishvanath	do.	Deshpande, Landholder and Pleader, Akola.	do.
1349	"	"	"	Mr. Madharao Ramchandra Tipnis.	Parbhu Hindu.	Pleader, Tolhara	do.
1350	"	"	"	Mr. Mngoot Rao Balwant Rao.	Hindu Maharatta.	Landholder, Deshmukh Patel, and Member of Akola District Board.	do.
1351	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Sakharan ...	Kunbi.	Patel and Landholder	do.
1352	"	"	"	Mr. Mukundrao Nandaji...	do.	Patel, Mundgaon, Akola District.	do.
1353	"	"	"	Mr. Dattu Walad Gambhir	Hindu Maratha.	Patel Landholder	do.
1354	"	"	"	Mr. Narayan Dinaji Patel...	Hindu Kunbi.	do.	do.
1355	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Rao Luxman Rao	Hindu Maratha.	Deshmukh Patel, Member of Akola Taluk and District Board.	do.
1356	"	"	"	Mr. Fakirchand Nowlaji...	do.	Patel and Landholder	do.
1357	"	"	"	Mr. Anand Rao Harsing ...	do.	Deshmukh, Patel, Patwari and Member of Akola Taluk Board and Landholder.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1353	Government of India.	Berar.	Akola.	Mr. Bapu Balkrishna ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Kulkarni, Akola, Member of Taluk Board, Money-lender and Agriculturist.	At a Meeting held at Akola, on the 1st of December 1889.
1359	"	"	"	Mr. Jayawat Rao Sunderji.	Hindu Mahratha.	Deshmukh Patel, Kulkarni, Member of Akola Taluk Board and Agriculturist.	do.
1360	"	"	"	Mr. Vithal Gangaram ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Telhara ...	do.
1361	"	"	"	Mr. Krishna Rao Ganesh...	Hindu Parbhu.	do. ...	do.
1362	"	"	"	Mr. Namdev Visram ...	Hindu Mahratha Kunbi.	Patel, Agriculturist and Banker.	do.
1363	"	"	"	Mr. Sadashiv Oodebhan ...	Hindu Mahratha.	do. ...	do.
1364	"	"	"	Mr. Amritrao Akaram ...	do.	Patel and Agriculturist...	do.
1365	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Ganesh ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Member of Taluk, Jalgaon, and Akola District Board, Agriculturist and Money-lender.	do.
1366	"	"	"	Mr. Maruti Balwant Paude.	do.	Kulkarni, Agriculturist and Money-lender.	do.
1367	"	"	"	Mr. Sonaji Bhawani ...	do.	Putwari, Member of Akola District Board and Vice-Chairman of Khamgaum, Taluka Board.	do.
1368	"	"	Buldana.	Mr. Damodar Hari Ranade.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, Malkapur ...	At a Public Meeting held at Buldana, on 14th November 1889.
1369	"	"	"	Mr. Gulam Amed Khan ...	Mahomedan.	Merchant and Landholder ...	At a Public Meeting held at Malkapur, on 30th November 1889.
1370	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Narayan Deshpande.	Hindu Brahmin.	Deshpande and Landholder ...	At a Public Meeting held at Buldana, on 14th November 1889.
1371	"	"	"	Mr. Waman Renko ...	do.	Pleader ...	do.
1372	"	"	"	Mr. Vishnusa Gopalsa Savaji.	Hindu Lada.	Banker of Chikhali, Buldana District.	do.
1373	"	"	"	Mr. Trimbak Mairal ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil Malkapur...	do.
1374	"	"	"	Mr. Kashinath Bhikaji ...	do.	Pleader and Landholder ...	do.
1375	"	"	"	Mr. Jankiram Wasudev ...	do.	Patwari ...	do.
1376	"	"	"	Mr. Raoji Raghav...	do.	Pleader, Malkapur ...	do.
1377	"	"	"	Mr. Keshav Wasudev Sonman.	do.	do. ...	do.
1378	"	"	"	Sanpatrao Parwatrao Deshmukh.	Hindu Mahratha.	Deshmukh and Landholder, Malkapur.	do.
1379	"	"	Ellichpur.	Mr. Ganesh Shri Krishna Khaparde, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin Hindu.	High Court Pleader, Member of the District Board, Amraoti, Landholder and Malguzar in Central Provinces, Amraoti.	At a Public Meeting held at Ellichpur, on the 5th of November 1889.
1380	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Nagesh ...	do.	Pleader, Ellichpur ...	do.
1381	"	"	"	Mr. Gangadhar Narayan Jaydule.	do.	District Court Pleader...	do.
1382	"	"	"	Mr. Shripud Mahadeo Keskar.	do.	do. ...	do.
1383	"	"	"	Mr. Ramrao Sadashiv Sathu	Hindu Mahratha.	Landholder and General Agent.	do.
1384	"	"	"	Mr. Gangaram Dewaman Kavarkar.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder, Ellichpur...	do.
1385	"	"	Wun.	Mr. Lakshman Chintaman Bapat.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Yeotmal ...	At Public Meeting at Yeotmal the 26th November 1889.
1386	"	"	"	Mr. Mahadeo Govind Damale, B.A.	do.	District Pleader, Yeotmal ...	do.
1387	"	"	"	Mr. Sitaram Bavroji.	Hindu Kunbi.	Ijardar and Sowkar, Patel of Venikota in Yeotmal Taluk, Wun District.	do.
1388	"	"	"	Mr. Dadoo Bajirao Hore Patel.	do.	Landholder, Wun District, Malguzar, C. P.	do.
1389	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Narayan Bhat...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Ijardar, Yeotmal ...	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1390	Government of India.	Berar.	Ellichpur.	Mr. Krishnaji Bhikaji Palnitkar.	Hindu Maratha Brahmin.	Landholder, Yeotmal...	At a Public Meeting held at Yeotmal, on the 26th November 1889.
1391	"	"	"	Mr. Jairam Ganesh ...	Hindu Parbhu.	Pleader and Ijardar ...	do.
1392	"	"	Basim.	Mr. Yeshwant Varan Dighe	Hindu Parbu.	Pleader, Member and Honorary Secretary of Basim Municipality, Basim.	At a Public Meeting held at Basim, on the 23rd November 1889.
1393	"	"	"	Baba Shivaratanasing Mabsing.	Arya Samajist Khsatriya.	Landholder and Money-lender.	do.
1394	"	"	"	Mr. Daji Dipaji Palkar ...	Hindu Maratha.	Manager of the Jain Temple of Shirpur (Basim District).	do.
1395	"	"	"	Mr. Trimbukrao Vithalrao.	Hindu Brahmin.	Deshmukh, Basim, Berar ...	do.
1396	"	"	"	Mr. Seshrao Raghunath Havaldar.	do.	Pleader, Basim...	do.
1397	"	"	"	Mr. Balkrishna Vyankatesh Bhaye.	do.	Agent, Basim, Berar ...	do.
1398	"	"	"	Mr. Laxuman Atmaram Mabajan.	do.	General Merchant, Mangrul Pir, Member, District Board, Basim, and Chairman, Taluq Board, Mangrul Pir.	General Meeting held at Pusad on 19th November, and at a General Meeting held at Mangrul Pir on 10th December 1889.
1399	"	"	"	Mr. Ramaji Vagaji Patel...	Hindu Kunbi.	Merchant, Vice-Chairman, Taluq Board, Mangrul Poti, Mangrul Pir, Sowkar, Mangrul Pir ...	General Meeting held at Mangrul Pir, on 10th December 1889.
1400	"	"	"	Mr. Devising Balaram ...	Hindu Raghuvanshy Rajput.	Merchant, Pusad, Basim District, Berar.	General Meeting held at Pusad on 19th Nov., 1889.
1401	"	"	"	Mr. Rafiuddin Gulamohiddin.	Mahomedan.	Retired Civilian, Resident at Simla, Fellow of the Calcutta University.	By a Public Meeting at Lahore, 8th December, 1889.
1402	Punjab.	Lahore.	Lahore.	Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B. ...	European Christian.	Editor of "Rozana Punjab" ...	do.
1403	"	"	"	Moulvi Mir Nisar Ali Shohrat.	Mahomedan.	Pleader, Chief Court ...	do.
1404	"	"	"	Mr. Kanihya Lal ...	Hindu Bhatia.	Sadhu, Bhai ...	do.
1405	"	"	"	Bawa Surmirkh Das ...	Sikh.	Pleader, High Court, Lahore ...	do.
1406	"	"	"	Mr. Jogendra Chandra Bose, M.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Pleader, High Court, Fellow of Punjab University.	do.
1407	"	"	"	Mr. Kali Prosonno Roy, M.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab, and Landholder.	do.
1408	"	"	"	Lala Daswande Ram.	Rajput.	Surgeon Dentist ...	do.
1409	"	"	"	Mr. Parmanand ...	Arya.	Pleader ...	do.
1410	"	"	"	Lala Sangam Lal, L.L.	Arya Khsatriya.	Editor, Missionary Deva Dharma Mission.	do.
1411	"	"	"	Pandit S. N. Agnihotri ...	Deva Dharma.	Banker ...	do.
1412	"	"	"	Lala Gia Lal ...	Jain.	Vakil, High Court ...	do.
1413	"	"	"	Mr. Dharm Das Suri ...	Khsatriya Theist.	Missionary Brahma Samaj ...	do.
1414	"	"	"	Mr. Lachman Prasada ...	Brahmin.	Engineer and Landholder ...	At a Meeting of the Committee of the Indian Association, held on 4th December, 1889.
1415	"	"	The Indian Association Lahore.	Mr. I. C. Sarkar, C. E. ...	Christian.	Jagirdar, Rehloo, Honorary Magistrate and Civil Judge, President, Local Board, Kangra, Vice-President, District Board, Kangra.	Public Meeting, 1st December, 1889.
1416	"	"	Kangra.	Raja Niamat Ullah Khan...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar, Kooloo, late Bengal Staff Corps.	do.
1417	"	"	"	Captain A. T. Banon ...	Christian European.	Pleader ...	do.
1418	"	"	"	Lala Sukhdial, LL.	Hindu Arya.	Mukhtar, Tea Planter and Landholder.	do.
1419	"	"	"	Mr. K. Moti Lal ...	do.	Pleader and Zemindar...	do.
1420	"	"	"	Mr. Sohan Lal ...	do.	Contractor ...	Public Meeting, held on 15th December 1889.
1421	"	"	Umballa.	Lalla Than Singh ...	Hindu Agrawalla Vaishya.	Pleader and Proprietor Hume Press and Khair Andesh.	do.
1422	"	"	"	Lala Murlidhar ...	do.		

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1353	Government of India.	Berar.	Akola.	Mr. Bapu Balkrishna ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Kulkarni, Akola, Member of Taluk Board, Money-lender and Agriculturist.	At a Meeting held at Akola, on the 1st of December 1889.
1359	"	"	"	Mr. Jayawat Rao Sunderji.	Hindu Mahratha.	Deshmukh Patel, Kulkarni, Member of Akola Taluk Board and Agriculturist.	do.
1360	"	"	"	Mr. Vithal Gangaram ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Telharu	do.
1361	"	"	"	Mr. Krishna Rao Ganesh...	Hindu Parbhu.	do.	do.
1362	"	"	"	Mr. Namdev Visram ...	Hindu Mahratha Kunbi.	Patel, Agriculturist and Banker.	do.
1363	"	"	"	Mr. Sadashiv Oodebhan ...	Hindu Mahratha.	do.	do.
1364	"	"	"	Mr. Amritrao Akaram ...	do.	Patel and Agriculturist... ..	do.
1365	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Ganesh ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Member of Taluk, Jalgaon, and Akola District Board, Agriculturist and Money-lender.	do.
1366	"	"	"	Mr. Maruti Balwant Paude.	do.	Kulkarni, Agriculturist and Money-lender.	do.
1367	"	"	"	Mr. Sonaji Bhawani ...	do.	Putwari, Member of Akola District Board and Vice-Chairman of Khamgaum, Taluka Board.	do.
1368	"	"	Buldana.	Mr. Damodar Hari Ranade.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, Malkapur	At a Public Meeting held at Buldana, on 14th November 1889.
1369	"	"	"	Mr. Gulam Amed Khan ...	Mahomedan.	Merchant and Landholder ...	At a Public Meeting held at Malkapur, on 30th November 1889.
1370	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Narayan Deshpande.	Hindu Brahmin.	Deshpande and Landholder ...	At a Public Meeting held at Buldana, on 14th November 1889.
1371	"	"	"	Mr. Waman Renko ...	do.	Pleader	do.
1372	"	"	"	Mr. Vishnusa Gopalsa Savaji.	Hindu Lada.	Banker of Chikhali, Buldana District.	do.
1373	"	"	"	Mr. Trimbak Mairal ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil Malkapur... ..	do.
1374	"	"	"	Mr. Kashinath Bhikaji ...	do.	Pleader and Landholder ...	do.
1375	"	"	"	Mr. Jankiram Wasudev ...	do.	Patwari	do.
1376	"	"	"	Mr. Raoji Raghav... ..	do.	Pleader, Malkapur	do.
1377	"	"	"	Mr. Keshav Wasudev Soman.	do.	do.	do.
1378	"	"	"	Sampatrao Parwatrao Deshmukh.	Hindu Mahratha.	Deshmukh and Landholder, Malkapur.	do.
1379	"	"	Ellichpur.	Mr. Ganesh Shri Krishna Khaparde, B.A., LL.B.	Brahmin Hindu.	High Court Pleader, Member of the District Board, Amraoti, Landholder and Malguzar in Central Provinces, Amraoti.	At a Public Meeting held at Ellichpur, on the 5th of November 1889.
1380	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Nagesh ...	do.	Pleader, Ellichpur	do.
1381	"	"	"	Mr. Gangadhar Narayan Jaydule.	do.	District Court Pleader... ..	do.
1382	"	"	"	Mr. Shripud Mahadeo Keskar.	do.	do.	do.
1383	"	"	"	Mr. Ramrao Sadashiv Sathu	Hindu Mahratha.	Landholder and General Agent.	do.
1384	"	"	"	Mr. Gangaram Dewaman Kavitar.	Hindu Mali.	Landholder, Ellichpur... ..	do.
1385	"	"	Wun.	Mr. Lakshman Chintaman Bapat.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Yeotmal	At Public Meeting at Yeotmal the 26th November 1889.
1386	"	"	"	Mr. Mahadeo Govind Damale, B.A.	do.	District Pleader, Yeotmal ...	do.
1387	"	"	"	Mr. Sitaram Bavraji.	Hindu Kunbi.	Ijardar and Sowkar, Patel of Venikota in Yeotmal Taluk, Wun District.	do.
1388	"	"	"	Mr. Dadoo Bajirao Hore Patel.	do.	Landholder, Wun District, Malguzar, C. P.	do.
1389	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Narayan Bhat...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Ijardar, Yeotmal ...	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1460	Punjab.	Delhi.	Delhi.	Lala Daulat Ram ...	Hindu Khasatri.	Banker and Wholesale Cloth Merchant.	Elected at a General Meeting, held on 24th November 1889.
1461	"	"	"	Lala Narain Das ...	Hindu Vaish.	Banker ...	do.
1462	"	"	"	Lala Chhung Mal...	do.	do ...	Elected at a General Meeting, held on the 15th December 1889.
1463	"	"	"	Lala Bansidhar ...	Hindu Khasatriya.	Wholesale Cloth Merchant ...	Elected at a Special Meeting of Delegates and other Members of Congress, held on the 1st December 1889, Delhi.
1464	N.-W. P. & Oudh.	Lucknow.	Anjuman Mahomedi.	Nawab Mirza Abu Talib-khan Bahadur.	Mahomedan.	Wasikadar, Zamindar ...	At a General Meeting of the Anjuman Mahomedi on 12th December 1889.
1465	"	"	"	Mirza Mahomed Abas Hussain " Hosh "	do.	Secretary, Anjuman Mahomedi..	do.
1466	"	"	"	Prince Alijah Mahomed Hussain Ali Bahadur.	do.	Wasikadar ...	do.
1467	"	"	"	Nawab Mahomed Taki Khan.	do.	do.	do.
1468	"	"	"	Nawab Mahomed Askari...	do.	do.	do.
1469	"	"	"	Nawab Ali Mahomed Khan.	do.	do.	do.
1470	"	"	"	Nawab Baker Mirza Saheb.	do.	do.	do.
1471	"	"	"	Nawab Aga Mohdi Raza Khan.	do.	do.	do.
1472	"	"	"	Mahomed Faqarudin ...	do.	Merchant ...	do.
1473	"	"	"	Sikandar Kadir Prince Mirza Mahomed Ahmed Ali Bahadur.	do.	Wasika-holder ...	do.
1474	"	"	"	Munshi Hissam Ali ...	do.	Merchant ...	do.
1475	"	"	"	Mirza Ali Hussain ...	do.	Mukhtar ...	do.
1476	"	"	"	Syed Bakir Hussain ...	do.	Wasika-holder ...	do.
1477	"	"	"	Munshi Hidayet Rasul ...	do.	Service ...	do.
1478	"	"	"	Nawab Mirza Zulfiqar Bahadur Khan.	do.	Wasika-holder and Zemindar...	Do. at a Meeting of the Rifa-i-am Association held on the 13th December 1889.
1479	"	"	"	Shamsuddowla Mumtaz-ul-Mulk Nawab Ali Hussain Khan Bahadur Mustakim Jung.	do.	Wasika-holder ...	do.
1480	"	"	"	Nawab Aga Sujud Ali Khan.	do.	Reis ...	do.
1481	"	"	"	Munshi Ahmed Hussain ...	do.	Mukhtar ...	do.
1482	"	"	"	Nawab Tasuddak Hussain Khan.	do.	Reis ...	do.
1483	"	"	Lucknow.	Mr. Ali Ahmed Yar Meer Hussain.	do.	Merchant ...	Public Meeting at the Rifa-i-am Hall, 14th instant.
1484	"	"	"	Mr. Bhuban Mohan Roy...	Brahmo.	Merchant and Secretary, Lucknow Brahmo Samaj.	do.
1485	"	"	"	Mr. Sri Ram, M.A., B.L. ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Zemindar and Wakil, High Court. Vice Chairman of Municipality.	do.
1486	"	"	"	Mr. Bhuban Mohan Banerji, B.A., F.R.H.S., F.S. Sc. (London), and Member, London Dialectical Society.	Bengali Hindu Brahmin.	Professor of Science and Mathematics, Lucknow Christian College.	do.
1487	"	"	"	Munshi Ashrufali...	Mahomedan.	Pension-holder and Translator...	do.
1488	"	"	"	Munshi Mahommed Ibrahim.	do.	Service ...	do.

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1489	N.-W. P. & Oudh.	Lucknow	Lucknow.	Munshi Amjad Ali ...	Mahomedan.	Service	Public Meeting at the Rifa-i-am Hall, 14th instant.
1490	"	"	"	Munshi Furhat Alli ...	do.	do.	do.
1491	"	"	"	Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar.	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Lucknow, Barrister-at-Law ...	do.
1492	"	"	"	Mr. Kalidas Sircar ...	Hindu.	Lucknow	do.
1493	"	"	"	M. Suraj-ul-Hussein ...	Mahomedan.	Reis	do.
1494	"	"	"	Mr. Hamid Ali Khan ...	do.	Barrister-at-Law, Moafidar and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
1495	"	"	"	Meer Hoossein Ali ...	do.	Reis	do.
1496	"	"	"	Khuaja Mohamed Yusuf...	do.	do.	do.
1497	"	"	"	Meer Mohamed Hussain...	do.	do.	do.
1498	"	"	"	Pandit Shyan Narayan Masaldan.	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Zamindar and Municipal Commissioner, Lucknow.	do. and Rifa-i-am Association, on the 19th instant.
1499	"	"	"	Mr. Bansil Lal Singh ...	Hindu Kshatriya.	Vakil, Landlord, Chairman of U. I. C. Paper Mill Company, Lucknow and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
1500	"	"	"	Mr. Kedar Nath ...	Hindu.	High Court, Pleader	do.
1501	"	"	"	Munshi Gangaprasad Varma.	do.	Proprietor of the Advocate and Hindustani, Municipal Commissioner and Secretary, Lucknow, Standing Congress Committee.	do.
1502	"	"	"	Munshi Saifur Hussain ...	Mahomedan.	Reis	do.
1503	"	"	"	Sheikh Asgar Ali...	do.	Merchant and Reis	do.
1504	"	"	"	Khawaja Fariduddin ...	do.	Zemindar and Reis	do.
1505	"	"	"	Munshi Ahmed Ali ...	do.	Reis	do.
1506	"	"	"	Bhaiya Rudra Pershad ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Manager, Kaistha Akbar ...	do.
1507	"	"	"	Rev. Mr. Ram Chandra Bose, M.A.	Christian Indian.	Missionary (Local Preacher), Lucknow.	By the Bengal Christian Conference, December 6th, 1889.
1508	"	"	Lucknow Jalsa Tahzib.	Pandit Suraj Narayan Bahadur, B.A.	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Secretary, Jalsa Tahzib ...	At a General Meeting of Jalsa Tahzib, Lucknow.
1509	"	"	Fyzabad.	Munshi Lala Pershad ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Zemindar	Public Meeting, on the 7th December.
1510	"	"	"	" Saligram, B.A. ...	do.	Pleader and Zemindar... ..	do.
1511	"	"	"	" Balak Ram ...	do.	do.	do.
1512	"	"	"	Mr. Gokul Chund ...	Kshatriya.	do. Honorary Magistrate; Vice-Chairman, Municipality and District Board.	do.
1513	"	"	Sitaporo.	Munshi Murlidhar ...	Kayastha.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
1514	"	"	"	Mr. Buldeo Pershad ...	Hindu Kshatriya.	Pleader, Zemindar and Honorary Magistrate.	do.
1515	"	"	Khiree.	Seth Dwarka Dass ...	do.	Banker, Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner and Honorary Magistrate.	do. on the 18th December.
1516	"	"	"	Mr. Sheo Buksh Rai ...	Hindu Vaieya.	Pleader and Zemindar... ..	do.
1517	North Western Provinces.	Allahabad.	Allahabad.	The Hon'ble Pandit Ajoodhianath.	Hindu Kashmeri Brahmin.	Member of the Legislative Council, N. W. P. and Oudh, Vakil High Court, N. W. P., President of the Allahabad Standing Congress Committee, Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Fellow of the Calcutta and Allahabad Universities.	Public meeting, at the Kayastha Pathshala, Allahabad, November 16th, 1889, and also at a Public Meeting of the Mahomedans of Bombay, 22nd December, 1889.
1518	"	"	"	Mr. Ratan Chand, B.A. ...	Jain.	Vakil High Court, N. W. P. and President Graduates Association, N. W. P. and Oudh.	Public Meeting at the Kayastha Pathshala, November 16th, 1889.
1519	"	"	"	Pandit Motilal Nehru ...	Hindu Kashmeri Brahmin.	Vakil High Court, N. W. P. ...	do.

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1520	North Western Provinces.	Allahabad.	Allahabad.	Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Editor, "Hindustan," Joint Secretary. Congress Committee, Allahabad.	Public Meeting at the Kayasth Pathshala November 16th and at a General Meeting, of the Hindu Samaj, 15th Dec. 1889.
1521	"	"	"	Mr. Ganesh Prasad ...	Hindu Vaishya.	Banker and Zemindar ...	Public Meeting, Kayastha Pathshala, November 16th, 1889.
1522	"	"	"	Mr. Raja Ram, Bhargava...	Hindu Bhargava.	Banker and Zemindar, Member Municipal Board.	do.
1523	"	"	"	Mr. Bhavani Prasad ...	Hindu Khattri.	Banker and Zemindar ...	do.
1524	"	"	"	Mr. Dayal Das ...	do.	Merchant ...	Public Meeting, Gangadaska Chowky, 17th December 1889.
1525	"	"	"	Mr. Durga Prasad...	do.	do. ...	do.
1526	"	"	"	Mr. Durga Charan Banerjea, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, N. W.-P. ...	Public meeting, Kayastha Pathshala, November 16th 1889, and also at a General Meeting of the Hindu Samaj, 15th Dec., 1889.
1527	"	"	"	Munshi Sadarudin Ahmed.	Mahomedan.	Zemindar ...	Public Meeting, Kayastha Pathshala Nov. 16th, 1889.
1528	"	"	"	Pandit Balkrishna Bhatta...	Hindu Brahmin.	Editor "Hindi Pradip" ...	do.
1529	"	"	"	Mr. Balmakund Bhatta ...	do.	Merchant ...	do.
1530	"	"	"	Mr. Mohanlal Tandan ...	Hindu Khattri.	do. ...	Public Meeting, at Gangadaska Chowky, 17th December 1889.
1531	"	"	"	Mr. Hafiz Kumroodin ...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar ...	Public Meeting, at Maydara, 10th December 1889.
1532	"	"	"	Mr. Mir Mahomed Hadi ...	do.	do. ...	Public Meeting, at Ujihni 11th December 1889.
1533	"	"	"	Sayad Noerool Hussain ...	do.	Munshi ...	Public Meeting, at Kara, 13th December 1889.
1534	"	"	"	Mr. Mir Nowroze Ali ...	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
1535	"	"	"	Shaik Zabiroaddeen ...	do.	do. ...	Public Meeting, at Maydara, 10th December 1889.
1536	"	"	"	Shaikh Mahomed Zaki ...	do.	do. ...	do.
1537	"	"	"	Munshi Ahmed Hussain ...	do.	do. ...	do.
1538	"	"	"	Shah Sultan Hussain ...	do.	Durbaish ...	Public Meeting, at Ujihni, 11th December 1889.
1539	"	"	"	Shaikh Ashruf Ali ...	do.	Zemindar ...	Public Meeting, at Maydara, 10th December 1889.
1540	"	"	"	Mr. Chail Biharilal, B.A. ...	Hindu Kayastha.	Head Master, Kayastha Pathshala Allahabad.	Public Meeting, at Gangadaska Chowky, 17th December 1889.
1541	"	"	"	Mr. T. N. Ghose ...	do.	Pleader ...	Public Meeting, at the Kayastha Pathshala, November 16th, 1889.
1542	"	"	"	Pandit Deokinandan Tivari.	Hindu Brahmin.	Proprietor and Editor "Prayag Samachar."	do.
1543	"	"	"	Mirza Tufail Ali Beg ...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar ...	Public Meeting, at Gangadaska Chowky, 17th Dec. 1889.
1544	"	"	"	Syed Mir Jan ...	do.	do. ...	do.
1545	"	"	"	Mir Mahdi Ali ...	do.	do. ...	do.
1546	"	"	"	Moulvi Mahomed Ali ...	do.	do. ...	Public Meeting at Kara, 13th December 1889.
1547	"	"	"	Mir Nazim Hussain ...	do.	do. ...	Public Meeting held at Karari, 12th Dec. 1889.
1548	"	"	"	Sheikh Abdul Aziz ...	do.	do. ...	Public Meeting held at Samahi, 13th Dec. 1889.
1549	"	"	"	Mir Bagar Hussain ...	do.	do. ...	Public Meeting at Janka, 15th December 1889.
1550	"	"	"	Mir Haidar Hussain ...	do.	do. ...	Public Meeting at Kara, 13th December 1889.
1551	"	"	"	Sheikh Ali Hussain ...	do.	Trader ...	Public Meeting at Gangadaska Chowky, 17th Dec. 1889.
1552	"	"	"	Moulvi Mahomed Ishag ...	do.	Zemindar ...	do.
1553	"	"	"	Syed Faqraddin ...	do.	do. ...	Public Meeting at Janka, 15th December 1889.

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1554	N.-W. Provinces.	Allahabad.	Hindu Samaj, Allahabad.	Mr. Mahadeva Prasad Chaddhe.	Hindu Khatri.	Merchant	At a General Meeting, of the Hindu Samaj, 15th December 1889.
1555	"	"	"	Mr. Sital Prasad	do.	Pleader	Public Meeting, at Ganga-daska Chowky, December 17th, 1889.
1556	"	"	"	Swamy Ala Ram	Hindu.	Anchorite	Public Meeting, at the Kayastha Pathashala, November 16th, 1889.
1557	"	"	"	Mr. L. Tracy	Christian European.	Journalist	do.
1558	"	"	"	Sayed Mahomed Tata	Mahomedan.	Zemindar	Public Meeting, at Kara Allahabad, December 13th, 1889.
1559	"	"	"	Sayed Fakhruallah... ..	do.	do.	Public Meeting, at Janka on December 13th, 1889.
1560	"	"	Fatehpur Hanswa.	Mr. Bijay Bahadur	Hindu Kayastha.	Taluqdar, Reis, Member, Local Board.	Public Meeting, 15th December 1889.
1561	"	"	"	Sayad Mahomed Amiruddin.	Mahomedan.	Reis and Zemindar	do.
1562	"	"	Banda.	Mr. Dubey Chandī Din	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar, Magistrate, Senior Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board, Member of the Agricultural and Commercial Department, Member, District Board, Banda.	Public Meeting, held on the 24th December 1889.
1563	"	"	"	Mr. Bisheshwar Chaudhri.	Arya Brahmin.	Junior Vice-President of the Banda Municipality.	do.
1564	"	"	"	Mr. Raghubar Dayal	Hindu Kayastha.	Legal Practitioner, Secretary, Kayastha Sabha.	do.
1565	"	"	"	Mr. D. N. Banerji... ..	Christian.	Municipal Commissioner	do.
1566	"	"	Jhansi.	Mr. Sitaram	Arya Vaishya.	Landlord, Merchant, Printer, Member, Municipal Board.	Public Meeting at Jhansi, 1st December 1889.
1567	"	"	"	Mr. Shankar Sahai	Arya Khayastha.	Pleader, Secretary Arya Samaj.	do.
1568	"	"	"	Pandit Pragdas	Arya Brahmin.	Mukhtar, Zemindar	do.
1569	"	"	"	Mr. Sivapada Ghose	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader	do.
1570	"	"	"	Mr. Basanta Kumar Sanyal.	Hindu Brahmin.	do.	do.
1571	"	"	"	Mr. Mahendra Nath Niogi.	Hindu Vaishya.	Proprietor, Progressive Medical Hall.	do.
1572	"	"	Cawnpore.	Pandit Prithinath... ..	Cashmire Brahmin.	Vakil High Court, N.-W.P.	Public Meeting, 8th December 1889.
1573	"	"	"	Moulvi Abdul Jalil	Mahomedan.	do.	do.
1574	"	"	"	Mr. Gaya Prasad	Hindu Khatri.	Banker and Zemindar, Proprietor Cotton Ginning Factory.	do.
1575	"	"	"	Mr. Nanak Chand... ..	Hindu Vaishya.	Reis and Banker	do.
1576	"	"	"	Mr. Sheonarayan	Hindu Maheshri Bania.	Banker	do.
1577	"	"	"	Mr. Narain Singh... ..	Hindu Khatri.	Service	do.
1578	"	"	"	Mr. Gangadyal	do.	Pleader	do.
1579	"	"	"	Bhai Harnam Singh	Sikh.	Late Sowar 3rd Regiment Sind Horse, Book seller "Arya Samaj" Cawnpore.	do.
1580	"	"	"	Mr. Govindprasad... ..	Hindu Khatri.	Merchant and Contractor	do.
1581	"	"	"	Sheikh Ahmed Hussain	Mahomedan.	Merchant	Public Meeting, 15th December 1889.
1582	"	"	"	Mr. Hafiz Abdulahad Khan.	do.	Zemindar	do.
1583	"	"	"	Hakim Fakhral Hussain	do.	Physician	Public Meeting, 8th December 1889.
1584	"	"	"	Moulvi Mahomed Nabeel	do.	Pleader	Public Meeting, 15th December 1889.
1585	"	"	"	Mr. Pirbhu Dayal	Hindu Bhargava.	Proprietor of Shola Toor Press.	Public Meeting, 8th December 1889.
1586	"	"	"	Pandit Jankinath	Cashmire Brahmin.	Pleader and Zemindar... ..	do.
1587	"	"	"	Mr. Kali Khan	Mahomedan.	Pleader	Public Meeting, 15th December 1889.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates, with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1588	North Western Provinces.	Allahabad.	Cawnpore.	Mr. Bansidhar	Hindu Maheshri.	Reis	Public Meeting, 8th December 1889.
1589	"	"	"	Moulvi Latapat Hussain ...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar	Public Meeting, 15th December 1889.
1590	"	"	"	Mr. Kareemdad Khan	do.	Service	do.
1591	"	"	"	Sheikh Karam Ilahi	do.	Merchant	do.
1592	"	"	"	Mr. Khurshed Bahadur	Hindu Kayastha.	Reis	do.
1593	"	"	"	Mr. Brij Mohan Lal	Hindu Khatri.	Merchant	do.
1594	"	"	"	Mr. Bhai Madho	do.	Banker, Proprietor of the Cotton Ginning Mill.	do.
1595	"	"	"	Mr. Gajadhar Pershad	Hindu Kavi.	Kavi	Public Meeting, 8th December 1889.
1596	"	"	"	Mr. Chandrika Prasad	Hindu Vaisya.	Merchant	do.
1597	"	"	"	Mr. Daulatram	Hindu Kayasth.	Pleader	do.
1598	"	"	"	Mr. Madhavchand Khanna ...	Hindu Khatri.	Merchant	do.
1599	"	"	"	Mr. Hardyal	Hindu Vaisya.	Proprietor of the Firm of Shree Hardyal, Merchants.	do.
1600	"	"	"	Pandit Hirdayal Narayan ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Zemindar ...	do.
1601	"	"	"	Mr. Ramsingh Bhargava	Hindu Bhargava.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
1602	"	"	"	Mr. Bharoo Pershad	Hindu Khatri.	Merchant, of the Firm of Permashree Dass.	do.
1603	"	"	"	Mr. Lalta Pershad	do.	Merchant and Indigo Broker ...	do.
1604	"	"	"	Sheik Azizul Haq	Mahomedan.	Service	do.
1605	"	"	"	Mr. Baichoo Lal	Khatri.	Merchant	do.
1606	"	"	"	Moulvi Absan Ali	Mahomedan.	Landlord	do.
1607	"	"	Farrakhabad.	Mr. Abdul Ghani	do.	Shopkeeper	Public Meeting, held at Farrakhabad on 30th November 1889.
1608	"	"	"	Mr. Bashratullah	do.	do.	do.
1609	"	"	"	Mr. Amanatullah	do.	do.	do.
1610	"	"	"	Mr. Ahmad Hussain	do.	do.	do.
1611	"	"	"	Mr. Abdullah	do.	do.	do.
1612	"	"	"	Mr. Abdul Karim	do.	do.	do.
1613	"	"	"	Mr. Dilawar Beg	do.	Land-owner	do.
1614	"	"	"	Mr. Amir Khan	do.	do.	do.
1615	"	"	"	Pandit Gopalrao Hari	Brahmin.	Secretary, Vedic Samaj ...	do.
1616	"	"	Mainpuri.	Chaube Dammtal, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P., and Member, Municipal Board	Public Meeting at Mainpuri, 8th December 1889.
1617	"	"	"	Mr. Krishna Gopal Sanyal, B.A., B.L.	do.	Pleader, Vice-President, District Board.	do.
1618	"	"	"	Kumar Des Raj Singh	Hindu Rajput.	Zemindar, Tidoli	do.
1619	"	"	"	Mr. Nani Lal Banerjee	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader	do.
1620	"	"	Agra.	Pandit Jagannath	Kashmiri Brahmin.	do.	At a Public Meeting, held at Agra on 18th December 1889.
1621	"	"	"	Thakur Durjun Lal	Jat.	Pleader and Zemindar ...	do.
1622	"	"	"	Thakur Zahir Sinh	Rajput.	Zemindar	do.
1623	"	"	"	Sheik Rahim-uddin	Mahomedan.	Reis, Pleader, District Court ...	do.
1624	"	"	"	Hakim Mahomed Saleem Khan.	do.	Reis and Physician	do.

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1625	N.-W. Provinces.	Allahabad.	Agra.	Hakim Mohammed Ghaffar Khan.	Mohamedan.	Reis and Physician	At a Public Meeting held at Agra on 18th December 1889.
1626	"	"	"	Mr. Mohamed Mian Jan Khan.	do.	Bohrah and Reis	do.
1627	"	"	"	Mr. Mohamed Munir Khan.	do.	Merchant	do.
1628	"	"	"	Mr. Jamnadas Biswas ...	Hindu.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner; Proprietor "Nasim Agra."	do.
1629	"	"	"	Mr. Mutira Das Choudry ...	Hindu Kshatriya.	Municipal Commissioner and Director of Spinning and Weaving Mills Company. Teacher and Secretary, St. John's College, Agra.	do.
1630	"	"	"	Mr. Murli Dhar	do.	Head Master, Victoria College; Municipal Commissioner.	do.
1631	"	"	"	Sheikh Rahim Baksh ...	Mahomedan.	Reis and Mukhtyar-i-am of Sett Pectam Mull.	do.
1632	"	"	"	Sheikh Fyaz-u-din ...	do.	Reis	do.
1633	"	"	Aligarh.	Hafiz Abdurrahim ...	do.	Pleader and Zemindar... ..	At a Public Meeting held on the 4th December 1889.
1634	"	"	"	Mr. Shukr Ullah Khan ...	do.	Zemindar	do.
1635	"	"	"	Sheikh Barkat Ali ...	do.	do.	do.
1636	"	"	"	Mr. Kalyan Singh ...	Hindu Rajput.	do.	do.
1637	"	"	"	Mr. Mahomed Zakharyah Khan.	Mahomedan.	Pleader and Zemindar... ..	At a Public Meeting held on the 22nd of December 1889.
1638	"	"	"	Syad Sarfraz Ali	do.	do.	do.
1639	"	"	"	Mr. Jagendro Nath Chatterjee.	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, H. C., Professor of Law, Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh.	Public Meeting, 4th December 1889.
1640	"	"	"	Mr. Mahomed Sarfraz Khan.	Mahomedan.	Zemindar	do.
1641	"	"	"	Mr. Mustajab Ullah Khan.	do.	Zemindar, and Indigo Merchant.	do.
1642	"	"	Bulandshahar.	Thakur Bam Prasad Singh.	Hindu Rajput.	Pleader and Zemindar	Public Meeting.
1643	"	"	Meerut.	Mr. Prahlad Singh ...	Hindu Vaisha.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P., Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner.	Public Meeting at the Meerut Association Rooms, 1st December 1889.
1644	"	"	"	Mr. Choube Radhe Lal ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Zemindar... ..	do.
1645	"	"	"	Choudhry Durga Singh ...	Hindu.	Zemindar, Asora, and Member of the District Board.	do.
1646	"	"	"	Moulvi Ahmad Hasan Shoukiah.	Mahomedan.	Editor and Proprietor "Shanai Hind."	do.
1647	"	"	"	Hafiz Mahommed Qazi Ismail.	do.	Reis	do.
1648	"	"	"	Mr. Mahommed Mohsin ...	do.	Contractor and House-owner ...	Public Meeting, held on the 15th of December 1889.
1649	"	"	"	Mr. B. D. Kapur	Hindu.	Reis and Zemindar	do.
1650	"	"	"	Mr. H. C. Roy	do.	Merchant	Public Meeting, December 1st, 1889.
1651	"	"	"	Mr. M. Muzaffar Ali ...	Mahomedan.	Teacher	Public Meeting, on the 15th of December 1889.
1652	"	"	"	Mr. Mahomed Yaseem Khan	do.	Zemindar	do.
1653	"	"	Muzaffarnagar.	Moulvi Fazl Ahmed ...	do.	Reis of Pur and Pleader ...	Special Public Meeting, December 17th, 1889.
1654	"	"	"	Pandit Indar Prasad ...	Kashmiri Brahmin.	Pleader and Reis, Delhi ...	do.
1655	"	"	"	Mr. Ackhoy Chandra Bhattacharjee.	Christian.	Pleader	do.
1656	"	"	"	Sheik Zakir Ali	Mahomedan.	Reis, Pur, and Pleader... ..	do.
1657	"	"	Saharanpur.	Munshi Nazir Husein ...	do.	Zemindar	Public Meeting, December 3rd, 1889.
1658	"	"	Dehra Dun.	Mr. Radhe Lal	Hindu Vaishya.	Zemindar, Banker, and Municipal Commissioner.	Public Meeting at the Training School, 14th December 1889.
1659	"	"	"	Pandit Anand Narayan ...	Kashmiri Brahmin Arya.	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.	do.

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1660	North-Western Provinces.	Allahabad.	Dehra Dun.	Choudri Pratap Singh ...	Rajput.	Zemindar	Public Meeting at the Training School, on 10th December 1889.
1661	"	"	"	Mr. Bhuban Mohan Bose...	Christian.	Late Head Master, Mission School; Pastor, Reformed Presbyterian Church.	do.
1662	"	"	"	Mr. Kali Kanto Sen ...	Brahmo.	Head Master, Training School, Dehra Dun.	do.
1663	"	Rohilkhand.	Bareilly.	Pandit Badri Nath Chaturvedy, M.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar and Reis	Public Meeting held on the 6th of December 1889.
1664	"	"	"	Mr. Tirbeni Sahay ...	Hindu Kayaastha.	Vakil, High Court, N. W. P. ...	do.
1665	"	"	"	Mr. Baldeo Prasad ...	do.	Pleader	do.
1666	"	"	"	Mr. Haji Lutfullah Khan...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar	do.
1667	"	"	"	Moulvi Rahat Ali...	do.	Merchant	do.
1668	"	"	"	Mr. Baij Nath	Hindu Vaisya.	Law Agent	Special Meeting held on the 14th December 1889.
1669	"	"	"	Mr. Choube Bihari Lal ...	Brahmin.	Physician	do.
1670	"	"	"	Pandit Daya Shanker ...	do.	Private Service... ..	do.
1671	"	"	"	Pandit Hori Lal	do.	Reis and Zemindar	do.
1672	"	"	"	Mr. M. Sadik Ali	Mahomedan.	Merchant	do.
1673	"	"	"	Hafiz Ahmad Yar Khan ...	do.	Mukhtar and Zemindar ...	do.
1674	"	"	Shahjahanpar.	Munshi Muhammad Sakhawat Husain.	do.	Pleader and Zemindar, Member, Municipal Board	Public Meeting, on the 7th December 1889.
1675	"	"	"	Malik Barkat Ullah Khan.	do.	Zemindar	do.
1676	"	"	"	Sayed Irshad Ali... ..	do.	Cazi of the City	do.
1677	"	"	"	Mirza Ahmad Ullah Beg...	do.	Zemindar	do.
1678	"	"	"	Mr. Kalka Prasada ...	Hindu Khatri.	Zemindar and Merchant ...	do.
1679	"	"	"	Mr. Bakhtawer Sing ...	Hindu Vaishya.	Editor and Proprietor "Arya Darpan."	do.
1680	"	"	"	Mr. Mohammed Muzaffar Ali Khan.	Mahomedan.	Zemindar	do.
1681	"	"	"	Mirza Mansur Ali Beg ...	do.	do.	do.
1682	"	"	"	Sayed Muhammad Ibrahim.	do.	do.	do.
1683	"	"	"	Pandit Ram Bhajan Tripathi.	Brahmin.	Zemindar and Contractor ...	do.
1684	"	"	Moradabad.	Mr. Brij Bullabh Das ...	Hindu Vaishya.	Pleader, Judge's Court... ..	Public Meeting, at Moradabad, 12th December 1889.
1685	"	"	"	Mr. Norender Chunder Bose.	Kayaastha Hindu.	Pleader and Member Local Board.	do.
1686	"	"	"	Syed Wahid Ali Rizwi ...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar	do.
1687	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Das	Hindu Vaishya.	do.	do.
1688	"	"	Almora (Kumaon.)	Pandit Jwaladatta Joshi ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Vakil, High Court, N. W. P. ...	Public Meeting at Almora 15th of December 1889.
1689	"	Allahabad.	Ajmere.	Mr. K. B. Bose	Christian.	Editor "Rajputana Herald," ...	At a Public Meeting, November 30th, 1889.
1690	"	"	Bandiqui.	Mr. Fouji Singh	Aryan Rajput.	.....	At a Public Meeting, Kanakulee, Mondy, and also at a General Meeting of the Arya Samaj, 20th December 1889.
1691	"	"	do.	Mr. Dwarka Nath... ..	do.	.....	do.
1692	"	Benares.	Benares.	Mr. Govind Narain Sing ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar, Taluqdar and Indigo Planter Municipal Commissioner.	Public Meeting on 8th December 1889.
1693	"	"	"	Mr. Jagat Narain Sing ...	do.	Zemindar, Taluqdar, Indigo Planter.	do.
1694	"	"	"	Sheikh Nasiruddin Ahmad.	Mahomedan.	Legal Practitioner	do.
1695	"	"	"	Mr. Mohamed Karim Khan	do.	Land-holder Nadesar	do.

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1696	N.-W. Provinces.	Benares.	Benares.	Mr. Chunnoolal, L.M.S. ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner ...	Public Meeting, 8th December 1889.
1697	"	"	"	Mr. Bisesar Paudya ...	do.	Service in the Native States ...	do.
1698	"	"	"	Pandit Umashankar Dubey.	do.	Landholder ...	do.
1699	"	"	"	Mr. Ram Narayan Vyasa...	do.	Banker ...	do.
1700	"	"	"	Gossain Ramoharan Puri...	Hindu.	Zemindar and Banker ...	do.
1701	"	"	"	Gossain Jang Bahadur Puri.	do.	do. ...	do.
1702	"	"	"	Mr. Upondra Nath Bose, B.A.	do.	Pleader District Court...	do.
1703	"	"	"	Rana Tej Bahadur ...	Hindu Gurkha.	Jagirdar, Grandson of the Late Subadar Major Kharg Sinha Rana Sirdar Bahadur, Member of the order of Valour of 44th G. L. Infantry.	do. and by Kasi Sajan Samaj, on the 14th December 1889.
1704	"	"	"	Mr. Makshada Das Mittra...	Hindu.	Zemindar and Banker...	do.
1705	"	"	"	Mr. Jogendranath Ghosh, B.A.	do.	Pleader, District Court ...	do.
1706	"	"	"	Mr. Vishnu Panth Rajwade	Hindu Brahmin.	Teacher ...	do.
1707	"	"	"	Mr. Lukshmi Narayan Gupta.	Hindu Agarwala.	Zemindar and Banker ...	14th December, by Sajan Samaj.
1708	"	"	"	Mr. Vishwanath Sing ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Taluqdar ...	do.
1709	"	"	Mirzapur.	Mr. Sri Ram ...	Khatri Hindu (Arya).	Zemindar and Banker, and Proprietor of Hydraulic Cotton Press and Municipal Commissioner.	Public Meeting, 8th December 1889.
1710	"	"	"	Pandit Mathura Prasad Choudhry, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar ...	do.
1711	"	"	"	Mr. Beni Prasad ...	Hindu Bhargava.	Honorary Magistrate, Contractor, Carpet Manufacturer and Landholder, Municipal Commissioner and Member, District Board.	do.
1712	"	"	"	Mr. Bindeshari Prasad ...	Hindu (Arya) Kayestha.	Pleader, Landholder and Money-lender, Municipal Commissioner, Member, District Board.	do.
1713	"	"	"	Sadh Sultan Sing...	Hindu Sadh.	Banker, Municipal Commissioner and Member, District Board.	do.
1714	"	"	"	Sadh Mathura Das ...	do.	Merchant ...	do.
1715	"	"	"	Pandit Kanahya Ram Pathak.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar ...	do.
1716	"	"	"	Pandit Damodar Datt ...	do.	Priest ...	do.
1717	"	"	"	Munshi Sohan Lal ...	Hindu Kayestha.	Service ...	do.
1718	"	"	"	Kazi Ashghar Ali...	Mahomedan.	Landholder ...	do.
1719	"	"	"	Moulvie Abdul Aziz ...	do.	Physician ...	Public Meeting, 21st December 1889.
1720	"	"	"	Qazi Mahamed Farogh ...	Syud. do.	Contractor ...	do.
1721	"	"	"	Mr. Basdeo Sahai...	Hindu Kayestha.	2nd Master, C. M. School, Azamgurh.	do.
1722	"	"	"	Mr. Abdul Salam...	Mahomedan.	Head Master, National School.	do.
1723	"	"	"	Mr. Basdeo Narain Singh.	Hindu Brahmin.	Talukdar, Member, District Board.	do.
1724	"	"	Ghazipur.	Mr. Bholanath Ray, B.A. ...	do.	Landholder and Pleader High Court, Municipal Commissioner, Vice-Chairman, District Board.	By a General Meeting, held at Ghazipur, on the 24th November 1889.
1725	Bengal.	Behar.	Mozaffurpore.	Mr. Jagadish Kumar Mukherjee.	do.	Zemindar, Hony. Magistrate and Proprietor Mukherjee's Seminary.	At a Public Meeting, held at Mozaffurpore, on the 24th November 1889.
1726	"	"	"	Syed Ali Nawab ...	Mahomedan.	Zemindar and Banker ...	do.
1727	"	"	"	Mr. Shorashi Charan Mitra, B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader and Journalist...	do.

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1728	Bengal.	Behar.	Mozaffarpore.	Mr. Bhavacharan Mookerji, B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court...	At a Public Meeting held at Mozaffarpore, on the 24th November 1889.
1729	"	"	"	Moulvi Syed Ahmed Hussain, B.A., B.L.	Mahomedan.	Pleader and Zemindar...	do.
1730	"	"	Bankipur.	Moulvi Basharat Hussain...	do.	Zemindar	At a Meeting held at Bankipur, on the 25th November 1889.
1731	"	"	"	Syed Ali Rashid	do.	do.	do.
1732	"	"	"	Mr. Guru Proshad Sen ...	Hindu Vaidhya.	Zemindar, Vakil, High Court, Editor "Behar Herald," and "Indian Chronicle," President, Behar People's Association, Bankipur.	do.
1733	"	"	"	Mr. Biseswar Singh ...	Hindu Rajput.	Pleader and Zemindar...	do.
1734	"	"	Patna.	Syed Miruddin Ahmed Balkhi.	Mahomedan.	Pleader and Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner.	At a Meeting held at Patna City, on the 1st December 1889.
1735	"	"	"	Syed Badrool Hussain ...	do.	Zemindar, Vice Chairman, Patna Local Board and Member, Patna Municipality.	do.
1736	"	"	Dinapore.	Syed Shurfuddin	do.	Barriester-at-Law, and Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner, Vice-Chairman Patna District Board, Chairman, Dinapur Local Board.	At a Meeting held at Dinapore on the 1st December 1889.
1737	"	"	"	Moulvi Abdul Hamid, B.A., B.L.	do.	Zemindar and Pleader, Chairman, Khagole Municipality, Member, Patna District Board, Vice-Chairman, Dinapore Local Board.	do.
1738	"	"	"	Moulvi Ali Hussain ...	do.	Zemindar	do.
1739	"	"	"	Moulvi Abdullah Fyaz ...	do.	Pleader and Zemindar, Vice-Chairman, Dinapore Municipality.	do.
1740	"	"	Durbhanga.	Moulvi Moonir Alam ...	do.	Zemindar and Mukhtar ...	At a Meeting at Durbhanga, on the 20th December 1889.
1741	"	"	"	Mr. Sardar Lal Sing ...	Hindu.	Zemindar	do.
1742	"	"	Shahabad.	Mr. Baijnath Singh ...	Hindu Rajput.	Zemindar, Member, Arrah Local Board.	By a Meeting at Arrah.
1743	"	"	Gya.	Dr. Mahomed Wazir Ali Khan Lodi, L.M.S., F.T.S.	Mahomedan Lodi Afghan.	Medical Practitioner, Municipal Commissioner, Secretary, Anjuman Islamiya.	Public Meeting, Gya 24th November 1889.
1744	"	"	Mokameh.	Mr. Sital Prosad Sing ...	Hindu Bhimistrar Brahmin.	Zemindar, Member, Local Board Barh, Secretary, Peoples Association, Mokameh.	At a public Meeting. held at Mokameh on 30th November 1889.
1745	"	"	Baidyanath Deoghur.	Mr. Jogindranath Bose ...	Hindu Kayestha.	Journalist	At a Public Meeting held in the Courtyard of the Baidyanath Temple, on the 23rd November 1889.
1746	"	Chotanagpur.	Hazaribagh.	Mr. Biswambhar Nath Pandit, B.A.	Hindu Kashmiri Brahmin.	Articled Clerk	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Purnia, on the 17th December 1889.
1747	"	"	"	Mr. Aukshay Kumar Gupta.	Hindu Vaidya.	Contractor, Hazaribagh ...	At a General Meeting of the Hazaribagh Association and the Residents of Hazaribagh Ichak Hibeir Suburbs, on the 8th December 1889.
1748	"	"	"	Mr. Narendra Nath Mukherjee.	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder, Government Pleader Hazaribagh.	do.
1749	"	"	"	Mr. Rukbal Das Tah ...	Hindu.	Coal Mine Proprietor, Giridi ...	do.
1750	"	"	"	Mr. Hari Charan Mitra, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Vakil, Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Vice-Chairman, District Committee, &c.	do.
1751	"	"	"	Mr. M. L. Mitter	Christian.	Hotel Proprietor and Honorary Magistrate, Hazaribagh.	do.
1752	"	Bhagulpur.	Bhagulpur.	Dr. Ladi Mohan Ghosh ...	Hindu Kayestha.	Medical Practitioner, Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Secretary, T. N. Jubilee College.	By Public Meeting 30th November 1889.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1753	Bengal	Bhagalpur.	Bhagalpur.	Mr. Jnanendra Chandra Bandopadhyay, B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Bhagalpur.	By Public Meeting, 30th November 1889.
1754	"	"	"	Mr. Tilokdheri Lal ...	Hindu Kaisa Bania.	Zemindar and Banker, Bhagalpur.	do.
1755	"	"	"	Mr. Isan Chandra Misra, M.A.	Brahmin.	Professor, T. N. Jubilee College, Bhagalpur.	do.
1756	"	"	"	Mr. Mukund Lal ...	Hindu.	Zemindar, Honorary Magistrate and Municipal Commissioner, Bhagalpur.	do.
1757	"	"	"	Mr. Harendra Lal Roy, B.L.	Brahmin.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Bhagalpur.	do.
1758	"	"	"	Mr. Mahipat Sing... ..	do.	Zemindar, Bhagalpur	do.
1759	"	"	"	Mr. Avinash Chunder Bose, B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, Bhagalpur, Judge's Court.	do.
1760	"	"	"	Mr. Rash Behary Lal Mandal.	Hindu Sudra.	Zemindar, Member, Local Board.	do.
1761	"	"	Purnea.	Mr. Jogendranath Mukherjee, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Purnea.	Public Meeting, Purnea, on the 25th November 1889,
1762	"	"	"	Mr. Parbutty Charan Das, B.L.	Brahmo.	Municipal Commissioner, Member, Local Board and Pleader, Judge's Court, Purnea.	do.
1763	"	"	"	Mr. Siya Prasad	Hindu Nanack- panthi	Landholder and Mukhtear ...	do
1764	"	"	"	Mr. Birnaryan Roy ...	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar, Purnea	do.
1765	"	"	"	Mr. Cheyt Narayan Singh.	Hindu Kayestha Chitra Gupta Bansi.	Mukhtear and Municipal Commissioner.	do.
1766	"	Rajshahye.	Rajshahye Association.	Mr. Trailakyanath Maitra, B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Rampore Beaulia ...	At a Meeting of the Association, 21st Dec. 1889.
1767	"	"	"	Mr. Chandranath Choudry, L.M.S.	Hindu.	Medical Practitioner, Beaulia and Honorary Magistrate, Rajshahye Bengal.	Do. and by Public Meeting of the Rajshahye people at Rampur Beaulia, 14th November 1889.
1768	"	"	Rungpur and Nelphamary.	Mr. Biroja Mohun Choudhury.	do.	Zemindar Kamarpukur, Rungpur, Honorary Magistrate, Independent Bench Nelphamary, Vice-Chairman, Nelphamary Local Board and Member Rungpore, District Board	By General Meeting of the Branch Indian Association of Rungpur, held on 24th November 1889 at a Meeting of Nelphamary Sanmilan Sabha, 12th December 1889.
1769	"	"	Rungpur.	Mr. Prasannanath Choudhury, L.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Rungpur. Vice-Chairman, Rungpur Municipality.	do.
1770	"	"	"	Mr. Hem Chandra Mitra, B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	do. ...	do.
1771	"	"	Branch Indian Association, Pabna.	Mr. Mohini Mohan Chukravarti, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, District Court, Pabna...	At a Meeting of the Pabna Branch Indian Association, on 17th Nov. 1889, at the Town Hall, Pabna.
1772	"	"	"	Mr. Prasanna Narayan Chondhury, B.A. and B.L.	do.	do. ...	do.
1773	"	Dacca.	Dacca.	Syed Karim Ullah ...	Mahomedan.	Dacca, Zemindar and Municipal Commissioner.	28th September 1889, Public Meeting, Dacca.
1774	"	"	"	Mr. Sarat Chandra Gupta.	Hindu.	Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Chairman, Local Board, Member, District Board, Dacca, Landholder.	do.
1775	"	"	"	Shaikh Hidayet Buksh ...	Mahomedan.	Talukdar and Merchant, Secy, Dacca Anjumani Islania.	do.
1776	"	"	"	Mr. Adinath Das	Hindu.	Pleader	do.
1777	"	"	"	Mr. Satish Chandra Ghosh.	Hindu Kayestha.	Journalist, School Master ...	(1) At a Public Meeting of the People's Association, held 28th September, (2) at a Meeting of the Parjore Association, dated 20th November, & (3) at a Meeting, Hoosainpore Branch, Indian Association, Mymensing, 25th Nov. 1889.
1778	"	"	Mymensing.	Mr. Anath Bandhu Guha, B.L.	do.	Talukdar, Pleader, Honorary Magistrate, Mymensing.	(1) Public Meeting at Mymensing 18th December, (2) Jamalpur, dated 3rd December, and (3) Tangail, dated 12th Dec. 1889.

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1779	Bengal.	Dacca.	Mymensing.	Mr. Koylash Chundra Nng.	Hindu Kayestha.	Taluqdar, Vice-Chairman, Sherepore Municipality Sherepore Town, Mymensing.	(1) Mymensing Association, dated 18th December, 1889 and (2) Sherepore Landholder's Association.
1780	"	"	"	Mr. Amur Chandra Dutt...	Brahmo.	Editor, Chara Varta Town, Sherepore, Mymensing.	By the Mymensing Association, 18th Dec. 1889.
1781	"	"	"	Mr. Prasanna Kumar Basu.	do.	Talukdar, Alisakanda, Tangail, Mymensing.	At a Public Meeting of the Tangail Association, 12th December 1889.
1782	"	"	Backergunge.	Mr. Aswini Kumar Datta, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Landholder and Pleader, Chairman, Burrisal Local Board, Vice-Chairman, Burrisal Municipality, Member, Backergunge District Board, Secretary, Burrisal People's Association.	(1) By a Meeting of Burrisal People's Association held on the 24th November; (2) a Public Meeting of the Residents of Backergunge held at Burrisal, on the 15th December; (3) a Meeting of the Rahamatpur People's Association, on 11th December; (4) Barapaika Subhadaini Sabha, on 9th December; (5) HanuHitasadhini Sabha on 7th December; (6) Siddhakathi Hitaishini Sabha on 5th December; (7) Habibpur Sammilani, on 8th December; (8) Public Meeting of the Residents of Lota, on 4th December; (9) Banaripara People's Association, on 8th December; (10) Teradarun Sammilani, on 8th December; (11) Ramchandrapur, Public Meeting, 3rd December; (12) Mahilara People's Association, 27th November; (13) Meeting of the Naukhali People's Association, on 15th December 1889.
1783	"	"	"	Mr. Harakanta Sen ...	Hindu Vaidya.	Secretary to the Burrisal Loan Office and Assistant Secretary, Burrisal People's Association.	(1) By a Public Meeting of the Residents of Backergunge, on 17th November; (2) Burrisal People's Association, on 24th November; (3) Rahamatpur People's Association, 11th December; (4) Purva Dulladi Electoral Meeting, on 1st December; (5) Majumdar Electoral Meeting, 30th November; (6) Lakhirdia Hitaishini Sabha, 2nd December; (7) Bakal, Public Meeting; (8) Suhaspur Hitaishini, 14th December; (9) Goila, Public Meeting, 17th Agrahaon; (10) Lota, Public Meeting, 4th December; (11) Khanjapur, Public Meeting, 2nd December; (12) Batajore, Public Meeting, 28th November; (13) Patuakhali, 8th December; (14) Dehergati, Public Meeting, 26th November; (15) Ramchandrapur, Public Meeting, 3rd December; (16) Samudaykathi, 2nd December; (17) Khalisakotha Hitaishini, 30th November; (18) Bamrail Village Association, 2nd Dec. 1889.

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1784	Bengal.	Dacca.	Backergunge.	Mr. Govra Chand Das, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Vakil, Barrisal	(1) By a Public Meeting of the Residents of Backergunge, held on 17th November; (2) Barrisal, Public Association, on 24th November; (3) Faridpur, Public Association, 8th December; (4) Hasandia Public Meeting, 11th December; (5) Hahipur Sannilani Sabha, 8th December; (6) Lota Sarva Sadharni's Sabha, 4th December; (7) Kharyapur, Sadharni's Sabha, 2nd December; (8) Bavanipur Branch, P. A., 8th December; (9) Batapore, Sarvasadharni Sabha, 28th November; (10) Ramchunderpur, Sarvasadharni Sabha, 3rd December; (11) Mahilarajana Sadhani Sabha, 27th November; (12) Sahashpur, Hitaisani Sabha, 14th December; (13) Bakal, Sarvasadhan Sabha, 25th Kartik, 1296; (14) Lukhirda Hitaisani Sabha, 2nd December; (15) Bawpika Hindu Samprody, 9th Dec., 1889.
1785	"	"	Furreedpore.	Mr. Ambika Charan Muzumdar, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Zemindar and Pleader, Chairman, Furreedpore Municipality, Honorary Magistrate, Member District Board.	Elected by Public Meeting, held at Furcedpore, on the 8th December; at Manikdaha, on the 2nd November; at Madari-pore, on the 7th November; at Nurpoor, on the 4th December; at Argram, on the 6th December; at Siladbarcher, on the 8th December; by the Furreedpore Surhid Sabha, on the 3rd December 1889.
1786	"	Calcutta.	Tipperah People's Association.	Mr. Shib Nath Misser ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Money-lender, Commillah, Tipperah.	At a Public Meeting, held at Commillah, on 16th November, 1889.
1787	"	"	Tipperah.	Mr. Mohendra Chandra Dev, B.L.	Hindu Baidya.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Tipperah.	By Tipperah, People's Association and Murdnagore, People's Association.
1788	"	"	Bali Sadharni Sabha (Bengal).	Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Barrister-at-Law	By Bali Sadharni Sabha Meeting, 15th Dec. 1889, and at a Public Meeting, held at Albert Hall Calcutta, on the 6th Dec. 1889.
1789	"	"	British Indian Association, Calcutta.	Mr. J. Ghosal	do.	Zemindar, Merchant, Municipal Commissioner, Honorary Magistrate, Member, Government Committee of Management of Bethune Female School and College, Kashebagun Garden House, Upper Circular Road.	Committee Meeting British Indian Association on the 21st December, 1889.
1790	"	"	"	Mr. Dwipendra Nath Tagore.	do.	Zemindar	Do. and at a Public Meeting, held at the Albert Hall, on the 6th December 1889.
1791	"	"	"	Mr. Saligram Sing, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Rajput.	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta, Zemindar, Member, British Indian Association.	At a Committee Meeting of the British Indian Association, on the 21st December 1889, and at a Meeting, at Bankipore on the 25th Nov. 1889.
1792	"	"	Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Mr. J. C. Dutt, M.A., B.L....	Christian.	Pleader, 171, Manictola Street, Calcutta.	Public Meeting, held at the Albert Hall, on the 6th December 1889.

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1793	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Mr. N. C. Bose	Hindu.	Solicitor, High Court, 3, Hastings Street, Calcutta.	Public Meeting held at the Albert Hall, on the 6th December 1889.
1794	"	"	"	Mr. S. C. Biswas	Hindu Kayestha.	Barrister-at-Law, 34, Beadon Street, Calcutta.	do.
1795	"	"	"	Mr. P. N. Mitter	do.	Proprietor, Oshcroft Jute Press, Chitpore and Landholder, Oshcroft Hall, Bagbazar.	do.
1796	"	"	"	Mr. Prandhone Mitter	do.	10, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.	do.
1797	"	"	"	Mr. Narendranath Sen	Hindu Vaidya.	Solicitor, High Court, Editor <i>Indian Mirror</i> , 24, Motts Lane.	do.
1798	"	"	"	Mr. Ganendra Narayan Dutt, B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar, Bachu Chatterjee's Street, Calcutta.	do.
1799	"	"	"	Mr. Amoy Nath Bose	do.	Landowner, 13, College Square, Calcutta.	do.
1800	"	"	"	Pandit Durga Prosad	Hindu Brahmin.	Landholder, Editor and Proprietor of "Uchit Bakta," 65, Cross Street, Calcutta.	do.
1801	"	"	"	Dr. Shashi Bhusan Dey, M.B.	Hindu Kayestha.	Medical Practitioner, 13, College Square, Calcutta.	do.
1802	"	"	"	Mr. Girindranath Bhose	do.	Zemindar, 15, Shamacharan Dey's Lane, Calcutta.	do.
1803	"	"	"	Mr. Benodebehary Bose, B.A.	do.	Zemindar, 65, Bagbazar Street, Calcutta.	do.
1804	"	"	"	Mr. Jogendra Krishna Bose	do.	Service, Calcutta, 35/1 Raja Nabakissen's Street.	do.
1805	"	"	"	Mr. Radharaman Kar	Hindu Kayestha.	Contractor and Jute Trader, 107, Shambazar Street, Calcutta.	do.
1806	"	"	"	Mr. Upendra Kison Raichaudhuri, B.A.	Brahmo.	Zemindar, 13, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.	do.
1807	"	"	"	Pandit Siva Nath Sastri, M.A.	do.	Brahmo Missionary, 13, Cornwallis Street.	do.
1808	"	"	"	Dr. R. G. Kar, L.R.C.P., (Edin).	Hindu Kayestha.	Medical Practitioner	do.
1809	"	"	"	Mr. Nandolal Bose	do.	Zemindar, 65, Bagbazar Street.	do.
1810	"	"	"	Mr. Pashupati Nath Bose...	do.	do. ...	do.
1811	"	"	"	Rai Bipin Behary Mitra...	do.	Zemindar, 226, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.	do.
1812	"	"	"	Mr. Baroda Kanta Mitra...	do.	Zemindar, 2/4 Rajah Naba Kissen's Street, Calcutta.	do.
1813	"	"	"	Mr. Jagadish Chunder Lahury.	Hindu Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, 101, College Street, Calcutta.	At a Public Meeting held at the Albert Hall on 6th December 1889. By the Committee of the Indian Association, on the 15th November. At a Meeting held at Kissingungoo on the 17th Dec. 1889.
1814	"	"	"	Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Attorney-at-Law and Vakil, High Court, 14, Bolaram Ghosh's Street, Calcutta.	At a Public Meeting, held at the Albert Hall, on the 6th December. At a Committee Meeting of the Indian Association on the 15th November 1889.
1815	"	"	"	Mr. Arunendra Nath Tagore.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar, 6, Dwarkanath Tagore's Lane, Calcutta.	At a Public Meeting held at the Albert Hall, on the 6th December 1889; also at a Meeting held at Pabna Town Hall, on the 17th November 1889.
1816	"	"	"	Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, B.A.	do.	Honorary Secretary, Indian Association, Editor Bengalee, Principal Ripon College, Honorary Presidency Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, 33, Neogy pooker, East Lane, Calcutta.	At a Public Meeting, held at the Albert Hall on the 6th December, 1889. At a Meeting of the Committee of the Indian Association held on November 15th 1889.
1817	"	"	"	Mr. Bepin Beharjee Maitra, M.B.	Hindu Brahmin.	Medical Practitioner, Address Santipore, District Nuddia, Bengal.	At a Public Meeting held at Santipur on the 14th of October 1889, and at a Public Meeting, held at the Albert Hall, on the 6th of December 1889.

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1818	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Mr. Narendra Nath Mullick.	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar, 92, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.	At a General Meeting of the Committee, held at 3, Hastings Street, on the 18th December 1889.
1819	"	"	"	Mr. Gnanendra Chundra Das, M.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Editor "Samoy" Sreenath Das's Lane, Calcutta.	do.
1820	"	"	"	Mr. Gopalchandra Mitra...	Hindu Kayestha.	Landholder, 41, Bonomali Sarkar's Street, Calcutta.	do.
1821	"	"	"	Mr. Nebaran Chaudra Ghosh.	do.	Landowner, 226, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.	do.
1822	"	"	"	Mr. Chandī Charan Sen...	do.	Landowner, 44, Raikanti Bose's Street, Calcutta.	do.
1823	"	"	"	Mr. Nibaran Chander Dutt.	do.	Landholder, 83, Muktarām Babu's Street Calcutta.	do.
1824	"	"	"	Mr. Jogini Mohan Chatterji, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	53, Masjidbaree Street...	do.
1825	"	"	"	Sir William Wedderburn, Barrister.	European Christian.	Retired Civilian...	do. and at Poona on the 15th December 1889.
1826	"	"	Calcutta Indian Association	Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose, M.A.	Brahmo.	Zemindar, Chairman, South Dum Dum Municipality, Fellow of the Calcutta University, Barrister-at-Law, Honorary Magistrate, Fairy Hall, Dum Dum.	(1) At a Committee Meeting of the Indian Association, dated 15th November 1889; (2) Chittagong; (3) Jalpaiguri; (4) Noakhali, (5) Barrisal.
1827	"	"	"	Mr. Kali Charan Banerjee, M.A., B.L.	Bengali Christian.	Pleader, High Court, Calcutta, 81, Burmahi Ghosh's Street, Calcutta.	By Indian Association, 15th November 1889, by Northern Electoral Division, Calcutta, 6th December, 1889, by Bengal Christian Conference, 6th December 1889.
1828	"	"	"	Mr. Dwarkanath Gauguli...	Brahmo.	Assistant Secretary to the Indian Association, Calcutta Journalist.	At a Public Meeting and by the Indian Association, on the 15th Nov. 1889.
1829	"	"	"	Mr. Heramba Chandra Maitra, M.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Professor of English Literature, City College.	By the Indian Association, on Nov. 15th 1889, and by the Northern Metropolitan Electoral Division.
1830	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnakumar Mitra, B.A.	Bengali Brahmo.	Editor Sanjibani, 4, College Square.	Indian Association and Tangail Association, on the 15th November and 12th December 1889.
1831	"	"	Bengal Ladies Association.	Mrs. D. N. Ganguli, B.A.G.M.L.B.	Brahmo.	Lady Doctor ...	At a Meeting by the Bengal Ladies Association.
1832	"	"	Bengal Christian Conference (Calcutta).	Mr. Khetar Mohan Das...	Christian.	Merchant, Calcutta ...	By Bengal Christian Conference, on 6th December 1889.
1833	"	"	Kumartoli Ghedenti Association (Calcutta).	Mr. Suruthnath Mullick ...	Hindu Kayestha.	Medical Practitioner and Manager, Co-operative Pharmacy Company, Limited, 28, Nundo Ram Sen's Street.	At a Meeting held by the Kumartoli Students Association, on the 8th December 1889.
1834	"	"	Southern Metropolitan Electoral Division.	Pundit Kaliprasanna Kayabishramd.	Agnostic.	Journalist, Proprietor, Secular Press, Bhowanipore, &c., &c., 69 & 70, Balaram Bose's Ghat Road, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.	Elected at a Public Meeting held at Bhowanipore, on the 7th December 1889.
1835	"	"	"	Rev. Mr. Thomas Evans...	Christian European.	Missionary ...	do.
1836	"	"	"	Mr. Benode Lal Sen. ...	Hindu Vaidya.	Kabinaj, 146, Lower Chitpore Road.	At a Public Meeting held at the London Missionary Institute on the 7th December 1889.
1837	"	"	"	Mr. Behari Lal Bose ...	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar and Merchant, 56, Puddopooker Street, Bhowanipore, Calcutta.	do.
1838	"	"	"	Mr. Mohendra Nath Sen...	do.	Zemindar, Vice Chairman, South Suburban Municipality, Russapagla, Via Tally Gange, P. O., Calcutta.	At a Meeting held at the London Missionary Institution, dated 7th December. Russapagla Improvement Association, dated 8th December 1889.
1839	"	"	Nehadhia Peoples Association (24 Parganas)	Mr. Nilratan Banerji ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar Nehadhia ...	At a Public Meeting held at Nehadhia, on 14th December 1889.

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1840	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Rohora Branch Indian Association.	Mr. Kalidas Chowdhry, B.A.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader and Malguzar, Hoshangabad, Member, District Council, Vakil, High Court, North Western Provinces.	Elected by Branch Indian Association, Rohora, on 15th December 1889; and by a General Meeting at Hoshangabad, on 10th November 1889.
1841	"	"	Barahanagar, (24 Parganas.)	Mr. Haridas Mookerjee ...	do.	Zemindar, Barahanagar, North Suburbs of Calcutta.	At a Public Meeting held at Barahanagar, on the 29th September 1889.
1842	"	"	"	Mr. Mohit Chunder Bose, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Vakil, High Court, and Taluqdar.	do.
1843	"	"	Howrah.	Mr. Hari Mohun Mukerjee.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader	Elected on the 9th of November 1889 at a Public Meeting, held at the Howrah Town Hall.
1844	"	"	"	Mr. Upendra Chandra Mitra, B.L.	Hindu Kayastha.	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta, Notary Public, Howrah, Municipal Commissioner and Honorary Magistrate, Howrah.	Elected on the 9th of November 1889, at a Public Meeting held at Howrah Town Hall as well as by the Howrah People's Association.
1845	"	"	"	Mr. Akshoy Charan Das, B.L.	Hindu Kaibutta.	First Grade Pleader	do.
1846	"	"	"	Mr. Nara Sinha Dutta, B.L.	Hindu Sabarna Bania.	Vakil, High Court, Notary Public, Howrah, Honorary Magistrate, Municipal Commissioner, Howrah.	do.
1847	"	"	Chinsurah (Hooghly District.)	Mr. Hem Chandra Rai, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Alipore, 12, Nebutala, Bowbazar, Calcutta.	Public Meeting held at Ranaghat on December 1st, 1889, at Chinsurah on the 24th August 1889, and at Manikgung, October 6th, 1889.
1848	"	"	"	Mr. Bishnupada Chatterjee M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Hooghly, Municipal Commissioner and Chinsurah Municipality.	Elected by a Public Meeting, held at Chinsurah on 15th September 1889.
1849	"	"	"	Mr. Kesava Chandra Sadhu	Hindu.	Merchant	do.
1850	"	"	"	Mr. Shil Chandra Seal ...	do.	Banker	do.
1851	"	"	Chogdah (Nuddea).	Mr. Akshay Kumar Mitra.	Hindu Kayestha.	Talukdar, Chogdah Municipal Commissioner.	(1) At a Public Meeting held at Chogdah, on the 27th November; (2) do. Ranaghat, on the 1st December; and (3) at a Meeting of the Jessore Indian Association, held on the 24th November 1889.
1852	"	"	"	Mr. Karuna Nidhan Ghosh.	do.	Contractor, Ranaghat	At a Public Meeting held at Chogdah, on the 27th November 1889.
1853	"	"	Krishnagore (Nuddea.)	Mr. Nuffer Chunder Pal Chowdhry.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Indigo Planter, Tea Planter, Mahajan, Member of District and Local Board, Krishnagore, Member of Indian Association, Calcutta, Hon. Magistrate.	Elected at a Public Meeting at Krishnagore on the 10th November 1889.
1854	"	"	Nuddea.	Mr. Ratikanta Bose ...	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar, Poradah, P. O., E. B. S. R.	Kudah Association, dated 23rd November 1889.
1855	"	"	"	Dr. Atar Ali ...	Mahomedan.	Medical Practitioner and Zemindar, Chuadanga, Nuddea.	Elected by a Public Meeting held at Krishnagore, on the 10th November 1889.
1856	"	"	"	Biswambhar Ray, B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, District Court, Nuddea, Krishnagore, Bengal. Member, District Board, Nuddea, Chairman, Local Board, Kooshtia.	do.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1857	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Nuddea.	Mr. Sabdar Ali	Mahomedan.	Pleader and Zemindar. Chundangal (Nuddea)	Elected by a Public Meeting held at Krishnagore, on the 10th November 1889.
1858	"	"	"	Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee, B.L.	Hindu.	Pleader, Judge's Court, and Member, District Board, Nuddea.	do.
1859	"	"	"	Mr. Judunath Chatturgy, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar, Pleader, Krishnagore.	do.
1860	"	"	"	Mr. Nalinaskhya Dutta.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Member of Local Board, Krishnagore.	do.
1861	"	"	"	Mr. Nanda Gopal Bhaduri.	Hindu Brahmin.	Merchant, Majdia, Kessengunge, Bengal.	Public Meeting held at Krishnagore, dated 10th November, and Meeting held at Kessengunge, on the 17th December 1889.
1862	"	"	Ranaghat (Nuddea.)	Mr. Banka Behari Singha.	Hindu Tamli.	Merchant, Honorary Magistrate, Member of the District Board, Krishnagore, and Vice-Chairman of the Local Board.	Ranaghat, Public Meeting held on 1st December, Krishnagore, 10th November, Majdia, Kessengunge, 17th December 1889.
1863	"	"	"	Mr. Bacharan Ghatak ...	Hindu Brahmin.	Merchant and Broker, Ranaghat.	Ranaghat, Public Meeting held on 1st December 1889.
1864	"	"	Kushtia (Nuddea.)	Mr. Puna Chandra Ray.	do.	Talukdar, Kushtia, Vice-Chairman, Kushtia Local Board.	At a Public Meeting of the inhabitants of Kushtia Sub-division, held on the 23rd November 1889.
1865	"	"	Hitkari Sabha Koya Kushtia (Nuddea.)	Mr. Brojo Nath Rakbit ...	Hindu.	Merchant, Kessengunge ...	At Koya, Meeting held on 10th November 1889.
1866	"	"	Narail, (Jessore District.)	Mr. Kali Shankar Sukul, M.A.	Brahmo.	Principal, Victoria College, Narail.	At a Public Meeting held in Narail, on the 8th of December 1889.
1867	"	"	Jessore Indian Association.	Babu Motilal Ghosh ...	Hindu Kayestha.	Editor "Amrita Bazar Patrika." Member, District Board.	At a Meeting of Jessore Indian Association, held on the 15th December 1889, and at a Meeting held at the Albert Hall, Calcutta, on the 6th December 1889.
1868	"	"	Branch Indian Association, Magurah, (Jessore.)	Mr. Ambica Charan, Sarkar.	Hindu.	Landholder, Magurah, Vice-Chairman, Local Board, Magurah, Member, District Board, Jessore, Honorary Magistrate.	26th November 1889, Magurah Branch Indian Association.
1869	"	"	"	Mr. Basantu Camar Bose.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, Magurah	do.
1870	"	"	Moorshidabad.	Mr. Mrityunjay Bhattacharya, C.E.	Hindu Brahmin.	Engineer in Private Service, Saidabad Khagra P. O., Bengal.	At a Public Meeting of the Moorshidabad Association, held on the 30th November 1889 at Berhampore.
1871	"	"	"	Mr. Hemendra Nath Sen, B.L.	Hindu Baidya.	Pleader, Berhampore, Bengal...	do.
1872	"	"	"	Mr. Aughore Nath Sen ...	do.	Private Service Saidabad, Khagra P. O., Bengal.	do.
1873	"	"	"	Mr. Baikunth Nath Sen, B.L.	do.	Vakil, Berhampore, Chairman, Berhampore Municipality, President, Murshedabad Association, Bengal.	do.
1874	"	"	"	Mr. Sri Nath Pal, B.L. ...	Hindu Tili.	Honorary Magistrate	do.
1875	"	"	"	Rev. Mr. C. N. Banerjee, B.A.	Bengali Christian.	Missionary, Berhampore, Municipal Commissioner.	do. and also [by the Bengal Christian Conference, at Calcutta on 6th December 1889.

Number.	Presidency or Government.	Congress Circle.	Electoral Division.	Names in full of Delegates with honorary titles, scholastic degrees, etc.	Race, Religious denomination, and Caste, if any.	Occupation and Address.	How and when elected.
1876	Bengal.	Calcutta.	Midnapur.	Mr. Trailokya Nath Pal ...	Hindu Satgope.	Pleader, Sangat Bazar, and Member of the Sudder Local Board.	Meeting of the Midnapur Public, 19th November 1889.
1877	"	"	"	Mr. Jyotindra Nath Mullick.	Hindu Tamli.	Zemindar, Shib Bazar, Midnapore.	do.
1878	"	"	"	Mr. Jogendra Chunder Roy.	Hindu Brahmin.	Zemindar and Pleader, Judge's Court, Midnapore.	do.
1879	"	"	"	Mr. Saroda Persad Chatterjee.	do.	Pleader, Judge's Court, Midnapore.	do.
1880	"	"	Tumluk (Midnapur)	Mr. Doorgaram Bose, B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader at Tumluk, Vakil High Court, Municipal Commissioner.	Elected on the 24th November 1889, by a Meeting of the people of Tumluk.
1881	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Das, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Karan.	Vakil, Vice-Chairman, Midnapore Municipality, Vice-Chairman, Sudder Local Board, and Member of District Board, Midnapore, Colonel-gola, Midnapore.	(1) 19th November 1889, at a Public Meeting held at Midnapur; and (2) 24th November 1889, by the Tumluk Indian Association.
1882	"	"	Ghattal (Midnapur)	Mr. Deno Nath Gui ...	Hindu Tantee.	Merchant	Elected on the 14th of December 1889, by a Public Meeting held at Ghattal.
1883	"	"	Cutwa (Burdwan).	Mr. Brajendra Nath Sen, L.M. & S.	Hindu Baidya.	Medical Practitioner, Cutwa, District Burdwan, Chairman, Cutwa Local Board, Honorary Magistrate, 2nd Class.	At a Public Meeting held at Cutwa, on the 19th December 1889.
1884	"	"	Burdwan.	Mr. Sarat Chandra Basu, B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, District Court, Burdwan.	Elected by the Burdwan Association, at a Meeting held in the Burdwan Municipal School.
1885	"	"	Khulna.	Mr. Ambica Charan Sen, B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Pleader, Land holder, Khulna, Member, District Board, Chairman, Local Board, Municipal Commissioner, Khulna.	(1) By a Public Meeting of the Khulna People's Association, on the 16th November; (2) at a Meeting of the Senhat People's Association, on the 1st December; and (3) at a Meeting of the Bagirhat People's Association, on the 10th December 1889.
1886	"	"	Dibrugarh.	Mr. Haridas Roy	Hindu.	Cultivator, Dibrugarh, late Agent, I. M. Railway.	Public Meeting
1887	"	"	Sylhet.	Mr. Jay Govind Shome, M.A., B.L.	Christian.	Vakil, High Court, and Editor "Indian Christian Herald."	Public Meeting, Sylhet, and India Association and Bengali Christian Conference, on 15th and 16th December 1889.
1888	"	"	Shillong.	Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal ...	Brahmo.	Journalist and Landholder ...	At a Public Meeting held at Sylhet and Shillong, on the 28th December 1889.
1889	"	"	Northern Metropolitan.	Pandit Prannath	Hindu.	H. C. Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Honorary Magistrate.	Public Meeting, Albert Hall, 6th December 1889.

(NOTE.—As a matter of fact over 1,000 delegates were present—but of some 24 delegates who took tickets and paid their fees, the rolls and certificates are not forthcoming—as some 2,600 delegates were elected, it is hopeless to attempt to discover, now, in time for insertion in this report, which particular 24 out of the 600 or so Gentlemen, who, tho' elected, do not seem to have attended, really did attend.)

(In the above List, the very same names will be found spelt in different ways. This is because people, in spelling their names, adopt different systems of transliteration from the various vernaculars into English. We have, in all cases, followed the spelling adopted in the Nomination Rolls, filed by the Delegates, themselves.)

APPENDIX II.



SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS

PASSED AT THE

FIRST, SECOND, THIRD & FOURTH CONGRESSES.



RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FIRST CONGRESS.



RESOLUTION I.

Resolved—That this Congress earnestly recommends that the promised inquiry into the working of the Indian Administration, here and in England, should be entrusted to a Royal Commission, the people of India being adequately represented thereon, and evidence taken both in India and in England.

RESOLUTION II.

Resolved—That this Congress considers the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, as at present constituted, the necessary preliminary to all other reforms.

RESOLUTION III.

Resolved—That this Congress considers the reform and expansion of the Supreme and existing Local Legislative Councils, by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members (and the creation of similar Councils for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and also for the Punjab) essential; and holds that all Budgets should be referred to these Councils for consideration, their members being moreover empowered to interpellate the Executive in regard to all branches of the administration; and that a Standing Committee of the House of Commons should be constituted to receive and consider any formal protests that may be recorded by majorities of such Councils against the exercise by the Executive of the power, which would be vested in it, of overruling the decisions of such majorities.

RESOLUTION IV.

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

RESOLUTION V.

Resolved—That in the opinion of this Congress the proposed increase in the military expenditure of the empire is unnecessary, and, regard being had to the revenues of the empire and the existing circumstances of the country, excessive.

RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved—That in the opinion of this Congress, if the increased demands for military expenditure are not to be, as they ought to be, met by retrenchment, they ought to be met, firstly, by the re-imposition of the Customs duties; and, secondly, by the extension of the license-tax to those classes of the community, official and non-official, at present exempted.

from it, care being taken that in the case of all classes a sufficiently high taxable minimum be maintained. And, further, that this Congress is of opinion that Great Britain should extend an imperial guarantee to the Indian debt.

RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved—That this Congress deprecates the annexation of Upper Burmah, and considers that if the Government unfortunately decide on annexation, the entire country of Burmah should be separated from the Indian Viceroyalty and constituted a Crown Colony, as distinct in all matters from the Government of the country as is Ceylon.

RESOLUTION VIII.

Resolved—That the resolutions passed by this Congress be communicated to the Political Associations in each province, and that these Associations be requested, with the help of similar bodies and other agencies within their respective provinces, to adopt such measures as they may consider calculated to advance the settlement of the various questions dealt with in these resolutions.

RESOLUTION IX.

Resolved—That the Indian National Congress re-assemble next year in Calcutta and sit on Tuesday, the 28th of December, 1886, and the next succeeding days.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE SECOND CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

Resolved—That this Congress of delegates from all parts of India, do humbly offer its dutiful and loyal congratulations to Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen-Empress, on the approaching completion of the first half century of her memorable, beneficent and glorious reign, and heartily wish her many, many more, and happy years of rule, over the great British Empire.

RESOLUTION II.

Resolved—That this Congress regards with the deepest sympathy, and views with grave apprehension, the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India, and (although aware that the Government is not overlooking this matter and is contemplating certain palliatives) desires to record its fixed conviction that the introduction of Representative Institutions will prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people.

RESOLUTION III.

Resolved—That this Congress do, emphatically, re-affirm the 3rd Resolution of the Congress of 1885, and distinctly declare its belief that the reform and expansion of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and of the Provincial Legislative Councils, therein suggested, have now become essential alike in the interests of India and England.

RESOLUTION IV.

Resolved—That this Congress is of opinion that in giving practical effect to this essential reform, regard should be had (subject to such modifications as, on a more detailed examination of the question, may commend themselves to the Government) to the principles embodied in the following tentative suggestions:—

- (1.)—The number of persons composing the Legislative Councils, both Provincial and of the Governor-General, to be materially increased. Not less than one-half the Members of such enlarged Councils to be elected. Not more than one-fourth to be officials having seats *ex-officio* in such Councils, and not more than one-fourth to be Members, official or non-official, nominated by Government.
- (2.)—The right to elect Members to the Provincial Councils to be conferred only on those classes and members of the community, *prima facie*, capable of exercising it wisely and independently. In Bengal and Bombay the Councillors may be elected by the Members of Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce and the Universities, or an electorate may be constituted of all persons possessing such qualifications, educational and pecuniary, as may be deemed necessary. In Madras, the Councillors may be elected either by District Boards, Municipalities, Chambers of Commerce and the University, or by Electoral Colleges composed of Members partly elected by these bodies and partly nominated by Government. In the North-West Provinces and Oudh and in the Punjab, Councillors may be elected by an Electoral College composed of Members elected by Municipal and District Boards, and nominated, to an extent not exceeding one-sixth of the total number, by Government, it being understood that the same elective system now in force where Municipal Boards are concerned will be applied to District Boards, and the right of electing Members to these latter extended to the cultivating class. But whatever system be adopted (and the details must be worked out separately for each province) care must be taken that all sections of the community, and all great interests, are adequately represented.

- (3.)—The elected Members of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws, to be elected by the elected Members of the several Provincial Councils.
- (4.)—No elected or nominated Member of any Council, to receive any salary or remuneration in virtue of such Membership, but any such Member, already in receipt of any Government salary or allowance, to continue to draw the same unchanged during Membership, and all Members to be entitled to be reimbursed any expenses incurred in travelling in connection with their Membership.
- (5.)—All persons, resident in India, to be eligible for seats in Council, whether as 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 a reply to his question, together with copies of any papers requisite for the thorough comprehension of the subject, and on this reply the Council to be at liberty to consider and discuss the question, and record thereon such resolution as may appear fitting to the majority. Provided that, if the subject in regard to which the inquiry is made involves matters of Foreign policy, Military dispositions or strategy, or is otherwise of such a nature that, in the opinion of the Executive, the Public interests would be materially imperilled by the communication of the information asked for, it shall be competent for them to instruct the *ex-officio* Members, or one of them, to reply accordingly, and decline to furnish the information asked for.
- (7.)—The Executive Government shall possess the power of overruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council, in every case in which, in its opinion, the public interests would suffer by the acceptance of such decision; but whenever this power is exercised a full exposition of the grounds on which this has been considered necessary, shall be published within one month, and in the case of local Governments they shall report the circumstances and explain their action to the Government of India, and in the case of this latter, it shall report and explain to the Secretary of State; and in any such case on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretary of State by the overruled majority, it shall be competent to the Standing Committee of the House of Commons (recommended in the 3rd Resolution of last year's Congress which this present Congress has affirmed) to consider the matter, and call for any and all papers or information, and hear any persons on behalf of such majority or otherwise, and thereafter, if useful, report thereon to the full House.

RESOLUTION V.

Resolved—That this Congress do invite all Public Bodies and all Associations throughout the Country, humbly and earnestly, to entreat His Excellency the Viceroy to obtain the sanction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, to the appointment of a Commission, to enquire exhaustively into the best method of introducing such a tentative form of Representative Institutions into India, as has been indicated in Resolutions III. of the past, and IV. of the present year's Congress.

RESOLUTION VI.

Resolved—That a Committee composed of the gentlemen named in the margin* be appointed to consider the Public Service Question and report thereon to this Congress.

*Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji (<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 Motilal Ghose (<i>Calcutta</i>).	Mr. Hamid Ali (<i>Lucknow</i>).
Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (<i>Calcutta</i>).	Lala Kanhyalal (<i>Amritsar</i>).
" Gungapershad Varma (<i>Lucknow</i>).	Rao Sahib Gungadhar Rao Madhaw (<i>Chitnavis</i> (<i>Nagpur</i>)).
" Ramkali Chaudhuri (<i>Benares</i>).	Mr. Rahimatulla M. Sayani (<i>Bombay</i>).

RESOLUTION VII.

Resolved—That this Congress approves and adopts the report* submitted by the Committee appointed by Resolution VI.

* REPORT.

We, the Members of the Committee appointed by the Congress to submit a statement in connection with the Public Service Question, have the honor to report that the following resolutions were unanimously adopted by us at a meeting held yesterday:—

- 1.—That the open Competitive Examination be held simultaneously both in India and in England.
- 2.—That the simultaneous examinations thus held be equally open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects.
- 3.—That the classified lists be prepared according to merit.
- 4.—That the Congress express the hope that the Civil Service Commissioners will give fair consideration to Sanskrit and Arabic among the subjects of examination.
- 5.—That the age of candidates eligible for admission to the open Competitive Examination be not less than 19, nor, as recommended by Sir C. Aitchison, more than 23 years.
- 6.—That simultaneous examinations being granted, the Statutory Civil Service be closed for first appointments.
- 7.—That the appointments in the Statutory Civil Service, under the existing rules, be still left open to the Members of the Uncovenanted Service and to professional 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.

30th December, 1886.

(Sd.) DADABHAI NAOROJI,
President of the Committee.

RESOLUTION VII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

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

RESOLUTION X.

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

RESOLUTION XI.

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

RESOLUTION XII.

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

RESOLUTION XIII.

Resolved—That Standing Congress-Committees be constituted at all important centres.

RESOLUTION XIV.

Resolved—That the third Indian National Congress assemble at Madras on the 27th of December, 1887.

•RESOLUTION XV.

Resolved—That copies of these Resolutions be forwarded to His Excellency the Viceroy in Council, with the humble requests, that he will cause the 1st Resolution to be submitted in due course to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, that he will cause all the Resolutions to be laid before Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and that he himself will be graciously pleased, in consultation with his colleagues, to accord them his best consideration.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE THIRD CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

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

* Messrs. Namjoshi, Chandavarkar, Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, Hajee Mahomed Abdul Shakoor Badshaw Sahib, S. Subramania Iyer, W. S. Gantz, Rauglah Naidu, Surendranath Bannerjee, Trailokhyanath Mitra, Kali Charan Bannerjee, Guru Prasad Sen, Saligram Singh, Ram Kaji Chaudhuri, Hafiz Abdul Rahim, Rampal Singh, Pandit Madan Mohun, Ganga Prasad Varma, Bishan Narayan Dar, Hamid Ali, Murlidhur, Satyanand Agnihotri, H. H. Dhrnva, 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, Karardikar.

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.

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

RESOLUTION IV.

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

RESOLUTION V.

Resolved—That in view of the unsettled state of public affairs in Europe, and the immense assistance that the people of this country, if duly prepared there for, are capable of rendering to Great Britain in the event of any serious complications arising, this Congress once again earnestly appeals to the Government to 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 crises.

RESOLUTION VI.

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

RESOLUTION VII.

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

RESOLUTION VIII.

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

RESOLUTION IX.

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

RESOLUTION X.

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

RESOLUTION XI.

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

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE FOURTH CONGRESS.

RESOLUTION I.

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

RESOLUTION II.

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

RESOLUTION III.

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

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

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

RESOLUTION IV.

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

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

Resolution IX. of the Congress of 1886, to wit—

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

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

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

does now, hereby, affirm the same respectively.

RESOLUTION V.

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

RESOLUTION VI.

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

“ That in view of the loyalty of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, the Congress 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 there for, are capable of rendering to Great Britain in the
“ event of any serious complications arising, the Congress once again earnestly appeals to the Govern-
“ ment 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 crises ; ”

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 move^d
“ so to modify the provisions of Chapter IV., and if necessary other portions of the said Act, as shall
“ enable all persons to possess and wear Arms unless debarred therefrom, either as individuals, or
“ members of particular communities or classes, by the orders of the Government of India, (or any
“ local authority empowered by the Government of India on that behalf), for reasons to be recorded
“ in writing and duly published ; ”

does now, hereby, affirm the same respectively.

RESOLUTION VII.

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

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REPORT
OF THE
FIFTH
Indian
National Congress,

HELD AT
BOMBAY,

On the 26th, 27th and 28th of December,

1889

