

REPORT

of the

THIRD

Indian

National Congress

Held at

MADRAS,

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

1887.

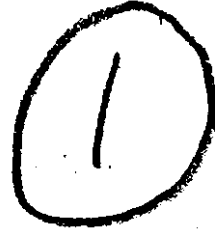
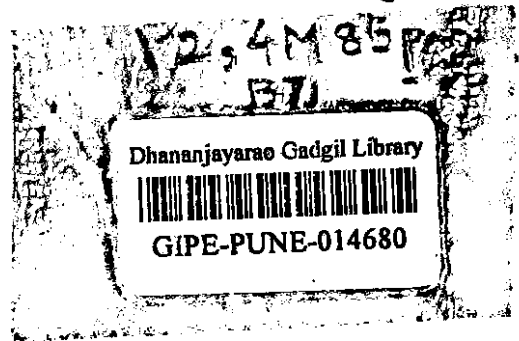
LONDON :

Salbot Brothers, 81, Carter Lane, E.C.

Hamilton Adams & Co., Paternoster Row, E.C.

Price 2/-

1888.



Some
of
England's Pledges to India.

=====

Act of Parliament of 1833.

That no Native of the said territories (India) nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Government (Act 2 & 4 Wm. IV., c.85, s.87, 1833.)

Her Majesty's Proclamation of 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, at Birmingham, 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 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. Because that power and that influence rests upon

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."

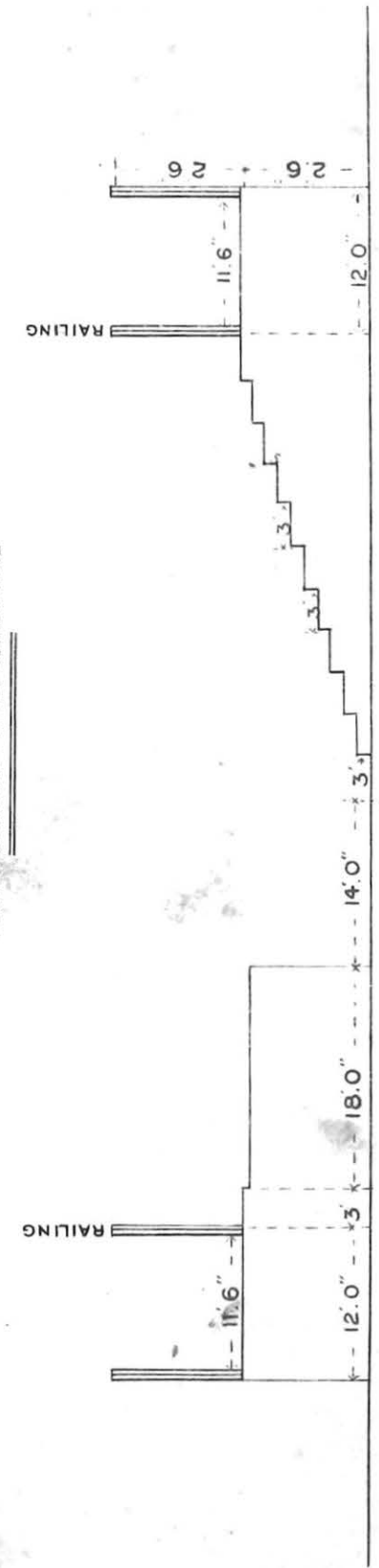
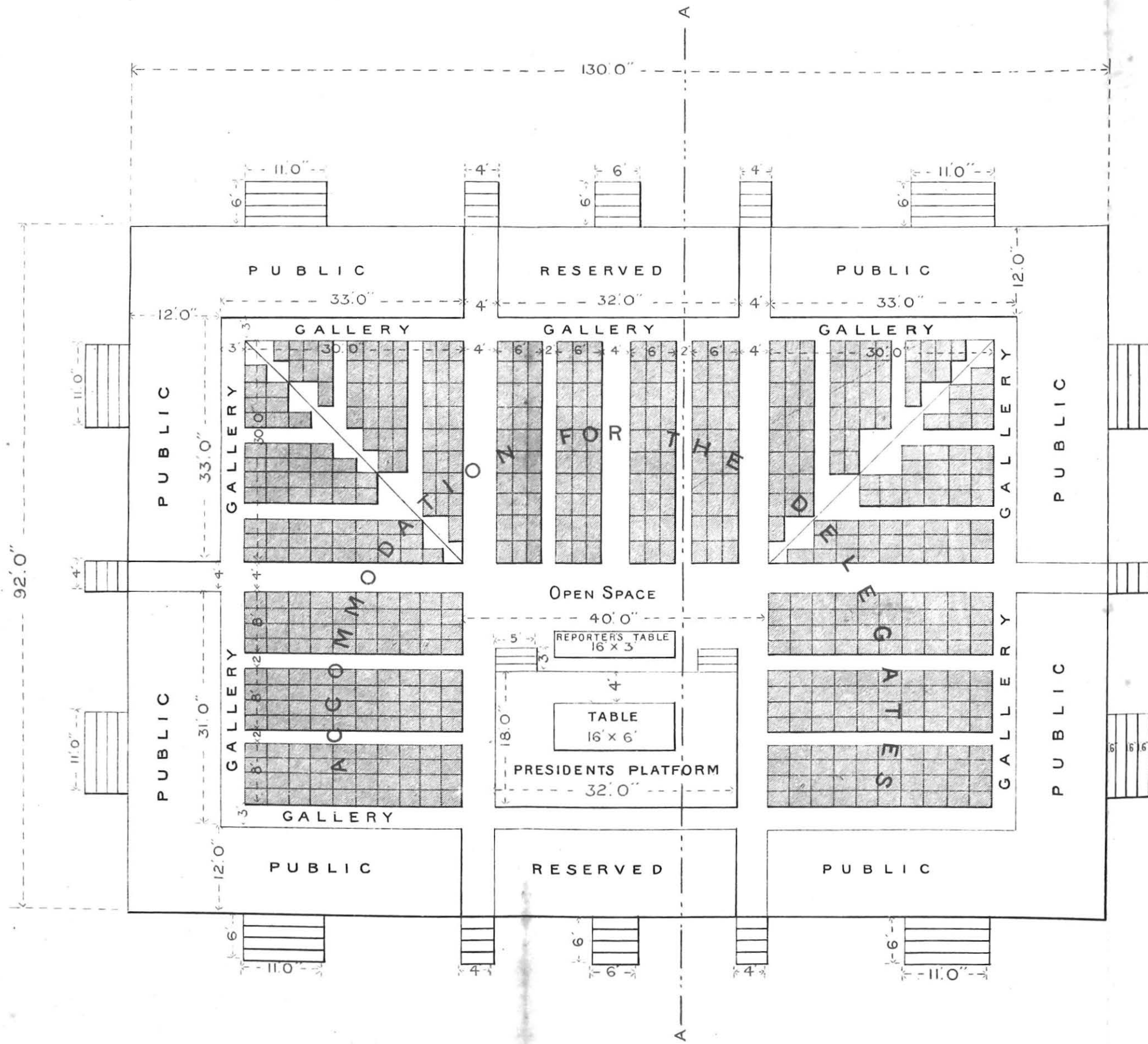
Lord Dufferin's Speech, on the occasion of
Her Majesty's Jubilee, in 1887.

"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."

PLAN OF THE CONGRESS HALL

ERECTED AT MADRAS FOR THE MEETING OF THE
THIRD INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
HELD DECEMBER 27, 28, 29, & 30, OF 1887.

SCALE 16 FEET = 1 INCH.



CROSS SECTION ON A.A.
VERTICAL SCALE 4 TIMES HORIZONTAL

CONTENTS.

	Pages
PLAN OF THE TEMPORARY HALL, where the Third Congress was held. (To face inside of cover at beginning.)	
THE CONGRESS, an Introductory Article	1—62
SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS passed at the Third Indian National Congress	63—66
DETAILED REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS of the Congress	67—166
First Day's Proceedings	67—76
<i>Speeches of</i> Rajah Sir T. Madava Row	67
" W. C. Bonnerjee	69
" The Hon. S. Subramania Iyer	70
" Rajah Rampal Singh	70
" Budrudin Tyabji	71
Second Day's Proceedings	77—104
<i>Speeches of</i> Dr. Trailokya Nath Mitra	77
" Mr. Hamid Ali	78
" Mr. W. S. Gantz	78
" Babu Surendra Nath Bannerjee	79
" The President... ..	79
" Mr. Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar	79
" Mr. A. Ramachandra Joglekar	81
" Mr. Ramachandra Moreswar Sane	81
" Babu Surendra Nath Bannerjee (<i>Proposes 2nd Resolution</i>)	83
" Rajah Sir T. Madava Row	86
" Mr. P. Somasundaram Chettiar	87
" The President... ..	88
" Mr. Nam Joshi	88
" Mr. H. H. Dhruva	88
" The President... ..	89
" Mr. Eardley Norton	89
" Pandit Bishan Narayan Dax	93
" Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya... ..	96
" Rao Saheb Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar	99
" Mr. Sabapathi Mudaliar	99
" Rajah Rampal Singh	100
" Mr. W. S. Gantz	100
" Babu A. Kumar Dutt	102
" Babu Mohun Sudan Das	103
" The President... ..	104
Third Day's Proceedings	105—136
<i>Speeches of</i> The President... ..	105
" Mr. N. Subramanyam (<i>Proposes 3rd Resolution</i>)	105
" Babu Kali Charan Bannerjee	108
" Pandit Jwala Dutta Joshi	111
" Mr. Syed Abdul Aziz	111
" Rao Saheb K. Venkata Row	112
" Babu Ambika Charan Muzumdar	113
" Mr. B. Narasimhe Swara Sarma	114
" Mr. Ali Mahomed Bhimjee	114
" Mr. K. Subramanya Aiyer	114
" The President... ..	114
" Babu Norendra Nath Sen (<i>Proposes 4th Resolution</i>)	115
" Babu Saligram Singh	116
" The President... ..	116
" Mr. P. J. Patshaha	116
" Babu Dwarakanath Ganguli	118
" The President... ..	118
" Babu Iswari Lal Sircar	119
" Babu Bipin Chandra Pal	119
" Munshi Devi Prasad	120
" Mr. Patshaha	120
" Babu Norendra Nath Sen	120
" Babu Dwaraka Nath Ganguli	121
" Rajah Rampal Singh	121
" Babu Surendra Nath Bannerjee	121
" Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee	121
" Mr. W. S. Gantz	121
" The President... ..	121

<i>Speeches of</i>	Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee	122
"	Mr. Eardley Norton	122
"	The President (<i>5th Resolution, Volunteer Question</i>)	123
"	Mr. Sankara Nair (<i>Proposes 5th Resolution</i>)	123
"	Rajah Rampal Singh	125
"	Mr. John Adam	127
"	Malik Bhugwan Das	127
"	Mr. Ali Mahomed Bhimjee	129
"	Babu Guru Prasad Sen (<i>Proposes 6th Resolution, Income-tax</i>)	131
"	Babu Jogender Chunder Ghose	133
"	The President... ..	134
"	Mr. Daji Abaji Khare	134
"	Babu Guru Prasad Sen... ..	135
"	The President... ..	135
"	Mr. Chakravarti	135
"	Mr. Subramania Sastri	135
"	Rajah Yatindra Nath Chaudhuri	135
"	Babu Guru Prasad Sen... ..	135
"	The President... ..	136

Fourth Day's Proceedings 137—166

<i>Speeches of</i>	Sir Savalai Ramaswami Mudaliar (<i>Proposes 7th Resolution, Technical Education</i>)	137
"	Mr. John Adam	138
"	Sheik Kadir Buksh	142
"	The President... ..	143
"	Mr. Chackravarti	143
"	Mr. J. Dharmaranga Raju	143
"	The President... ..	143
"	Mr. B. H. Chester, M.A.	144
"	Mr. Kashinath Trimbuck Khare... ..	145
"	Mr. Mookkanasari	146
"	The President... ..	147
"	Rao Bahadur Sabapathy Mudaliar (<i>Proposes 8th Resolution, Arms Act</i>)	147
"	Babu Bipin Chandra Pal	148
"	The President... ..	150
"	Dr. Trailokya Nath Mitra	150
"	Mr. Govind Buksh	151
"	Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar	152
"	Mr. Sundram Sastri	153
"	Mir Ali Mahomed Bhimjee	154
"	Mr. Daji Abaji Khare	155
"	Babu Surendra Nath Bannerjee	156
"	Babu Kali Charan Bannerjee	157
"	Mr. A. O. Hume	158
"	Babu Trailokyanath Mitra	158
"	Babu Surendra Nath Bannerjee... ..	158
"	Mr. Salem Ramaswami Mudaliar	158
"	Mr. Annasami Aiyar	160
"	Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerjee	160
"	Mr. Annasami Aiyar	160
"	The President... ..	160
"	Mr. A. O. Hume	162
"	Dr. Trailokya Nath Mitra	162
"	The President... ..	162
"	Mr. A. O. Hume	162
"	Rajah Rampal Singh	162
"	The President... ..	163
"	Rajah Yatindra Nath Chaudhuri	163
"	Babu Jotendra Nath Tagore	163
"	The President... ..	163
"	Mr. Salem Ramaswami Mudaliar	165
"	Mr. Kumar Rameswar Maliah	166
"	Dr. Trailokya Nath Mitra	166
"	The President... ..	166
"	Mr. Rangiah Naidu	166
List of Abbreviations	167

Appendices... .. 168—214

Appendix I.	List of Delegates	168—198
"	II. English Translation of a Tamil Catechism	199—204
"	III. A Conversation between Molvi Farid ud din, M.A., B.L., and Rambaksh, one of the Mukaddams (Chief Villager) of Kambakhtpur... ..	205—214

APPENDIX I.

LIST OF DELEGATES

WHO ATTENDED THE

THIRD INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT MADRAS, DECEMBER, 1887.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
1	Madras	Carnatic	Madras City.	Rajah Sir T. Madava Row, K.C.S.I.	Hindu Brahman.	Retired Dewan of Travancore, Indore and Baroda, F. Uni., Madras, Mylapore.	Madras and Graduates' Association.	Public meeting on the 18th Dec. at Mylapore, (Div. 8), and by the Committee of the Graduates' Association.
2	"	"	"	Hon'ble Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, C.I.E.	Mussulman.	Landholder, President Central Mahomedan Association, Member Legislative Council, Municipal Councillor, and F., Uni. Madras, Adyar.	Madras.	Public meetings on the 18th Dec. at Mylapore, (Div. 8), and at Triplicane on the same date, (Dec. 7).
3	"	"	"	Hon'ble P. Chentsal Rao, C.I.E.	Hindu Brahman.	Retired Government Servant, Member Legislative Council, and F., Uni. Madras, Teynampet.	Madras and Graduates' Association.	Public meeting on the 18th Dec. at Mylapore (Div. 8), and by the Committee of the Graduates' Association.
4	"	"	"	Sir Savalai Ramaswami Mudaliar, Kt., C.I.E.	Hindu.	Merchant, Sheriff, Municipal Councillor, and Vice-President Mahajana Sabha, Poonamallee Road.	do.	Public meeting on the 5th Dec. at Pudupet (Div. 6), and at a general meeting of the Mahajana Sabha, on the 26th Dec.
5	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer, B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, Member Legislative Council, Vice-President, Mahajana Sabha, and F., Uni. Madras, The Luz.	Madras Graduates' Association and Mahajana Sabha.	Public meeting on the 18th Dec. at Mylapore (Div. 8), by the Committee of the Graduates' Association, and at a general meeting of the Mahajana Sabha, on the 26th Dec.
6	"	"	"	Mr. P. Somasundaram Chettiar	Hindu.	Merchant, Vice-President Mahajana Sabha, Tondiarpett.	Madras and Mahajana Sabha.	At a general meeting of the Mahajana Sabha, on the 26th Dec., by the Madras Hindu Union Bank, and also at a public meeting at Black Town (Div. 8).
7	"	"	"	Rao Saheb P. Rangia Naidu Garu.	do	Zemindar, Vakil, Municipal Councillor L.F. & Tal. Bd. Memb. & President, Mahajana Sabha., Poonamallee Road.	Mahajana Sabha.	At a general meeting of the Mahajana Sabha, on the 26th Dec.
8	"	"	"	Khan Bahadur Hajee Mahomed Abdulla Badshaw Sahib.	Mussulman.	Merchant, Vice-President, Central Mahomedan Association, Member, Anjumani Muft-i-Islam, and Mahajana Sabha, Triplicane.	Madras and Mahajana Sabha.	Public meeting held on the 18th Dec. at Triplicane (Div. 7), and at a general meeting of the Mahajana Sabha, held on the 26th Dec.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
9	Madras.	Carnatic	Madras City.	Rao Saheb N. Subramaniam, B.A., B.L.	Native Christian.	Barrister-at-Law, and Municipal Councillor The Luz.	Madras, and Mahajana Sabha.	Public meeting on the 18th Dec. at Mylapore (Div. 8), and at a general meeting of the Mahajana Sabha, on the 26th Dec.
10	"	"	"	Mahomed Nizamuddin Khan Bahadur.	Mussulman.	Secy., Anjumani Mufid-i-Islam and Landowner, Mylapore.	Madras, and Anjumani Mufid-i-Islam.	Public meeting on the 18th Dec. at Mylapore, (Div. 8), and at a meeting of Anjumani Mufid-i-Islam, on 3rd Dec.
11	"	"	"	Mr. A. O. Hume.	Christian European.	Retired Civil Servant, Simla.	B.N.L. B. P. Assn. and M. J. S. Madras.	General meetings on the 8th, 15th, and 26th Dec.
12	"	"	"	Mr. S. Appasami Chettiar.	Hindu.	Retired Public Servant, Tondiarpett.	Madras.	Pub. meeting on the 26th Dec. at Tondiarpett (Div. 1.)
13	"	"	"	Mr. P. Tiruvengadasawmy Pillai.	do	Attorney - at - Law, Tondiarpett.	do	do
14	"	"	"	Mr. C. V. Subramania Sastri.	Hindu Brahman.	do	do	do
15	"	"	"	Mr. P. Thiagaraya Chettiar.	Hindu.	Mercht., Tondiarpett.	do	do
16	"	"	"	Mr. Jaga Rao Pillai, B.A., B.L.	Native Christian.	Vakil, High Court, Vice - President, Mahajana Sabha, Tondiarpett.	Madras, & Mahajana Sabha.	By Mahajana Sabha, on the 26th Dec., by "the Progressive Union," 20th Dec., and at a Pub. meeting, Tondiarpett, (Div. 1).
17	"	"	"	Mr. P. V. Krishnaswami Chettiar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Tondiarpett.	do	By Mahajana Sabha, on the 26th Dec., and at a Pub. meetg. Tondiarpett (Div. 1).
18	"	"	"	Rao Saheb R. Balakrishnama Chettiar.	do	Merchant and Ml. Cr.. Tondiarpett.	do	do
19	"	"	"	Mr. Mulla Jaferjee Sahib.	Mussulman.	Merchant.	do	do
20	"	"	"	Mr. Ramakrishniah.	Hindu Brahman.	Banker & Merchant, Black Town.	Madras.	Pub. meetg. on the 12th Dec., Black Town (Div. 2).
21	"	"	"	Mr. K. Krishnama Chariar, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court, Black Town.	do	do
22	"	"	"	Mr. R. Sivasankara Pandiya, B.A., F.T.S.	do	Lecturer in English, Pachiappa's College, Guzeratipett.	do	Pub. meetg. on the 23rd Dec. (Divns. 2 and 3).
23	"	"	"	Mr. V. J. Manickavelu Mudaliar.	Hindu.	Printer, publisher, & Propr. Irish Press, Broadway.	do	do
24	"	"	"	Mr. K. Subramanya Iyer, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Lecturer in History, Pachiappa's College.	do	Pub. meetg. at Black Town on the 23rd Dec. (Div. 3).
25	"	"	"	Mr. O. Nammiah Chettiar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Black Town.	do	do
26	"	"	"	Mr. E. Balasundra Mudaliar, B.A.	do	Secretary to Pachp's Trustees, Black Town	do	do
27	"	"	"	Mr. Arunagiri Nayudu, B.A.	do	Science Asst., Scot. Mission College.	do	do
28	"	"	"	Mr. Waljee Laljee Sait.	Mussulman.	Merchant, Black Town	Madras, & Metal Trading Company.	By the Metal Trading Co. and Pub. meetg., Black Town, 23rd Dec., and the 3rd Divn., 1st Dec.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
29	Madras.	Carnatic	Madras City.	Mr. N. Lakshmanasami Mudaliar, B.A.	Hindu.	Merchant, Black Town	Madras.	Pub. meetg. at Nungambakkam, 23rd Dec. (Div. 5).
30	"	"	"	Mr. Elayalwar Nayudu.	do	Memb., Dist. Board & Municipal Contractor, Poonamallee Road.	do	do
31	"	"	"	Mir Ansuruddin Sahib Khan Bahadur.	Mussulman.	Retired Presidency, Magistrate, Sydapet.	do	do
32	"	"	"	Mr. Hajee Kadir Moidin Sahib.	do	Land-holder and Merchant, Kodampakkam.	do	do
33	"	"	"	Mr. Desikachariar.	Hindu Brahman.	Retired Tahsildar.	do	do
34	"	"	"	Mr. Narasimhachariar.	do	Schoolmaster, Nungambakkam.	do	do
35	"	"	"	Mr. C. Iyasawmy Pillai.	Hindu.	Landed Proprietor, Komeleswarenpetta.	do	Public meeting at Pudupett, 5th Dec. (Div. 6).
36	"	"	"	Mr. Rajoo Pathur.	Native Christian.	Type-founder, &c., and Agent to Messrs. Figgins & Co., Lond., Pudupett.	do	do
37	"	"	"	Dr. S. Pulney Andy, M.D., M.B.C.S.	do	Medical Practitioner, Editor <i>Eastern Star</i> , Egmore.	do	Pub. meetg. at Pudupett 5th Dec. (Div. 6), and Mahajana Sabha, 26th Dec.
38	"	"	"	Mr. R. Sadagopachariar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Triplicane.	do	Public meeting at Triplicane, 18th Dec. (Div. 7).
39	"	"	"	Rajah Iswaradas Dayawant Bahadur.	Hindu Kshatranya	Landed Proprietor, Triplicane.	do	do
40	"	"	"	Mr. V. Raghava Chariar.	Hindu Brahman.	Land-holder and Dharmakarta, Sri-Parthasaradhi Swami's temple, Triplicane.	do	do
41	"	"	"	Mohamed Abdul Kuddus Badshaw Sahib.	Mussulman.	Merchant, Triplicane.	do	do
42	"	"	"	Hajee Abdul Azeez Sahib.	do	do	do	do
43	"	"	"	Mr. Eardley Norton.	Christian European.	Barrister-at-Law, and Coroner, The Luz.	do	Pub. meetg., 18th Dec., at Triplicane and Tiruvateswarenpetta (Div. 7).
44	"	"	"	Mr. A. O. Parthasaradhi Nayudu Garu.	Hindu	Editor <i>Andraprakashika</i> , Tel. Weekly (Cir. 800) Tiruvateswarenpettah.	do	Pub. meetg. at Tiruvateswarenpetta and Pudupakkam; also at Triplicane, 18th Dec. (Div. 7).
45	"	"	"	Mr. G. Subramanya Iyer, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Editor <i>The Hindu</i> (English Tri-Weekly, Cir. 1,400) & <i>Swadesamitran</i> (Tamil Bi-Weekly, Cir. 1,000), Triplicane.	Madras & Mahajana Sabha.	Mahajana Sabha, on the 26th Dec., and at a Public meeting at Triplicane (Div. 7), 18th Dec.
46	"	"	"	Mr. M. Viraraghavachariar, B.A.	do	Joint-Editor <i>The Hindu</i> and <i>Swadesamitran</i> , and Secy., Mahajana Sabha, Triplicane.	do	do
47	"	"	"	Mr. T. R. Ramanadha Iyer, B.A.	do	Master, Pacheappa's High School, Mylapore.	Madras.	Public meeting, 18th Dec., at Mylapore (Div. 8).
48	"	"	"	Mr. T. Swaminadha Mudaliar.	Hindu.	Land-holder, Mylapore.	do	do

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
49	Madras.	Carnatic	Madras City.	Mahomed Anvarudeen-khan Bahadur.	Mussulman.	Land-holder & Memb. Anjumani-Mufid-i-Islam, Mylapore.	Madras.	Public meeting at Mylapore, 18th Dec. (Div. 8).
50	"	"	"	Mr. Benjamin Henry Chester, M.A.	Christian Eurasian.	Professor of Mathematics and Phy. Science, Doveton Protestant College, Vepery.	do	At a meeting of the Eurasian and A.-I. Assn. of Southern India, 7th Dec.
51	"	"	"	Mr. Geo. Maddox, B.A.	do	Lecturer, do. Vepery.	do	do
52	"	"	"	Mr. W. S. Gantz.	do	Barrister-at-Law, Vepery.	do	do
53	"	"	"	Mr. B. Lovery.	do	Retired Sheriff, F. Univ., and Ml. Cr., Kilpauk.	do	do
54	"	"	"	Mr. N. Bazely.	do	Public Accountant, 2, Police Commissioner's Office Road, Egmore.	do	do
55	"	"	"	Rao Saheb R. Balaji Rao, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, High Court and Vice-President, Mahajana Sabha, and Ml. Cr., Mylapore.	Mahajana Sabha, Madras.	General meeting of Mahajana Sabha, and by the Members of the Janopakara Nidhi, Mylapore.
56	"	"	"	Mr. C. Ramachandra Rao, Saheb, B.L.	do	Zemindar, Vakil, High Court, and Vice-President, Mahajana Sabha, The Luz.	do	At a General Meeting of the Mahajana Sabha, on the 26th Dec.
57	"	"	"	Rao Saheb C. V. Cunniah Chetti Garu.	Hindu.	Land-holder, Mercht., and Ml. Cr., Black Town.	do.	do
58	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu, B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, High Court; Ml. Cr., and Secy., Mahajana Sabha, Egmore.	do	do
59	"	"	"	Mr. G. Mahadeva Chettiar.	Hindu.	Memb., Dist. Board, Mercht. & Zemindar, Black Town.	do	do
60	"	"	"	Rao Saheb P. Teagaraya Chetti Garu, B.A.	do	Zemindar, Mercht. & Ml. Cr., Tondiarpett.	do	do
61	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur A. Danakoti Mudaliar.	do	do	do	do
62	"	"	"	Rao Saheb W. S. Venkataramanjulu Nayudu Garu.	do	Memb., Dist. and Tal. Bds., Shrotriendard of Uttukkadu, & Ml. Cr., Komaleswarenpettah.	do	do
63	"	"	"	Rao Saheb C. Yetirajulu Nayudu Garu.	do	Merchant; Secy., Metal Trading Company, and Ml. Cr., Tondiarpett.	do	do
64	"	"	"	Rao Saheb S. Ramaswami Mudaliar, M.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court; F., Uni.; and Ml. Cr., Poonamallee Road.	do	do
65	"	"	"	Mr. T. Namberumal Chetti Garu, B.A.	do	Mercht., Black Town.	do	do
66	"	"	"	Mr. A. Balakrishna Mudaliar.	do	Do, Chulai.	do	do
67	"	"	"	Mr. M. Ramaswami Nayudu Garu.	do	Do, Black Town.	do	do
68	"	"	"	Mr. M. Abboi Nayudu Garu.	do	Do, Tondiarpett.	do	do

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
69	Madras.	Carnatic	Madras City.	Mr. P. Murugesu Mudaliar.	Hindu.	Merchant, Poonamallee Road.	M J S Madras.	General meeting, Mahajana Sabha, 26th Dec.
70	"	"	"	Mr. V. Subramiah Chettiar.	do	Do, Black Town.	do	At a general meeting M J S, 26th Dec.
71	"	"	"	Rao Saheb C. Singaravelu Mudaliar.	do	Merchant, and Ml. Cr., Ohulai.	do	do
72	"	"	"	Rao Saheb G. Kuppasami Nayudu Garu.	do	Do, Black Town.	do	do
73	"	"	"	Mr. C. Sankara Nair, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court, Egmore.	do	do
74	"	"	"	Mr. K. P. Sankara Menon, B.A., B.L.	do	Do, Mylapore.	do, & Coch-in Reform Association.	do
75	"	"	"	Mr. Venkatarama Chettiar, B.A., B.L.	do	Do, Black Town.	do	do
76	"	"	"	Mr. K. Narayana Row, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Do, Mylapore.	do	do
77	"	"	"	Mr. C. V. Sundaram Sastri, B.A., B.L.	do	Do, Tondiarpett.	do	do
78	"	"	"	Mr. K. Subba Rao.	do	Asst. Editor, <i>The Hindu</i> , Triplicane.	do	do
79	"	"	"	Gulam Dastaghir Sahib.	Mussulman.	Secy., National Mahomedan Assn., Triplicane.	do	do
80	"	"	"	Abdul Razac Hajee Baba Meanee.	do	Merchant.	do	do
81	"	"	"	Hajee Abdus Salam Badsha Sahib.	do	Do, Triplicane.	do	do
82	"	"	"	Mohamed Gouse Sahib.	do	do	do	do
83	"	"	"	Hajee Mahomed Abdul Shakoor Badshaw Sahib.	do	do	Anjumani Mufid-i-Islam.	A meeting of the Executive Committee of Anjumani Mufid-i-Islam, 3rd Dec.
84	"	"	"	Abdul Rahman Hajee Alla Rakha Sajen Sahib.	do	Do, Black Town.	do	do
85	"	"	"	Mr. S. Rangiah Chettiar, B.A.	Hindu.	Prof., Chr. College, Memb. of the Committee of Education, & F. Uni., Black Town.	Graduates Assn.	By the committee of the Graduates' Association.
86	"	"	"	Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Triplicane.	Lit. Society, Triplicane.	General meeting of Lit. Soc., Triplicane, by ballot.
87	"	"	"	Mr. M. Y. Sri Ranga-Chariar, B.A., B.L.	do	do	do	do
88	"	"	"	Mr. John Adam, M.A.	Christian European.	Principal, Pachiappa's College and F. Univ., Black Town.	Metal Trading Company.	Meeting of the Directors of the Metal Trading Company, 17th Dec.
89	"	"	"	Mr. Hajee Ibrahim Sait.	Mussulman.	Merchant, Black Town.	do	do
90	"	"	"	Mr. C. Batcha Mea Sahib.	do	do	do	do
91	"	"	"	Mr. Krishna Doss, Bala Mookunda Doss.	Hindu.	Banker and Landholder, Saackarpet, Black Town.	do	do
92	"	"	"	Mr. P. Rajam Chetti Garu	do	Mercht., Black Town.	do	do

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
93	Madras.	Carnatic	Madras City.	Mr. C. Mukundu Nayudu Garu.	Hindu.	Mercht., Black Town.	Metal Trading Co	Meeting of the Directors of the Metal Trading Company.
94	"	"	"	Mr. T. V. Appa Rao Pillai.	do	Merohant.	S. India Mercht.Co.	South India Merchants' Co. (Ld.), 22nd Dec.
95	"	"	"	Mr. T. Pattabhi Ramiiah Nayudu Garu.	do	Secy. S. I. Merchants' Company.	do	do
96	"	"	"	Mr. C. Rangaahariar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, High Court, Triplicane.	Mutual Impt. Society.	A meeting of the Mutual Improvement Society, Triplicane, 22nd Dec.
97	"	"	"	Mr. M. O. Parthasaradhi Aiyangar, M.A., M.L.	do	Advocate, High Court, Triplicane.	do	do
98	"	"	"	Mr. M. N. Srirangaraja Charya, Pandit, Sathavadhani, Abhinav, Kalidasa.	do	Pandit, Editor, <i>Lokananda Samaj Patrika</i> , Triplicane.	Lokananda Samaj.	By the members of Lokananda Samaj, Triplicane, 16th Dec.
99	"	"	"	Mr. C. Ramachandra Rao, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court, Triplicane.	Madhva Sabha.	Meeting of the Madhva Sidhantonnahini, 23rd Dec.
100	"	"	"	Mr. T. Venkata Subba Aiyar.	do	No. 231, Tambu Chetti Street, Black Town.	Desa. Sabha.	At a meeting of Desabhimana Sabha, 20th Dec.
101	"	"	"	Mr. P. Singaravelu Mudaliar, B.A.	Hindu.	do	do	do
102	"	"	"	Mr. V. A. Rajaratna Mudaliar.	do	Attorney-at-Law High Court, Pursewalkam.	Hindu Nidhi.	The members of the Pursewalkam Hindu S. S. Nidhi, Dec.
103	"	"	"	Mr. Syed Murtuza Sahib Khadri.	Mussulman.	Proprietor and Editor of <i>Jaridai Rosyar</i> , (Hindustani Weekly, cir.800), Royapettah.	do	Meeting at Triplicane.
104	"	"	"	Mr. G. J. Solomon Nadar, B.A.	Native Christian.	Black Town.	The Sangam.	Meeting of the Assn. for promoting the political and moral welfare of the Santor race, 17th Dec.
105	"	"	"	Mr. Joseph Satya Nadar, B.A.	do	do	do	do
106	"	"	"	Mr. M. Tangavelu Chetti, B.A.	Hindu.	Tambu Chetti Street, Muttiyalpet	V. Vridhi Sabha.	By the members of Viveka Vridhi Sabha.
107	"	Northern Circas	Ganjam.	Rao Bahadur Venkatarama Pantulu.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Chairman Municipality.	Berhampore.	Public meeting.
108	"	"	"	Rao Saheb P. Venkanna Pantulu.	do	Pleader, Dist. Court, Berhampore, and Ml. Commissioner.	Aska.	Public meeting, Aska.
109	"	"	"	Rao Saheb N. Ramamurti Pantulu, B.A.	do	Pleader, Dist. Court, Ml. Cr. Memb. Local and Tal. Bds. Berhampore.	Berhampore Assn. and the Public.	Meeting of the Assn. and of the merchants, traders and artizans of Berhampore.
110	"	"	"	Mr. M. Venkatanarayana Rao Pantulu	do	Retd. Govt. servant, Berhampore.	Russelcondah.	At a public meeting.
111	"	"	Vizagapatam.	Mr. G. Venkatappa Rao, B.A.	do	Asst. Master Maharajah's College; Editor <i>Prakasika</i> (Telugu Fortnightly, cir.800).	Towns and taluks of Gajapati Nagaram, Chipurupally, Palaconda, Parvatipur.	At meetings held at the places stated.
112	"	"	"	Mr. O. Simpachalapati Rao, B.A.	do	Asst. Master Maharajah's College, Vizianagaram.	Bimlipatam and Hindu Deb. Union.	Public meeting, 12th Dec.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
113	Madras	North- ern Circars.	Vizagapa- tam	Rao Saheb Venkatajagan- natha Sastri.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Dist. Court, Vizagapatam, and Ml. Cr.	The M.J.S. Vizagapa- tam.	Special meeting of the Sabha, 1st Nov.
114	"	"	"	Mr. B. Narasimheswara Sarma, B.A.	do	Asst. Master, St. Aloy- sius School, Vizaga- patam.	Do, and Anakapalli Club.	Do do and 1st Dec.
115	"	"	"	Nr. N. V. Chelapati Sastri.	do	Assistant Master, Maharajah's College, and Secy., M. J. S. Vizyanagaram.	M. J. S., Viziyana- garam.	At a special meeting, 29th Nov.
116	"	"	"	Mr. V. Madhava Rao Nayudu, M.A.	Hindu.	Vice-Principal, Maha- rajah's College, Vizi- yanagaram & Joint Editor <i>Telugu Harp</i> , (English Weekly, cir. 400)	Viziyana- garam and Vidyabhi- vardhani Sabha.	By the people of Viziya- nagaram.
117	"	"	Godavery	Mir Nalive Ali Khan.	Mussul- man.	Mirasidar, Raja- mundry.	Godavery Dist.	Public meeting at Raja- mundry, 3rd Dec.
118	"	"	"	Mr. V. V. Avadhani Garu, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	1st Gd. Pleader, Raja- mundry.	do	do
119	"	"	Krishna	Srimantu Rajah Yarla- gadda Mallikarjuna Pra- sada Nayudu Bahadur.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Devara- kota, or Chellapalli	Masulipa- tam.	Public meeting, 11th Dec.
120	"	"	"	Mr. K. Krishnama Chariar B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Hd. Master, Hindu High School, Masuli- patam.	do	do
121	"	"	"	Rao Saheb M. B. Venkata Reddi Nayudu Garu.	Hindu.	Ml. Cr., and Propr., Carpet Agency.	do	do
122	"	"	"	Mirza Jamadudin Khan (Nabob's family) Masuli- patam.	Mussul- man.	Pensioner and Agent to the present Nabob of Masulipatam.	do	do
123	"	Carnatic	Nellore.	Mahomed Abdul Hussain Sahib.	do	Land-holder.	Nellore.	Public meeting, 29th Nov.
124	"	"	"	Mr. D.N. Venkataramayah, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	1st Asst., F. C. M. School, Nellore.	do	do
125	"	"	"	Mr. M. Ramachandrayah.	Native Christian.	Asst. Teacher, Mis- sion College, Guntur.	M. J. S., & Guntur.	Public meeting, Guntur, 12th December
126	"	"	"	Mr. C. Cotiah Chettair.	Hindu.	Pensioned Deputy In- spector of Schools.	R. P. An., Nellore.	A special meeting, Nel- lore, 29th Nov., and by members of the Assn., on the 30th Nov.
127	"	"	"	Rao Saheb N. Suryana- rain Rao.	Hindu Brahman.	2nd Gd. Pleader, On- gole, Ml. Chairman, Hony. Magte.	Br. M. J. S. Ongole.	At a meeting of the Sab- ha, 28th Nov.
128	"	"	"	Rao Saheb D. Markan- daya Sastri.	do	Banker, Hony. Magte.	do	do
129	"	"	"	Mr. S. Narayanaswami Chetti Garu, B.A.	Hindu.	Dewan to H. H. the Rajah of Venkata- giri.	Venkata- giri.	At a meeting of the Town Hall Committee, 11th Dec., by unanimous vote.
130	"	"	"	Mr. N. Desikachariar.	Hindu Brahman.	Secy., to H. H. the Rajah of Venkata- giri.	do	do
131	"	"	Chingleput	Mr. N. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.	Hindu Brahman.	Zemindar, Siranjeri.	Chingleput	Public meeting, 21st Dec.
132	"	"	"	Mr. N. Venkata Rao, B.A.	do	Hd. Master, F. C. M. High School.	do	do

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
193	Madras	Carnatic	Chingleput	Rao Saheb V. Srinivasa Raghavachariar.	Hindu Brahman.	Mirasidar, Memb. L.F. Board.	Chingleput	Public meeting, 21st Dec.
194	"	"	"	Rao Saheb T. N. Krishnamachariar.	do	Pleader and Memb., Dist. Bd.	do	do
195	"	"	"	Mr. M. Y. Ramanujachariar.	do	Pleader, Dist. Court.	do	do.
186	"	"	"	Mr. M. Kupusami Nayudu.	Hindu.	do	do	do
197	"	"	"	Mr. Ranganadam.	do	Shrotiendar.	do	do
198	"	"	"	Mr. S. Teagaraja Mudaliar	do	Head Master, Native High School.	do	do
199	"	"	"	Mr. N. Shanmugaraya Mudaliar.	do	Zemindar, Nallathur.	do	do
140	"	"	"	Mr. T. E. Kumara Venkatachariar.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Conjeveram.	Conjeveram.	Public meeting, 12th Dec.
141	"	"	"	Mr. V. Seshiah, B.A.	do	do	do	do
142	"	"	"	Mr. Srinivasachariar.	do	Mirasidar, Conjeveram.	do	do
143	"	"	"	Rao Saheb S. Srinivasa Aiyar.	do	Ml. Cr. & Hd. Master, Pachiappah's High School.	do	do
144	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Sadasivayyah.	do	Ml. Cr., and Head Master, F. C. M. High School.	do	do
145	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Muttu Babu Reddiar.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Kayapakam, Member L.F. Bd.	Madurantakam.	Public meeting, Dec.
146	"	"	"	Mr. Mutturama Reddiar.	do	Zemindar, Perambakam.	do	do
147	"	"	"	Mr. Narasimha Chariar.	Hindu Brahman.	Land-holder.	do	Public meeting of the Union Club.
148	"	"	"	Mr. Bashyacarluyayudu.	Hindu.	Zemindar of Vengal.	do	Public meeting, 21st Dec.
149	"	"	"	Mr. T. Lakshmana Chetti.	do	Merchant.	do	do
150	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Ramanujachariar.	Hindu Brahman.	Mirasidar, Damal, and Member, Taluk Bd.	Damal.	do
151	"	"	"	Rao Saheb V. Srinivasa Raghava Chariar.	do	Mirasidar, & Memb., L.F. Bd.	L. Conjeveram.	do
152	"	"	"	Mr. A. Desikaachariar.	do	Hd. Master F. C. M. High School.	Trivellore.	By Native Association and Trivellore, 21st Dec.
153	"	"	"	Mr. V. Swami Sastri.	do	Pleader & L. holder.	do	do
154	"	"	"	Mr. J. D. Armaranga Raju.	Hindu Kshatriya.	Agricultural College Society.	Saidapet.	Meeting of the Society at the College.
155	"	"	"	Mr. V. Ramanujachariar.	Hindu Brahman.	Mirasidar, Kannivakam.	Guduvanjeri.	Public meeting.
156	"	"	N. Arcot.	Sriman Seshanna Nayani Varu.	Hindu.	Zemindar.	Chittore, and Native Assn.	Public meeting at Chittore, 15th Dec.
157	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Subramania Reddiar.	do	Land-holder, Vakil, & Member, L. F. Bd.	do	do
158	"	"	"	Mr. Arunachella Mudaliar, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil.	do	do
159	"	"	"	Mr. G. Srinivasa Chariar, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	do	do	do
160	"	"	"	Mr. V. Viraraghava Chariar, B.A.	do	Pleader, Dist. Court.	do	do

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
161	Madras	Carnatic	North Arcot	Rao Saheb K. Abdul Rai-man Bahadur.	Mussul-man.	Merchant, & Ml. Cr.	Vellore public.	Public meeting, 14th Dec.
162	"	"	"	Mr. T. A. Arunachala Pillai.	Hindu.	Vice-President, Hindu Medical Union.	do	Elected at Madras, by the Hindu Vydiasangam.
163	"	"	"	Mr. R. M. Thanthoni Pillai.	do	Mirasidar, Mercht. and Secy., Akila Jana Manoramya Sabha.	Kavaripak Kondapuram, & Ramapuram.	General meetings of the people and Sabha.
164	"	"	"	Mr. V. Subba Rao.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Panchayettar.	Arni.	Public meeting, Nov.
165	"	"	"	Rao Saheb M. G. Visvanatha Sastri.	do	2nd Gd. Pleader, Mem. Dist. Bd., & Vice-Presdt. Tal. Bd.	Arni and Polur, and 16 villages.	At several Public meetings, held in Nov. and Dec.
166	"	"	"	Mr. K. Abdul Razak.	Mussul-man.	Merchant, trading at Madras.	Kannama nagalam.	Public meeting in Dec.
167	"	"	"	Mr. Chengannah Chettiar.	Hindu.	Vakil, Dasabandhar Lokanathapuram.	Wallajanager, & Hindu Brethren Assn. Wallaja.	Public meeting on 12th Dec.
168	"	"	"	Mr. A. B. Chikkannah Chettiar.	do	Abkari Contractor.	do	do
169	"	"	"	Mr. M. Viswanadha Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	Tutor to Dewan's son, Kalahasti.	Kalahasti	Public meeting, 11th Dec.
170	"	"	"	Mr. Arunachala Aiyar.	do	Landed Proprietor.	Polur Taluq.	Public meeting 6th and 7th Dec.
171	"	"	"	Mr. A. Kodandapani Mudaliar.	Hindu.	2nd Grade Pleader, Arni.	do	do
172	"	"	S. Arcot.	Mr. V. Sankariah Nayudu.	do	Zemindar, Chianappanaickan Pallium.	M. J. S. Tirupapulyur.	Public meeting, 21st Dec.
173	"	"	"	Mr. A. Subbarayulu Reddiar, B.A., B.L.	do	Mirasidar and Vakil H. C., Ouddalore.	do	do
174	"	"	"	Mr. M. B. Susay Pillai, M.A.	Native Christian.	Principle, St. Joseph's College.	do	do
175	"	"	"	Mr. S. Sama Rao.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Dist. Court.	do	do
176	"	"	"	Rao Saheb B. Krishnayah, B.A.	do	do	do	do
177	"	"	"	Mr. Desikachariar.	do	Vakil and Agriculturist.	Chidambaram.	Congress Committee.
178	"	"	"	Mr. G. Appasami Aiyar.	do	do	do	do
179	"	"	"	Mr. R. Srinivasa Pillai.	Hindu.	Mirasidar.	do	Tillavadugu and villages.
180	"	"	"	Mr. V. Arunachala Mudaliar.	do	do	do	do
181	"	"	"	Mr. Omaar Khan Saheb.	Mussul-man.	do	Villupuram.	Public meeting, 29rd Dec., about 1,000 Mahomedans
182	"	"	"	Mr. V. Kuppasami Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	do	Tindivanam.	By the Ryots.
183	"	"	"	Mr. Subramanya Aiyar.	do	Vakil.	Vridhachalm.	do
184	"	"	Tanjore.	Rai Bahadur S. A. Saminada Iyer.	do	Public Prosecutor, Memb., Dist. Bd., Chairman, Tanjore Ml. Council; Presdt. People's Assn.	Tanjore People's Assn.	At a general meeting of the Assn. on the 4th Dec.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
185	Madras.	Carnatic	Tanjore	Mr. Krishnasami Aiyar, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Head Master Town High School, Kumbakonam.	Tanjore People's Assn.	At a Genl. meeting of the Assn. on the 4th Dec.
186	"	"	"	Mr. K. R. Kodandarama Aiyar.	do	Mirasidar, & 2nd Gd. Pleader, Tiruvalur.	R. Room, and Vic. Jubilee Library.	Public meeting Dec.
187	"	"	"	Mr. R. Ramasami Pillai.	Hindu.	Mirasidar and Tamil Pandit.	Tanjore R. P. Assn.	do
188	"	"	"	Mr. T. V. Kuppusami Sastri, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Prof. of Mathematics, St. Joseph's College, Cuddalore.	Jubilee R. Room, Tiruvadi.	Members of the R Room, 17th Dec.
189	"	"	"	Mr. T. Rajagopala Aiyangar, M.A.	do	Hd. Master, Ml. High School.	Mayaveram.	Public meeting, 16th Dec.
190	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur T. A. Alaga Pillai.	Hindu.	L. holder and Chairman, Ml. Council.	do	do
191	"	"	"	Mr. Ibrahim Sahib Ravuther.	Mussulman.	Mirasidar and Village Magte., Kornad.	do	do
192	"	"	"	Mr. A. V. Subramanya Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	Mirasidar.	do	do
193	"	"	"	Mr. N. Rajappier.	do	Pleader and Secy., R. Room, Tiruvadamardur.	do	do
194	"	"	"	Mr. K. Lakshmana Aiyar.	do	1st Grade Pleader, Mayaveram.	Mayaveram, & Dharmapuram, Dharmapuram.)	Sent as delegates by the Dharmapuram Mutt.
195	"	"	"	Mr. Sankaralinga Tambiran.	Hindu.	Kharbar, Dharmapuram Mutt.	Nagore, & Negapatam.	General meeting of the Tanjore People's Assn. 4th Dec., and by the Mahomedan Community, Nagore.
196	"	"	"	Khan Sahib Chinna Marickayar Malumiyar.	Mussulman.	Mercht. Trustee of Nagore Thurga, and Ml. Cr.	do	do
197	"	"	"	Khan Sahib Meera Chinatambi Marickayar.	do	Merchant and Ml. Cr.	do	do
198	"	"	"	Khan Sahib Janunlabudin Mya.	do	Mercht. and Hony. Magte, Ml. Cr., Thurga Trustees.	do	do
199	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur S. Ratnasabapati Pillai, B.A.	Hindu.	Mirasidar, 1st Grade Pleader, and Ml. Chairman, Negapatam	do	do
200	"	"	"	Mr. K. Mohammed Imam Marickayar.	Mussulman.	Mercht. Street, Nagore	do	do
201	"	"	"	Mr. Meera Meani Marickayar.	do	Merchant, Hony. Magte., Ship Captain, and Secy., Anjuman Islam.	do	do
202	"	"	"	Mr. Vapakundoo Marickayar.	do	Mercht. & Mirasidar.	Negapatam.	General meeting at Negapatam, on the 18th Dec.
203	"	"	"	Mr. Meera Lebey Malumiyar.	do	Mirasidar, Honorary, Magte., Mercht., & Ship Captain.	do	do
204	"	"	"	Mr. T. K. Annasami Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	1st Grade Pleader.	do	do
205	"	"	"	Mr. Krishnasami Aiyar.	do	Shopkeeper.	Mercht. Assn., Negapatam.	do

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
206	Madras.	Carnatic	Tanjore.	Mr. Natukkotai Ramathan Chettiar.	Hindu.	Merchant.	Merchant Assn., Negapatam, do	General meeting at Negapatam, on the 18th Dec.
207	"	"	"	Mr. M. Andapillai Chettiar.	do	Merchant & Mirasidar	do	
208	"	"	"	Mr. Kalifa Syed Meer Mahomed Sahib.	Mussulman.	Durga Kalifa.	Nagore.	do
209	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Nilamega Aiyangar.	Hindu Brahman.	Mirasidar, & Ml. Cr.	Mannargudi.	At a public meeting, 12th Dec.
210	"	"	"	Mr. K. Ramachandra Rao, B.A.	do	Head Master, Native School, Secy. R. Room.	do.	do
211	"	"	"	Mr. S. V. Naganatha Sastri, B.A.	do	Teacher, Town High School, Kumbakonam and Mirasidar.	M. J. S. Tiruvadamurudur.	Meeting of the 11th Dec.
212	"	"	"	Rao Saheb T. M. Mookanasari.	Hindu.	Iron Merchant, & Ml. Cr.	Artisan Assn., & Kumbakonam, do	The Artisans of the Tanjore Dist., 12th Dec.
213	"	"	"	Mr. S. V. Iyasamy Pathar	do	Artisan & Merchant.	do	do
214	"	"	"	Mr. N. Vythilinga Pathar.	do	do	do	do
215	"	"	"	Mr. S. Appu Sastri, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Manager & Propr., and Hd. Master, Native High School.	Kumbakonam Club and Sawmimalai, and 30 Villages.	By the Club, 13th Dec., and by the Vidyananda Sabha, Kumbakonam.
216	"	"	"	Mr. V. Nilamega Chariar.	do	Editor <i>Kudandai Mitran</i> , Kumbakonam.	Kottayur Sabha	By the Vidyananda Sabha.
217	"	"	"	Mr. Venkatasami Rowth.	Hindu.	Merchant.	Kumbakonam.	By the Viswa Brahma Panchananattar Sabha, 15th Dec.
218	"	"	"	Rao Saheb T. S. Sivawami Odayar.	do	Mirasidar.	do	Public meeting, 27th Nov.
219	"	"	"	Rao Saheb A. L. Tiruvengadam Pillai.	do	do	do	do
220	"	"	"	Rao Saheb V. Krishna Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, H. C., Kumbakonam.	do	do
221	"	"	"	Mr. T. A. Sivaramakrishna Sastri, B.A.	do	1st Grade Pleader, Kumbakonam.	The Mutt.	Sent by His Holiness Sri Sankarachariar Swami to represent the Mutt at Kumbakonam, 23rd Dec.
222	"	"	Trichinopoly.	Mr. B. S. Venkataramana Sarma, B.A.	do	Teacher, Native High School.	Trichinopoly Town.	Public meeting, 15th Dec.
223	"	"	"	Srimath S. V. Gurusami Sarma.	do	Secy., Siva Samaj, Trichy, and Teacher, Native High School, Satyamangalam.	do	do
224	"	"	"	Mr. Ulagappa Pillai.	Hindu.	Mirasidar, and Propr., <i>Southern Star</i> Press.	do	do
225	"	"	"	Rao Saheb B. Nilakanta Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	1st Gd. Pleader, and Vice-President, Tal. Bd., Kulitalai.	Trichy and Kulitalai Public.	Public meetings at Trichy and Kulitalai, on the 29th Dec.
226	"	"	"	Rao Saheb S. Krishnachariar, B.A.	do	Govt. Pleader, Dist. Court, Memb. Dist. Bd., and Ml. Cr.	Srirangam	Public meeting, 29th Dec.
227	"	"	"	Khan Sahib Mahomed Sirajuddin.	Mussulman.	Vakil and Ml. Cr.	Trichinopoly.	do

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
228	Madras.	Carnatic	Trichinopoly.	Mr. S. Lakshminarasiah Nayudu, B.A.	Hindu.	Prof., S. P. G. College Trichinopoly.	Trichinopoly.	Public meeting, 29th Dec.
229	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Srimantha Prasanna Ragoonatha Dorai.	do	L. holder and Vice-President, R. Room.	Ariyalur.	Public meeting, Ariyalur
230	"	"	"	Mr. J. N. Ramachandra Nayudu.	do	Mirasidar and Presdt. S. J. S. Paripalana Sabha.	Tiruvana-koil.	Meeting of Mirasidars of the place and six adjacent villages on the 15th December.
231	"	"	"	Mr. K. H. Vasudeva Row	Hindu Brahman.	Secy. S. J. S. Sabha, and Mirasidar, Kondiempetta.	do	do
232	"	"	"	Rao Saheb S. Subramanya Sastri, B.A.	do	Prof., S. P. G. College, Trichy., and Ml. Cr.	R. Room	Meeting, 21st December.
233	"	"	"	Mr. N. M. Raghava Aiyangar.	do	1st Gd. Pleader, and Secy. Patriotic Assn. Srirangam.	The Assn., Srirangam Tiruvana-koil and Kondiempetta.	Public meeting, 18th Dec.
234	"	"	"	Mr. S. S. Anantaratnam Aiyar.	do	Mirasidar, Manatatti.	do	do
235	"	South'm Dist.	Madura.	Rao Saheb R. Ramasubha Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, H. C. Madura, Presdt. of the Madura Un. Club, Ml. Cr. and Memb. Dist. Bd.	Madura Union Club.	Public meeting, 27th Nov.
236	"	"	"	Rao Saheb G. Subbarayulu Nayudu.	Hindu.	Municipal Councillor.	Madura City.	Public meeting, 23rd Dec.
237	"	"	"	Mr. T. M. Nallasami Pillai, B.A., B.L.	do	High Court Vakil, Madura.	do	do
238	"	"	"	Rao Saheb V. Alagirisami Nayudu.	do	Memb. Dist. & L. Bds., Memb. Devasthanam Committee, & Agent to Shivaganga Zemindar.	do	do
239	"	"	"	Mr. P. Narayana Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, High Court, Madura.	Do. & Peramakudi.	Do. and at a Public meeting of Peramakudi.
240	"	"	"	Rao Saheb S. M. Sundaram Aiyar, B.A.	do	L. Propr. and Propr. Madura Mail (Eng Weekly, Cir. 250), & Ml. Cr.	do	do
241	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Sri Seshadri Aiyangar.	do	L. Propr. and Memb. Dist. Bd., Madura.	do	do
242	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Geo. Sidney Hickey.	Protestant-Eurasian.	Pleader, Hony. Magte. and Ml. Cr.	Dindigul.	Public meeting, 11th Dec.
243	"	"	"	Mr. A. Atmanatha Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Dindigul.	S. J. S., Dindigul.	Do. and surrounding villages, 11th Dec.
244	"	"	"	Mr. K. Annasami Aiyar.	do	Pleader, Shivaganga.	The people of Shivaganga Zemindari.	Public meeting, Dec.
245	"	"	Tinnevelly	Khan Saheb, Mahomed Azimuddin Sahib.	Mussulman.	Pleader, Ml. Cr. and Memb. Tal. Bd.	Tinnevelly.	Public meeting on the 12th Dec.
246	"	"	"	Mr. Peter Paul Pillai.	Protestant Christian (Vellala).	Hd. Master and Manager, C. M. S. School, Srivalliputtur, and Hony. Magte.	S. J. S. and Tinnevelly	Meeting, 16th Dec.
247	"	"	"	Rao Saheb T. Muthier.	Hindu Brahman.	L. Holder, Ml. Cr. and Mercht., Tinnevelly.	Tinnevelly District.	At a Public meeting held 12th Dec.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
248	Madras.	Southern Dist.	Tinnevelly	Rao Saheb S. Appasami Pillai.	Native Christian (Vellala).	L. Holder, Vakil, Dt. Court and Ml. Cr., Palamcottta.	Tinnevelly District.	At a public meeting, held 12th Dec.
249	"	"	"	Rao Saheb M. R. Ramakrishna Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	L. Holder, Vakil H.C., Tinnevelly; Memb. Dist. Bd. & Memb. of the Siva Devasthanam Committee.	do	do
250	"	"	"	Khan Saheb Mohamed Aji Moidin Sahib.	Mussulman.	L. Holder and Ml. Cr., Tinnevelly.	do	do
251	"	"	"	Khan Saheb V. M. Mahomed Kanni Rowthar.	do	L. Holder, Merchant, Memb. Tal. Bd.	Tuticorin Town.	At a public meeting, held in Tuticorin.
252	"	"	"	Mr. N. Padmanabha Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	L. Holder, Kalakad village.	Kalakad village.	By the ryots, on the 18th Dec.
253	"	Ceded Districts	Guddapah	Rai Bahadur C. Jambulinga Mudaliar, B.A., M.L.	Hindu.	H. O. Vakil, Vice-Presdt. Dist. Bd., Ml. Cr. and Secy. Literary Assu.	Kaddapah Town and Lit. Assn.	Public meeting, Oct., and General meeting.
254	"	"	"	Mr. Venkatasubba Rao.	Hindu Brahman.	Land-holder.	M. J. S. Piler.	At a meeting of the Sabha, 23rd Oct.
255	"	"	"	Mr. Padiki Bara Sahib.	Mussulman.	Agent to Messrs. A. Sabhapati Mudlr & Co., Cotton Agent.	Prodattur.	At a meeting of the Prodattur public, 19th Dec.
256	"	"	"	Mr. Y. Nagiah Garu.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader.	do	do
257	"	"	"	Mr. T. Narayana Sastri.	do	1st Grade Pleader.	Madanapalli.	At a public meeting, 27th Nov.
258	"	"	Kurnul.	Mr. Hussain Baig.	Mussulman.	Merchant.	Kurnul.	Public meeting, 27th Nov.
259	"	"	"	Mr. Hussain Khan.	do	do	do	do
260	"	"	"	Mirza Hussain Baig.	do	Contractor.	do	do
261	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Subbannah Chettiar.	Hindu.	Banker, Memb. Dist. Bd. and Ml. Cr.	do	do
262	"	"	"	Rao Saheb C. Ramasingh.	do	Contr., Memb. Dist. Bd. and Ml. Cr.	do	do
263	"	"	"	Rao Saheb T. Chidanbara Rao, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	1st Gd. Pleader and Ml. Cr. and Joint Secy. Hindu and Mahomedan Assns.	do	do
264	"	"	"	Mr. Divopaud Syad Sahib.	Mussulman.	Land-holder.	do	do
265	"	"	"	Rao Saheb V. Sunkireddi Garu.	Hindu.	Do, and Memb. Dist. Bd.	do	do
266	"	"	"	Mr. U. Sanjeeva Reddi Garu.	do	Memb. Dist. Bd.	Gudur.	Public meeting, 1st Dec.
267	"	"	"	Mr. S. Pulla Reddi Garu.	do	do	do	do
268	"	"	"	Mr. Khadir Khan.	Mussulman.	do	do	do
269	"	"	"	Mr. M. Balanna Nayudu.	Hindu.	Memb. Dist. Bd. and Abkari Contr.	Nandyal.	Public meeting, 19th Dec.
270	"	"	"	Mr. Khasim Miah Sahib.	Mussulman.	Do, and Hd. Master Mahomedan School.	do	do
271	"	"	"	Mr. C. Vijaya Raghavachariar.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader.	do	do

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
272	Madras	Ceded Districts	Bellary.	Rai Bahadur A. Sabapathy Mudaliar.	Hindu.	Chairman, Municipality, & Merchant.	Bellary Town.	At a public meeting, 19th Dec,
273	"	"	"	Rao Saheb K. Venkata Rao.	do	Merchant.	do	do
274	"	"	"	Mr. S. Venkobachariar, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Hd. Master, Wardlaw Institution.	do	do
275	"	"	"	Khan Saheb Ibrahim Sait.	Mussulman.	Hony. Magte., Ml. Cr. and Merchant.	do	do
276	"	"	"	Khan Saheb Anugundi Kadir Batcha Saheb.	do	Merchant.	do	do
277	"	"	"	Rao Saheb G. Kristappah.	Hindu.	do	do	do
278	"	"	"	Rao Saheb S. Nilakantappah.	do	do	do	do
279	"	"	"	Mr. P. Baliab.	do	do	do	do
280	"	"	"	Mr. S. Seenappah.	do	do	do	do
281	"	"	"	Mr. G. Chikka Veerappah.	do	do	do	do
282	"	"	"	Mr. A. Veerabadrappah.	do	do	do	do
283	"	"	"	Mr. T. Humpappaya.	do	do	do	do
284	"	"	"	Rao Saheb C. Hanumantha Goud Garu.	Hindu Brahman.	Mirasidar, Memb. Dis. Bd., Hony. Magte.	Agricul. Assn., Hospet.	Meeting of the Assn., Dec.
285	"	"	"	Mr. S. Dade Sahib.	Mussulman.	Merchant.	People's Assn.	Pub. meetg. 18th Dec. and at a meetg. on 19th Dec.
286	"	"	"	Rao Saheb S. Marisiddappah.	Hindu.	Do and Ml. Cr.	do	do
287	"	"	"	Mr. D. Krishnamacharu.	Hindu Brahman.	1st Gd. Pleader.	S.V. Sabha Bellary.	Meeting of the Sabha 16th and also at a Pub. meetg. on the 19th Dec.
288	"	"	"	Mr. G. Lakshman Rao.	do	School Master, L. F. M. School.	do	do.
289	"	"	Anantapur	Khan Bahadur Abbas Ali Sahib.	Mussulman.	Mercht. & Memb. Tal. Bd., Gooty.	Gooty, People's Assn.	By the People's Assn. 16th Nov., and at a Public meeting.
290	"	"	"	Rao Saheb P. Kesava Pillai.	Hindu.	Pleader and Memb. Dist. Bd.	do	do
291	"	"	"	Mr. J. Venkatamara Chetti.	do	Mercht., and Memb. Gooty Union.	do	do
292	"	"	"	Rao Saheb J. Srinivasai Rao.	Hindu Brahman.	Presdt. People's Assn. and Vice-Presdt. Tal. Bd.	do	do
293	"	"	"	Mr. V. R. Chakravarti Aiyangar.	do	Pleader, Penukonda.	Penukonda Taluq. do	By the ryots of Bukkapattam, and 40 Villages.
294	"	"	"	Mr. P. Sadasiva Reddi Garu.	Hindu.	Reddi of Pandurti.	do	do
295	"	"	"	Mr. A. Ollappah.	do	Ryot.	20 Villages adjoining Buchakarapalli.	By the ryots.
296	"	"	"	Mr. T. Sitaramappah.	do	do	do	do
297	"	Inland Dists.	Coimbatore.	Mr. Khaja Mohamed Sahib.	Mussulman.	Zemindar.	Gobichetti-palayam.	Public meeting, 14th Dec.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
298	Madras	Inland Districts	Coimbatore.	Mr. Syed Abdul Razack Sahib.	Mussulman.	Zemindar.	Satya-mangalam	Public meeting, 21st Dec.
299	"	"	"	Rao Saheb S. P. Narasimhulu Nayudu Garu.	Hindu.	Editor, <i>The Crescent</i> , Hony. Magte. and Memb. Dist. Bd.	Coimbatore and S. D. R. Sabha.	Public meeting, 7th Dec.
300	"	"	"	Rao Saheb B. Bujanga Rao.	Hindu Brahman.	Asst. Master, Coimb. College; Memb. Dist. Bd.; Director, Mercantile Bank.	Coimbatore.	do
301	"	"	"	Mr. Sheik Mohamed Marickayar.	Mussulman.	Merchant.	do	do
302	"	"	"	Mr. N. Rangiah Gownder.	Hindu.	Manager, <i>Kalanidhi</i> Newspaper.	do	do
303	"	"	"	Mr. R. Subbrayar.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader and Landed Proprietor.	M. J. S. Satyamangalam.	Public meeting, 22nd Dec.
304	"	"	"	Rao Saheb S. Rangiah Nayudu.	Hindu.	Member, Tal. Bd.	Coimbatore and Satyamangalam Taluq.	do
305	"	"	"	Rai Bahadur T. Padmanabha Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader & Chairman Karur Municipality.	Karur.	At a public meeting 22nd Dec.
306	"	"	"	Mr. K. Lakshmana Chetti.	Hindu.	Merchant.	do	do
307	"	"	"	Mr. T. R. Ramachandra Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	1st Grade Pleader.	do	do
308	"	"	"	Mr. D. Alagirisami Nayudu.	Hindu.	Merchant and Mirasidar.	Dharpuram.	At a public meeting, 14th Dec.
309	"	"	"	Mr. Kandappah Chetti.	do	do	do	do
310	"	"	"	Mr. Syed Murtoza Sahib.	Mussulman.	do	do	do
311	"	"	"	Mr. Kanyur Yegya Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	Mirasidar.	Komaralingham & 4 other Villages.	Meeting of the ryots, 6th Dec.
312	"	"	"	Mr. O. S. Siviramakrishna Sarma, B.A.	do	Landed Proprietor.	Udumalapat.	do
313	"	"	"	Mr. K. Narayana Sastri, B.A.	do	do	do	do
314	"	"	"	Mr. C. A. Subbrama Aiyar.	do	do	do	do
315	"	"	"	Mr. S. Kuppasami Sarma, B.A.	do	Teacher, Native High School.	Erode.	Public meeting, 27th Nov.
316	"	"	"	Mr. M. Venkatasami Aiyar.	do	Hd. Master, Hindu School.	do	do
317	"	"	"	Mr. V. Dasappiah.	do	Mirasidar.	do	do
318	"	"	"	Mr. C. V. Seshagiri Aiyar.	do	do	Darpuram Taluq.	Public meeting, 19th Dec.
319	"	"	Salem.	S. Krishnaswami Mudaliar	Hindu.	Zemindar and Hony. Magistrate.	Salem.	Public meeting, 16th Dec.
320	"	"	"	Rao Saheb C. Dharmalinga Chettiar.	do	Merchant and Hony. Magte., Memb. Tal. Bd. and Ml. Cr.	do	do

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
321	Madras	Inland Districts	Salem	Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Chariar, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil.	Salem.	Public meeting, 16th Dec.
322	"	"	"	Mr. Krishna Doss Sait.	Hindu.	Banker.	do	do
323	"	"	"	Rao Saheb M. Venkatachalapati Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	Merchant and Ml. Cr.	do	do
324	"	"	"	Rao Saheb P. T. Subramania Aiyar, B.A., B.L.	do	Member, Tal. Bd.	do	do
325	"	"	"	Rao Saheb P. Narasinga Rao.	do	Shrotriern Pensioner, and Ml. Cr.	do	do
326	"	"	"	Rao Saheb T. Krishna Chettiar.	Hindu.	Merohant and Ml. Cr.	do	do
327	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Ponnusami Chettiar.	do	do	do	do
328	"	"	"	Mr. V. Vythi Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	Public Prosecutor	do	do
329	"	"	"	Rao Saheb M. Virasami Aiyar.	do	Pleader and Ml. Cr.	do	do
330	"	"	"	Mr. D. A. Balakrishna Aiyar.	do	Pleader.	do	do
331	"	"	"	Khan Saheb Sheik Moideen Sahib.	Mussulman.	Mercht., Ml. Cr., Member Dist. Bd., Hony. Magte., Presdt. of Anjuman-Islam, & Proprietor <i>Salem Patriotic Press.</i>	do	do
332	"	"	"	Mr. Syad Abdul Latiff Sahib.	do	Pleader and Under-Secy.; Anjuman-Islam.	do	do
333	"	"	"	Saakar Adam Sahib.	do	Merchant.	do	do
334	"	"	"	Mr. Ameenudin Sahib.	do	do	do	do
335	"	"	"	Mr. S. Sundaram Chettiar.	Hindu.	do	do	do
336	"	"	"	Revd. Muttu.	Christian.	London Mission.	do	do
337	"	"	"	Mr. Chinna Babu Reddiar.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Pottanam.	do	do
338	"	"	"	Mr. Ramaswami Chettiar.	do	Zemindar, Sendamangalam.	do	do
339	"	"	Namakal.	Mr. T. Subbrama Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader.	Namakal.	Public meeting, 1st Dec.
340	"	"	"	Mr. Venkaterama Reddiar.	Hindu.	Zemindar of Erumapatti.	do	do
341	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Y. Seshachalam Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	Memb., Tal. Bd.	Trichengode.	do
342	"	Western Coast.	Malabar.	Mr. T. Manavikraman.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Elays Tarumalpad of Nilambur.	Calicut.	At a public meeting at Calicut, 4th Dec.
343	"	"	"	Rao Saheb C. Kunhi Raman Menon, B.A.	do	Editor and Proprietor <i>Kerala Patrika</i> , and Ml. Cr.	do	Do and also by the people of Valavanand, at a meeting, 10th Dec.
344	"	"	"	Jehangier D. Mugasett.	Parsi.	Merchant, Messrs. D Maneckjee & Co.	do	do
345	"	"	"	Rao Saheb C. M. Rarichan Muppan.	Hindu	Landed Proprietor and Ml. Cr.	do	do
346	"	"	"	Mr. P. A. Krishna Menon.	do	1st Grade Pleader.	do	do

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
347	Madras.	Western Coast.	Malabar.	Mr. Ananta Narayana Pattar.	Hindu.	1st Grade Pleader.	Calicut.	At a pub. meetg. at Calicut and also by the people of Valavanad, at a meeting 10th Dec.
348	"	"	"	Mr. S. Varadaraja Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	do	do	do
349	"	"	"	Rao Saheb K. P. Achutha Menon.	Hindu.	do	S. J. S., Palghat.	At a meeting of the Sabha, Kerala Sabha, 12th Dec.
350	"	"	"	Mr. V. Vengu Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	do	do	do
351	"	"	"	Rao Sahib P. S. Chinnasami Pillai.	Hindu.	Landed Proprietor.	Palghat.	By the townsmen and representative of the Tamil community, 21st Dec.
352	"	"	"	Pandit Parameswara Aiyar.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Dist. Court S. Canara.	Mangalore Union.	At a general meeting, 21st Dec.
353	"	"	"	Mr. T. C. Narayana Kurup, B.A., B.L.	Hindu.	High Court Wakil, Tellicheri.	U. K. Sabha.	At a meeting of the Uttara Kerala, 27th Nov.
354	"	"	"	Mr. J. L. D'Rozario, B.A., B.L.	Christian Eurasian.	do	do	do
355	"	"	"	Mr. V. Ryru Nambiar.	Hindu.	1st Grade Pleader.	do	do
356	"	"	"	Mir Jaffer Ali Sahib.	Mussulman.	Mercht. and Landed Proprietor.	do	do
357	"	Mysore.	Bangalore (C. and M. Cantonment.)	Rai Bahadur B. Krishna Singh.	Hindu.	Municipal Chairman.	R. P. Assn. and Mahomedan Assn.	Meetings of the Assn., 24th Nov.
358	"	"	Mysore.	Rao Saheb V. Raghava Chariar.	Hindu Brahman.	Advocate, Ml. Cr., Jagirdar, & Memb. Mysore Representative Assembly.	R. P. Assn. (104), & the citizens of Mysore.	Public meeting.
359	"	"	Chittaldrug.	Mr. Venkataramiah.	do	Pleader.	Chittaldrug.	Public meeting.
360	"	"	"	Mr. Kadappa.	Hindu.	Banker.	do	do
361	"	Deccan.	Secundrabad (British Cantonment.)	Mr. Hajee Sajjan Lal.	Mussulman.	Merchant.	The community of Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, and Maboob College.	At a general meeting by votes, Dec.
362	Bombay.	Konkan.	Bombay.	Mr. Budrudin Tyabji.	Mussulman.	Barrister-at-Law, High Court and late Member, Legislative Council.	Bombay, Anjuman, Bombay.	At a general meeting of the Anjuman, President of the Third National Congress.
363	"	"	"	Mr. Veerachand Raghavjee, B.A.	Jain.	Hony. Secy. to The Jain Assn. of India, Articled Clerk to the Govt. Solicitor.	The Jain Assn. India, Bombay.	By the Jain Assn. 15th Dec.
364	"	"	"	Mr. Dayabhai Jaduram.	Hindu.	Solicitor, High Court.	Bombay.	By the Bombay Presidency Association.
365	"	"	"	Mr. V. Atmarama.	do	Merchant.	do	do
366	"	"	"	Mr. V. Purushottamdas.	do	do	do	do
367	"	"	"	Mr. Mathuradas Lilladar.	do	Mill-owner.	do	do
368	"	"	"	Mr. Dharmshjee Sunderdas.	do	do	do	do

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
869	Bombay.	Konkan.	Bombay.	Mr. J. A. Wadia.	Parsi.	Mill-owner.	Bombay.	By the B. P. Assn.
870	"	"	"	Mr. Chinnilal Lallubhai Parekh.	Hindu.	Mercht. & Vice-Presdt, Arya Vardhak Gnyan Sabha.	Arya Vardhak Sabha and Samaj Bombay.	By 1st Sabha public meeting, 15th Nov. and the 2nd Sabha public meeting, 18th Dec.
871	"	"	"	Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, High Court, Bombay & Proprietor <i>Native Opinion</i> , of Bombay.	(1) S. J. S. Nasik. (2) Ratnagiri, Ijatpuri. (3) Bombay Pres. Assn.	At public meetings of all the places stated.
872	"	"	"	Mr. Narayen Ganesh Chandravarkar, B.A., LL.B.	Shenawi.	Vakil, H. C. Bombay & Editor <i>Indu Prakash</i> .	Bombay.	Bombay Presidency Assn.
873	"	"	"	Dr. Sadashiva Waman Kane, L.M.S.	Hindu Brahman.	Medical Practr., Thakurdwar, Bombay.	do	do
874	"	"	"	Mr. Kashinath Trimbuck Khare.	do	Merchant.	do	Unanimously, by all the Anglo-Vernacular papers of Bombay, 21st Dec.
875	"	"	"	Mr. Kalidas Sankal Chand	Jain.	Editor and Proprietor, <i>Rajya Bakta</i> (Guzerati Bi-weekly cir. 500), and <i>Ahmedabad Times</i> (Guzerati Weekly, cir. 400).	do	do
876	"	"	"	Shamrao M. Rele.	do	High Court Pleader.	do	By the Presidency Assn.
877	"	"	Thana.	Mr. Vasudev Gopal Ohitale.	Hindu Brahman.	Muktiar Dahanu.	Bassein Prant Association.	Public meeting, 11th Dec.
878	"	"	"	Mr. Laxman B. Joglokar.	do	Pleader, Thana.	do	do
879	"	"	"	Rao Saheb G. K. Vartak.	do	Pleader, Bassein.	do	do
880	"	Deccan.	Ratnagiri.	Rao Saheb Laxman Dhonddeo Katre.	do	Pleader, Dist. Court.	Ratnagiri Dist. Assn.	Public meeting, 18th Nov.
881	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Y. N. Adarkar.	do	Vakil, Vengurla, and Ml. Cr.	Local Sabha.	do
882	"	"	Nasik.	Mr. R. Sadashiva Lelo, B.A.	do	Money-lender.	S. J. S., Nasik.	Public meeting, 30th Oct.
883	"	"	"	Rao Saheb J. Raghunath Nimkar.	do	Vakil, Dist. Court and Ml. Cr.	S. J. S., and Nasik City.	do
884	"	"	(Yeola Taluq).	Mr. P. Damodar Barve.	do	Sirdeshmukha Inamdar and L. Propr.	Local Assn.	Public meeting, 15th Dec.
885	"	"	"	Khan Saheb Soobharjee Kamal.	Mussulman.	Moulyi and Merchant.	do	do
886	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Abdus Sabhan.	do	Merchant.	Nasik.	do
887	"	"	Khandeish	Mr. V. Daji Mutte.	Hindu Brahman.	Mercht. and Banker.	Dhulia and Kandeish.	Public meeting, 1st Dec.
888	"	"	Ahmednagar.	Mr. Mohanlal Hiralal.	Hindu.	Vakil, Dist. Court, and Merchant.	Ahmednagar.	Public meeting.
889	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Haridas Damodarados.	do	Mercht and Ml. Cr.	do	do
890	"	"	Poona.	Rao Saheb Raghunath Daji Nagarkar.	do	Pleader, Ml. Cr., Memb. Sarvajanic Sabha.	Poona.	Public meeting, by Poona S. J. S., 18th Dec.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
391	Bombay	Deccan.	Poona.	Rao Saheb M. B. Nam Joshi.	Hindu.	Schoolmaster and Journalist, an elected Ml. Cr. representing a mercantile Ward of Poona.	Poona.	Public meeting, by Poona S. J. S. 18th Dec.
392	"	"	"	Mr. N. B. Kanitkar.	do	Pleader, Dist. Court.	do	do
393	"	"	"	Mr. V. L. Athawale.	do	Propr. Banking Estab.	do	do
394	"	"	"	Mr. Gopal Vinayak Joshee.	do		do	do
395	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Ganesh Mundle, B.A., LL.B.	do	Pleader, High Court, Bombay.	Committee of Arbitration Court.	By the Committee, 22nd Dec.
396	"	"	"	Mr. V. B. Ranade.	do	Editor <i>Dnyan Chakshu</i> (Marathi weekly, cir. 1,500), and Editor of <i>Hindu Punch</i> .	Poona and Thana.	do
397	"	"	"	Mr. Naro Bhaskar Deodhar.	do	Late Asst. Deputy Inspector of School.	Poona Mercantile Assn.	By the Assn. 17th Dec.
398	"	"	Sholapur.	Rao Saheb Sakharan R. Kirloskar, B.A.	do	Pleader and Ml. Cr.	Sholapur & Madha.	Public meeting, 11th Dec.
399	"	"	"	Mr. M. R. Ranade.	do	Medical Practr.	Sholapur.	do
400	"	"	"	Mr. Kashinath V. Natu.	do	Money-lender.	do	do
401	"	"	"	Mr. P. L. Nagpurkar.	do	Pleader.	do	do
402	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Ganesh.	do	Jivaji Kelkar, Pleader, Dist. Court.	do	do
403	"	"	"	Mr. G. N. Kakde.	do	Editor and Propr. <i>Kalpataru</i> (Marathi weekly, cir. 225).	Sholapur.	do
404	"	"	"	Mr. Ramchandra Moreshwar Sane.	do	Editor <i>Dnyan Peshkash</i> , bi-weekly, A. V. Newspaper.	Do. & Panderpore.	General meeting, 22nd Dec.
405	"	"	"	Mr. Yeshwant Nagesh Ranade, B.A.	do	Editor <i>English Opinion on India</i> .	Panderpore.	Public meeting.
406	"	"	Satara.	Rao Bahadur Ganesh Pandurang Agte.	do	Inamdar, Vice-President, Tal. Bd., and Memb. Dist. Bd.; Hony. Magte.; Vice-Pres. S. J. S., Satara.	Satara.	Public meeting, 13th Nov.
407	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Govind Vishnu Ranade.	do	Pleader, Dist. Court, and Ml. Cr.	do	do
408	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Laxman Bulwant Mutalik.	do	Inamdar, Ml. Cr., Memb. Tal. & District Bds., Conciliator, & Hony. Magte.	do	do
409	"	"	"	Rao Saheb B. S. Sahasrabudhe.	do	Pleader, Ml. Cr., Secy. Sarvajanic Sabha.	Do and Karad.	Public meetings, 13th and 15th Nov.
410	"	"	"	Mr. Raghunath Pandurang Karandikar.	do	Vakil, H. C., Satara, and Secy., S. J. S.	do	do
411	"	"	"	Mr. Waman Anant Bhide.	Hindu Brahman.	Genl. Merchant,	Satara.	Council Assn. Satara, 12th Dec.
412	"	"	"	Mr. Ganapatdas Hirchand Devi.	Hindu Guzarati.	Contractor,	do	do
413	"	"	"	Mr. G. H. Gandhi.	Hindu Brahman.	Jeweller.	do	do

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
414	Bombay	Deccan.	Satara.	Rao Saheb Govind Dhonde Limaye.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, Court Aste Vice-Presdt., Municipality & Memb. L. Bd.	Satara.	Public meeting, 13th Nov.
415	"	Kanarese Division	Belgaum.	Mr. Syed Haider Saheb Valad Mohidin Sahib.	Mussulman.	Pirjade, Inamdar Sulgi.	Belgaum.	Public meeting, 10th Dec.
416	"	"	"	Mr. Syed Sattar Saheb Valad Mahomed Sahib	do	Pirjade, Inamdar, Honge.	do	Do. 16th Dec.
417	"	"	"	Mr. Mohamed Ibrahim Sahib Valad Hasan Mia Sahib Khatib.	do	Inamdar of Kamarhatte.	do	do
418	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Annajee Vaijnath Bhatkhande.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Dist. Court.	do	Public meeting, 10th Dec.
419	"	"	"	Mr. V. R. Natu, B.A., LL.B.	do	do	do	Public meeting, 16th Dec.
420	"	"	"	Mr. M. Laxman Gadgil.	do	Do and Public Prosecutor.	do	do
421	"	"	"	Mr. B. Gangadhar Deshpande.	do	Do and L. Propr.	do	do
422	"	"	"	Mr. N. Vinayak Velankar.	do	do	do	do
423	"	"	"	Rao Bahadur Hoochrao Achut.	do	Do and Vice-Presdt. Municipality, and Hony. Mgte.	Do and Khanipur.	do and meeting Khanipur.
424	"	"	"	Rao Saheb Raojee Gangadhar Khote.	do	Do and Ml. Cr.	B. P. Assn. (Belgaum Branch) Kanipur.	do do
425	"	"	"	Mr. Anant Mangesh Bidi- kar.	do	Do and Secy. B. P. Assn.	Do and Nandgad.	do and meeting Nandgad.
426	"	"	"	Mr. D. Jeenappa Setti.	Jain.	Vakil, Dist. Court.	do	do do
427	"	"	"	Rao Saheb S. Balakrishna Bhat, F.S.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Do and Secy. B. P. Assn. and Ml. Cr.	Do. and B. P. Assn.	do and Pres. Assn.
428	"	"	"	Mr. V. Gopal Behere.	do	Pleader, Dist. Court.	do	do do
429	"	"	"	Rao Saheb R. Ganesh Manjraykar.	do	Merchant and Memb. Tal. Bd.	Do and (Chandagad) Merchants.	do and merchants meeting
430	"	"	"	Mr. Syed Gous Saheb Valad Makhteem Sahib.	Mussulman.	Mercht. and Contr.	Belgaum merchants.	do do
431	"	"	Dharwar.	Mr. A. Ramachandra Joglekar.	Hindu Brahman.	Editor <i>Dharwar Vrit</i> (Maharatti and Kanarese Weekly, cir. 800).	Dharwar.	Public meeting, 20th Nov.
432	"	"	"	Rao Saheb K. Hanmant.	Hindu.	Inamdar, Vice-Presdt. Dist. Bd., and Ml. Cr.	do	do
433	"	"	"	Rao Saheb A. Y. Panendhikar.	do	Memb. Dist. and L. Bd. and Honorary Magistrate.	do	do
434	"	"	"	Mr. G. B. Phatak.	do	Pleader, Dist. Court.	do	do
435	"	"	Bijapur.	Khan Saheb Hajee Ibrahim Sahib.	Mussulman.	Jahagirdar and Mutuvale of Jiganibidri and Ml. Cr. & Memb. L. Bd.	Bijapur.	Public meeting, 12th Dec.
436	"	"	"	Mr. Hanumant Rao Raghavendra Hachehole.	Hindu.	Jahgirdar of Balkundi.	do	do
437	"	"	"	Mr. Shrinivas Krishna Kembhavikar.	do	Pleader and Landed Propr. Akalkot State.	do	do

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
438	Bombay	Kanarese Dn.	Bijapur.	Rao Sahab Raghavendra Krishna.	Hindu.	Vakil, Dist. Court, Vice-Presdt. L. Bd.	Bijapur.	Public meeting, 12th Dec.
439	"	"	"	Mr. Seshagiri Rao Rayaje.	do	Pleader, Dist. Court.	do	do
440	"	"	"	Mr. Sitaram Hanmant Nimgaokar.	do	Editor <i>Ramdoss</i> (Marathi and Kanarese Weekly, cir. 400.)	do	do
441	"	N. Canara.	Karwar.	Khan Sahab Syed Jaffar Sahib Southagar.	Mussulman.	Merchant and Ml. Cr. & Memb. L. F. Bd.	Sirsi Taluq	Public meeting (700 Mahomedans), Dec.
442	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Pundalek Narayan.	Hindu.	Vakil, and Vice-Presd. Ml. Cr. and Memb. K. F. Assn.	do	do
443	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Ananta Putya Nadig.	do	Mercht. and Memb. L. Bd. & Secy., K.F.A.	do	do
444	"	"	"	Mr. A. Venkappa Hegadi.	do	Merchant.	do	do
445	"	"	"	Mr. Venkabhat G. Karki.	do	do	do	do
446	"	Sindh.	Karachi.	Rao Sahab Seth Vishindas Nehalchand.	do	Zemindar and Ml. Cr.	Sindh Sabha, Karachi.	Public meeting, 29rd Nov.
447	"	"	"	Mr. Kesandas Jethmal.	do	Zemindar.	do	do
448	"	"	"	Rao Sahab L. N. Joshi.	Hindu Brahman.	Pensioner.	do	do
449	"	"	"	Dewan Pesumul Jawakiram Samith.	do	Vakil, Court, Shikarpur.	Shikarpur.	Public meeting, 16th Dec. and also by the Sindh Sabha.
450	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Govind Buksh Avatray.	do	do	do	Do. and also by the Sindh Sabha.
451	"	Gujarath.	Ahmedabad.	Prof. P. J. Patshaha.	Parsi.	Professor, Ahmedabad College.	Ahmedabad.	Public meetings, Dec.
452	"	"	Kaira.	Mr. B. B. Harilal Harashadrya Dhruva, B.A., LL.B.	Hindu.	H. C. Vakil & Ml. Cr.	Kaira.	do
453	"	"	Surat.	Mr. Ratiram Durgaram Dave, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Articled clerk to Messrs. P. Gilbert & Sayani, Solicitors.	Praja Hit Vardhak Sabha.	By the Sabha, Oct.
454	"	"	Broach.	Mr. Manchashanker Jivanaram, B.A., LL.B.	do	Vakil, High Court.	Broach.	Public meeting and also by the Prajah Vardhak Sabha, Surat.
455	"	Native States.	Sangli.	Rao Sahab Bulvantrao Sakharam Mone.	do	Pensioner.	Sangli.	By the Praja Vardhak Sabha, Surat.
456	"	"	Baroda.	Mr. Dinshaw Dadabhai.	Parsi.	Public Prosecutor.	Nawasari.	Public meeting, 11th Dec.
457	"	"	"	Mr. Mancherji Barjorji.	do	Zemindar, & Memb. Ml. Managing Com.	do	do
458	"	"	"	Mr. S. B. Hejib.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, Nawasari.	Do & "Gorakshaka Sabha."	do
459	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Babajee Joshi.	do	Public Lecturer, Baroda State.	Baroda.	Public meeting, 14th Dec.
460	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Gulabadass Bhaidass.	do	Pleader.	Do. & B. P. Assn.	do
461	"	"	Kolapur.	Mr. R. R. Shrigvonkar, B.A., LL.B.	do	do.	Kolapur.	Public meeting, 1st Oct.
462	Bengal.	Central Provs.	Nagpur.	Mr. K. G. Deshpande, M.A.	do	Prof. Morris College, Nagpur, & Mulguzar	Loka Sabha Nagpur.	Public meeting, 22nd Dec.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
463	Bengal.	Central Provs.	Nagpur.	Mr. S. Jairam, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Prof. Sanskrit, Hislop College, Nagpur.	Loka sabha Nagpore.	Public meeting, 22nd Dec.
464	"	"	"	Mr. S. Abdul Azeez.	Mussulman.	Pleader, Memb. L. Bd.	Nagpur.	do
465	"	"	Khandwa.	Babu Haridas Chattarjee, M.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Pleader and Ml. Cr.	Khandwa People's Assn., & Burhanpur.	do
466	"	"	Nimar.	Mr. K. Narayan Karwarkar	Hindu Brahman.	Landed Proprietor.	S. J. S., Burhanpur.	By the Sabha, 1st Dec.
467	"	"	Raipur.	Mr. Taradas Bannerjee, B.A., B.L.	do	Pleader, Secy. Dist. Council.	Raipur.	By a general meeting, 23rd Oct.
468	"	"	"	Mr. Govind Prasad Dube.	do	Vakil.	do	do
469	"	"	Wardha.	Mr. W. Krishna Abhankar	do	Mulguzar.	Arvi Tahsil	Public meeting, Dec.
470	"	"	"	Mr. M. B. Kolasker.	do		Hinghan Ghaut.	Public meeting, 7th Dec.
471	"	"	"	Mr. L. G. Deuskar.	do	Pleader and Secy. N. G. Library, Arvi.	Wardha.	Public meeting, Arvi, 22nd Dec.
472	"	"	Jubbulpore.	Mr. Behari Lal, B.A.	Hindu Rajput.	1st Asst. C. M. H. School.	(1) Hit Sabha (2) Gorakshan Sabha (3) Arya Samaj (4) Arya K. N. Sabha.	Public meeting, 19th Dec.
473	"	Central India Agency.	Indore.	Mir Ali Mahomed Bhimjee	Mussulman.	Manager, Cotton Press, Indore City.	Central India Assn.	Public meeting, 22nd Dec.
474	"	"	Mhow.	Mr. Mohendranath Chatterjee.	Hindu.	Pleader, Hony. Secy. Central India Assn.	do	do
475	Bengal.	Panjab.	Lahore.	Brahmabadi Satyananda Agnihotri,	Deva Dharmi.	Deva Dharma Mission; Editor, <i>Dharma Jivan</i> (Urdu Weekly.)	Lahore & The Indian Assn.	Public meeting held under auspices of the Indian Assn., 28th Nov.
476	"	"	"	Pandit Gopinath.	Hindu Brahman.	Joint-Editor (1) <i>Akhbar-i-am</i> (Urdu Tri Weekly, cir. 2,660). (2) <i>Mitra vilas</i> (Hindi Weekly, cir. 950) (3) <i>People's Journal</i> (English Weekly, cir. 500).	do	do
477	"	"	"	Sirdar Uttam Singh.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Banker, Reis, and Political Pensioner of one of the Darbaris of H. E. The Viceroy.	Do & the Indian Association.	do
478	"	"	"	Lala Hukim Chand.	do	Pleader, Memb. Indian Assn. and of Anjuman, Panjab, & Propr. <i>Public Advocate Press</i> .	do	do
479	"	"	"	Mr. Syed Mahomed Shah.	Mussulman.	Pleader.	do	do

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
480	Bengal.	Punjab.	Amballa.	Lala Murlidhur.	Hindu.	Pleader, President, Rifa-i-am Assn. and Hindu Sabha, Amballa.	Rifa-i-am Assn. & Hindu Sabha.	By the meetings of the Association and Sabha.
481	"	"	Bannu.	Lala Tansukh Rai.	do	Pleader.	Sukhdaik Sabha and Bannu.	By the Sabha on 19th Oct. People of Bannu, on the 27th Nov.
482	"	"	Dera Ismail Khan.	Mr. Malik Bhugwan Das.	Hindu.	Pleader and Presdt., Bhratre Sabha.	Bhratre Assn Sabha, D. I. Khan.	Public meeting.
483	"	"	Kongra.	Mr. Bakshi Jamshi Ram.	do	Pleader, Vice-Presdt., Social Progressive Association.	Kangra & the Assn.	Public meeting, 13th Dec.
484	"	N.-W. P.	Allahabad.	Pandit Beni Madhava Bhattacharya.	Hindu Brahman.	Govt. Pensioner, Ml. Cr. & Hony. Magte., Allahabad.	Madhya Hindu Samaj and Allahabad.	Public meetings, 15th Dec.
485	"	"	"	H. H. Rajah Rampal Singh.	Hindu Kshatria.	Taluqdar Rampur.	Do and Hindu Samaj, Allahabad.	do
486	"	"	"	Pandit M.M. Malaviya, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Editor, <i>Hindustan</i> (a daily newspaper, cir. 250).	Allahabad Madhya Hindu Samaj.	Public meeting, 15th Dec.
487	"	"	"	Pandit Deokinandan Tivari.	do	Propr. <i>Pryag Samachar</i> , and Manager, Vidya Dharma Vardhini Sabha.	Vidya Dharma Vardhini Sabha.	Meeting of the Sabha, 20th Dec.
488	"	"	Ballia.	Munshi Devi Prasad.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, Ml. Cr., Secy., Ballia Institute, Agent to H.H. the Maharajah of Domraon.	Ballia Insts. and Aryadesh opkarni Sabha.	Public meeting, 21st Dec.
489	"	"	Agra.	Mir Mirza Mahomed Ali.	Mussulman.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P., Agra.	Agra.	Public meeting Agra, Dec.
490	"	"	"	Mr. Shankar Dayal, B.A.	Hindu Kayestha.	do	do	do
491	"	"	"	Mr. Jumnadas Biswas.	do	Pleader and Editor, <i>Naseem Agra</i> , Urdu Weekly.	1. Agra. 2. Arya Samaj.	do
492	"	"	Mainpuri.	Choubay Damri Lal, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil.	Mainpuri.	General meeting.
493	"	"	Benares.	Babu Ramakishen.	Hindu Kshatria.	Editor and Propr., <i>Bharat Jivan</i> , a Hindu Newspaper.	Benares.	Kashi Sarvajanik Sabha, Dec. General meeting.
494	"	"	"	Babu Bishesar Pande.	Hindu Brahman.	Hd. Master, Jainarain's College.	do	do
495	"	"	"	Babu Ram Kali Chaudhuri.	do	Hony. Magte. and Ml. Cr.	do	do
496	"	"	"	Babu Jogendranath Ghosh B.A.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, Dist. Judge's Court.	do	do
497	"	"	Kumaon.	Pandit Jwala Dutta Joshi.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, Naini Tal.	Naini Tal & Almora.	Public meeting, Naini Tal, 5th Dec. and Almora 22nd Dec.
498	"	"	Mirzapur.	Babu Sri Ram.	Hindu Kshatria.	Zemindar, Ml. Cr. and Secy., Arya Samaj.	Mirzapur.	Public meeting, 11th Dec.
499	"	"	"	Munshi Bindheshari Prasad.	Hindu.	Pleader, L. Propr., Ml. Cr. & Memb. Dist. Bd.	do	do

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
500	Bengal.	N.-W. P.	Meerut.	Babu Prathvd Singh, B.A.	Hindu.	Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P. Secy. Ind. Assn.	Meerut City and Deshpaini Sabha, and Devanagri Sabha.	Meeting held 12th Dec.
501	"	"	"	Choudhuri Durga Singh.	do	Zemindar, Asosah Tahsil.	Hapur.	do
502	"	"	"	Lala Bhawani Prasad.	Hindu.	Banker.	do	do
503	"	"	Cawnpur.	Pandit Patrap Narayan Mishra.	Brahman.	Editor <i>Brahman</i> , Hindu monthly.	Inhabitants of Bownpur.	Public meeting held 21st Dec.
504	"	"	Alighur.	Syed Mahomed Maki.	Mussulman.	Zamindar, in Dt. Jaunpur.	Alighur Committee	Public meeting, 2nd Dec.
505	"	"	"	Babu Tota Ram Varma.	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar, Vakil, H. Court, Ml. Cr., Editor and Propr. <i>Bharat Bandhu</i> (Anglo-Hindu Weekly).	Alighur & Bharrat Varshiya National Assn.	do
506	"	"	"	Babu Ashutosh Bhatta Charya, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Dist. Court.	do	do
507	"	"	"	Babu Kedernath Chatterjee, B.A.	do	do	do	do
508	"	"	"	Hafiz Mohamed Abdulrahim.	Mussulman.	do and Moulvie	Alighur.	do
509	"	"	Azamgarh.	Pandit Indira Datta Upadhyaya, M.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Zemindar and Asst. Hd. Master, C. M. S. High School.	Azimgarh.	Public meeting, 12th Dec.
510	"	"	"	Mr. Mahomed Hussain Ali, B.A.	Mussulman.	Zemindar, Ahmedpur Asna Pargana Ghosi.	do	do
511	"	"	Basti.	Mr. Bipin Behari Bannerjee.	Hindu Brahman.	2nd Master, C. M. S. H. School.	Jalsa Tahzib.	By the members of the Assn., 16th Dec.
512	"	(Rohilkhand.)	Moradabad.	Pandit Banwari Lal Misra	do	Merchant and Propr. <i>Sitara-i-Hind</i> .	Bharat Prakash Club.	Public meeting, 15th Dec.
513	"	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Rao Saheb Babu Gangaprasad Varma.	Hindu Kshatria.	Editor and Proprietor <i>Hindustani</i> , Urdu Weekly, Managing Proprietor of <i>The Advocate</i> , Ml. Cr., and Secy. Lucknow Standing Congress Committee.	1. Jalsa Tahzib. 2. Rifa-i-am Assn. 3. B. I. Assn. 4. Anjuman Rifah Gonda. 5. British Ind. Assn., Moradabad. 6. Kheri Institute.	Public meeting, 7th Dec., &c., &c.
514	"	"	"	Babu Biswanath Ray.	Brahmo.	Government Pensioner, President, Brahmo Samaj.	Rifa-i-am Assn.	do
515	"	"	"	Mr. B. M. Ray.	do	Mercht., Proprietor of Messrs. H. C. Ray and Co., Secretary Brahmosamaj, and Director, Tea, Flour, and Oil Mills Co.	do	do

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
516	Bengal.	Oudh.	Lucknow.	Pandit Shyam Narayan.	Hindu Brahman.	Rais and Editor <i>Mirut-ul-Hina</i> and <i>Murasila</i> .	Rifa-i-am Assn. and Kashmir National Club.	Public meeting, 7th Dec. &c.
517	"	"	"	Pandit Bishan Naryan Dar.	do	Barrister-at-law, Editor, <i>The Advocate</i> , and Secy. Kashmir National Club.	1. Jalsai-Tahzib. 2. Rifa-i-am Assn. 3. Kashmir National Club.	do
518	"	"	"	Babu Sri Ram, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Vakil, H. C., Public Prosecutor, Judl. Comr.'s Court, Secy. Ml. Cr.	(1) Rifa-i-am Assn. (2) Jalsa Tahzib.	do
519	"	"	"	Munshi Hargovind Daya, M.A.	do	Govt. Pleader, and Vakil, J. C.'s Court. Lucknow & Sitapur.	do	do
520	"	"	"	Babu Bansi Lal Singh.	Hindu Kshatraya	Vakil, H. Court, N.-W. P. and Zemindar. Chairman, Board of Directors, Upper India Cowper Mills Co.	do	do
521	"	"	"	Mr. Hamid Ali Khan. F.R.A.S., M.B.A.S., (London.)	Mussulman.	Barrister-at-law, and Mocoafidar of Amroha Zilla and Vice-President, Rifa-i-am Assn.	do and Bareilly.	Do and meeting at the Bareilly Institute, 18th Dec.
522	"	"	"	Pandit Suraj Narayan Bahadur, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Joint-Secy., Jalsa-i-Tahzib.	do	Genl. Meeting.
523	"	"	Nadea and Lucknow.	Babu Ramgopal Vidyaratna.	Hindu.	Asst. Engineer Oudh and Rohilkund Railway, Lucknow, and Director, Upper India Cowper Mills Co.	Santipore & Rifa-i-am Assn.	do
524	"	"	Hardoi.	Swami Shagun Chand.	Hindu Kayestha.	Kayesth Upadeshak, Lucknow & Director. Upper India Cowper Mills Co.	Hardoi.	Public meeting, 21st Dec.
525	"	"	Sitapur.	Babu Pitam Roy.	do	Zemindar, Vakil, Jud. Comr.'s Court, Hony Magte. and Vice-Chairman Ml. Bd.	Sitapur.	Public meeting, 16th Dec.
526	"	"	Purtagarh.	Khan Bahadur Sheikh Ahmed Husain Khan (muzaq.)	Mussalman.	Taluqdar, Puryavan. and Hony. Magte.	do	do
527	"	"	Fyzabad.	Babu Gokul Chand.	Hindu Kshatraya.	Zemindar, Pleader. Hony. Magte., and Vice-Chairman of Ml. Bd.	Anjuman Tahzib and Fyzabad.	Public meeting, 8th Dec.
528	"	"	"	Khan Saheb Sheik Kadir Buksh.	Mussulman.	Mercht, Hony. Magte. and Memb. Ml. Bd.	Anj. Tah. and Mahomedan Assn.	do
529	"	Lower Provinces.	Patna.	Babu Bisweswar Singh.	Hindu Kshatraya.	Zemindar, Pleader, and Joint-Proprietor <i>Behar Herald</i> and <i>Indian Chronicle</i> , (English Weekly,) Bankipore.	(1) Patna, (2) Behar People's Assn. (3) Behar L. Propr's Assn. (4) Gaya.	(a) Public meetings of the two Associations. (b) Authorised by Resolution of Gaya delegates meeting to represent them.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
590	Benhal.	Lower Provs.	Patna.	Babu Gajadhar Prasad.	Hindu Kayastha.	Pleader Ml. Cr. and Memb. District. Bd.	Patna and Behar P. Assn.	Public meeting of the Assn., 18th Nov.
591	"	"	"	Babu Govind Charan, M.A., B.L.	do	Pleader, and Secy. "Behar People's Assn.," Bankipore.	Patna and Behar P. Assn.	Public meeting, 18th Nov.
592	"	"	"	Babu Kuldip Sahai.	do	Pleader, Bankipore.	do	do
593	"	"	"	Babu Guru Prasad Sen, M.A., B.L.	Vaidya Hindu.	Vakil, H. C., Calcutta, practising at Patna, Secy. Behar, L. H. Assn., and Editor, <i>Behar Herald</i> .	Behar L. Holders' Assn. and People's Assn.	Do. and Behar Assn., 9th Dec.
594	"	"	Shahabad.	Babu Baijnath Singh.	Hindu Kshatrays.	Zemindar of Kulharia, via Kochoor.	East Shahabad.	General meeting of the people.
595	"	"	"	Babu Saligram Singh, B.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court, Hony. Magte. Calcutta, and Zemindar, Shahabad.	(1) Patna P. Assn. (2) Behar L. H. Assn. (3) B. I. Assn. (4) Indian Assn. Calcutta.	By meetings held under the auspices of each of the Assns. & at Patna.
596	"	"	"	Babu Kandhji Sahay, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar, and Pleader, Arrah, and Vice-Chairman, Arrah Municipality.	Shahabad	Meeting at Shahabad, 18th Dec.
597	"	"	"	Babu Syamlananda.	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar, Pleader, Ml. Cr. & Memb. Dist. & L. Bds., Shahabad.	Shahabad & B. L. H. Assn.	Meeting, Shahabad. 1st Dec. and Behar Land Holders' Assn. 9th Dec.
598	"	"	Saran.	Babu Bhagwan Sahay, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Zemindar and Vakil, High Court, Calcutta.	District of Saran.	Public meeting, 30th Nov.
599	"	"	"	Babu Taraprasad Mukerjee.	do	Zemindar, Pleader, Dist. Court, Saran; Chairman Revilgunga Municipality, Hony. Bench Magte., Chairman L. Bd. Chupra, and Memb. Dist. Bd. Saran.	do	do
540	"	"	"	Babu Binda Lal.	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar, Hony. Magte., Revilgunga, and Pleader, Dist. Court, Saran.	do	do
541	"	"	"	Rao Sahab Bansidhar Gupta.	Hindu.	Pleader, Dist. Court, Hony. Magte., Ml. Cr., and Memb. Dist. and L. Bds.	do	do
542	"	"	Bhagalpore.	Babu Sakhi Chandjee.	Hindu Vaisya.	Zemindar and Banker	Bhagalpore Dist.	Public Meeting, Bhagalpore, 18th Dec.
543	"	"	"	Babu Panch Kari Bannerjee.	Hindu Brahman.	Hd. Master, C. M. S. School.	do	do
544	"	"	"	Babu Saranda Prasad Mukerjee, B.A., B.L.	do	Pleader, Judge's Court,	do	do

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
545	Bengal.	Lower Provs.	Calcutta, Midnapur, 24-Pergannahs, Mymensing, and Chittagong.	Maharaj Kumar Neel Krishna Deb Bahadur, J.P.	Summonlik Kayestha (Gostipati)	Zemindar, Sabha Bazaar, Ml. Cr., Pres. Magte, Presidt. Sabha Bazaar Benevolent Soc., Vice-Presdt. P. C.A. Soc., Memb. Indian Assn. for the cultivation of Science, and Memb. Bethune Society.	(1) Ind. Assn., Calcutta. (2) B.N.L. Tamlk Br. (3) B.N.L. Calcutta Br. (4) Agar. parah Assn. (5) Natta Panchgaon, Mukundpore, Nagra. (6) Mymensing Assn. (7) Chittagong Assn.	Special Committee meeting, 25th Nov., &c., &c.
546	"	"	Calcutta & Midnapur.	Maharaj Kumar Binaya Krishna Deb Bahadur.	Summonlik Kayestha (Gostipati).	Zemindar, Sabha Bazaar, Hony. Magte, Sealdah, Calcutta, and Hony. Secy. Benevolent Society, Sabha Bazaar.	(1) I. Assn. Calcutta. (2) Ghatal Ind. Assn. (3) B.N.L. Cal. Br. (4) B.N.L. Tamlk Br.	Special Committee meeting, 25th Nov., and general meeting, 20th Nov.
547	"	"	Calcutta.	Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee.	Hindu Brahman.	Barrister-at-Law, High Court, Standing Counsel to Govt. of India, and F. Uni., Calcutta.	B.N. League and Calcutta.	Public meeting, 20th Nov.
548	"	"	"	Mr. J. Ghosal.	do	Zemindar.	Br. Indian Assn. Ind. Union. B.N.L. Seebpore (Howrah), R.P. Assn.	Public meeting, Dec. and 20th Nov.
549	"	"	"	Babu Jotendranath Tagore.	do	Zemindar.	B. N. L.	General meeting, 20th Nov.
550	"	"	"	Babu Trailokyanath Mitra, M.A., D.L.	do	Pleader, High Court.	Indian Union.	do
551	"	"	"	Babu Surendranath Bannerjee, B.A.	do	Propr. and Editor, <i>The Bengalee</i> , an English Weekly, Ml. Counsellor, Hony. Magte., Principal College.	Ind. Assn. Calcutta, Ranaghaut Ind. Assn., Ripon Chinsura.	Public meetings, Joyrampore, 7th Dec., 20th Nov.
552	"	"	"	Babu Jay Govind Shome, M.A., B.L.	Christian.	Vakil, High Court, F. Uni., Calcutta, and Editor <i>Christian Herald</i> .	(1) B.N.L. and Calcutta. (2) Shillong.	Public meetings, B. N. League, 20th Nov. and 22nd Dec.
553	"	"	"	Babu Gopal Chandra Mukhopadhyaya.	Hindu Brahman.	Editor <i>Sungbad Pravaakar</i> , a Bengali Daily, of 57 years' standing, and author of many books.	(1) B.N.L. Cal. Br. (2) Agar. parah Assn., 24 Pergannahs.	20th Nov. do

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Residency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
554	Bengal.	Lower Provs.	Calcutta.	Babu Dwarakanath Ganguli.	Hindu Brahman.	Asst. Secy. Indian Assn., Calcutta, and Journalist.	(1) I. Assn. (2) Nel-phamari H. S. Sabha, Rungpore. (3) Ryots' meeting, Haraich, Rungpore.	By the Assn., 16th Dec. By the meeting.
555	"	"	"	Babu Joginder Chander Ghose, M.A., B.L.	Hindu.	Vakil High Court.	Indian Assn.	do
556	"	"	"	Babu Sitanath Roy, B.L.	Hindu.	Mercht. and Secy., National Chamber of Commerce.	(1) Br. Indian A. (2) B.N.L. Ch. of Comce. (3) Et. Bengal Assn.	20th Nov. 11th Dec.
557	"	"	Calcutta & Naddea.	Josoda Nandan Pramanick, M.A., B.L.	do	Vakil, High Court, Calcutta, Chairman Santipore Municipality.	(1) B.N.L., Cal. Br. (2) Santipore.	General meeting, 20th Nov.
558	"	"	Calcutta.	Dr. Ras Behary Ghose, M.A., D.L.	do	Vakil H. C. Calcutta, Fellow Uni.	Indian Union.	General meeting of the Union.
559	"	"	"	Babu Kali Charan Bannerjee, M.A., B.L.	Christian.	do	(1) B.N.L. (2) I. Assn. (3) Christian Conference.	General meeting, 20th Nov., &c.
560	"	"	"	Babu Protab Chunder Moozumdar, L.M.S.	Brahmo.	Independt. Practr.	Ind. Assn. Tumik Br.	By the Assn., 19th Dec.
561	"	"	"	Babu Bolanath Dhur.	Hindu.	Mercht. and L. Propr.	B. N. Ch. of Comce.	By the Chamber, 20th Dec.
562	"	"	24-Perganna.	Rajah Yatindranath Chaudhuri, M.A.	Hindu Kayestha.	Zemindar, Barahnagar.	(1) Taki Ind. Assn. (2) Tripura Hita Sadhini Sabha. (3) Barahnagar cultivators' meeting. (4) Indian Assn., Calcutta.	Public meetings, and committee meetings.
563	"	"	"	Babu Norendranath Sen.	Hindu.	Editor <i>Indian Mirror</i> .	24-Perganna and Naddea.	By the Central Bengal Union, Oct.
564	"	"	"	Babu Srish Chandra Chaudhuri, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Vaidya.	Vakil H. Court.	(1) B.N.L., S. S. Br. (2) Indian Assn. Midnapur.	General meetings, 30th Nov. and 14th Dec.
565	"	"	Midnapur.	Babu Krishna Lal Muzumdar.	Hindu.	Zemindar, Ml. Cr. and Pleader.	Midnapur Town and Indian Assn., Midnapur Br.	Public meeting, 15th Nov., and meeting, 16th Dec.
566	"	"	"	Babu Eshan Chander Bose	Hindu Kayestha.	Author and Publisher.	Indian Assn., Midnapur Br.	do
567	"	"	Hugli.	Babu Nander Lall Gossain	Hindu Brahman.	Zemindar, Serampur.	(1) B.I. Assn. and (2) R.P.An.	Public meeting, 20th Nov.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
568	Bengal.	Lower Provs.	Hugli.	Kumar Rameswar Maliah Bahadur.	Hindu.	Zemindar & Mercht.	(1) Bengal Congress Committee (2) People's Assn. Ranigange (3) M. J. S. Majdea & Kulna.	Public meetings, 4th Dec. and 12th Dec. and general meetings of the several Assns., &c.
569	"	"	"	Babu Iswari Lal Sircar.	Hindu Brahman.	Zemindar, Serampore and Vakil H. Court.	B. N. League.	do
570	"	"	"	Babu B. M. Ghose,	Brahmo.	Propr. Vict. Press.	Indian Assn., Howrah Br	do
571	"	"	"	Mr. Syed Mahomed Hoshein Ghouse.	Mussulman.	Health officer, Turkish Govt., Bagdad, and Medical Practr.	Chinsurah. & Hugli.	do
572	"	"	Hugli and Balasore.	Babu Romesh Chandra Mandle.	Hindu.	Zemindar & Mercht.	Do, and Balasore National Sec.	do
573	"	"	Howrah.	Babu Narasing Chandra Dutt, B.L.	do	Vakil H. Court, Hony. Magte., Ml. Cr. and Govt. Pleader.	People's Assn., Howrah.	By the Assn., Dec.
574	"	"	Furreedpore.	Babu Ambika Charan Muzumdar, M.A., B.L.	do	L. Propr., Chairman, Municipality, Memb. Dist. Bd., Hony. Magte. and Secy. People's Assn.	People's Assn., Furreedpore.	Pub. meetings at— (1) Furreedpore. (2) Madaripore. (3) Amgram. (4) Khalia. (5) Gopalgunge. (6) Manikdaha.
575	"	"	Rungpore.	Babu Janaki Bullav Sen.	Hindu. Kayestha.	Zemindar, Mahi-gunge.	Rungpore.	Meeting of the Ind. Assn. Rungpore Br., 6th Dec. and public meeting of 19th Nov.
576	"	"	"	Babu Pores Chandra Bannerjee, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader.	do	do
577	"	"	"	Babu Purna Chandra Maitra, B.A., B.L.	do	do	Dist. Indian Assn., Rungpore Br.	do
578	"	"	Moorshe-dabad (Berhampore).	Babu Bijay Krishna Maitra, B.A., B.L.	do	Pleader, Berhampore.	Moorshe-dabad Assn., representing the whole Dist.	By the Assn., Oct
579	"	"	"	Rev. Chandra Nath Bannerjee, B.A.	Christian.	L. M. S. Missionary, Berhampore.	do	do
580	"	"	Jessore.	Babu Kalinath Mukerjee, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil Jessore P. O.	Indian Assn., Jessore.	By the Assn., Nov.
581	"	"	"	Babu Umesh Chandra Ghosh, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, Ml. Cr., Memb. Dist. Bd., & Vice-Chairman Local Bd.	do	do
582	"	"	"	Babu Ambika Charan Sircar.	Hindu.	L. Propr., Memb. L. Bd. Magurah and Dist. Bd., Jessore, & Hony. Magte.	Magurah People's Assn.	Public meeting, 17th Dec.
583	"	"	Jessore (Narail).	Babu Jogendranath Sen, M.A.	do	Principal Vict. Col. and Vice-President Indian Assn.	Indian Assn. (Br) and the people of Narail.	Public meeting, 17th Dec.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
534	Bengal.	Lower Provs.	Backergunge.	Babu A. K. Dutt.	Hindu.	Ml. Cr., Chairman L. Bd., Memb. Dt. Bd., and Secy. People's Assn.	People's Assn. Bareisal.	Public meeting, 17th Dec.
535	"	"	Rajshahy.	Rajah Kumar Shosisi Khareswar Roy.	Hindu Brahman.	Zemindar, Tahirpur, and Editor <i>Baisack Tattwa</i> and <i>Silpa Krishi Patrika</i> , both Bengali.	(1) Maldah Dist. Assn. (2) Rajshahy Assn. (3) Mymensing Ryots' Assn.	Public meeting, 9th Dec., 17th. Dec.
536	"	"	"	Babu Kali Prasanna Acharya, B.A., B.L.	do	Pleader, Judge's Court, Beaulah.	Rajshahy Assn.	Meeting of the Assn., 17th Dec.
537	"	"	"	Babu Syam Charan Roy, B.A., B.L.	do	Pleader, Judge's Court, Rampore, Beaulah.	do	do
538	"	"	"	Babu Akshay Kumar Chakravarti.	do	Memb. Agricultural Society.	Agril. Soc., Tahirpur, & Maldah.	By a meeting, 14th Dec.
539	"	"	"	Paramahansa Gadadharananda—Tirthaswami.	do	Memb. Gorakshini Sabha.	Gorakshini Sabha, Tahirpur.	do
539	"	"	Rajshahy and Maldah.	Mr. Radhesh Chandra Set.	Hindu.	Editor <i>Hindu Bangini</i> , Bengali Weekly.	(1) Maldah Assn. Rajhy Br. (2) Agri. Soc. Tahirpore.	Meetings of the Assns., 14th Dec.
591	"	"	Mymensing.	Babu G. C. Acharya Chowdry.	Hindu Brahman.	Zemindar, Muktago-cha, and Ml. Cr.	Mymen. Assn. and Muktago-cha.	Public meetings, 4th Dec. and 10th Dec.
592	"	"	"	Babu Kalinath Ghoshal.	do	Merchant, Muktago-cha.	do	do
593	"	"	"	Babu Srinath Roy, B.L.	Hindu Kayestha.	Pleader, Judge's Court.	Mymensing Assn.	Public meeting, 4th Dec.
594	"	"	Naddea.	Babu Nanda Gopal Bhaduri.	Hindu.	Merchant.	M. J. S. Majdea & Kissen-gunge.	Special meeting of the Sabha, 3rd Dec.
595	"	"	"	Babu Basanta Kumar Chattopadhyaya, B.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader and Memb. Dist. Bd.	(1) Krishengung. (2) Indian Assn., Kus-tia Br. (3) Indian Assn., Joy-rampore Br. (4) Sadhu-pati Assn.	By public meetings at the places, 7th Dec., 9th Dec., etc.
596	"	"	"	Babu Pulin Vihari Lahiri.	do	Pleader.	Krishna-ghur.	Public meeting, 14th Dec.
597	"	"	Naddea and Burdwan.	Babu Jagadis Chandra Lahiri.	do	Medical Practr.	(1) M. J. S. Majdea. (2) Kulna. (3) Indian Assn., Calcutta.	By the Sabhas, 4th Dec. and 12th Dec.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District.	Name in full, with Honorary Titles, Scholastic Degrees, &c.	Religious denomination and caste, if any.	Occupation, Address, &c.	Place or Places or Association, &c., which they represent.	How and when elected.
598	Bengal.	Lower provinces.	Nuddea and Burdwan.	Babu Annada Prasad Banerjee, B.A.	Hindu Brahman.	Zemindar, Kumircola.	Koza Hita Kari Sabha Nuddea Kumircola Ryots Burdwan.	By the Sabha at a general meeting and at public meeting of Ryots.
599	"	"	"	Babu Mohendra Nath Sen.	Hindu Kayestha.	Land-holder.	Russapuglah Improvement Assn.	At a general meeting of the Assn.
600	"	Chota Nagpore	Hazari-bagh.	Rai Jodanath Mukerjee, B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Pleader, Hony. Magte, Secy. Dist. Committee of Public Instruction, Vice-chairman of Hazari Municipality, Presdt. Hazaribagh Assn., & Memb. Dist. Committee.	Hazari-bagh Assn. and Ranchi Assn.	By the Assns., 6th Nov. and 4th Dec.
601	"	"	Manbhum	Pandit Prannath Saraswati, M.A., B.L.	Hindu Brahman.	Vakil, H. Court, Calcutta, Vakil Judl. Comr.'s Court, Lucknow, Hony. Magte. for the suburbs of Calcutta, and Ml. Cr. Calcutta.	1. Ind. Union, Calcutta. 2. B. N. League. 3. Pumbia-city.	Committee meetings, and public meeting, 15th Dec.
602	"	Orissa.	Cuttack.	Mr. M. S. Das, M.A., B.L.	Christian.	Vakil, Cuttack.	Orissa Assn.	Special meeting of the Assn., 14th Nov.
603	"	"	"	Babu Gouri Sankar Roy.	Hindu Kayestha.	Editor of an Uriya weekly (cir. 450), & Translator, Judge's Court.	do	do
604	"	Assam.	Sylhet.	Babu Bipin Chandra Pal.	Hindu Brahman.	Journalist, <i>Tribune</i> , Lahore, English Bi-weekly.	Sylhet.	Public meeting, 22nd Dec.
605	"	"	Dibrugurh and Tezpur	Babu Radhanath Chankakoti	do	Propr. <i>Rathanoth Printing Press</i> , Secy. Upper Assam Assn., Secy. Assam Conference, Ml. Cr. and Member L. Bd. Dibrugurh.	(1) Assam Conference. (2) Assam Conference. (3) U. Assam Assn. (4) Authorised to represent Shillong.	Public meetings of the Conference and Assn. and by wire from Shillong.
606	"	"	Tezpur.	Babu Lakshmi Kant Bar-kakoti.	do	Supt. Tezpur Mills, and Memb. Tezpur Ryots' Association.	Assam.	By Assam Conference.
607	Madras	Native State Cochin.	Cochin.	V. K. Sankara Menon, B.A.	Nair.	Land-holder.	Cochin.	Public meeting—Cochin Reform Association on 20th November.

Besides these delegates there were present on the platform several distinguished visitors from various parts of India. Also, there were some ladies, Englishmen, and high native officials, numbering a few hundreds, from several remote parts of this Presidency. There came also several officials from the Bombay and Bengal Presidencies to witness the proceedings, among whom the names of Mr. and Mrs. Wadia and Dr. and Mrs. Bose may be mentioned. Among the Zemindars there were present: His Highness the Maharajah of Vizianagaram, K.C.I.E., His Highness the Rajah Shosi Sikhaheswar, Roy of Benares, the Rajah of Bobbili, the Zemindar of Ramnad, and Rajah G. N. Gajapathe Row. Besides Mr. and Mrs. A. G. Cardew, Mr. and Mrs. G. H. Stuart, there were Sir Charles Lawson, Messrs. A. T. Arundel, J. C. A. Sim, H. A. Stuart, C. Cardoza, J. H. A. Tremehere, W. S. Meyer, T. Hill, C. M. Barrow, C. G. Underwood, Wilson, Revs. G. M. Rae, J. R. Ellis, W. Joss, Doctors Cook, Quinn, Col. T. E. B. Tennant, Col. G. M. Moore, Col. T. Weldon, and several others. There were present, among others, the following: Dewan Bahadur R. Ragoonath Row (Indore), the Honourable G. M. Ranade (Poona), Justice A. Ramachandra Aiyar (Bangalore), Justice S. Tiruvankata Chariar (Cochin), Mr. C. Nagam Aiyar, Dewan Peishkar (Trevandrum), Professor Rai Bahadur P. Ranganada Mudaliar, Rai Bahadur P. Rajaruthna Mudaliar, Rajah T. Rama Row, Rai Bahadur V. Bashyam Iyengar, Professor S. Seshiah, N. Vythianatha Iyer, Messrs. S. Sreenevasa Raghava Aiyangar, R. V. Sreenivasa Aiyar, and T. Ganapathy Aiyar.

APPENDIX II.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE TAMIL CATECHISM

ON THE

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

BY

M. VIRARAGHAVA CHARIAR, B.A.

Q.—Which country is India?

A.—India is only another name for the country that is known to many people as Bharta Varsha. It extends over a wide area, from the Himalayas on the north to Cape Comorin, which lies 153 miles S.W. from Ramesaram. The Bay of Bengal and the country of Burmah constitute its eastern boundary. On the west it is bounded by the Arabian Sea and Afghanistan. Its length from north to south is about 1,600 miles, and its breadth from east to west is nearly the same. Its total area is forty-five lakhs of square miles. It has a population of about twenty-five crores and sixty lakhs.

Q.—To whose rule is that country now subject?

A.—This extensive empire of India is now subject to the sovereignty of Englishmen, the natives of a small island to the north-west of Europe. Its area is only about a lakh and a quarter of square miles, and its population only some three and a-half crores.

Q.—What enables the people of such a small country to govern this vast empire? What wonder is this?

A.—That they govern India is no wonder at all. It is the many superior qualities that they possess that make them the most prominent of nations. Though they are only about one-eighth of our number, it is these qualities, and above all their union, which enables them to hold dominion over India. The kings of England are not, like the sovereigns of the East, invested with despotic authority. The people of England firmly believe that the sole end and aim of Government ought to be the good of the people, and accordingly they have constituted a National Assembly known as the Parliament, and this Parliament consists of members chosen by the people as their representatives, and it is the united body of representatives thus elected that conduct the government of the country. The inhabitants of towns and cities in England elect the members in due course in accordance with the established rules. A fresh election must take place every seven years, but in practice Parliaments very rarely last so long, and new elections take place every three or four years, and often at shorter intervals. The members chosen by the people necessarily, as a rule, guide their action mainly in all affairs of State by the views of those who elect them, their Constituents as they are called, for if they did not they would not be re-elected. If you

ask how the members of Parliament learn the opinions of the people, the reply is that they are constantly in communication with the leading men amongst their supporters; often go down and hold public meetings of their constituents, and of course study carefully the published resolutions of the meetings held amongst their constituents and of the various associations which exist amongst these, and the articles that appear in the newspapers which their constituents chiefly read. You see, these members of Parliament are only the representatives of certain districts, towns, or groups of towns, or mohullahs or parishes of very large towns, and they must make themselves acquainted with the views and wishes of the majority of the inhabitants of those places, and they must, as a rule, vote in Parliament in accordance with these, as otherwise at the next election that majority would elect some one else who would do this. In England no law can be passed except by Parliament; no tax can under any circumstances be imposed on the people except by Parliament, that is by the representatives of that people. The Ministers of Her Majesty the Queen are strictly responsible to the Parliament for all their actions. In the Government of that country, the Ministers are answerable to the Members of the Parliament and the Members of Parliament to the people. And it is under the control of such a mighty nation that we are prospering.

Q.—If so, why do not they attend to our grievances?

A.—The Members of that grand assembly are no doubt inclined to consider the affairs of our country and promote our happiness; but then firstly they cannot command enough of leisure to study Indian questions. Secondly, even if they had time, they are not aware of our wants. The disabilities under which we labour are never fully realised by them. If our many grievances could only be made clear to their view in their true colours, you may rest assured that they would be gradually redressed. The English nation do not at all understand the real state of affairs here: the two countries are so unlike each other; the climate, customs, habits, food, everything in short is so different, that to understand matters here, an Englishman, who has never lived in India, must make a regular study of the subject. So the English nation as a body has no conception of all the hardships and disadvantages under which we labour under the

existing administration here. Nor do the English officials in India ever report to the Members of Parliament what we know to be the true state of this country. In the first place they are not natives of the country and never have that intimate knowledge of its affairs that we possess. In the second place they necessarily believe that all they do is right, and that it is done in the best possible manner, and lastly, they not unnaturally do not desire either a reduction of their salaries or their powers, and this would certainly follow if the English public came really to understand how matters at this present time really stand. So that great English nation never gets to know truly how things go on here, and we, the people of India have not yet been sensible enough as to establish permanently a great Union amongst ourselves and adopt the most effective methods of acquainting the English nation with all our wants and grievances. So how can we expect any material change for the better, and how can we hope for the redress of those grievances?

Q.—What then should we do to inform the English people of our wants and wishes, and obtain justice at their hands?

A.—If I am to answer your question fully, it would take me longer than a year. But I shall be brief. Listen to me. Our countrymen should make it a rule to study carefully all public questions and communicate to Government their opinions of them through associations and newspapers. Our countrymen should do their best to establish in India a representative Council similar to the Parliament of Great Britain to consider the questions that relate to our well-being. We should get the permission of the British Parliament to elect the members of that Council. Her Majesty the Queen Empress should make the resolutions of that Council binding upon the Governors-General and Governors. If we succeed in thus establishing one grand representative Council for the whole of India and five or six other smaller Councils, one for each of the more important provinces of the Empire, and if it is enacted that no law be passed or tax imposed except with the express permission of such Councils, we should then have arrived at the commencement of the Political regeneration of India. We should constantly press on the British people the paramount necessity there is for carrying into effect the above reforms through the telegraph, associations, newspapers, and delegates. It is only by persisting in the agitation that we can make our grievances heard in England. If the English nation begin to evince interest in the affairs of this country the opposition of the Anglo-Indian officials, who wish to keep matters as they are, will soon cease to be effective.

Q.—Are there any assemblies in India like the Parliament of Great Britain?

A.—The Councils in India resemble the Parliament of England only in name. They are called the Legislative Councils. As at present constituted the Councils are mere shams and have no independent power. Their members are entirely powerless to regulate the expenditure of Government, even to the extent of a single pice, nor could they alter or cancel the laws which the Government resolve to enforce. The Government offer some native gentlemen seats in the Councils merely, it would seem, to lead the people of England into the belief that in the government of this country Native opinion receives due weight.

Q.—But why are these Councils such shams; if there are several of our people on them why don't they fight for us? Why do they not see that justice is done to us?

A.—In the first place the natives who sit in these Councils are not chosen by us, but by Government. If they displease us, we can't turn them out; but if they displease Government, it takes care not to reappoint them after the lapse of the two years for which such gentlemen are appointed. Now men so appointed are entitled to have Honourable put before their names, and it is considered a great honour to be on them, and if they do just what Government likes they are given K.C.S.I.'s, or K.C.I.E.'s, or C.S.I.'s, or C.I.E.'s, all empty titles of no good, but which vain and foolish people set great store by. Then, too, Government mostly chooses not people who will fight for our rights, but more or less foolish big men, who will do just what they are told by Government. So it follows that very few of the natives who have hitherto sat in Council have tried to do good for us. Some, however, have; but the system is such that even if every one of them were clever men and did their very best, they could yet do nothing. For the way is this, they constitute only a small minority in the Council, and the only questions that come before them are new laws. They are not allowed to ask a question even or learn anything about anything else connected with the administration of the country; only when a new law has to be passed they must hear it and may say what they think of it. But no law comes before these Legislative Councils until the Viceroy or Governors have already settled in their Executive Councils, on which there are no natives, what the law is to be; and when they bring it into the Legislative Councils it has been already settled: a few words or clauses may be altered (if such alterations commend themselves to the Viceroy and the members of the Executive Council), but that is all. The poor native members may express their opinion—they may say the law is a very bad one, but they are in a minority and no one minds them. So you see even if our people tried, which only a few ever have done, to fight our battles, they

could do nothing, for these Councils are a mere sham.

Q.—How could we, the people of India, ever hope for any redress with the aid of such sham Councils?

A.—Of course we can't hope for anything of the kind. Progress and reform are equally impossible. But if we had the privilege of electing the members, and we had enough members on the Council, it would be very different; for then they would look to please us by whose favour they were elected and might be re-elected. The members who owe their seats in Council to the good will of Government will naturally as a rule vote in their favour. And they dare not fight for the people's cause on pain of never being re-appointed; therefore our countrymen should endeavour to reform the Councils. If we all persevere in insisting on this, and make our case clear, the English nation will certainly accede to our wishes, and improve the constitution of the Legislative Councils, and if these Councils are re-constructed on a representative basis, some of our most serious grievances will begin to disappear one after another.

Q.—If so, why do not all our countrymen unite in endeavouring to reform our Legislative Councils?

A.—It is no doubt true that all our people do not interest themselves in the movement. Till lately our ryots, merchants, and the ordinary run of people entirely neglected public affairs, but their eyes are beginning to be opened now. Many of them now make known their wants through newspapers and public meetings. For the last three years many of the zemindars, merchants, landlords, and men of other professions living in different parts of India, have made it a point to meet once in a year in some Presidency town and discuss public questions of the most vital importance. In 1885 nearly 100 gentlemen assembled together at Bombay from all parts of India, and recorded their opinions on some of the most vital matters of public interest. In 1886 some 440 gentlemen elected for the purpose by various associations, met together in Calcutta for the same purpose. In December, 1887, no less than 604 gentlemen, representing all classes and creeds, and elected by almost all the large towns and associations in the Empire, met together at Madras in the same way, and now in December, 1888, there is to be another and larger gathering at Allahabad. They have given this grand assembly the English appellation of "the Congress." The word Congress means assemblage.

Q.—Will these Congresses be of any help to India?

A.—Yes. The people of this country will at last obtain a hearing. Now the people of this country have no voice in the government of the country. If our countrymen muster strongly in the Annual Congress, and meet year after year, and tell the English Government what they want, that Government will gradually remodel the

administration in accordance with the clearly expressed wishes of the whole country. But then if we are to succeed at all quickly, everybody must join; everybody must interest themselves in the matter, and take part in the election of the delegates, and help the work in every way they can; and if some of the local officials be displeased with them they must not be angry with or frightened at this. It is only natural that those amongst the officials who are not highminded should feel annoyed at a movement which will tend to curtail their arbitrary power, and generally to compel them to consult the wishes and feelings of their people a great deal more than they do now. So it is no use being vexed, while it would be foolish to be frightened. Every man should just join and go on with the work good humouredly, not troubling himself what officials or any one else think or say about the matter. They will all come round in a year or two when we have won the day, and will then say it is an excellent thing.

Q.—Then you think the Congress will really be of great use?

A.—Yes, most certainly; for one of the best means of promoting the welfare of India is the establishment of a grand Council on the lines of the English Parliament, and if persevered in and wisely guided and supported by the whole country, the Congress will gradually, when India is fit for this, be converted into an Indian Parliament, which will take the place of the sham Councils of the present day.

Q.—Will the Government recognise the Congress?

A.—Why not? They will certainly recognise it—not this year, or perhaps the next; not till they are satisfied that it is really national and has the whole country at its back; but once you prove this to them, they certainly will recognize and utilize it, and in so doing pave the way for the redress of all our more serious grievances. The English Government is superior to all other Governments in the world, for its fundamental principle is to shape its policy according to the wishes of the people. If the Congress goes on meeting regularly once a year, and working throughout the year, and the whole nation join in electing their delegates to it, and in making plain that they approve and ratify its resolutions, the Government will very soon be obliged by public opinion in England to consider carefully the decisions the Congress arrives at. The present English Parliament in its infant stage resembled in many respects our present Congress, and just as a grand tree grows out of a small seed, so the small temporary gatherings of a former day have now attained the dimensions of the glorious English Parliament.

Q.—When did the first Congress meet, and what is its history?

A.—The first National Congress met in December, 1885, in the city of Bombay. To partake in that Congress many gentlemen

had arrived from the Presidency of Madras, the Presidency of Bengal, the Punjab, North-West Provinces, and other parts of India. All the gentlemen, delegates as they were called, were lodged in one place and discussed together the most important matters connected with the government of the country for three days, and then publicly recorded their opinions, or, as it is termed, passed resolutions in regard to these matters. During the sittings of that Congress each of the delegates learned the views of the others, and all proved to be of one mind, although they had come from parts of the country thousands of miles apart and belonged to different races and castes and creeds. It was one primary object of this Congress to demonstrate, or, if needful, by joint consultation to bring about, this oneness of mind or unanimity of opinion, for unanimity of opinion will produce union among us.

Q.—What are the resolutions passed at the first Congress?

A.—They are as follows: (1) Her Majesty the Queen-Empress should send a Commission to this country, and that Commission should inquire into our grievances. (2) The India Council should be abolished, and a Standing Committee of some of the members of Parliament should be formed for the consideration of Indian questions. (3) The Legislative Councils should be enlarged by the admission of a considerable number of members elected by ourselves, and should be empowered to regulate and control the expenditure, to make laws and to exercise other powers. (4) The Civil Service examination should be conducted not only in England but also in India; the age limit should be raised to 23. (5) That it was unjust for the Government of India to increase the army and consequently the expenditure. (6) The people of this country are already very heavily taxed, and Government should find means to reduce the burden of taxation. (7) As, if Burmah is placed under the control of the Government of India, the latter may not have time at their disposal to attend to Indian affairs, and our money will be wasted in reducing it to order, Her Majesty the Queen should not place the Government of Burmah in the hands of the Indian Government.

Q.—Did the Government pay any attention to any of the above resolutions?

A.—Yes, to a certain extent. Lord Dufferin, our Governor-General, highly eulogised the sixth resolution. He appointed two Commissions to inquire and report in regard to the matters set forth in that and in the fourth resolution. They were known by the names of the Finance Committee and the Public Service Commission. Not only did the Government in India attend to the resolutions, but some of the newspapers in England approved of the work of the first Congress. The then members of the English Ministry, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain, are understood to have spoken favourably of the movement. Is it necessary to add that Lord Ripon

and Mr. Slagg, and other avowed friends of India, warmly welcomed the Congress?

Q.—When did the second Congress meet?

A.—It met in December, 1886, at Calcutta.

Q.—Sir, please clearly inform me of the difference between the first and the second Congress.

A.—If I enter into a detailed description of the second Congress, it will occupy a long time. However, I shall give you a brief account of it. Only 78 delegates attended the first Congress at Bombay, while 436 delegates attended the second Congress at Calcutta. The gentlemen that attended the first Congress were not appointed by the people of this country to appear on their behalf. But for the second Congress numbers of the people, at public meetings and through public associations, elected their representatives. In December, 1886, various meetings were held in all parts of India to elect delegates.

While only two Mahomedans attended the first Congress, no less than 33 Mahomedan gentlemen partook in the deliberations of the second Congress. The people generally interested themselves in the second Congress more than they had done in the first. Thirdly, it was not until the second assemblage that the name Congress became familiar to all the people in all parts of the country.

Q.—What are the resolutions of the second Congress?

A.—(1.) A resolution was passed congratulating Her Majesty the Empress on the occasion of the Jubilee and praying for Her Majesty's long life and prosperity.

(2.) It was resolved that in view of the growing poverty of the people of India, representative institutions ought to be established in India, as this would place it within our power to effect those reforms in the administration which we believe to be necessary to relieve that poverty.

(3.) The third resolution of the first Congress about the reconstitution of Legislative Councils was reaffirmed.

(4.) It was further pointed out that it was necessary (a) to increase the numerical strength of the Legislative Councils; (b) to allow the people to elect half of the total number of members; (c) and to invest the members with the right of interpellation.

(5.) That all the associations and public bodies in India should unanimously pray the Viceroy to recommend the Secretary of State to cause the necessary steps to be taken for the establishment of representative Councils.

(6.) That as regards the matters under the inquiry of the Public Service Commission, a simultaneous examination should be held in India and England for the Civil Service, that the age limit should be raised to twenty-three, and that no distinction should be made between Europeans and natives in the Civil Service, but that all should be treated alike.

(7.) That the system of trial by jury should be extended, and that the decision of the jury in cases of acquittal should be final.

(8.) That the judicial functions should be separated from the executive,

(9.) That the people of this country should be permitted to enrol themselves as Volunteers in order that they may be able to defend the British Empire in times of war.

Q.—Why should the resolutions passed in the first Congress be re-affirmed in the second?

A.—We re-affirm the resolutions principally to acquaint all the people with our wants and to make our grievances heard in England. It is only when the child cries often that the mother gives it milk. Even so it is only by repeatedly telling the British nation what we are in need of that we can hope for any redress. The Anglo-Indian officials have been for many decades enjoying exceptional rights and privileges, and if these are now to be curtailed will they not oppose us with all their might? If we persevere in our efforts then our hopes will be realised.

Q.—Did the Viceroy take any notice of the Congress?

A.—Yes, he did. The Viceroy and Governor-General invited many of the members of the Congress to his Palace, and had some conversation with them about public affairs. He also honoured the members of the Congress by inviting them to a garden party.

Q.—Was any notice taken in England of the Congress?

A.—Not much as yet, nor can we expect it. The proceedings of the Congress were published in a book, and 5,000 copies of this were distributed in England by Mr. Dadabhai Naorojee, a sincere friend of India, who presided over the second Congress, but what are 5,000 copies, and we had not funds for more, amongst a great nation? Still a few of the newspapers noticed it, and the report was referred to twice in the House of Commons, and several of the leaders of the Liberal Party expressed their approbation of and seem to have been much pleased with the proceedings of the Second Congress. It is impossible at the present time to obtain a hearing for Indian affairs in the English House of Parliament, as its whole time is absorbed by the Irish controversy. But their advice is that we should continue holding our annual Congress year after year till they are in a position to attend to our call. They are further of opinion that we should do our best to make the great mass of the people take an intelligent interest in the subject.

Q.—But, to make so many delegates assemble in one place, to allow them a fitting reception, to print and publish a sufficient number of copies of the report must cost a great deal. Pray, what have the Congresses cost?

A.—Well, the first Congress at Bombay cost only about Rs.3,000, but the second at Calcutta cost something like Rs.16,000. In each case the people of the place and some of the nobility and the gentry of the Province and other friends of the cause subscribed what was needful.

Q.—But you have only told us about the two first Congresses, and you mentioned that there had been a third at Madras, tell us please about that.

A.—Well, that was even grander than the second; at that 604 delegates assembled, and they

met in a vast temporary hall specially erected for the purpose. All these delegates had been duly elected either at public meetings in towns or by associations or other public bodies. Indeed, some 700 were elected, but owing to sickness, domestic calamities, and the great distances to be travelled (some had fully 2,000 miles to come), only 604 actually arrived.

Q.—But what kind of people were the delegates?

A.—All kinds of people came as delegates—great men like Rajah Sir T. Madhava Row, and little men like artisans and petty tradesmen. There were a few Europeans, for they are beginning to understand that they are just as much interested as we are in good government, and a number of Eurasians who took an active part, and will year by year take a more and more active part, in the Congress, Parsees, Native Christians, Hindus, Mahomedans and Jains.

Q.—What, Mahomedans? Why, somebody said that the Mahomedans had not joined the Congress. I did not know what the Congress was, and so I did not trouble myself about it, but certainly I heard this.

A.—Well, eighty-three Mahomedans came as delegates, and amongst them were men like the Honble. Mir Humayun Jah Bahadur, the head of the great Mysore family and a member of the Madras Council, and Mr. Budrudin Tyabji, till recently a member of the Bombay Council, who was the President of the third Congress, and many other distinguished and learned Mussalmen. The fact is that one eminent Mahomedan, Sir Syed Ahmed, did not choose to join, for reasons known to himself, and he and his immediate following having been foolish enough to abuse the Congress, have tried to set it about that the Mahomedans generally did not join, whereas the bulk of the intelligent Mahomedans all over the country did join and join heartily.

Q.—I am glad of that; for whatever our religion, we ought all to unite in this work, which I now see is clearly for the good of all. But I should like to know more about these delegates. Were there zemindars, were there ryots, were there Municipal Councillors?

A.—Yes, there were all these, and as you want to know, I will tell you all about it. Out of the 604, there were 61 zemindars, jagirdars, and taluqdars, and there were 95 ryots and other small landholders. Then there were 144 merchants, traders, and shopkeepers, 55 schoolmasters, 206 members of the legal profession, retired judges, barristers, advocates, pleaders, solicitors, &c., 43 editors of newspapers, 19 artizans, 8 doctors, &c.

Then I may tell you that out of these, three were members of Council, 31 were honorary magistrates, 10 were fellows of one or other university, 103 had seats on municipal boards, and 56 on local fund boards, so that it is difficult to imagine a more truly representative gathering than was this last Congress.

Q.—And what resolutions did this Congress pass?

A.—Well, it first insisted once more on the necessity of two primary reforms that it had advocated at previous sittings, viz., the reconstitution of the Councils on a representative basis and the complete separation of the judicial and executive functions. Then, in view of the universal loyalty of the people, it recorded its opinion that the highest or commissioned ranks in the army should be practically opened to all classes of Her Majesty's Indian subjects, and colleges established whereat our youth may be trained for this career; it advocated the concession to the people of the right to volunteer under such restrictions and conditions as Government might deem necessary, and demanded the material modification of the existing Arms Act.

Further, considering the unsatisfactory working of the income tax, it prayed that the taxable minimum should be raised to Rs.1,000. And lastly, reverting to the growing poverty of the country, it pressed upon Government the necessity of elaborating a practical system of technical education, and of spending more money in buying Indian articles and paying Indian labour, and less in buying English articles and paying English labour.

Q.—All this is very good, and if this were all done India would be a different place; but how can we get the Government to mind what the Congress even says.

A.—No doubt it is difficult, for the bulk of the officials here are prejudiced and think that the system they work under is perfection, and are angry at our saying that it is very defective and at our proposing these changes. But there is no such prejudice amongst the people of England, who are their masters as well as our masters. And if we persevere with these Congresses, and get more and more of the people everywhere to understand them, and take interest in them, and support them, we shall, and that before many years are over, have so strong a voice that even the people of England will hear us, and once they do this as a body (not merely two or three thousands here and there, whom alone, as yet, we have reached), all our reasonable demands will soon be granted.

Q.—But in the meantime it costs a great deal of money, does it not? What may this third Congress have cost?

A.—Well we do not exactly know yet, but probably, including the sending home of 10,000 copies of the report, not less than Rs.30,000, and this of course is exclusive of the very large sum, more than double this amount, which had to be expended by the delegates themselves in journeying to and from the Congress.

Q.—And you said that there was to be yet a fourth Congress at Allahabad? And where is the money for that to come from?

A.—Well, just as the people of Madras, high and low, and sympathisers elsewhere, subscribed and got together Rs.30,000 for the Congress,—for the erection of the

meeting hall, the reception and entertainment of the delegates, and the printing and distribution of the report, here and in England,—so must the people of the North-West Provinces subscribe and collect what may be necessary for the Allahabad Congress. And it need not be very difficult, if only the people learn the rights of the matter, and they all begin to take an interest in the matter. One anna from every house would go a long way. But the fact is that this is not all, because it is not sufficient to hold the Congress. We must send to England much larger numbers of the report than we have yet been able to do, from want of funds, and we must send home our own delegates to hold public meetings in England, and there explain fully the nature of the demands that the Congress makes here, and create a knowledge of the circumstances of this country. All this ought to be paid for, not by the one province where the Congress is held, but by the entire country.

We must have a large permanent Congress Fund, the interest from which must be devoted to this work, and while in that province where the Congress is to be held subscriptions must of course be collected for the current expenses of that particular Congress, in all other provinces subscriptions ought to be collected steadily for the permanent fund. It is not large sums that are so much wanted—though we hope to get some such from Rajahs and great people who sympathize with the work, as a very great number do,—but a multitude of small subscriptions from 4 annas, such as you can all give if you choose and can persuade numbers of your fellows to give.

Q.—But to whom are we to give these subscriptions?

A.—In every province there is a Standing Congress Committee, and you are to pay your own subscription, and any subscriptions you can get from others, to that committee and get a receipt for the same. If every one who reads this only tries, we shall very soon have all the money that is required for the work.

Q.—Well, I see it is a good work, and I wish to help and I will do what little I can in the way of getting subscriptions; but is there no other way in which I can help?

A.—Certainly there is. You have read and now understand this: read it to all your friends and see that they understand it; read it to every one in your village and make every one understand the whole question. When every one in your own village understands, make every one in the neighbouring villages understand, and try and persuade every one whom you make understand that it is their duty to go and teach others, and so in a year or two there will be no one left who does not know all about it and is not ready to help, and is not anxious for its success. Let your cry be "*Congress ji ke jai*," and God will help those who thus prove that they are anxious to help themselves.

APPENDIX III.

A CONVERSATION BETWEEN MOLVI FARID UD DIN, M.A., B.L., VAQUIL (BARRISTER) OF THE HIGH COURT, PRACTISING IN THE ZILLAH COURT OF HAKIKATABAD, AND RAMBAKSH, ONE OF THE MUKADDAMS (CHIEF VILLAGER) OF KAMBAKHTPUR.

(Scene: The *Chopal*,* in *Kambakhtpur*, *Zillah Hakikatabad*.)

Rambaksh: Molvi Sahib, there is a great talk now-a-days of "Re-pre-sen-tation" and "Re-pre-sen-ta-tive Ins-ti-tu-tions," but what does it all mean? Last week a Bengali gentleman was staying for the night at the Sarai, and as many of us were sitting talking round the fire in the gateway, he came and began to talk to us. We told him how bad the times were, and how the police bullied us, and how hard the zemindar and the money-lender were, and how everything seemed going wrong. Then he said it was all our own fault, that if we chose to undergo all this and all the trouble that pervaded the country, that was our look-out; no one could help us if we did not help ourselves. But we said: "How can we help ourselves? Who can oppose the *Sirkar* (Government), and does not the *Sirkar* keep up the police, and do not the Civil Courts of the *Sirkar* support the zemindar and the sahookar (banker) in all their oppression?" He said: "That is true, and obedience to the Government of the time is the duty of all good subjects, but you could, if you chose, so alter the system (*dastur*) of the Government, that it would do the things that are pleasing and beneficial to you, instead of, as now, often doing what you dislike, and what is harmful to you." And we said: "We alter the *Sirkar*; are we *Rustams*? Are we *Devas*? This is foolish talk, what can we poor people do?" He said: "By yourselves you are very weak, and can do nothing; you are very ignorant, and can hardly see beyond the ends of your fields; but for all that, if all you ryots all over the country would join those of your countrymen who are better off, and better educated, in calling upon the Government to concede to us 'Representative Institutions,' then the good people in England would insist on these being given to us, and then soon many things would be altered for the better, and many of your causes of complaint would be removed." Now there was a *Sahib* also putting up in the Serai. A *Chota Sahib*, an overseer on the canal, but a good man, and just then he came out and said: "That is all nonsense, Baboo, these poorfellows are mere cattle; what can they understand of such matters, and what good do you think 'Representative Institutions' would do to such as these?" And then the Baboo and he began to argue in English, and we heard nothing more. And indeed I think the *Sahib* was right, and that it was all nonsense.

Still we want to know what does "Re-pre-sen-tation" mean? What is it?

Molvi Farid ud din: Well, Rambaksh, I do not know that it is all nonsense. As for "Representation," don't you remember last year, when you and Matadin and Rampershad, and some thirty others of you, had cases against Raja Harbansrai, just about sowing time, and as it was a bad time to be away from the village, and all the cases were quite alike, and you knew all about the matter, and had the best head of the lot, they all chose you out and sent you in, to me, to the *Sudder*† to explain all their cases, and get me to put in petitions for them as well as for yourself? Well, that was "Representation," and you were their "Representative." The words may be new to you but the thing is as old as the soil. Has it not ever been our custom, alike under Emperors or Kings, when any village, or city, or *parganah*,‡ or district, had any favour to ask, or any grievance to complain of, for all the respectable men of the place to have *punchayets*,§ and at these to pick out the wisest and longest-headed men, and the best speakers, and send these to the authority, or *Sirkar*, to make known our prayers? Well, this again was "Representation," and the men so sent to plead the cause of those who deputed them were "Representatives."

Rambaksh: Well, I understand that. As you say, the words are new, and very long, but the thing is old and simple. But what has that to do with Government, and what do "Representative Institutions" mean?

Molvi Farid ud din: There are Governments in all countries; without Government there would be no peace, no security of life or property. Governments are necessary, and, if good, a great blessing. But some Governments are better than others; of course one ruler is a good man and another a bad man; one clever and another a fool or a madman. But I do not mean that; I mean that there are two chief kinds of Government, one of which is better than the other. Now you know *Shamshpur*, and the good old *Lumberdar* (or senior proprietor) Kour Dharam Singh. There are nearly 200 sharers in that village, but in the five years that I have been a vaquil here, I do not remember a single case coming up from that village, and we all know that there is no more prosperous place in the district.

* The raised earthen platform where the villagers congregate to discuss village politics in particular and all things in general. A substitute for a Town Hall.

† The head-quarters of the District.

‡ A Revenue Sub-division.

§ Councils for consultation—originally consisting of five members only; any body of men selected to consider and decide any question.

Rambaksh : That is true, and that is because the *Lumberdar*, though he is ten times as rich and as clever as any of the *Hissadars* (co-sharers), never does anything without consulting them. There is not a pie* of village expenses (*gaon khurch*), but what every shareholder has had his say about it; and whatever is to be done it is all talked over on the *chopal*, and if there is any quarrel it is all settled there. Of course there are Jivan Singh and Rajaram and one or two others whom the *Lumberdar* laughingly calls his counsellors (*durbarees*), who have most to say, but that is because they are the leaders of the several *pattis* (main subdivisions of the village), and all their *hissadars* look up to them as the best and wisest men. Ah! that's the way to manage a village. If only ours were like it!

Molvi Farid ud din : Well, I see you understand more than I thought. Now the management of Shamsapur is an example, in a small way, of what we call "Constitutional Government." If a ruler acts like that good *Lumberdar*, and in all he does and orders first consults his subjects, and so manages that the best and wisest of them, on whom the rest rely as their leaders, approve and agree to what is done, then we call that a "constitutional" kind of Government. And this, of course, is the only permanently safe kind of Government, for, as the saying goes, "*Panch panch mil, kijay kaj —Har jit awai nahin laj*" (Do your work in association with five others, so that, come victory or defeat, you will not stand alone).

Rambaksh : And what kind of Government do you call that of our Rajah Harbansrai? He lives away in the *Sudder*, and he never comes near us, and he never reads any of our petitions, and never consults any of us; indeed, he won't see us, but sends out an order for us to speak to the *Naib*† or the *Gomashtah* (factor) who lives in the Rajah's house here; and as for the *Gomashtah*, he never knows anything about us or the village, for one comes for six months and then goes, and then another comes for a couple of years and then he goes, and then another comes, and so on. And except dear old Rai Sacharam, there has never been a *Naib* or *Gomashtah* here who didn't think he knew more about everything than any of us, or all of us put together. They are all alike, these *Gomashtahs*. "*Jau; Chupraho* (Go away! hold your tongue!); "*Do this; Don't do that; Pay this; Pay that!*"

Molvi Farid ud din : Well, when a Government behaves as Rajah Harbansrai does, we call it a "Despotic" Government. - But how does your village thrive?

Rambaksh : How does it thrive? Why, Molvi Sahib, you know that there is never a day but what there is some case from Kambakhtpur in court; that we are growing poorer and poorer, that land is going out of cultivation, that we have scarcely oxen enough to plough what we still till. Look down the street, why the houses are half

of them nearly in ruins, and the two *abkari*‡ shops that the *Sirkar* has set up here are always full. Even this *chopal* built by our forefathers and so much needed for our meetings and our guests, is now in ruins. Look at Shamsapur; it is twice as populous as this *Bustee* (village), and yet there is no *abkari* shop there and the *Lumberdar* says there never shall be, and so say they all. Thrive indeed! Of all the miserable places in this whole *zillah* § Kambakhtpur is nearly one of the worst.

Molvi Farid ud din : I am afraid that is too true. But why is this? Rajah Harbansrai is not a bad man. I live in the *Sudder* and see much of him. He is rather a kind good man, though so occupied with his great big house there and his troops of servants that he has no time to look after his affairs in the *Mofussil*||

Rambaksh : That's just it. I don't say he is a bad man, but we never see him. We send him petitions but he takes no notice of them. So far as any good to it is concerned he might be dead,—but, for all that he must have his money, and almost every year, more money and more money, till we poor people are almost skin and bone. Ah! if we were only cattle, as the Sahib said, we might perhaps make a rupee or two out of our skins; it is about all we have left.

Molvi Farid ud din : Ah! Rambaksh, I am afraid you say that because you haven't paid me what you owe me for that enhancement case!

Rambaksh : No, Molvi Sahib. You have always been my friend, and I have the money for you safe; have I ever been dishonest? But what I say is too true; we are all very poor now.

Molvi Farid ud din : Well, but how is it? The Rajah no doubt doesn't look after you, but he always keeps his *Naib* or a *Gomashtah* here, and he does seem to me to try to employ good men. I have had many cases for you people against them, but I have found most of them respectable men, far better than the *Nuibs* many other Rajahs employ to look after the *Mofussil* villages.

Rambaksh : That is true enough. They do not take bribes, they do not meddle with our women, they don't drink, but they are city people; they know nothing of the *Mofussil*, they don't understand our village ways; they press in a hurry for rent, and force us to sell our crops below their value when they ought to wait and leave us time to make good bargains; they don't know the difference between a 6-anna and a 16-anna crop,¶ and press in bad times for rent, so that we have to sell our cattle; they don't know who is reliable (*matbir*), and they make advances when none ought to be given, to ne'er-do-weels and lose their money, and then say we are all *budmashes* (bad characters, rogues), and won't even give seed grain to the best of us, when times are such that we really need it.

* The smallest copper coin, value at the present time about one-third of a farthing.

† His deputy or head manager, or agent.

‡ Liquor shops. Public houses.

§ District.

|| The rural portion of the country as contrasted with the urban portion is called the *Mofussil*; so again provincial districts as contrasted with the capital are also so designated.

¶ Sixteen annas go to a Rupee. A sixteen-anna crop therefore is a full crop, while a six-anna crop is one which only yields six-sixteenths, or three-eighths of what a full crop would.

And then they are fussy and self-conceited, and won't hear a word from any of us. There was the old tank there, the Soorjukund, that from generation to generation used to irrigate half the village; that burst when I was a boy fifty years ago. Well, we wanted the Rajah to repair this. It wouldn't have cost many hundred rupees and the whole village knew from their forefathers how well it worked. But, no! The *Naib Sahib* knew better; he wouldn't listen to us. "What do you cattle know? Hold your tongues!" He was all for new-fangled plans; he would bring a *kul* (channel) of the *Sirkari* canal to irrigate the village. We told him that canal water is cold; that our lands lay low; that it would not do. But what was the use? "What do you cattle folk know? Hold your tongues;" and so the *kul* was brought, and the first year it overflowed and swamped half the crops, and then, when the water dried up, the canal people came and measured up all the land, and made us pay tax for "one watering." A fine thing, seeing it had ruined our crops. But we had to pay, and now it is bringing the *reh* (a saline efflorescence) all over our best lands. There is that five-bigah field that my ancestors have cultivated for centuries—such a good field; it never gave me less than Rs.50 a year net profits, and now—now it is all white, and it won't pay the rent even. I don't like to give it up; for ages have my forefathers tilled it, but what can I do? I asked the *Gomashtah* to get the rent reduced, and all he said was, "Reduce the rent? You must be a fool, or think me one. Hold your tongue." And so it is in everything. The Rajah pays no heed to us; his *Naibs* understand nothing of our affairs. They order this and order that, press us for money in season and out of season; they know nothing of village matters themselves, and they won't hear a word from us because they think they are all wise and we utter fools—and under such a system (*dastur*), how can a village be otherwise than ruined? What does it matter that the Rajah is not a bad man, or that his *Naibs* don't purposely injure us; nay, at times some of them, after their own fashion, try to help us. It is the bad *dastur* that is ruining us.

Molvi Farid ud din: Ah, Rambaksh, the *Chota Sahib* may think you cattle, but you are wiser than he was. For this evil *dastur* which is ruining you and your neighbours and village is the "Despotic" (*khud muktihar*) *dastur*. And when rulers govern their subjects in this same way we call theirs a "Despotic" Government, and "Despotic" Governments always ruin the countries in which they are carried on for long. They may be necessary in the infancy of a nation; they become crimes when it grows up. Now you have a practical knowledge of both systems; you see how Shamsapur is prospering under a "Constitutional" system, and you know only too thoroughly what Kambakhtpur is coming to under the "Despotic" system, and pray have you any doubts as to which of these two are best?

Rambaksh: Am I an idiot? Who can doubt that the *Lumberdar's bandobast* (adminis-

tration), which you call the "Constitutional" system, is the best?

Molvi Farid ud din: Well, now, you are only a villager, but you are a thoughtful man; and how would you call our present Sirkar, may its shadow never be less (*dam ikbalahoo!*)? Do you think our Government is a "Constitutional" one, or do you think it is a "Despotic" one? Don't be in a hurry; think before you reply.

Rambaksh: Oh! you must not ask me. What do I know of Governments? I am only a poor ryot!

Molvi Farid ud din: You are only a poor ryot but you nevertheless are not a fool; on the contrary, you are (and you know it and are proud of it) the wisest man in this village. Take the trouble to think it out; compare the management of this country by our present rulers with the management of Shamsapur by Kour Dharam Singh and with that of Kambakhtpur by Rajah Harbansrai and his *Naibs*, and say which does it most resemble.

Rambaksh (after some consideration): Well, there is our good Queen-Empress. She never comes here, certainly, and we never see her, and I hear the people in Hakikatabad sent her a petition last year, and they do say nearly a lakh of people signed it, but she never took any notice of it. But they say she is so busy there, over in *Vallayat* (England), and has so many countries elsewhere belonging to her that she has no time to attend to us Indians. And when I come to think of it, may God long preserve her, but I don't know that it does signify much to us who sits upon the *Gaddi** over there in *Vallayat*. I must say that this is all rather like Rajah Harbansrai's *dastur*. Certainly I never heard that she consulted any of us Indians on any point, and as to *gaon khurch* (village expenses)—well, I have heard in Hakikatabad what krores and krores of money are every year spent by the *Sahib log* (Europeans), and without consulting any one! No! This is not at all like the Shamsapur *dastur*.

Molvi Farid ud din: And then look at all the *Naibs* and *Gomashtahs* she sends. Are they not like Raja Harbansrais? Very respectable men, no doubt; they don't take bribes, they don't certainly try to injure us, but what do they know of us and our real wants? Don't they pooch-pooch our old customs and, *har ke amad*† (each who comes) insists on introducing some new-fangled device for improving the condition of the country which, not unfrequently, ends in doing it harm? Do they consult us? Do they ever really talk over anything with us? Do they take care to see that we approve, and agree to everything, nay, to anything they see fit to do? Is it not with them as with your Kambakhtpur *Naibs*? "What do you know, you cattle folk? Hold your tongues." "Do this." "Don't do this." Is this like the Constitutional management of Shamsapur, or like the "Despotic" management of Kambakhtpur?

* *Gaddi*, lit. cushion; equivalent to throne.

† Referring to Saadi's well-known lines "*Har ke amad imarat-i-nau sakht, Raft o mansil ba digar perdakht*," &c.

Rambaksh : Ah, Molvi Sahib, you are a learned man, but I see now what you mean, and I suppose our Government is what you call a "Despotic" one, and that, perhaps, is why the whole country now is discontented (it never was so when I was a boy), and why everything seems, from all I hear, to be going wrong, and why the Government jumma is always being raised, and with it our rents, and new taxes are imposed and

Molvi Farid ud din : Yes, certainly, our Government is a "Despotic" one, and a "Despotic" Government is always, when long continued, bad for every country, and we and our country are suffering in a hundred ways on this very account. But don't think I am speaking evil of our Governors, for I know many of them personally, and know that, as a rule, they are good and well-meaning men—men, in many matters, far more highly educated than the best of us. It is not the officers, it is not the members of Government, or the Lieutenant-Governors or Viceroy, that I find fault with. I hate the foolish fault-finding spirit in which some of our newspapers abuse, and wrongly attribute bad motives to, many of these whom I know to be good men. What I condemn and protest against is the system; it is against the system (*dastur*) of the Government, not against the gentlemen who carry on that Government (and who are as much tied down by that system as ourselves), that I complain.

Rambaksh : This is very true, no doubt, Molvi Sahib, and our Collector Sahib is a good man, and in the bad fever here a year ago he came out himself and with his own hands gave quinine to many, and his lady herself helped to nurse my little girl (the one I married this year to Ramrutton's son, you know), and he stopped a whole week here, though it was the rains, and he spoke kindly to all. Yes! he is a good man. But what has all this to do with "Representative Institutions?"

Molvi Farid ud din : Certainly, Mr. Sidher is a good man, and besides all you know of him, though he does not care to talk much of such things as the officials generally are not favourable to the idea, he in his heart agrees very much with the views we educated natives hold as to those "Representative Institutions" about which you ask. What are these? Well, you have yourself understood that our present form of Government is Despotic, that it resembles the form of management of Kambakhtpur, and that it is a form of Government that entails necessarily much suffering on those subject to it. On the other hand, in Shamshpur you have had an example of "Constitutional" Government, and you have seen how the people have prospered under it, and what we desire is gradually to transform our present "Despotic" into a "Constitutional form of Government."

Rambaksh : But how can you possibly do that?

Molvi Farid ud din : By "Representative Institutions," that is to say, by having "Representatives" of the country, and a considerable number of them, in all the Councils, and thus allowing the country a real share in the administration.

Rambaksh : By "Representatives" you mean, then, men picked out of each town and

district who would say to the Government what we want, and how we want it done, and what we don't want, and all that?

Molvi Farid ud din : Yes, but not precisely that; rather the men whom such "Representatives" would pick out from amongst themselves, the wisest and best men (just as your fellow-villagers picked you out to "represent" them in those enhancement cases), who would sit in the Councils and vote upon Government measures, and would have a right to ask the Government questions, and if anything was being done that they considered wrong would be entitled to insist on the Government explaining how the matter stood, or inquiring into it.

Rambaksh : But I have heard that there were Raeeses and Rajahs in the Council. Why did they not do something good for us?

Molvi Farid ud din : A very proper question. But as a rule, the gentlemen selected by the Government as councillors, under the present despotic system, are not of the class of men who could do any good to the country. They are too generally men of moderate capacity, selected mainly because they are wealthy and always make themselves agreeable to European officials. Some really good men are thus selected, no doubt, but these are a minority. However, even if all were good men they could still, under the present "Despotic" system, do nothing because they are too few in number, and all they are allowed to do is to speak and vote in regard to particular new Acts which the Government has already decided to pass. They may say what they please, they may vote as they like, but the Act never comes before them until the Government has decided to pass it, and pass it the Government does. No doubt they may, and do at times, get a clause altered here and a clause altered there, but as to any real power to influence the action of Government to any useful extent their appointment is a pure farce. What we want is a much larger number of Indian members, and these not mere nominees of Government ready to say "*Bhot Accha*" (very good) or *jo hookum* (as you order) to whatever any official suggests, but the ablest and most independent men in the country, who shall be selected by the people themselves, and who will speak their minds, no matter what any one likes. And this is only a small part of the business. At present the Indian members, as I have already said, have only to vote upon new laws which the Government have decided to pass. But we want our "Representatives" to be consulted as to all public expenditure, and to have what is called the right of "interpellation," that is the right to ask Government questions, and to receive full answers thereon, on all subjects connected with the administration. "Why is this done? Why was that not done? Why is this officer allowed to abuse his authority?" and so on. You surely remember Mr. Zabar-dast; he was long before my time. But I have heard all about his manner of working the district.

Rambaksh : Remember him. Ram Ram, *uska nam mat lo* (don't mention him), I bear his marks now (where I can't show them to you, Molvi Sahib), though it is twenty years ago. You see his *Lushkur* (camp) came to our village.

That old villain Murtezur Shah (whom you, praise be to God, got transported four years ago in that torture case) was *Tahsildar* (or revenue head of the sub-division). When the Sahib rode in, about ten o'clock, his people complained that there was no grass for the horses. I was standing near. He shouted out, "Where is the *Tahsildar*?" The *Tahsildar* came trembling. "Protector of the poor," he said, "it is no fault of mine; it is these *budmashes* (bad characters) here whom I instructed to have every requisite, and who assured my people (I was in attendance on your honour's stirrup) that all was ready." "Whom did you make answerable for the grass?" said the Collector. "This man," said the *Tahsildar*, seizing me by the arm; "he is the *mukaddam*" (or head ryot). "Oh," said the Sahib, striking me with his whip, "you are the son of a pig the misbegotten (*sir ka bucha, haramzada*). I'll teach you how to attend to orders. Here, *khlassi* (tent-pitcher), tie him up and give him thirty *bents* (blows with a cane) on his bottom, and lay it well in." Now the *Tahsildar* had never spoken a word to me about the matter; it was the year of the drought, and there was not a particle of grass in the place; many of our cattle had died, the rest had been driven away to the dhak jungle beyond Salamabad where Laik Singh allowed them to be grazed. I tried to explain this, but the Sahib hit me over the mouth and face with his whip, shouting out, "Hold your tongue. I'll teach you, tie him up, tie him up, flog his life out." And I was dragged away and flogged till I became insensible. It was a month before I could walk. Yes, he was a bad one; many Collectors have I known—some good, some indifferent, but this was the only real devil.

Molvi Farid ud din: Yes, and I have heard worse things of him than this; far worse. Now do you suppose that if we had real representatives in the local Council that such a Bahadur would have been allowed to retain office for a single month? No! his misdeeds would have been authoritatively forced upon the notice of Government, and his career of oppression and violence cut short. As it was, some years later, Government came to know of some of his misdeeds and he was forced to retire; the Lieutenant-Governor, indeed, I have heard, wanted to dismiss him from the service (for, whatever their faults, not one in one hundred of our higher officials would tolerate such conduct), but he was highly connected, and the Governor-General thought his forced retirement a sufficient punishment. There are no men quite so bad as Mr. Zabar-dast, I believe, in the service anywhere now-a-days. But still there are in every province many officers who do abuse their official powers, and who are guilty of most unjustifiable acts of high-handedness, and nothing of this kind would be possible under that form of "Representative Institutions" that we advocate. This is only one single branch of the question. In all matters and in all directions the Government would be improved and the country benefited. The great drawback to our present form of Government is that our rulers never know the facts, never really understand the wishes or the wants of the people; our "Representatives" would supply all this, while we should still retain the superior knowledge of

methods which the Europeans' greater experience in administration has given them. Don't think I am against Europeans; I have no greater friend than Mr. Sidher; what I want is such a change of system as shall prevent the incompetent and ill-disposed amongst them from doing harm, shall give the good ones a fairer field for the exercise of their talents and virtues, shall utilize for the service of the country the abilities and local knowledge of our own people, and gradually train these up in that work of administration which at present few of them, owing to want of experience, would be competent to carry on without some aid from Europeans.

Rambaksh: Well, Molvi Sabib, it seems all right, but when you talk of picking out the best and wisest men, I don't seem to see my way. For the life of me I shouldn't know who to vote for. Of course, if there was anything to get by it Rajah Harbansrai would want to be elected, and we should all be ordered to vote for him. Not that I would; but I am sure I don't know whom we in this *Tahsil* (revenue sub-division) could select.

Molvi Farid ud din: Now what do you think the people of this whole *Tahsil* would say to Kour Dharam Singh?

Rambaksh.—I forgot. Certainly every man would say he is a wise and good man. Yes, I would vote for him. So would the whole *parganah*. Everybody wants him for *Sarpunch* (President of the Board of Arbitrators) whenever there is any arbitration matter.

Molvi Farid ud din: And what would you say to my Mamun (maternal uncle) Molvi Amanat Ali? Do not the people of Hakikatabad all trust him, and go to him for advice? For thirty years he was a leading pleader in this province—has any one a bad word to say of him?

Rambaksh: I do not myself know him, Molvi Sahib, but I have heard only good of him. Yes, he would be just the man; how he holds his own as elected Chairman of the Municipality! I have heard much good of him.

Molvi Farid ud din: Well, and do you not think that if Kour Dharam Singh and Molvi Amanat Ali and half a dozen others equally good men, equally well known and trusted in the neighbourhoods in which they reside, and almost equally certain to be chosen, were all to meet at the *Sudder* (head-quarters of the district), that they would be able to pick out one man willing and thoroughly fit to speak up for the people of this district, and for all of us Indians in this part of the country? Able and willing to tell Government the truth (which it now never gets) about everything that goes on, about every officer's conduct, about all our troubles and grievances, all our wants and wishes?

Rambaksh: No doubt, no doubt, and the same would be the case in other districts. But if every district sent only one man, there would be quite an army; the Government would never allow so many; they would be too many for them.

Molvi Farid ud din: Very likely, at first, the Government would not allow so many, though we hope to see the day when every district shall send at least two men to our local "Parliament," as they call such Councils in England; but, to begin with, our fifty odd dis-

district "Representatives" might meet and select from amongst themselves twelve good men to "represent" them all. And Government, if it allows the thing at all, must allow at least twelve such members in each local Council, as without at least this number it would be impossible to have any adequate "Representation," such as is required in a local Council, of all the many interests involved. Then there is the great Council, the Viceroy's Council, and for this the "Representatives" in the several Provincial Councils would select two, three, or four of their number, as the Government might settle, to "represent" them and their Province with the Government of India.

Rambaksh : This would be all very nice, Molvi Sahib, if we could only be sure of getting your Mamun Sahib, and Kour Dharam Singh, and the other best men chosen. But people would consider it an honour to be so chosen, and some would fancy to make some profit out of it, and those men like Rajah Harbansrai, and, worse still, Sheikh Zalim, have many villages and tens of thousands of ryots, and they would be sure to order all to vote for them, and though I would not, nor would Matadin, the most of them are poor men, and they would be obliged to do so.

Molvi Farid ud din : Very true, and that is why (although we look forward to a time when every honest ryot shall have a vote for the "Representative" of his *Parganah* or *Tahsil* or *Tappah**), we do not propose in the beginning to give the "Franchise," that means the right to vote for representatives, to any of those classes of people who are unable to understand what a serious business this election is, or are liable to be driven to vote differently to what they think right. No! at first we should give votes to all the educated and well-to-do persons, to members of all local Boards, and all Municipal Committees, to the leading men or Panches of any leading classes, or predominant castes, and so on. In every province the arrangements will very likely have to be somewhat different, and in each district probably some minor special rules will be found necessary. But these are details which can only be worked out when the Government agrees to accept the "Constitutional" in lieu of the "Despotic" system.

Rambaksh : But I don't think much of several of the members of our local Board; and look at the *Choongiwallahs* (literally, Octroi people, i.e., Municipal Commissioners) of Mutteenugger where Ramrattan lives. Why two of them are perfect fools, and as for well-to-do people, why some of them, like Lalla Subkhata Ram, are worse than the police!

Molvi Farid ud din : Certainly in every pod of cotton there are black seeds, and in every collection of men there are some rogues and a good many fools. All five fingers are not equal (*Panchon ungalyan barabar, nehin*). But take the upper and middle, fairly educated classes, and they contain, you well know, a majority of fairly sensible and reasonably honest men. And though even in our district some one or two bad men and some two or three stupid might get selected, the majority would be men whom all

their neighbours look up to, like Kour Dharam Singh, and so the one man chosen by these to represent the district would be almost sure to be a good man. And again, if by chance one or two, say even six, of the districts (though this could never really happen) sent up unworthy men, what would these be amongst fifty, and what chance would one of these have of being selected by the majority for the Council? No! even at first starting there would be no serious difficulty, and after a very few years every really suitable man would be known not only in his own district, but throughout the province, and his private life and public acts would be patent to all.

Rambaksh : Yes! I see it is not so difficult as I thought, and I suppose with such Councils that, as time went on, the condition of the country would improve, and things would be done more as we like, and we should be more comfortable. But please tell me what good this would do to us poor men in Kambakhtpur? And this is not quite the worst of the Rajah Sahib's villages. Look at those miserable folks at Sutyanas Kheyra! What could the Council do there? What could they do for Sheikh Zalim's poor folk?

Molvi Farid ud din : Surely you do not suppose that such disgraceful mismanagement, such shameless oppression and roguery, as characterize the dealings of these two persons could go on, for long, unchecked under our new system. No! one or more of the representatives would get up in Council and call the attention of Government to the lamentable state of affairs existing in nearly 100 villages in this district. They would state a series of cases, they would give all the facts, and they would demand an inquiry. All this would be reported in the *akhbars* (Press), public opinion would be roused against the incapacity in the one case, the wickedness in the other, that was blighting the lives of tens of thousands of poor honest souls. Their own kith and kin would fight shy of them, they would be made by social pressure to turn over a new leaf, and besides this, with full facts authoritatively laid before them, the Government would inquire, and indirectly add their pressure to that of the community, even if they did not find that they could take legal action, which in the Sheikh's case I am pretty sure they could. And mind you that the Government wants to prevent evils of this kind—it really does wish you all to be as happy and comfortable as possible; it is its misfortune that under its existing "Despotic" system, it never knows what is going on, or what ought to be done to attain what it wishes, but, ignorant alike of us and our customs and ways, blunders on trying to do us good, but, not unfrequently, doing us harm instead.

But don't you run away with the idea that when we get "Representation" all injustice and oppression, all poverty and distress, are to cease. This it can never do, unless and until all men are good and kind and wise, and that won't be in our time, Mukkadami. All we can promise is that the amount of these afflictions will be greatly diminished, and a very great check imposed on the evil omissions or deeds of men like the Rajah Sahib and the Sheikh.

* Different territorial sub-divisions.

Rambaksh: Oh, I understand that. I know that some will be in trouble as long as the world lasts, but there is too much trouble now, and I can quite perceive that with a *bandobast* (arrangement) such as you propose the state of affairs would become a good deal pleasanter. But ah! Molvi Sahib, there is one thing worse than the Rajah Sahib, one thing as bad as the Sheikh, as bad as death, and that is the Police, and what can your new *bandobast* do where that is concerned? No! Parmeshar, the Divinity in heaven has created the tigers to prey upon the deer, and our Government on earth has created the Police to prey upon us.

Molvi Farid ud din: What can our new system do with the Police? Why, reform it: change it from a curse into a blessing. Truly, Rambaksh, you have hit upon one of those national curses for the reform of which, above all things, "Representative Institutions" are essential. You hear much talk about this matter of police; people talk of it as if it were a great difficulty, but really it is the simplest matter in the world. No doubt the police are a curse, but there are just two simple reasons for this. The first is that the police are much more numerous than is necessary, and are not nearly well enough paid. And the second grows partly out of this and partly out of the ignorance of European officers. The police work as enemies of the whole community instead of as friends. And why? First, because, being so ill-paid, they are driven to extort money and take bribes, and to assume a bullying attitude towards every one to frighten them into giving, and this naturally makes the whole community dislike and fear them. And, secondly, because their European officers, men, as a rule, of very moderate capacities, dealing practically only with the dregs of the population, think we are all thieves and scoundrels and deal with us accordingly, and either hate or despise us. I have known many Superintendents of Police, but only one who had not an unreasonably bad opinion of the Indian community. They, as a rule, look upon us all as criminals not yet caught, as enemies to be fought with, as beasts to be kept under, and the only persons they show the least favour to are miserable toadies who poison their minds with lies about all their neighbours. It is not these poor Superintendents' fault so much; it is their misfortune. Very hard many of them work, but it is all in the wrong way, and generally does more harm than good. Mighty careful are they about accoutrements and arms and drill, and all kinds of outside polish (*nimāish*), but does one of them try to raise the moral tone of his men, to persuade them to be good, true, and just in all their dealings, to lead them to be kind and conciliatory to all people, to impress upon them that the only chance for real success lies in their having the whole of the non-criminal classes, the great bulk of the population, in fact, with them as friends? No, not one that I have ever seen or heard of; on the contrary, so far as their teachings go, whether by precept or example, they lead the police, already hated by all respectable people for their misdeeds, to look on the whole community as their natural antagonists. The whole question of police reform lies in these two simple matters. The

Government don't understand it, nor will it be possible to make them realise it until every council chamber contains a large admixture of independent "representative" Indians, but believe me that within five years of our securing this, the police force of the country would have been entirely reformed, and would have begun to be regarded by the country as their natural protectors and champions.

Rambaksh: Ah! Molvi Sahib, what a thing is learning; rightly do folks say, *bidya bari chiz hai*; all this, now you explain it, is simple and certain, but it would never have occurred to me. Now I know something about it, I am all for "Representation." "Representative Institution" *ke jay** I say. But, oh! Molvi Sahib, you are like one who holds aloft, out of reach, a cup of delicious water to one parched with thirst and fainting for a draught. I see how good a thing it would be. I think if we could get it, that the country might, in time, almost be happy again, as in the old days when I was a boy. But how is it possible to bring about this good thing? Alas! we are poor men, and we cannot help, but you are so clever and so wise, perhaps you and others like you can manage it. Oh! pray try, and we will all bless you and pray for you.

Molvi Farid ud din: No, Rambaksh, I and other educated men are doing our best, but with very little result. It is your help we require, your support, and that of others like you, that is necessary if we are to succeed.

Rambaksh: Our help! What can we feeble beings do? Who cares for us? Don't you remember the saying, *Ghure pai sowen, mahalon ke supne dekhen?* (They sleep on dung-hills and dream of palaces).

Molvi Farid ud din: That is a huge bundle of Urher stalks that you have here tied up; it must be very heavy and strong; do you think you could break it over your knee?

Rambaksh: Break it over my knee? No! nor could the Rajah Sahib's *hathi* (elephant) let him try ever so! But what do you mean?

Molvi Farid ud din: But I can; see! I pull out one stem, and thus I break it easily over my knee; and now another, and now a third, and a fourth. See! in about ten minutes, though I don't want to spoil your bundle, I could break the whole. Nothing can be weaker or feebler than each single stem, yet see how very strong they become when banded together, each supporting and strengthening the other? Let that teach you that, weak and feeble as you and your fellows are, if once you all unite in good earnest in a good cause you will be so powerful that no Rajah Sahib's *hathi* can break you. (*Sāt pānch ki lakri, ek janika bojh.*)

Rambaksh: But surely you don't want us to join together and fight with the Sirkar. If we killed all the Europeans how should we get along? All would be anarchy (*ghader*). You cannot mean this.

Molvi Farid ud din.—God forbid! This would be a sin. Why should we kill the poor Europeans? Many of them are really good men, most of them mean at any rate to do right.

* May it triumph, or May it be victorious.

They are ignorant no doubt of the rights of most matters concerning us; they blunder, they cause us misery, but they do it from ignorance—from an ignorance unavoidable under the system which they work on, and which, even did they wish it, they could not change without our help. Besides, though we of the new generation are growing up able to assist them and to do much for the country, the whole of us put together have not yet sufficient experience and self-reliance to manage the administration entirely without their help. Kill the Europeans! No, Rambaksh, let us say, rather, God bless all of them (and there are many such) who feel kindly towards us in their hearts, and according to their lights mean well towards us, and God forgive those amongst them (and let us hope they are not many) who dislike and despise us, and care nothing what becomes of us.

Rambaksh: That is very good, Molvi Sahib; you are a true *Rishi*, but what then do you mean?

Molvi Farid ud din: It is growing late, and I must be going; but I will try, briefly, to explain this. Although the Government of our country is Despotic, the Government of England is Constitutional and there every respectable man, even the cultivators and artisans, have the Franchise (power to vote for Representatives, you remember); and the people dislike Despotism, and they only allow it to continue here because they do not understand how this country has changed during the last twenty-five years (owing mainly to the education, and railroads, and post offices, and the like that they have given us), and believe us still to be children who must be managed, as a father manages young children, by orders, or in other words "despotically." But if we could once make the English nation at home (who have none of the prejudices on these matters that Europeans who have lived long out here so often insensibly contract) that we are no longer all of us children; that, thanks to their education, numbers of us now are quite fitted by our superior local knowledge, not only to fill a great majority of the posts now held by Europeans, and discharge the duties thereof far more satisfactorily than these by reason of being foreigners possibly can, but even to instruct and advise in most matters of domestic administration, they would at once, through their "representatives," insist upon our association in the work of governing the country on a much larger scale than at present, and on the concession to us of some form of "Representative institutions." To many of the best and highest of them the fact that the Government of India is still what they so greatly dislike, viz., "Despotic," is a source of real regret, and they would gladly accept any reasonable evidence that the continuance of such a system was no longer necessary. Besides this, even those who are less liberal and less high-minded are sensible. Practical common sense is the leading characteristic of the British nation; they know perfectly well that it is better to rule a contented than a discontented people, and one of their own holy texts says that a dinner of herbs where peace is is better than the grandest banquet where there is strife; and if once they saw us all, high and low, banded together and determined to obtain these "Representative Institutions," then they

have too much common sense not to allow us to have them. Now, perhaps, you understand what I meant by that bundle of Urher stalks, that Union is strength.

Rambaksh: Well, Molvi Sahib, I am with you altogether, but what must we do, and what are you learned gentlemen doing?

Molvi Farid ud din: The first thing to be done is to make all the more intelligent of your fellows understand all I have explained to you to-day. Let these again teach it to all their friends, and these again to others, till there is not a sensible man in the whole district who does not understand the rights of the case, and does not really, from conviction, desire "Representative Institutions." Other friends are telling the ryots, the shop-keepers, the artisans, the same things in other districts, and if you all bear in mind that this is a matter in which you all, high and low, rich and poor, are in one way or another personally interested, it will not be long before the country as one man is united, in real truth, in their desire for this great reform.

Rambaksh: I see this, and I will do what I can. I will explain it every night on the *chopal* till every one who has any head (and the headless people will do what we tell them) knows it as well as I do, and if some one will put it into a little book, I will make the children read it in the school. Do not fear that in this neighbourhood we shall not all be crying very soon for "Representative Institutions." But what then, and what are you doing?

Molvi Farid ud din: I am founding at Hakikatabad a political association, and later, you and other head ryots, who have brains and honesty, and are not what that *Chota Sahib* thought you, mere cattle, must join it. This association will be a branch of the larger association at the capital, and will work with it. Then in this district, in any place where there are many intelligent ryots like yourself, or clever shop-keepers, or artisans there smaller branches must be formed to work in concert with our Hakikatabad Association.

Now the object of this system of associations, which will soon have spread into every *Parganah* or *Tahsil*, will be two-fold. First, to teach the people what I have this day been teaching you, and give them rational ideas of their rights and duties as free citizens; and, secondly, having brought about a rational agreement on these matters, to make it clear both to the Government here and the English nation, what that agreement and determination is to which we have come. For both purposes a good deal of money is required. We have to print, publish, and distribute books and papers. You want some one to write a little book about these matters I have been talking about? Well, if such a book be written, we should want at least five thousand copies for this district only, for there must be at least one copy for every village and hamlet, and in the larger places there should be 2, 3, 5, 10, 20 copies, according to the size of the place, and that costs money; and this is only one thing, and constantly matters arise about which it is necessary to circulate information. And then we must keep up communication with each other—you in the *mofussil* branches with us at the *Sudder Station*, and we with other district associations and the

head-quarters, and the books and pamphlets and papers I have referred to have to be sent about, and to a great extent by post, and this costs a great deal in postage. And then, in connection with other associations, we have to prepare memorials setting forth our views and wishes, and to send people considerable distances to present these to the Viceroy or to the Lieutenant-Governor, and speak on our behalf. And, again, we have the National Congress, which meets yearly, and to which every district ought at least to send one "Representative," and it sometimes happens that the very man we know to be specially fitted for either task cannot, unaided, bear the expense of the long journey. And then, if the truths I have been trying to impress upon your mind are to be imprinted within any reasonable period on the minds of the entire population, merely distributing the books will not do. We must have earnest and clever men to go round from village to village and expound them, and though some of us, whenever we have leisure, do this, such work is intermittent, and we want men who will do nothing else but keep at it every day and all day, and though such men may do it for the love of their country, still they must live; and it is not amongst the rich and happy that we can usually look for such, but rather amongst those who are poor, and have suffered, and can therefore feel for all the suffering so rife amongst us: and for such, of course, we have to provide the necessary funds. And then where the work of an association develops, it becomes necessary to have a paid Secretary to manage the clerical business. None of these are large sums, but still in the aggregate a good deal of money is indispensable to successful work, even of that kind of work which may be called purely provincial. But then again in conjunction with other Associations and Leagues we have national work. We have to get some of our appeals printed and largely circulated in England, circulated not by the hundred but by the hundred thousand. And again it is absolutely essential that we should select able and earnest men like the Delegates we sent not long ago to England, and send them to England not for a week or two, but for a year at a time at least, to go round the country there, to all the larger towns and cities and attend public meetings and speak at them, explaining our grievances, and the remedies we desire to see applied, and generally to educate public opinion there as to the true state of affairs here, and gradually force home upon the minds of the people the conviction that we here have now really made up our minds as a nation that we do want "Representative Institutions." Moreover, it is equally necessary that some of our countrymen should obtain seats in "Parliament," so as to be in a position to advocate authoritatively our country's cause, and to insist on a hearing for our complaints and memorials. And all these things will cost a very great deal of money, and though other Associations will pay most of this, we too ought to give our share. So you see the old saying that "money is the sinews of war" is true even of this bloodless campaign against "Despotic Institutions" that we are undertaking, and money and a good deal of money, we must have.

Rambaksh: And how is it to be got? Of course, there are plenty of rich men who think

nothing of giving Rs.10,000 to repair some old tank that nobody wants, or even to build a Racket Court for the *Sahib log*, so as to curry favour with these, and perhaps get their names published in the Gazette. But we shan't get anything from them, for, say what you like Molvi Sahib, the officials won't like all this. I don't say Mr. Sidher, but where is there another like him? But what will the Joint Sahib, Mr. Oonchanak say, and what will Mr. Bahadur, the Judge Sahib, think of it all? No, you won't get much from the rich, and the poor have next to nothing to give, and so, I fear, you will not get that good deal of money you say you must have.

Molvi Farid ud din: Well, as to some of the wealthy, the mean selfish time-servers, whose only thought is for themselves and who care nothing for their country and countrymen, a base herd, but, thank Heaven, not a large one, we shall of course get nothing from them. But there are, despite these miserable exceptions, a great many good men amongst the well-to-do and wealthy who have helped us and who will help us. No doubt, not a few of these consider it inexpedient to join us openly; some think they can do better for us and the country by maintaining friendly relations with the officials, however prejudiced and narrow-minded these may be, by humouring their prejudices and affecting to take no great interest in our movement; some, again, are really afraid of giving offence or of the consequences of this. Well, they give privately; they wish to aid the cause and do so, and we take care that no one knows it at present, and that they get into no trouble about it. But the time will come when the battle has been won, when they will be proud enough to have their names published as early benefactors of the scheme.

Rambaksh: But will these private donations suffice for your needs? I can hardly think so.

Molvi Farid ud din: Certainly not, and our main dependence is on you and your fellows; on the masses. There are twelve lakhs of people in this district, and if only two lakhs out of these gave us each four annas, on an average, during the year, that would yield us Rs.50,000 a year, far more than we could now-a-days require. And you see, what we think is this: that wherever there are good men like yourself who have got the people interested in the matter, they might at the Dusehra, and the Holee, collect a pice or two from each villager for the Association. And then at marriages, the man who is going to spend Rs.20 might resolve to spend only 19 and send in one rupee to the Association. And the tradespeople and the money-dealers, when they make up their accounts yearly, might resolve to set aside a cowrie in the rupee for this work, just as they now set aside a great deal more for other public and sacred purposes. After all, what purpose can be more of a public one, what more sacred, than this which promises to bring about relief and comfort to all classes throughout the empire? Every ryot may give only a pais, but as we say *phui, phui karke, taldo bharta hei*. (Mony a mickle maks a muckle).

Rambaksh: That is a capital plan, and I promise you that you shall have something even from Khambakhtpur at the next Dusehra, and

from this day forwards be sure that all the little in my power shall be done to advance this good object. And now you are going, Molvi Sahib, please take this Rs.4-12 I owe you for stamps and fees in that case you won for me. It ought to be far more for all the trouble you took, but that was what you said in your *Rooqua* (note).

Molvi Farid ud din: Oh! I make those who can afford it pay; we've all got to live. Thanks! Now you owe me nothing, and now I shall enrol you as a Member of our Association, and pay in this money in your name to our slender treasury. One word more, old friend. You said I was a true *Rishi*. I hope, as a good Mahomedan, I am in no way behind a true Brahmin or a true Christian in my love for all that is good, and in my desire to be of service to my fellow-men. Trouble yourself little about what men call themselves, whether Hindu, Moslem, or Christian. Look to what

they are, and if good, remember that though they may wear different liveries, they are all humble servants of the one Lord. And may I say this more—"Representative Institutions" we shall get, but if we are to get all the good that is possible out of these, we must not only induce others to do justice to us, but we must do justice to ourselves. It is not merely by political enfranchisement that a people rises; they must grow in goodness as they grow in power, or evil will come of it, and while we band together to struggle against "Despotic Institutions," we must each and all in our inmost hearts resolve, and keep that resolve to live henceforth better lives, to love our fellow-men more, and gradually sink the all-absorbing interest in our own selfish cares, in a wider and nobler interest, in the welfare and the progress of our country and our fellow-countrymen. *Suphal kamai sudh ki jo lagr hur ke het.* ("Blessed are the earnings of the virtuous which go to the service of God.")

N.B.—The plan of the Hall which, in the Indian Edition, is placed at this point and is numbered pp. 215 and 216, will be found facing the inside front cover.

RESOLUTIONS passed at the Second Indian National Congress, composed of Representatives from Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Poona, Allahabad, Lahore, Lucknow, Agra, Benares, Ahmedabad, Kurrachee, Surat, Veerungaum, Ganjam, Masulipatam, Chingleput, Tanjore, Combaconum, Madura, Tinnevelly, Coimbatore, Cuddapah, Anantapoor, Bellary, and Umballa, held in Calcutta, on the 27th, 28th, 29th, and 30th December, 1886.

RESOLUTIONS.

- I.—Proposed by Mr. Rabimattulla Soyani (Bombay), seconded by Lala Murlidhur (Ambala), supported by Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (Madras), and carried by acclamation: "That this Congress of Delegates from all parts of India do humbly offer its dutiful and loyal congratulations to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress, on the approaching completion of the first half century of her memorable, beneficent, and glorious reign, and heartily wish her many, many more, and happy, years of rule over the great British Empire."
- II.—Proposed by Mr. Dinshaw Edulji Watcha (Bombay), seconded by the Hon. S. Subramania Iyer (Madras), supported by Pandi Pranath (Lucknow), and carried by a very large majority: "That this Congress regards with the deepest sympathy, and views with grave apprehension, the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India, and (although aware that the Government is not overlooking this matter and is contemplating certain palliatives) desires to record its fixed conviction that the introduction of Representative Institutions will prove one of the most important practical steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the people."
- III.—Proposed by Rai Kunia Lal Banerjee Bahadur (Calcutta), seconded by Mr. P. Rangiah Nayudu (Madras), supported by Mr. Ghanasham Nilkanth (Bombay), and carried unanimously: "That this Congress do emphatically re-affirm the 3rd Resolution of the Congress of 1885, and distinctly declare its belief that the reform and expansion of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and of the Provincial Legislative Councils, therein suggested, have now become essential alike in the interests of India and England."
- IV.—Proposed by Mr. Surendrath Banerjee (Calcutta), seconded by Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar (Bombay), supported by Mr. Sharfuddin (Behar), and carried without a dissentient voice: "That this Congress is of opinion that, in giving practical effect to this essential reform, regard should be had (subject to such modifications as, on a more detailed examination of the question, may commend themselves to the Government) to the principles embodied in the following tentative suggestions:—
- (1.)—The number of persons composing the Legislative Councils, both Provincial and of the Governor-General, to be materially increased. Not less than one-half the Members of such enlarged Councils to be elected. Not more than one-fourth to be officials, having seats *ex-officio* in such Councils, and not more than one-fourth to be Members, official or non-official, nominated by Government.
 - (2.)—The right to elect members to the Provincial Councils to be conferred only on those classes and members of the community, *primæ 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 interest would be materially imperilled by the communication of the information asked for, it shall be competent for them to instruct the *ex-officio* Members, or one of them, to reply accordingly and decline to furnish the information asked for.
 - (7.)—The Executive Government shall possess the power of overruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council in every case in which, in its opinion, the public interests would suffer by the acceptance of such decision; but whenever this power is exercised, a full exposition of the grounds on which this has been considered necessary shall be published within one month, and, in the case of local Governments, they shall report the circumstances and explain their action to the Government of India, and, in the case of this latter, it shall report and explain to the Secretary of State; and, in any such case, on a representation made through the Government of India and the Secretary of State by the overruled majority, it shall be competent to the Standing Committee of the House of Commons (recommended in the 3rd Resolution of last year's Congress, which this present Congress has affirmed) to consider the matter, and call for any, and all, papers or information, and hear any persons on behalf of such majority or otherwise, and thereafter, if needful, report thereon to the full House."
- V.—Proposed by Mr. N. N. Gupta (Kurrachi), seconded by Mr. M. B. Namjoshi (Poona), supported by Kumar Binay Krishna (Calcutta), and carried unanimously: "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 inquire 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."
- VI.—Proposed by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (Calcutta); seconded by Mr. M. B. Namjoshi (Poona); supported by Pandit S. Agnihotri (Lahore), and carried unanimously: "That a Committee, composed of the gentlemen named in the margin,* be appointed to consider the Public Service Question and report thereon to this Congress.
- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| *Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji (Bombay) | Mr. Guru Prasad Sen (Patna) | (Lahore), and carried unanimously: "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. |
| " S. Subramania Iyer (Madras) | Pundit Prannath (Lucknow) | |
| " Peary Mohan Mookerjee (Calcutta) | Munshi Kashipershad (Allahabad) | |
| Mr. G. Subramania Iyer (Madras) | Nawab Reza Ali Khan (Lucknow) | |
| Babu Matilal Ghose (Calcutta) | Mr. Hamid Ali (Lucknow) | |
| Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (Calcutta) | Lala Kanhyadal (Aurritsar) | |
| " Gangapershad Varma (Lucknow) | Rao Sahib Gungadhar Rao Madhaw Chitnavis (Nagpur) | |
| " Ramkali Chaudhuri (Benares) | Mr. Rahimatulla M. Soyani (Bombay) | |

- VII.—Proposed by Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee (Calcutta), seconded by the Hon. S. Subramania Iyer (Madras), and carried unanimously: "That this Congress approves and adopts the report,* submitted by the Committee appointed by Resolution VI."
- VIII.—Proposed by Mr. S. A. Saminada Iyer (Tanjore), seconded by Mr. H. H. Dhruva (Surat), supported by Dr. Trailokyanath Mitter, (Calcutta), and carried unanimously: "That, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has now arrived when the system of trial by jury may be safely extended to many part of the country where it is not at present in force."
- IX.—Proposed by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee (Calcutta), seconded by the Hon. Peary Mohan Mookerjee (Calcutta), supported by Munshi Sadho Lal (Benares), and carried by a very large majority: "That, in the opinion of this Congress, the innovation made in 1872, in the system of trial by jury, depriving the verdicts of juries of all finality, has proved injurious to the country, and that the powers then for the first time vested in Sessions Judges and High Courts, of setting aside verdicts of acquittal, should be at once withdrawn."
- X.—Proposed by Mr. Mano Mohan Ghose (Calcutta), seconded by Mr. T. Chidambara Row (Bellary), supported by Khajeh Abdul Aleem, (Dacca), and carried unanimously: "That in the opinion of this Congress, a provision similar to that contained in the Summary Jurisdiction Act of England (under which accused persons in serious cases have the option of demanding a 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."
- XI.—Proposed by Mr. Darji Abaji Khare (Bombay), seconded by Munshi Kashipershad (Allahabad), supported by Mr. Sri Ram (Lucknow), and carried unanimously: "That this Congress do place on record an expression of the universal conviction, that a complete separation of executive and judicial functions (such that in no case the two functions shall be combined in the same officer) has become an urgent necessity, and that, in its opinion it behoves the Government to effect this separation without further delay, even though this should, in some Provinces, involve some extra expenditure."
- XII.—Proposed by Rajah Rampal Singh (Oudh), seconded by Mr. R. D. Mehta (Calcutta), and carried by acclamation: "That in view to the unsettled state of public affairs in Europe, and the immense assistance that the people of this country, if duly prepared therefor, is capable of rendering to Great Britain in the event of any serious complications arising, this Congress do earnestly appeal to the Government to 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."
- XIII.—Proposed by Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee (Calcutta), seconded by Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar (Bombay), and carried unanimously: "That Standing Congress Committees be constituted at all important centres."
- XIV.—Proposed by Mr. A. O. Hume (Punjab), seconded by the Hon. S. Subramania Iyer (Madras), and carried by acclamation: "That the Third Indian National Congress assemble at Madras on the 27th of December, 1887."
- XV.—Proposed by Mr. Rangiah Nayudu (Madras), and seconded by Mr. Sorabjee Framjee Patel (Bombay), and carried unanimously: "That copies of these Resolutions be forwarded to His Excellency the Viceroy-in-Council, with the humble request that he will cause the 1st Resolution to be submitted in due course to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, that he will cause all the Resolutions to be laid before Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, and that he himself will be graciously pleased, in consultation with his colleagues, to afford them his best consideration."

(Signed) DADABHAI NAOROJI,
President of the Second Indian National Congress.

These Resolutions of the Second Congress were very fully considered and discussed during the year 1886, and were unanimously approved and ratified by almost every Political Association (more than one hundred in number) in the Empire, and by Public Meetings at nearly every town in India, so that it is not unreasonable to assume now that they faithfully represent the views of the great bulk of the intelligent classes in British India.

*REPORT.

We, the Members of the Committee appointed by the Congress to submit a statement in connection with the Public Service Question, have the honour to report that the following resolutions were unanimously adopted by us at a meeting held yesterday:—

- 1.—That the open Competitive Examination be held simultaneously, both in India and in England.
- 2.—That the simultaneous examinations thus held be equally open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects.
- 3.—That the classified list be prepared according to merit.
- 4.—That the Congress express the hope that the Civil Service Commissioners will give fair consideration to Sanskrit and Arabic among the subjects of examination.
- 5.—That the age of Candidates eligible for admission to the open Competitive Examination be not less than 19, or, as recommended by Sir C. Aitchison, more than 23 years.
- 6.—That simultaneous examinations being granted, the Statutory Civil Service be closed for first appointments.
- 7.—That the appointments in the Statutory Civil Service, under the existing rules, be still left open to the Members of the Uncovenanted Service, and to all 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.

(Signed) DADABHAI NAOROJI,
President of the Committee.