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(55) REPORT

OF THE

SECOND

Indian

National Congress,

HELD AT

CALCUTTA

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

1886.

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# APPENDIX I.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

WHO ATTENDED\* THE

# SECOND INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,

HELD AT CALCUTTA, DECEMBER 1886.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
1	Madras		Madras	Rao Sahib P. Rangiah Naidu...	Madras Mahajana Sabha and Triplicane Literary Society.	Landed Proprietor, Ml. Councillor, Dist. Board Member, President, Mahajana Sabha.
2	"		"	Hon. S. Subramania Iyer, B.L.	Mahajana Sabha.	Vakil, High Court, and Member, Madras Legislative Council.
3	"		"	Mr. T. Numberumal Chettiar, B.A.	"	Merchant.
4	"		"	Rao Sahib A. Danakoti Mudaliar Avl.	"	Zemindar of Malepankum, Municipal Councillor, Wandiwash.
5	"		"	Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, B.A.	"	Editor of the "Hindu."
6	"		"	Rao Sahib P. Annunda Charlu, B.L.	"	Vakil, High Court, Ml. Councillor and Secretary, Mahajana Sabha.
7	"		"	Mr. P. Subramania Iyer ...	"	Articled Clerk.
8	"		"	Mr. M. Ramasawmy Naidu ...	"	Merchant and Contractor.
9	"		"	Mr. M. Veeraraghava Chariar, B.A.	Mahajana Sabha and Trip. Lit. Society.	Joint-Editor of the "Hindu," and Secy., Mahajana Sabha.
10	"		"	Mr. M. G. Sriranga Chariar, B.A., B.L.	Madras M. Sabha.	Vakil, High Court.
11	"		"	Mr. N. Radhakrishna Iyer ...	Madras	

\* Many more delegates were nominated or elected, but were prevented by sickness, business, &c., from attending.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number	Presidency	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent	REMARKS
12	Madras		Madras	Mr. M. Aguppah Mudaliar ...	Madras	Municipal Commr., Burmah.
13	"		"	Mr N. Kristnasawmy Naidu, B A., B.L.	The Hindu Excelsior Reading Rooms.	
14	"		"	Mr. A C. Parthasaradhi Naidu	Madras	Editor of the "Andhra-prakasika."
15	"		Ganjam Dt	Rao Sahib Pakala Gopal Row, B A	Behampore	Pleader, District Court, Landholder and Municipal Councillor
16	"		Vizagapatam Dist.	Mr. Vepa Kristna Moorthy Pantulu Garu, M A.	Vizagapatam and Bimlipatam	Pleader, Dist. Court.
17	"		"	Mr. P. Venkannah Pantulu Garu.	"	Ditto ditto.
18	"		Godavery District.	Rao Sahib Singaraju V. Subboroyudu Pantulu Garu, B.L.	Rajamundry and Masulipatam.	Vakil, High Court, Masulipatam, and Ml. Councillor.
	"		Kristna Dt	Do Do ..	Bezwada, Gudiveda and Kristna	Ditto ditto.
19	"		Nellore Dt	Rao Sahib S Narayana Sawmy Chetty, B.A.	Nellore and Ongole	Pleader, District Court, and Municipal Councillor and Dist. Board Member.
20	"		"	Mr. M. Venkata Subba Row ..	"	Pleader, Munsiff's Court.
21	"		"	Mr. Anchoor Subbanaidu ..	"	Merchant and Landed Proprietor.
22	"		"	Mr. Kalanakur Vencata Reddy	"	Contractor.
23	"		Bellary Dt	Rao Bahadur A Sabapathy Mudaliar Avl	Bellary	Merchant, Chairman, Municipal Council.

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
24	Madras		Bellary Dt	Mr. K. Venkata Rao Garu ...	Hospett, Bellary	1st Grade Pleader and Landholder.
25	"		"	Khan Sahib Kurnool Abdool Kareem Sahab.	Bellary.	Municipal Councillor and Merchant.
26	"		"	Mr. T. Chidambara Row Garu, B.A.	"	1st Grade Pleader.
27	"		"	Mr. L. Rama Row ...	"	District Registrar. President, Rate-payers' Association, Bellary.
28	"		"	Mr. C. K. Ranganatham Mudahar.	"	Medical Officer.
29	"		Anantpur District.	Mr. Y. Choudappa Garu ...	Gooty	Pleader and Ryot and Chairman of the Gooty Union.
30	"		"	Mr. N. Nagesa Row Garu ...	Penukondah and Gooty.	Do. do. and member of the Gooty Taluqa Board.
31	"		"	Rao Sahib P. Kesava Pillai Avl	Anantpore and Gooty	Pleader and Ryot and Member of the District Board. Secy., Gooty People's Association.
32	"		"	Mr. P. Venketachella Pillai ...	"	Landholder.
33	"		Kurnool.	Rao Sahib V. Soonki Reddy Garu.	Kurnool.	Local Fund Member, Municipal Councillor, Landholder.
34	"		"	Rao Sahib P. Chenchi Reddy Garu.	"	Ditto
35	"		"	Rao Sahib M. Govinda Reddy Garu.	"	Ditto.
36	"		North Arcot District	Mr. Chedambadi Subbiah Naidu Garu.	Walajannagar	1st Grade Pleader.
37	"		"	Mr. V. Gopala Chariar Avl, B.A.	Chittore	1st Grade Pleader
38	"		"	Mr. C. V. Srinivasa Chariar Avl, B.A.	"	Ditto.



## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
39	Madras		Chingleput District	Mr. M. Ramanuja Chariar Ayl.	Chingleput	Pleader, District Court.
40	"		"	Mr. Shummugarvya Modaliar Avergal.	"	Zemindar.
41	"		Tanjore Dt.	Rao Sahib S. A. Saminada Iyer Ayl.	Combaconam.	Pleader, District Court, District Board Member, and the President of the Tanjore People's Association.
42	"		"	Mr. P. Krishnaswamy Aiyar Ayl.	Mayaveram.	Mirasdar.
43	"		South Arcot District.	Mr. S. Devanayaga Mudaliar Ayl.	Cuddalore	Landed Proprietor and Chairman, Municipal Council.
44	"		"	Mr. T. Govindaswamy Naidoo	"	Landed Proprietor.
45	"		Coimbatore District.	Rao Sahib S. P. Narasimha Naidoo.	Coimbatore	Editor and Proprietor of the "Crescent," Member of the District Board and Director of the Mercantile Bank.
46	"		Raichore	Mr. P. Nagapa Moodaliar ...	Raichore	Cotton Merchant.
47	"		Malabar Dist.	Rao Sahib C. Kunhi Raman Menou Ayl., B. A.	Calicut ...	Editor and Managing Proprietor of the "Kerala Patrika" and Municipal Councillor.
48	Bombay	The Concan	Bombay.	Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji ...	Bom. City	Merchant, Member, Legislative Council.
49	"	"	"	Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar, B.A., L.L.B.	"	Editor of the "Induprakash," Pleader, High Court.
50	"	"	"	Mr. Sorabjee F. Patell ...	"	Merchant.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Name of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
51	Bombay	The Concan	Bombay	Mr. Dinshaw E. Watcha	Bom. City	Hon. Secretary, Bombay Presidency Association.
52	"	"	"	Mr. Shamrao Vithul	"	Pleader, High Court
53	"	"	"	Mr. Ghanasham Nilkauth	"	Ditto.
54	"	"	"	Mr. R. M. Sayan	"	Solicitor, High Court, Late Sheriff of Bombay.
55	"	"	"	Kazi Mahomed Ismail Chilmai	"	Translator and Interpreter, High Court.
56	"	"	"	Mr. Daji Abaji Khare, B.A., L.L.B.	"	High Court, Pleader.
57	"	"	"	Mr. Chunilal Laloobhai Parekh	Bom. Arya Dnyau Vardhak Sabha.	Vice-President of the A. D. V. Sabha, and Merchant.
58	"	"	"	Mr. Gordbandas Khattan	Bom. City	Agent, Khattan Makanji Mills.
59	"	"	"	Mr. Mathuradas Lilladhar	"	Mill Owner, Agent, N. G. Eastern Mills.
60	"	"	"	Mr. Bamanji Phirozesha	"	Solicitor, High Court.
61	"	"	Tanna.	Rao Sahib Gangadhar Kashinath.	Bassein.	Pleader, Vice-President of the Taluqa Board.
62	"	"	"	Rao Sahib Lazuman Narayan	"	Landholder and Municipal Commissioner.
63	"	Deccan	Sangli	Mr. Krishnarao Vinayak Khadilkar.	Sangli	Landholder.
64	"	"	Poona	Rao Sahib T. N. Ragmachikar.	Poona Sarvajanic Sabha.	Sirdar, Landholder and Ml. Commissioner.
65	"	"	"	Mr. S. H. Chiplunkar	"	Hon. Secretary, Poona Sarvajanic Sabha, and Editor, P. S. S.'s Quarterly Journal.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
66	Bombay	Deccan	Poona ...	Mr. S. H. Sathe ...	Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.	Secy., Poona S. Sabha.
67	"	"	"	Mr. Vaman Prabhakar Bhave...	"	Member, P. S. S., and Principal, Poona Native Institution.
68	"	"	"	Mr. M. V. Natu ...	"	Member, P. S. S. and Landholder.
69	"	"	"	Rao Sahib M. B. Namjoshi ...	"	Municipal Commissioner, and Life Member, Deccan Education Society.
70	"	"	"	Mr. Venkatesh Govind Lailey	"	Pleader and Member, P. S. S.
71	"	"	"	Mr. N. B. Kanitkar ...	Poona ...	Ditto.
72	"	"	"	Rao Sahib Raghunath Daji Nagarkar.	"	Municipal Commissioner, Landholder and Member, P. S. S., Pleader.
73	"	"	"	Rao Sahib Damodar Vidyardhar Gokhle.	"	M. Commissioner and Member, Poona S. S., Assistant Public Prosecutor.
74	"	"	"	Rao Sahib A. Moodookrishna Moodliar.	"	Landholder, Municipal Commissioner and Member, P. S. S.
75	"	"	"	Mr. B. V. Moodliar ...	"	Landholder, M., P. S. S.
76	"	"	Sattara ...	Rao Bahadoor Ganesh Pandurang Agte.	Sattara ...	Vice-President, District Local Board.
77	"	"	"	Rao Sahib Govind Vishnoo Ranade.	"	Ml. C., District Court Pleader.
78	"	"	"	Rao Sahib Raghunath Pandurang Karandikah.	"	Pleader, Ml. Councillor.

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
79	Bombay	Deccan	Sattara ...	Rao Sahib Balvant Shridhar Sahasrabudhe.	Sattara ...	District Court Pleader, M. Commissioner, Sattara.
80	"	"	"	Rao Sahib Gauesh Gopal Kuber	"	Pleader, District Court, and Ml. Commissioner.
81	"	"	"	Rao Sahib Mahadaji Gopal Kuber	"	Pleader, Member, District Board.
82	"	"	Belgaum	Rao Sahib Sadashiv Balkrishna Bhate.	Belgaum Branch of the Bo. Pres. Assn.	Pleader and M. C., Secy. of Belgaum Branch of Bo. Pres. Assn. Proprietor, New English School.
83	"	Baroda	Baroda ...	Mr. Vithal Luxuman Kavathekar, B.A.		
84	"	Gujrat	Ahmedabad	Mr. Manilal Govind Rai ...	Gujrat Sabha	Vakil.
85	"	"	"	Rao Sahib Kesavlal Motilal ...	"	Vakil and Municipal Commissioner.
86	"	"	"	Mr. Lallubhai Nanabhai Bhat...	"	
87	"	"	Surat ...	Mr. Hoshangji Barjorji, B.A., L.L.B.	Prajahit Vardhak Sabha.	Pleader, High Court.
88	"	"	"	Rao Sahib Harilal Harshadrai Dhruva, B.A., L.L.B.	Do. and Broach, Viragaum & Nariad.	High Court Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, Hon. Secretary, Prajahit Vardhak Sabha.
89	"	"	"	Mr. Manchhashankar Jivanram, B.A., L.L.B.	Surat ...	High Court, Pleader.
90	"	"	"	Mr. Ratiram Durgaram Dave, B.A.	"	Articled Clerk to Messrs. Payne, Gilbert and Sayani, Solicitors, Bombay, Editor of the "Gujarati."
91	"	"	"	Mr. Manchersha Pallonji Kalkobad.	"	Head Master, Mission High School, and Hon. Secy., Prajahit Vardhak Sabha.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
92	Bombay	Sind	Sukkur	Rao Sahib Gobind Buksh Awatrai.	Sind Sabha, Sukkur and Hyderabad.	Zemindar, Pleader, Municipal Commissioner and Member, District Board.
93	"	"	Hyderabad	Mr. Hiranand Showkiram Advani.	Sind Sabha, Kurrachi.	Editor of the "Sind Sudhar."
94	"	"	Kurrachi	Seth Vishindas Nihal Chand ...	Kotri and Kurrachi.	Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner and District Board Member.
95	"	"	"	Mr. N. N. Gupta ...	Sind Sabha.	Editor of the "Sind Times."
96	Bengal	Punjab	Lahore	Lala Hukm Chand ...	Indian Association, Lahore	Pleader, Member, Anjuman, Punjab.
97	"	"	"	Sirdar Uttam Singh Súd ...	Lahore ...	Rais, Political Pensioner.
98	"	"	"	Pundit Satyanand Agnihotri ...	"	Brahmo Missionary.
99	"	"	"	Mr. C. Goloknath ...	Indian Association, Lahore	Barrister-at-law, Secy., Indian Association, Lahore.
100	"	"	"	Mr. G. N. Chatterjee ...	"	Asst. Professor, Government College.
101	"	"	"	Baboo Jogendra Chunder Bose, M.A., B.L.	Lahore ...	Pleader, Chief Court, Punjab.
102	"	"	"	Mr. Jagat Narain ...	"	Son of Munshi Hursook Rai, Rais and Proprietor of the "Kohinoor." Manager of the Kohinoor and Member, Unjumani, Punjab.
103	"	"	"	Pundit Din Dayal ...	"	Editor of the "Kohinoor."
104	"	"	"	Lala Kanhya Lal ...	"	Pleader, Chief Court.
105	"	"	Amritsar	Sirdar Bhai Atma Singh ...	Amritsar	Municipal Commissioner.
106	"	"	Ambala	Pundit Shahzada Ram ...	Ambala	Pleader, Chief Court and Municipal Commr.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place of Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
107	Bengal	Punjab	Ambala.	Lala Maridbar. ...	Ambala.	Pleader.
108	"	"	"	Pundit Tailoo Ram ...	"	
109	"	"	Gurdaspur	Lala Ram Saran Das ...	Gurdaspur	Pleader.
110	"	"	Dera Ismail Khan	Malik Bhugwan Das ...	Dera Ismail Khan	Pleader and Vice-President, Bhatri Sabha.
111	"	"	"	Malik Nebraj ...	"	Fellow B. Sabha.
112	"	"	Simla	A. O. Hume ...		Late of Bengal Civil Service.
113	"	N. W. P	Allahabad.	Munshi Kashi Prosad ...	Allahabad.	Vakil, High Court, Hon. Secretary of Hindu Samaj and of N. W. P. and Oudh Association President, Arya Samaj.
114	"	"	"	Lala Ramcharan Dasa. .	"	Rais, Banker, Junior Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board and Hony. Magistrate.
115	"	"	"	Kour Sivanath Sinha ...	"	Barrister-at-law, and Vice-President, N. W. P. and Oudh Association
116	"	"	"	Mr. T. N. Ghose ...	"	Municipal Commissioner.
117	"	"	"	Pundit Newal Behary Bajpaye...	"	Vakil.
118	"	"	"	Pundit Madan Mohan Malavya, B.A.	"	Teacher.
119	"	"	"	Bahoo Charoo Chunder Mittra...	"	Senior Vice-Chairman, Municipal Board, Secy., N. W. P. and Oudh Association.
120	"	"	"	Babu Bholanath Chatterjea ...	Hindu Samaj, Allahabad.	
121	"	"	"	Pundit Deokinandan ...	"	Editor of the "Prayag Samachar."
122	"	"	"	Mr. Satyendraprosad Sannyal...	"	
123	"	"	"	Munshi Taraprosad, M.A. ...	"	Vakil.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
124	Bengal	N. W. P.	Allahabad.	Dr. Brojendranath Banerjea ...	Hindu Samaj, Allahabad.	Medical Practitioner.
125	"	"	"	Baboo Shama Churn Mookerjee	"	Pleader.
126	"	"	"	Pundit Mourgunnesh ...	"	Asst. Secy., Hindu Samaj.
127	"	"	"	Pundit Gobind Rao Goray ...	"	
128	"	"	Brindaban	Pundit Radha Charan Gosvami	"	Municipal Commissioner, Brindaban.
129	"	"	Ballia	Pundit Indira Datta Upadhyaya, M.A.	Ballia Institute	Secy. of Ballia Arya Deopkarini Sabha, and Asst. Secy., Ballia Institute.
130	"	"	"	Baboo Deo Narain Singh ...	"	Talukdar of Mainya.
131	"	"	"	Munshi Devi Prasada ...	Ballia	Pleader and Secy. to the Ballia Municipality.
132	"	"	"	Pundit Bhugwandin Rai ...	"	
133	"	"	Bijnour	Konr Syam Sinha ...	Tajpore	Rais.
134	"	"	Ghazipur	Baboo Sukdeva Narayan Sinha	Ghazipur	
135	"	"	Agra	Konr Kanhi Singh ...	Agra Association	Rais, Municipal Commissioner, Honorary Magistrate, Member, Agra Association.
136	"	"	"	Baboo Jumna Das Biswas ...	"	Editor, Nasim. Agra; Chairman "Arya Samaj," Secretary, Agra Association and Municipal Commissioner.
137	"	"	"	Pundit Thakur Prosad ...	"	Assistant Professor of Sanskrit, Agra College.
138	"	"	"	Thakur Umrao Singh ...	"	Rais of Jatow.
139	"	"	Mynpuri	Thakur Zahir Singh ...	Mynpuri	Rais.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
140	Bengal	N. W. P.	Benares	Baboo Madho Das ...	Benares	Rais, Zemindar, Banker, Hon. Magistrate.
141	"	"	"	Baboo Madhusudan Das ...	"	Rais, Zemindar and Banker.
142	"	"	"	Mirza Mahomed Rahmutullah Beg.	"	Landholder & Pleader.
143	"	"	"	Baboo Abnasi Lal ...	"	Landholder, Rais and Banker.
144	"	"	"	Munshi Raghunandan Prasad, B.A.	"	Pleader & Landholder, Hon. Secy., District Board.
145	"	"	"	Rai Shyam Krishna Das ...	"	Rais, Zemindar and Banker.
146	"	"	"	Munshi Sadho Lal ...	"	Rais, Zemindar and Banker.
147	"	"	"	Baboo Luchman Das ...	"	Rais and Banker.
148	"	"	"	Dr. Chhannoo Loll ...	"	Medical Practitioner.
149	"	"	"	Baboo Ram Kali Chaudhuri ...	"	Govt. Pensioner, late Subordinate Judge, Benares.
150	"	"	Kumaon	Pundit Jwala Datt Joshi ...	Almora	Vakil, High Court, N. W. P.
151	"	"	Mirzapur	Munshi Bindeswari Prasad ...	Mirzapur Institute	Pleader.
152	"	"	Aligarh	Baboo Bhowanee Chandra Chakravarti, B.A. ...	Aligarh	Vakil.
153	"	"	Farukhabad	Mr. Gopal Hari ...	Vaidik Samaj, Farukhabad.	
154	"	"	"	Mr. Thakur Das ...	Farukhabad	



## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
155	Bengal	N. W. P.	Meerut	Mr. Sitalakant Chatterjee ...	Meerut Association	Pleader.
156	"	"	"	Mr. Muller Mal ...	"	Pleader.
157	"	"	"	Mr. Pralhad Singh ...	"	Rais, Pleader, Hon. Secy., Meerut Association.
158	"	"	"	Mr. Raghobir Saran ...	Meerut	Pleader and Rais.
159	"	"	"	Choudhree Durga Singh ...	"	
160	"	"	Hurdwar	Mr. Binayakant Dat ...	Kankhal	
161	"	"	Azimgurh	Mr. Dhunput Lal ...	Azimgurh	Sadar Kanungo.
162	"	"	"	Mr. Basdeo Sahay ...	"	Head Master, Mission School.
163	"	"	Basti	Ramnath Shukla Ballabhay Kabi ...	Basti	
164	"	(Rohilkhand)	Muradabad	Pundit Bunwari Lall ...	Muradabad	Proprietor, Sitarahind Newspaper.
165	"	"	"	Moulivi Sayad Jawad Hosein... ..	British In. Association, Muradabad.	Government Pleader.
166	"	"	"	Baboo Baijnath ...	"	Pleader, Ml. Commissioner, Assistant Secretary British In. Association Muradabad.
167	"	Oudh	Lucknow	Nawab Reza Ali Khan Bahadoor ...	Rifah-Am-Association.	Wasika Holder and Municipal Commissioner.
168	"	"	"	Mr. Hamid Ali Khan ...	"	Barrister-at-law.
169	"	"	"	Baboo Sri Ram, M.A., B.L. ...	"	Public Prosecutor, Municipal Commissioner.
170	"	"	"	Baboo Avinash Chunder Ghose, B.L. ...	"	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	Remarks.
171	Bengal	Oudh	Lucknow	Baboo Bepin Behari Bose, M.A.	Rifah-Am-Association.	High Court Pleader.
172	"	"	"	Pundit Praunnath ...	"	Teacher, Canning College, and Hon. Secretary to the Jalsai Tehzib.
173	"	"	"	Pundit Shyam Narain ...	Lucknow	Rais and Proprietor, Miratul Hind Newspaper.
174	"	"	"	Baboo Gangaprasad Varma ...	"	Editor and Proprietor of the "Hindustani" Newspaper.
175	"	"	"	Haji Mahomed Tegh Bahadur	"	Proprietor of the Rozana Akhbar.
176	"	"	"	Mr. B. M. Ray ...	"	Merchant and Proprietor of the firm of Messrs. H. C. Ray & Co.
177	"	"	Unao	Baboo Hargovind Dyal, M.A.	Unao and Lucknow	Government Pleader.
178	"	"	Partabgurb	Raja Rampal Singh ...	Partabgurb	Talukdar of Kala Kankur.
179	"	"	Bara Banki	Munshi Lalta Pershad ...	Bara Banki & Fyzabad.	Pensioner and Grant Holder.
180	"	"	Fyzabad	Baboo Kakkumul ...	Unjuman-i-Tehzib	Pleader, Chairman, Municipal Board.
181	"	"	"	Munshi Balak Ram ...	"	Pleader, Muncpl. Comr., Member, Dist. Board, Lauded Proprietor.
182	"	"	"	Munshi Salagram, B.A.,	"	Pleader and Member, Municipal Board.
183	"	"	"	Baboo Bepin Behary Dutt, B.L.	"	Ditto.
184	"	"	"	Baboo Gokul Chand ...	"	Pleader, Zemindar and President Unjuman Tehzib.
185	"	"	"	Sheikh Kadir Baksh ...	Fyzabad	Merchant, Municipal Commissioner, Hony. Magistrate.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
186	Bengal	Oudh	Fyzabad	Baboo Raghunandan	Fyzabad	Govt. Pensioner and Mahajan.
187	"	Central Provinces	Nagpur	Mr. Gungadhar Rao Madhav Chitnavis	Nagpur and Loka Sabha.	Zemindar, son of the late Finance Minister of the late independent Raja of Nagpur, and President of the "Loka Sabha."
188	"	"	"	Rao Sahib Gopal Hurry Bhiday	Nagpur	Pleader, Municipal Commissioner, and Member of the District Council.
189	"	"	"	Rao Sahib Bapoo Rao Dada Tinkheria, M.A.	"	Ditto.
190	"	"	"	Munshi Syud Abdul Aziz	"	Pleader.
191	"	"	Khandya	Baboo Haridas Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.	Khandya	Pleader.
192	"	"	Jubbulpore	Mr. Behari Lal	Jubbulpore	
193	"	"	Hoshangabad	Baboo Behari Lal Basu	Hoshangabad.	Pleader.
194	"	"	"	Baboo Khetra Mohan Bosa	"	Pleader.
195	"	Central India Agency	Indore	Mr. N. M. Khory	Indore	Pleader, Central India Courts, and Law Lecturer, Rajkumar College.
196	"	"	Mhow	Mohendra Nath Chatterjee	Central India Association	Pleader.
197	"	Behar	Patna	Moulvi Syud Sharfuddin	Bankipore	Barrister-at-law and Zemindar.
198	"	"	"	Baboo Guruprasad Sen, M.A., B.L.	"	Pleader, Joint-Editor, "Behar Herald and Indian Chronicle," President, People's Association, and Secretary, Behar Landholder's Association.
199	"	"	"	Baboo Gajadhar Prasad	"	Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
200	Bengal	Behar	Patna	Moulavi Ahsan-uttowhid alias Waff ul-Hassan.	Bankipore	Zemindar.
201	"	"	"	Baboo Biaswar Sing ...	"	Ditto and Pleader.
202	"	"	"	Baboo Jai Narayan Bajpaye ...	"	Merchant and Banker.
203	"	"	"	Baboo Buldeo Ram ...	"	Banker.
204	"	"	"	Baboo Govinda Charan, M.A., B.L.	"	Pleader.
205	"	"	"	Baboo Purnendu Narayan Singh, M.A., B.L.	"	Ditto.
206	"	"	"	Baboo Kuldip Sahay ...	"	Ditto.
207	"	"	"	Baboo Narayan Prashad, B.L.	"	Ditto.
208	"	"	"	Rai Ishree Perabad ...	"	Zemindar.
209	"	"	"	Rai Radha Kissen ...	"	Zemindar and Banker.
210	"	"	"	Shah Reza Hossein ...	Behar ...	Zemindar.
211	"	"	"	Shaik Allyool Hossein ...	"	
212	"	"	"	Baboo Raja Ram ..	Patna ...	Banker.
213	"	"	Shahabad	Baboo Baijnath Sing ...	Shahabad	Zemindar of Kulharia.
214	"	"	"	Baboo Raj Rajewary, Perabad Singh	"	Zemindar of Surajpoora.
215	"	"	"	Baboo Shyamalanand ...	"	Pleader and Zemindar.
216	"	"	"	Baboo Raghobans Sahay, B.A., B.L.	"	Ditto.
217	"	"	"	Baboo Kaudhji Sahay, B.A., B.L.	"	Ditto.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
218	Bengal	Behar	Shahabad	Baboo Kishoree Lal Haldar, M.A., B.L.	Shahabad	Pleader.
219	"	"	"	Rai Jaiprakash Lal Bahadur...	Doomraon	Dewan of the Maharaja of Doomraon, late Mem- ber, Bengal Legislative Council.
220	"	"	Sarun	Syud Mahomed Naki ...	Chupra ...	Zemindar.
221	"	"	"	Baboo Bansidhar Gupta ...	"	Pleader.
222	"	"	"	Sheikh Waris Ali ...	"	Do.
223	"	"	Gya	Baboo Shew Shunkur Sahay ...	Gya	Zemindar and Pleader.
224	"	"	"	Baboo Nand Kishore Lal, M.A.	"	Zemindar.
225	"	"	Muzuffer- pore.	Baboo Ramdhare Sahay ...	Muzuffer- pore.	Zemindar and Secretary to Tirhoot Landholders' Association.
226	"	"	"	Baboo Parmeshwar Narayan Mahta.	"	Banker and Zemindar.
227	"	"	Bhagulpore	Baboo Tejnarain Singh ...	Bhagulpore	Zemindar.
228	"	Bengal	Calcutta	Maharaja Sir Jotendro Mohan Tagore, K.C.S.I.	British Indian As- sociation.	Zemindar, President of the Bengal National League, late Member of the Supreme Legislative Council, &c., &c., &c.
229	"	"	"	Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E.	"	President, British Indian Association, late Presi- dent, Bengal Asiatic Society, &c., &c.
230	"	"	"	Baboo Joy kisseh Mookerjee ...	"	Zemindar.
231	"	"	"	Baboo Doorga Churn Law, C.I.E.	"	Merchant, Zemindar, late Member, Supreme Le- gislative Council, &c., &c.
232	"	"	"	Baboo Syama Charan Law ...	"	Zemindar and Merchant.
233	"	"	"	Hon. Peary Mohan Mookerjee, M.A., B.L.	"	Zemindar, Member, Su- preme Legislative Coun- cil, Honorary Secretary, British Indian Associa- tion, &c., &c.
234	"	"	"	Rai Kunja Lal Banerjee Ba- hador.	"	Late Small Cause Court Judge, Calcutta.
235	"	"	"	Baboo Saligram Singh, B.L. ...	"	Zemindar, Vakil, High Court, Presidency Ma- gistrate.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
236	Bengal	Bengal	Calcutta	Baboo Rajkumar Sarvadhikari, M.A., B.L.	British Ind Association	Editor of the "Hindu Patriot."
237	"	"	"	Rajah Rajendra Narain Deb Bahadoor.	Indian As- sociation and British Indian As- sociation.	Zemindar and President, Indian Association.
238	"	"	"	Hon. A. M. Bose, M.A. ...	I. A. and Assam and Nonkhally.	Barrister-at-Law, Mem- ber, Bengal Legislative Council, Hon. Magis- trate, &c., &c.
239	"	"	"	Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee, B.A.	Indian As- sociation.	Editor of the "Bengallee," Hon. Secretary, Indian Association and Bengal National League, Muni- cipal Commissioner, Presidency Magistrate, &c., &c., &c.
240	"	"	"	Baboo Moheesh Chunder Chow- dhry.	"	Zemindar, Vakil, High Court.
241	"	"	"	Maharaj Kumar Neel Krishna Bahadoor.	"	Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner, Presi- dency Magistrate.
242	"	"	"	Maharaj Kumar Binay Krishna Bahadoor.	Indian As- sociation, Calcutta, and Khirpai and Ghatal As- sociations (Midna- pore).	Zemindar,
243	"	"	"	Baboo Narendra Nath Sen ...	Indian As- sociation.	Editor of the "Indian Mirror," Municipal Commissioner, Presiden- cy Magistrate, Attor- ney-at-Law.
244	"	"	"	Baboo Jagarnath Khannah ...	"	Merchant, Municipal Commissioner, Presi- dency Magistrate,
245	"	"	"	Kumar Satyabadi Ghosal ...	"	Zemindar.
246	"	"	"	Hon. Kali Nath Mitter ...	"	Attorney-at-Law, Mem- ber, Bengal Legislative Council, Municipal Commissioner, Presi- dency Magistrate.
247	"	"	"	Baboo Jogendra Chandra Ghosh, M.A., B.L.	"	Vakil, High Court.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
248	Bengal	Bengal	Calcutta.	Baboo Neelkamal Mookerjee ...	Indian Association.	Zemindar.
249	"	"	"	Baboo Upendra Nath Mookerjee, B.L.	"	Pleader.
250	"	"	"	Baboo Jogendra Chandra Bose, B.A.	Indian Association and Tumlook Indian Association.	Editor of the "Suravi."
251	"	"	"	Pundit Jwala Nath Sarma ...	Burrabazar Political Association.	Pleader, Small Cases Court, Calcutta, and Secretary, Bharat Maitri Mandal.
252	"	"	"	Pundit Sadanand Misser ...	"	Editor of the "Sar Sudhanidhi."
253	"	"	"	Baboo Dvaraka Nath Ganguli	Indian Association and Nowgong Ryots' Association.	Assistant Secretary, Indian Association, Cal.
254	"	"	"	Baboo Devaprasad Sarvadhikari, M.A., B.L.	Indian Association.	Articled Clerk.
255	"	"	"	Baboo Satyaprasad Sarvadhikari	"	Joint-Editor of the "Bharatbasi," & Medical Practitioner.
256	"	"	"	Baboo Chandi Kishore Kushari	"	
257	"	"	"	Dr. Mohini Mohan Bose, M.D., L.R.C.P., &c., &c.	"	Medical Practitioner.
258	"	"	"	Baboo Kali Sunkur Sukul, M.A.	"	Professor, City College.
259	"	"	"	Baboo Heramba Chandra Maitra, M.A.	Indian A., Br. I. A., Krishnagar and Comercolly	Professor, City College.
260	"	"	"	Baboo Krishna Kumar Mitra, B.A.	Indian A., Paschim, Myensing, Sammilani, and Tangail Br. Ind. A.	Chief Editor of the "Sanjivani."
261	"	"	"	Pundit Siva Nath Shastri ...	Ind. Association.	Brahmo Missionary.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
262	Bengal	Bengal	Calcutta	Baboo Umesh Chandra Dutt, B.A.	Indian Association, and Orissa People's Association.	Principal, City College, Calcutta.
263	"	"	"	Baboo Shambhuchandra Mukerjee ... ..	Indian Union and Baranagore Rate-payers' Association.	Editor, "Reis and Ray yet."
264	"	"	"	Baboo Jaygobind Law ...	Indian Union.	Merchant, Zemindar, Presidency Magistrate and Mun. Commissioner.
265	"	"	"	Baboo Prannath Datta ...	"	Merchant and Municipal Commissioner.
266	"	"	"	Baboo Surendranath Das, M.A.	"	Attorney-at-Law and Ml. Commissioner.
267	"	"	"	Baboo Pashupatinath Bose ...	"	Zemindar.
268	"	"	"	Baboo Jyotirindranath Tagore	"	Zemindar.
269	"	"	"	Baboo Trailokyanath Mitter, M.A., D.L.	"	Vakil, High Court, Hony. Secy. I. Union, Chairman, Serampore Municipality.
270	"	"	"	Mr. M. Ghose ...	Indian Union and Ind. Association.	Barrister-at-Law, Zemindar, Hony., Secy. I. Union.
271	"	"	"	Baboo Gurudaś Banerjee, M.A., D.L.	"	Vakil, High Court and Mun. Commissioner.
272	"	"	"	Mr. R. D. Melita ...	"	Merchant.
273	"	"	"	Baboo Kalicharan Banerjen, M.A., B.L.	"	Vakil, High Court.
274	"	"	"	Mr. N. N. Ghosh ...	Ind. Union	Barrister-at-Law, Editor of the "Indian Nation" and Mun. Commissioner.
275	"	"	"	Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee ...	Bengal National League.	Barrister-at-law and Vice-President, B. N. League
276	"	"	"	Baboo Girijabhusan Mookerjee, M.A., B.L.	Do. and Siliguri.	Hon. Secy., Bengal National League, Vakil, High Court, late Premchand R. Scholar.
277	"	"	"	Mr. J. Ghosal ...	B.N. League	Landholder.



## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
278	Bengal	Bengal	Midnapore	Baboo Debendra Nath Ghose, M.A., B.L.	Midnapore Branch, In. Association.	Pleader.
279	"	"	"	Dr. Jogendra Nath Mitra, M.R. C.P., (London.)	Moysadal Branch, Indian Association	Medical Practitioner.
280	"	"	"	Baboo Jogendra Nath Chatterjee	"	Head Master, Moysadal, H. E. School.
281	"	"	"	Baboo Jadu Nath Chakravarti, B.A.	"	Teacher.
282	"	"	"	Baboo Kailas Chandra Samanta	} Natshal Gramya Samiti.	Landholder. Do. Do.
283	"	"	" Mahendra Nath Samanta			
284	"	"	" Priya Nath Das			
285	"	"	"	Baboo Kunja Behary Dass	Chandra- kona	
286	"	"	"	Baboo Adhar Chunder Ghose...	"	
287	"	"	"	Baboo Tara Prasanna Banerjee	Branch I. Associa- tion, Gha- tal.	
288	"	"	Contai-Mid- napore.	Baboo Baikanta Nath Hazra ...	Parnya Gramya Samiti.	Pleader, Contai.
289	"	"	Hoogly	Baboo Guniga Churn Sircar ...	Hoogly & Chinsura...	Government Pensioner, Late Subordinate Judge.
290	"	"	"	Baboo Mohendra Lal Bose ...	"	Zemindar.
291	"	"	"	Baboo Sidessur Ghosh ...	"	
292	"	"	"	Baboo Jogendra Chunder Mukerjee.	Chinsura Well-wish- ing Club.	
293	"	"	"	Baboo Ananda Kumar Dutta...	"	
294	"	"	"	Baboo Hem Kumar Dutta ...	"	
295	"	"	"	Baboo Gokul Chunder Mandal	"	
296	"	"	"	Baboo Jogendra Krishna Shome	"	
297	"	"	"	Baboo Bepin Behary Ghosal ...	Hora Branch I. Association.	
298	"	"	"	Baboo Pares Nath Biswas ...	"	Tradesman.

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place of Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
299	Bengal	Bengal	Serampore (Hoogly)	Baboo Kisart Mohan Ganguli, B.L.	Serampore Mofussil Association and also Seebpur Rep. Rate payers' Association.	Pleader.
300	"	"	Hoogly	Baboo Umakali Mookerji, B.L.	Serampore M. Association.	H. C. Pleader.
301	"	"	"	Baboo Lakshmi Kanta Mullick	Singur Branch Indian Association.	Landholder.
302	"	"	"	Baboo Upendra Nath Roy ...	Panishehala Br. I. Association.	Zemindar.
303	"	"	Howrah...	Baboo Jatadhari Halder ...	Howrah People's Association.	
304	"	"	"	Baboo Kangali Churn Halder ..	Seebpur Association.	
305	"	"	"	Baboo Taranga Nath Rai Choudhuri.	Utterparali Union.	Practical Agriculturist.
306	"	"	"	Baboo Shib Narain Mookerjee	"	Zemindar.
307	"	"	"	Baboo Chundra Kumar Mookerjee, L.M.S.	"	Medical Practitioner.
308	"	"	"	Baboo Jyot Kumar Mookerjee	"	Zemindar.
309	"	"	"	Baboo Hriday Krishna Samanta	Guzurpur Ind. Association.	
310	"	"	"	Baboo Umes Chundra Baitalik	"	
311	"	"	"	Baboo Asutosh Maiti ...	"	
312	"	"	"	Munshi Nural Huq , ...	Uhubaria Branch In. Association	Pleader.
313	"	"	"	Moulavi Soughat Ali ...	"	Merchant.
314	"	"	"	Baboo Ambika Churn Bose ...	"	Vakil, High Court and Zemindar.
315	"	"	"	Baboo Sripati Bose, B.A. ...	"	
316	"	"	Furreedpore.	Baboo Ambika Charan Mazumdar, B.L.	Furreedpore People's Association.	Pleader and Chairman, Furreedpore Municipality.
317	"	"	"	Baboo Jaladhar Sen ...	Goalundo Branch In. Association	Landholder.

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Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
318	Bengal	Bengal	Rungpore	Baboo Mohini, Mohun, Chakravarti, M.A., B.L.	Rungpore	Pleader.
319	"	"	"	Baboo Prasanna Nath Chowdhry.	"	Do.
320	"	"	"	Mr. Samiruddin Ahmed, B.A. ...	"	Zemindar.
321	"	"	Nelphamari (Rungpore.)	Munshi Rajab Ali Ahmed ...	Nelphamari Association	Pleader.
322	"	"	Dinagepore.	Baboo Debendra Nath Palit, M.A., B.L.	Dinagepore I. A.	Do.
323	"	"	Moorshedabad.	Baboo Baikant Nath Sen ...	Moorshedabad Association.	Pleader, President, Moorshedabad Association.
324	"	"	"	Baboo Gopal Chunder Mookerjee, M.A., B.L.	"	Vakil, Vice President, Moorshedabad Association.
325	"	"	"	Baboo Srish Chunder Basu Sarvadhikari.	"	Zemindar.
326	"	"	"	Baboo Barada Prasad Bagchi...	"	Secretary, Moorshedabad Association and Pleader.
327	"	"	"	Dr. Ram Das Sen ...	"	Zemindar.
328	"	"	"	Baboo Sri Nath Pal ...	"	Do.
329	"	"	"	Mr. K. C. Rai ...	"	
330	"	"	Jangipur (Moorshedabad.)	Baboo Asutosh Ghosh ...	Jangipur Br. I. A.	Pleader.
331	"	"	Jessore ...	Baboo Kali Nath Mookerjee, B.A.	Jessore Indian Association.	Pleader and Landholder.
332	"	"	"	Baboo Jogendra Nath Sen, M.A.	Narail	Principal, Narail College.
333	"	"	"	Baboo Sura Nath Chowdhuri.	Jessore	Zemindar and Member, District Board, Jessore.
334	"	"	"	Baboo Kishori Lal Sarkar, M.A., B.L.	Jhinkergacha Ryots' Association & Jhenida	Vakil, High Court.
335	"	"	"	Baboo Mati Lal Ghose ...	Jhinkergacha Ryots' Association	Joint-Editor, "Amrita Bazar Patrika." Member, District Board, Jessore.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
336	Bengal	Bengal	Jessore.	Baboo Nilkamal Dasg ...	Jhinkergacha Ryots' Association	Auditor, E. I. Railway.
337	"	"	"	Baboo Amrita Lal Roy ...	"	
338	"	"	Kalia-Jessore.	Baboo Sivendra Nath Gupta, M.A.	Kalia Young Men's Association.	
339	"	"	Khulna ...	Baboo Triguna Charan Sen, M.A.	Senhati People's Association.	Head Master, Ripon Collegiate School, Kidderpore.
340	"	"	"	Baboo Manomohan Sen ...	"	Medical Practitioner.
341	"	"	"	Baboo Indu Bhusan Mazumdar, B.A.	Maheswar-pasha.	
342	"	"	"	Baboo Jadu Nath Kanjilal ...	Bagirhat People's Association	Pleader.
343	"	"	"	Molvi Syud Basaratullah ...	"	Talookdar, Member Local Board.
344	"	"	"	Baboo Beepin Behary Ray ...	"	Pleader.
345	"	"	Backergunge.	Munshi Sanduddin Mohamed ...	Barisal People's Association	Pleader and Zemindar.
346	"	"	"	Baboo Rakhil Chunder Roy ...	"	Zemindar.
347	"	"	"	Mr. P. L. Roy ...	"	Barrister-at-law and Zemindar.
348	"	"	"	Baboo Chandra Kanta Sen, M.A., B.L.	"	Vakil, High Court.
349	"	"	Dacca ...	Baboo Rama Kant Nundy ...	Dacca People's Association.	Pleader, Vice-Chairman, Dacca Municipality.
350	"	"	"	Baboo Kailash Chandra Sen ...	"	Zemindar and Pleader.
351	"	"	"	Khajeh Abdool Aleem ...	"	Zemindar.
352	"	"	"	Syed Abdool Bari ...	"	Ditto.
353	"	"	"	Moulavi Rezauddin, ...	"	Ditto.
354	"	"	Rajshaye	Baboo Bhuban Mohan Maitra...	Rajshaye Association.	Zemindar and Pleader, District Court.
355	"	"	"	Baboo Rajkumar Sarkar ...	Digapathia (Nattore)	Zemindar. Member, District Board, Rajshaye.
356	"	"	"	Baboo Mohendra Nath Sanyal, B.L.	Rajshaye	Pleader.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
357	Bengal	Bengal	Rajshahye	Baboo Syama Charan Roy, B.L.	Rajshahye	Pleader.
358	"	"	Nattore (Rajshahye)	Baboo Jadav Chandra Bishi ...	Nattore People's Association.	Zemindar of Juari (Nattore).
359	"	"	"	Sarat Chandra Bose, B.A.	"	Head Master, Nattore H. School.
360	"	"	"	Dr. Kedar Nath Pal ...	Agricultural Society, Tahirpur.	
361	"	"	Pubna.	Baboo Giris Chandra Ray, B.L.	Pubna.	Chairman, Pubna Municipality, and Pleader.
362	"	"	"	Mr. A. Chandhuri M.A. (Cal) B.A. (Cantab.) L.L.B.	"	Barrister-at-law.
363	"	"	"	Baboo Umagati Roy, B.A. ...	Khetupara Ryots' Association.	
364	"	"	"	Baboo Jadav Chandra Chakravarti, M.A.	Serajgunge British I. Association.	Professor, City-College.
365	"	"	"	Baboo Jagadish Chandra Roy	Baghati Branch I. Association. Serajgunge.	
366	"	"	"	Baboo Jadav Chandra Bhuttacharjee.	Chatmohar.	
367	"	"	"	Baboo Rajani Kant Bhuttacharji	Pechakola.	
368	"	"	Nuddea	Roy Jadu Nath Roy Bahadoor	Nuddea.	Chairman, Krishnagar, Municipality, Zemindar and Indigo-planter.
369	"	"	"	Baboo Jadu Nath Chatterjee ...	Branch I. Association. Krishnagar.	Pleader.
370	"	"	"	Baboo Surendra Nath Pal Chandhuri.	Nuddea.	Zemindar, Chairman, Ranaghat Municipality.
371	"	"	"	Dr. Athar Ali ...	"	Medical Practitioner, Chuadanga.
372	"	"	"	Baboo Akhay Kumar Mookerjee	Branch I. Association, Krishnagar.	Pleader and Vice-Chairman, Krishnagar Municipality.
373	"	"	"	Baboo Nuffur Chunder Pal Chaudhuri.	Nuddea.	Zemindar, Member, District Board, Nuddea.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
374	Bengal	Bengal	Nuddea.	Mr. B. Pal Chaudhuri, M.I. & S.I. (Lond.)	Nuddea.	Engineer and Zemindar.
375	"	"	"	Baboo Basanta Kumar Chatterjee, B.L.	Katdah Association.	Pleader, Krishnagar, Member of the District Board of Nuddea.
376	"	"	"	Munshi Fakir Ali Miyah ...	"	Landholder.
377	"	"	Ranaghat (Nuddea.)	Baboo Krishna Chandra Ghatak	Branch I. Association, Ranaghat.	
378	"	"	"	" Akhoy Kumar Ghosh ...	"	Municipal Commissioner.
379	"	"	"	" Girija Bhusan Datta ...	"	Medical Practitioner.
380	"	"	Chogdah (Nuddea.)	" Jogendra Narayan Mitra	Chogdah.	Teacher.
381	"	"	Kissen-gunge (Nuddea.)	" Jagadisobandra Lahiri ...	Kissen-gunge	Medical Practitioner.
382	"	"	"	" Nandagopal Bhaduri ...	Mahajan Sabha, Majdia, Kissen-gunge.	
383	"	"	Bhajan-ghata (Nuddea.)	Baboo Suresh Chandra Roy, M.A.	Branch I. Association, Bhajan-ghata.	
384	"	"	Santipore (Nuddea.)	Baboo Bepin Behary Maitra, M.B.	Santipore	Medical Practitioner.
385	"	"	Joyrampore (Nuddea.)	" Surendra Nath Rai ...	Joyrampore Jnan Pradayini Sabha.	
386	"	"	Tipperah	Baboo Gobind Chunder Das, M.A., B.L.	Tipperah People's Association.	Pleader.
387	"	"	"	Munshi Lateef Hossain ...	Shahbazpur	
388	"	"	"	Munshi Anayat Ali ...	Kansua.	
389	"	"	Chittagong	Dr. Annada Charan Kastagiri...	Chittagong	Medical Practitioner.
390	"	"	"	Baboo Akhil Chunder Sen, M.A., B.L.	"	Vakil, High Court.
391	"	"	Jalpaiguri	Baboo Hara Mohun Das ...	Jalpaiguri	Jotedar and Dewan to the Raikat of Jalpaiguri.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
399	Bengal	Bengal	Jalpaiguri.	Dr. Tamizuddin Ahmed, M.B., C.M., B.Sc., L.S.A., (London.)	Jalpaiguri.	Medical Practitioner.
393	"	"	"	Baboo Nirmal Chunder Sinha, M.A., B.L.	"	Pleader and Zemindar, Municipal Commissioner and Hon. Secy., Branch I. Association.
394	"	"	Mymensing	Moulavi Hamid Uddin Ahmed, B.L.	Mymensing	Pleader.
395	"	"	"	Baboo Revati Mohan Guha, M.A., B.L.	"	Pleader.
396	"	"	"	Baboo Isan Chandra Gupta ...	West Mymensing Association	Secretary, West M. Association.
397	"	"	Sherpur (Mymensing.)	Baboo Banwarilal Chaudhuri ...	Sherpur Landholders' Association.	Zemindar.
398	"	"	"	Baboo Giris Chandra Bhattacharjee.	"	
399	"	"	Sakrail (Mymensing.)	Baboo Lalit Chandra Sen ...	Sakrail Hitasadhini Sabha.	
400	"	"	"	Baboo Umbika Prasad Sen ...	"	
401	"	"	"	Baboo Bhabani Kisor Majumdar, B. L.	Husainpore	Pleader.
402	"	"	"	Moulavi Newshir Ali Khan ...	Tangail ...	Talookdar, Charan, Editor of the "Ahmedi."
403	"	"	"	Baboo Ram Narayan Agasti, B.A.	Kishoreganj	Teacher.
404	"	"	Malda	Baboo Madhu Sudan Sinha, B.A.	Malda Association.	
405	"	"	Burdwan	Baboo Mathura Nath Sanyal, B.A.	Purbasthali Br. I. Association.	
406	"	"	"	Baboo Pramatha Natha Raya...	Purbasthali Hitakari Sabha.	
407	"	"	"	" Abinash Chandra Nundy	"	

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
408	Bengal.	Bengal.	24-Per-gunnaha.	Baboo Asantosh Biswas, M.A., B.L.	Suburban Ratepayers' Association. Bhowani-pore, and Indian Association. Calcutta.	Plender, Municipal Commissioner.
409	"	"	"	Debender Chunder Ghosh, B.L.	Indian Union, Calcutta.	Plender, Judge's Court, Alipore, Hon. Magistrate.
410	"	"	"	Revd. P. M. Mukerjee ...	Bussapagla Improvement Association.	Missionary of S. P. G., Taliganj.
411	"	"	"	Nawab Gholam Rubbani ...	"	(Of the Mysore Princes Family.)
412	"	"	"	Baboo Mohendranath Sen ...	"	Teacher, Commissioner S., Suburban Municipality.
413	"	"	"	Baboo Siddeshur Bannerjee ...	Rohora Patriotic Association.	
414	"	"	"	Baboo Baiconda Nath Chowdhuri.		
415	"	"	"	Baboo Nibaran Chunder Chowdhuri.		
416	"	"	"	Baboo Gopal Chunder Mookerjee.		
417	"	"	"	Baboo Sarada Prasad Banerjee	Baranagore Local Committee of the Ind. Association.	Chairman, Baranagore Municipality.
418	"	"	"	Baboo Sasipada Banerjee ...	Baranagore Workingmen's Club and Ratepayers' Association.	
419	"	"	"	Baboo Isnary Charan Mookerjee	Baranagore Ratepayers' Association.	Zemindar.
420	"	"	"	Baboo Jogendra Nath Bose, M.A., B.L.	"	Vakil, High Court.
421	"	"	"	Baboo Bijay Lall Dutt ...	Arbalia J. V. Sabha.	
422	"	"	"	Baboo Surendra Chundra Basu		



## LIST OF DELEGATES.

Number.	Presidency.	Province.	District or City.	Names of the Delegates.	Place or Association which they represent.	REMARKS.
423	Bengal.	Bengal.	24-Pergunnahs.	Roy Jotendra Nath Chowdhuri, B.A.	Taki Br. I. Association, Indian Association, Calcutta and Baranagore Local Committee of the I. Association	Zemindar.
424	"	Chota Nagpore.	Hazaribagh	Rai Jadu Nath Mookerjee ...	Hazaribagh & Ranchi.	Government Pleader.
425	"	"	Purulia	Pundit Prannath Saraswati, M.A., B.L.	Purulia	Vakil, High Court.
426	"	Orissa	Balasore	Kumar Baikunta Nath Dey ...	Balasore National Society & British Indian A.	Zemindar, late Member, Bengal Legislative Council, &c. &c. &c.
427	"	Assam	Cachar ...	Baboo Deno Nath Dutta ...	Cachar	Manager of C. N. J. Stock Co., Ltd.
428	"	"	Shillong...	Mr. Kali Kanta Barkagti, B.A.	Shillong A.	
429	"	"	Dibrugarh	Mr. Devi Charan Barua, B.A.	Upper Assam A.	
430	"	"	"	Mr. Gopi Nath Bardoloye, B.A.	"	
431	"	"	Nowgong	Mr. Satya Nath Borah, B.A. ...	Ryots' A. Nowgong.	Tea Planter.
432	"	"	Sylhet ...	Baboo Bepin Chunder Pal ...	Sylhet	Landholder.
433	"	"	"	Baboo Joygobind Shome, M.A., B.L.	"	Vakil, High Court. Editor, "Christian Herald."
434	"	"	Silchar ...	Baboo Kamini Kumar Chanda, M.A.	Habiganj People's A. Silchar.	Landholder.
			<i>Names of Delegates omitted inadvertently from the foregoing</i>			<i>List.</i>
394A	"	Bengal	Mymensing	Baboo Keshub Chander Acharjee Chowdhry.	Mymensing	Zemindar.
412A	"	"	24-Pergunnahs.	Baboo Sirish Chnder Basu ...	Russapagla Improvement Assn	Asst. Secy. of the Association.

(Besides these Delegates, several Visitors—the Honorable Mr. Ranade, Rajah Lutchman Singh, the Honorable Mr. Baij Nath (Chief Justice, Indore) and others—were present, and though taking no part in the Public Proceedings, assisted the Delegates at some of their informal committees with their advice.)

(N.B.—This list, it is feared, is not quite complete as to names even, since it is believed that some few gentlemen left without recording their names. It is certainly incomplete as to many whose names are recorded, owing to gentlemen failing to note their academical degrees, professions, and other particulars opposite their names before leaving.)

## APPENDIX II.

### PAPERS RELATING TO THE ELECTION OF DELEGATES.

(Extracts from Newspapers.)

#### ARRAH.

The 13th December, 1886.

A MEETING of the people of Shahabad was held here on Sunday, the 12th instant, for the purpose of electing delegates for the National Congress to be held at Calcutta. It was presided over by Mr. Shurfuddin, Barrister-at-Law. Great enthusiasm prevailed. Mahomedans took as much part as Hindus in its proceedings, and both showed the greatest earnestness. The mass, that had mustered two thousand strong, heard with rapt attention the proceedings of the day which were all conducted in Urdu.

The President opened the meeting with a brief but a succinct and clear statement of the aims and objects of the National Congress. He showed that, with the growth of free citizen ideas, corresponding alterations must be made in the mode of the Government to suit those ideas. Such ideas cannot be stifled, but must have a natural outlet. The National Congress purposes to attain those ends by constitutional agitation. He then called upon Baboo Rughubans Sahai, B.A., B.L., to move the first resolution which runs thus:—

"I.—That this meeting entirely sympathises with the aims and objects of the National Congress to be held during Christmas holidays at Calcutta, and deems it desirable to send representatives to the said Congress."

The mover dwelt upon the advantages of representative Government, the establishment of which is one of the chief aims of the Congress. He said that a foreign Government, however strong and well-intentioned, could never enter into the real wants and wishes of the country, and that a representative Government would have the double advantage of removing popular grievances and satisfying the people.

Baboo Kailash Chunder Bannerji, M.A., B.L., in seconding the resolution, exhorted the people to see their ancient *punchayat* system re-established on a broader and more scientific basis in a representative form of Government. He likened district representation to feeders of a large river, which without them would dry up. The National Congress must be fed by district representation to be effective.

Baboo Chaturbhuj Sahai moved the second resolution which was as follows:—

"II.—That some gentlemen be sent as delegates to represent this District at the said Congress."

He said that the money of India is expended in pageants and shows and unprofitable wars, while millions of Indian people are starving for want of daily bread. Those millions who are not consulted or cared for would have to bear the burden of these departures from morality.

Moulvi Lukman Hyder was right glad to find that the time he had up to that time thought to be far distant was near at hand—the time which would see India governed for the Indians.

Baboo Kandhji Sahai, B.A., B.L., in support of the resolution, assured the meeting that the Congress was in the highest degree constitutional, and it would serve as a safety-valve to the State in times of trouble. He showed that it could never be considered dangerous to the State, in that it always had hopes of its objects being realized, while one destitute of such hopes could do worse out of utter desperation.

Baboo Jadu Nath Sahai moved that a Select Committee be formed of the following gentlemen for the purpose of selecting the delegates: Baboo Raj Rajeswari Prasad Singh, Rai Jaiperkash Lall Bahadur, Baboo Jadu Nath Sahai, Baboo Chaturbhuj Sahai, Baboo Symlanund, Baboo Kandhji Sahai, Baboo Bhagwan Dass, Baboo Udaichand, Baboo Baijnath Sahai, Baboo Baijnath Singh, Baboo Sikher Chand, Moulvi Lukman Haider, Moulvi Kazisohur Alum, Moulvi Mirza Ismail, Baboo Kailash Chunder Bannerji and Baboo Thakurpershad Singh.

Baboo Kandhji Sahai, B.A., B.L., was then authorized on behalf of the meeting to hold necessary communication with the Secretary to the National Congress on the subject of receiving representatives from this district.

In the end a telegram and a letter from Baboo Raj Rajeswari Prasad Singh of Surojpara were read out. He was to have attended the meeting, but was kept away owing to an unforeseen circumstance.

#### CONJEEVERAM.

A PUBLIC meeting was held here in the Cloth Bazar Choultry, Hodsenspett, for nominating delegates to be sent to the National Congress. Notices had been circulated by Mr. C. T. M. Appavó Mudaliar, Rao Sahib, Municipal Councillor. Precisely at the hour, 4 P.M., the proceedings of the meeting began, upwards of 500 people assembling in the Hall, while a greater number had to remain outside. The public kept good order, and the spectacle witnessed that day is without any precedent in the history of this town. Among those present were all the resident Municipal Councillors, inclusive of the Chairman, being 15 in number out of the whole body of 20 members, members of the District Board and the several Taluq Boards of the District, Zemindars, Shrotriendars and other landholders, managers of temples and other orthodox Brahmins, influential merchants of the town and of the district, Schoolmasters, and, in fact, representatives of every section of the community were rising with each other in the display of enthusiasm for what the whole assembly accepted as their one common and sole object. The proceedings began, the assembly voting unanimously with acclamations to the Chair our respected citizen M. R. R. Namasivaya Chettiar, Rao Sahib, Municipal Councillor, and Honorary Magistrate. The President elect in a short speech, explained the object of the meeting and sat down amidst applause. Then Mr. A. Rangachariar, Chief Mirasidar of Dawa, and members

of the Taluq Board of Chingleput spoke at considerable length about the object of the meeting, the subjects to be discussed at the Congress and the importance and necessity of sending delegates to represent the views of the public of the District at the Congress.

The next speaker P. B. Sumbanda Mudaliar Rao Bahadur, Chairman of the local Municipal Council and also Civil apothecary, impressed upon the meeting the importance of introducing technical education, one of the subjects to be discussed this year by the Congress, its useful effect upon the declining manufacturing industries of India in competition with English manufactures. He also convinced the meeting of the necessity of forming an Association in the town and other parts of the district calculated to train the people politically. Then Mr. Krishnasamy Thatha Chariar Rao Sahib, Dharmakarta of the Sri Dewarajaswamy's Temple, member of the District Board and of the Local Municipal Council, spoke also of the importance of the Congress and of the meeting sending its delegates. He suggested that the Congress should take up in hand the subject of the abolition of the income-tax, which he said operated very harshly as direct taxation, the deficit owing to such abolition being made up by means of indirect taxation. Then Mr. M. Y. Ranga Chariar, Vakil of the District Court, explained to the audience the necessity of the remodelling of the Legislative Council on the lines laid down in the third resolution of the last year's Congress at Bombay, and how it was practicable to elect such representatives. Then Mr. Kristnasamy Thathachary proposed that Mr. M. Y. Ranga Chariar be appointed delegate to represent the district at the Congress. As an amendment of this proposition Mr. C. M. Ranga Iyengar, Mirasidar, proposed the following gentlemen be also appointed delegates: M. Viraragava Chariar Avergal, a Mirasidar of the Taluq; M. Shunmuga Moodaliar, Zemindar of Nallatur; M. G. Sriranga Chariar, E.A. and B.L., Vakil, High Court; A. Ranga Chariar, of Damal. The last proposition as amended was seconded by S. Sreenivasa Iyer, Rao Sahib, Head Master of the Pacheappa's High School.

The last named Mr. A. Ranga Chariar of Damal, pleaded ill-health, but on the gentlemen then present expressing surprise that such a patriotic gentleman should now care more for his health than his country, he very willingly withdrew his plea and enthusiastically declared acceptance of his appointment. The whole proposition was carried unanimously.

It was next asked by M. B. Ry. Narasima Chariar if he will be allowed to propose the payment of the delegates' expenses by public subscription, but the delegates expressing for themselves and for their fellows their unwillingness to accept any such payment, the matter was dropped. The meeting then dispersed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

### HOSPETT.

A public meeting of the inhabitants of Hospett Taluq, Bellary District, was convened under the auspices of the "Ryots' Sabha," Hospett, in the Hospett Town Hall and Reading Room, on the 4th December, 1886, for the purpose of appointing delegates to represent Hospett Taluq at the National Congress.

Mr. K. Venkat Rau, Garu, Row Sahib, 1st Grade Pleader and Municipal Councillor, Bellary, deli-

vered an able address, and the following resolutions were passed by the meeting:—

I. Resolved that Mr. C. H. Goud Row Sahib, Member of the District Board, Mirasidar, and an Honorary Magistrate and Mr. K. Venkat Row, Garu Row Sahib, Landholder in the Taluq, and 1st Grade Pleader, Bellary, be-nominated delegates of this Taluq at the ensuing National Congress to be held at Calcutta.

II. That a vote of thanks be given to the chairman and the lecturer.

### VIZAGAPATAM.

A public meeting was held at Vizagapatam on the 5th instant, and Mr. Krishna Murthi and Pudukpeddi Venkannah were elected delegates.

### BANKIPORE.

29th November, 1886.

A most crowded meeting of the residents of Bankipore and Patna, numbering probably nearly one thousand persons, called by the Behar People's Association, was held at Bankipore yesterday. Syed Tajammal Hossein, Khan, son of Lawab Valayat Ali Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., presided. Resolutions were passed unanimously in favour of the introduction of a representative element into the government of this country. Delegates to the National Congress elected. Mr. Shurfuddin, Barrister-at-Law, moved the first resolution. A very large number of Mahomedan gentlemen were present. Great enthusiasm prevailed.

### JUBBULPORE.

23rd December, 1886.

An influential meeting of the residents of this town was held on the 21st instant, under the auspices of the Hitearni Sabha, to consider what steps should be taken to represent the interest of the people of the Central Provinces in the various questions that are to be discussed in the National Congress to be held in Calcutta during Christmas. Among others we noticed the following gentlemen: Seth Bullubb Dass Rai Bahadur, Seth Behari Lal Khazanchi, Seth Gouri Dass, Seth Bhubaa Mohun, Seth Omrao Singh Chowdhry, Gontia Aman Singh, Zemindar, Baboo Brojendra Nath, Pleader, Baboo Kailash Chunder, M.A., Baboo Nanhak Chand, B.A., Baboo Behari Lal, B.A., Baboo Janaki Prashad, Pleader, Baboo Gopal Prashad, B.A., and nearly all the other residents of the town, who command weight and influence. Seth Behari Lal Khazanchi opened the meeting by explaining the object which had brought them together, after which the following resolutions were moved:—

I.—That we fully sympathize with the object and proceedings of the National Congress to be held in Calcutta during the ensuing vacation. Proposed by Seth Behari Lal Khazanchi, and seconded by Chowdhry Omrao Singh and Mr. Abdul Gafur.

II.—That one or two delegates be sent to the National Congress to represent the interest of the people of the Central Provinces in the various important public questions that are to be discussed there, and a Committee be formed of a few gentlemen to raise subscriptions and to arrange for sending delegates as early as possible. Proposed by Gontia Aman Singh and seconded by Mr. Gopal Swamy,

**ALLAHABAD.**

19th December, 1886.

A **great** public meeting of the residents of Allahabad took place here to elect delegates to represent this ancient city in the forthcoming National Congress to be held in your city. The meeting was a crowded one, and attended by almost all the respectable and influential citizens. Seldom have I seen such an orderly and enthusiastic meeting. It was presided by the much respected vakil Pundit Babambhar Nath. The meeting was addressed by the Chairman, Pundit Vyaji, the reputed Kaviraj, Mr. Crowley of Messrs. Crowley & Co., Dr. Brojendra Nath Bannerji, the late celebrated physician of this city, and now of your own town, who has lately come up here to treat a rich patient, Pundit Sunder Lal, Pleader, High Court, Pundit Madan Mohun Malavya, B.A., Munshi Kashi Pershad, Vakil, Mr. T. N. Ghose, Bakur Mahabir Pershad and others. The following delegates were unanimously elected: Lala Ram Charan Dass, the Rothschild of Allahabad, Baboo Charu Chunder Mitter and T. N. Ghose, Pundit Madan Mohun Malavya, B.A., Mr. Abdul Majid, Barrister-at-Law, Mr. Mahmud, Vakil, High Court, Mr. Newal Behary Bajpai and Munshi Kashi Pershad, Vakil. Mr. Crowley offered to pay the fare of any of the delegates who required pecuniary help. I am glad that two Mahomedan gentlemen are going to represent this city.

**HOSHANGABAD.**

21st December, 1886.

The following is a report of the proceedings of an important meeting, held to-day at 8 A.M., in the hall of the Zillah School, Hoshangabad, to consider the propriety of sending delegates to represent the inhabitants of the district in the National Congress to be held at Calcutta on the 27th, 28th and 29th of this month—

**Present:** The leading residents of the town of Hoshangabad, the members of the local Bar and many others.

I.—Proposed by Baboo Behary Lal Bose that Seth Dalchand do take the chair, seconded by Pundit Sukhdeo Prasad, and carried *unanimously*. The object of the meeting being explained by Baboo Kalidas Chowdhry, it was resolved that delegates be sent to Calcutta to represent the District of Hoshangabad.

Proposed that Baboo Behary Lal Bose and Khetter Mohun Bose, Pleaders of the District, be selected as delegates to the National Congress.

II.—That these gentlemen be sent as delegates.

III.—That copies of the resolution be sent to the Secretary to the National Congress, to the *Indian Mirror*, and to the *Nyay Sudha*.

**MYLAPORE.**

In pursuance of a notice issued by the Secretary to the People's Association of Mylapore there was a meeting of the public of Mylapore in the Athenæum Hall at 6 P.M., on Sunday, the 21st instant. There were present: Dewan Bahadoor R. Raghunatha Row; Messrs. R. Balajee Row, B.L.; C. Mahadeva Iyer, B.A. and B.L.; D. S. Runga Charriar, B.A. and B.L.; M. Sreenivasa Row, B.A. and B.L.; T. R. Ramanatha Iyer, B.A.; M. Swaminatha Mudaliar; P. S. Sevaswami Iyer, B.A. and B.L.; S. Kalayna Rama Iyer, B.A. and B.L.; S. Ramaswami Iyengar, B.A. and B.L.; K. Narayana Row, B.A. and B.L.; V. Kristnaswami Iyer, B.A. and B.L.; S. R. Sundaram

Iyer, B.A. and B.L.; and many others. Mr. Swaminatha Mudaliar, the largest landholder in the Municipal Division, was voted to the chair. Mr. R. Balajee Row explained at considerable length the objects of the National Congress and proposed that the Honorable S. Subramania Iyer be requested to represent the public of Mylapore in the National Congress which meets in December at Calcutta. His proposition was seconded by Mr. P. S. Sevaswami Iyer. Several speakers dwelt upon the necessity for every town and village sending a delegate to the Congress. The proposition was then put to the vote and carried unanimously. It was resolved that the request be communicated to the Honorable S. Subramania Iyer. With a vote of thanks to the chairman, the meeting dispersed.

**WALLAJANUGGUR.**

In accordance to a notice circulated by the Wallajanuggur Hindu Brethren Association, a public meeting was held on Sunday, the 21st instant, at 9 A.M., in the premises No. 26, Bhuvana Chetty Street, for the purpose of electing a delegate to represent the people of Wallaja Taluq in the ensuing National Congress.

People of every description, namely, merchants, landholders, vakeels and several others were present. Mr. Canche Canganna Chetti Garu, a landholder at Wallajah, was unanimously voted to the chair. Mr. P. Govindarajulu Mudahar explained in Tamil the object of the meeting. Mr. S. Etherajulu Naidu explained in full the object of the National Congress. Then the Chairman rose and asked the audience to elect a delegate, whereupon Palnati Etherajulu Chetty, a landholder, proposed that Mr. Chethambadi Subba Naidu Garu, 1st Grade Pleader, should be elected as a delegate to attend the National Congress. The proposition was seconded by Mr. Kulvaraya Pillai, the Head Master of the H. B. M. School, and supported by Mr. Ponnusawmi Mudaliar, a merchant, and unanimously carried.

It was suggested by S. Alwar Naidu to raise a fund for the defrayal of the expenses of the delegate. The suggestion thus made was objected to by Palnati Etherajulu Chetti who said that such a patriotic gentleman as Mr. C. Subba Naidu Garu would decline to accept any money for his expenses and offer his services for the public good gratuitously. It was then resolved that the names of the delegates should be communicated to the Secretary to the Madras Mahajana Sabha and that of the Indian National Congress. Thereon, the audience and the Chairman rose and prayed God for a few minutes for the happy success in the long journey\* of our delegate and of all the delegates of the Presidency. The meeting dispersed with a vote of thanks to the delegate and the Chairman.

**BALLIA.**

THE *Indian Union* says: "A well-attended meeting, which included nearly all the *raices* and educated gentry of the town, was convened at Ballia in the N. W. P. on the evening of the 13th instant under the auspices of the Ballia Institute, to elect delegates for the Calcutta National Congress. Baboo Sribalabh Dutt, a leading member of the local Bar, was in the chair. Munshi Parmeshari Dayal explained to the audience at some length the objects of the National Congress. He dwelt also on the blessings of the people of India enjoyed under the British Raj and on the

\* A journey of 2,000 miles.

importance of constitutional agitation conducted in a moderate and loyal spirit. He was followed by Pandit Indira Dutt, Upadhyaya, M.A., who, in a short impressive speech, exhorted these present to call to mind the glories of the ancient *Aryavarta*, and to unite in the common bond of brotherhood for the furtherance of the best interests of their country. Five gentlemen were nominated by the unanimous vote of the meeting as delegates to be present at the conference, viz., Baboo Sribullabh Dutt, Vakil and Chairman of the evening, Pandit Indira Dutt, Upadhyaya, M.A., Baboo Bhugwan Din Ray and Baboo Padma Deva Narain Pande and Deo Narain Singh, well-known zemindars and *raias* of the district. The first three gentlemen have expressed their willingness to join the Congress as desired by the Committee; the other two, who were unavoidably absent from the station on the day the meeting was held, have been requested by letter to accept the invitation of the meeting. The proceedings were conducted entirely in the vernacular, and all present evinced the utmost interest and enthusiasm."

### DACCA.

16th December, 1886.

A CROWDED and enthusiastic meeting of the Hindu and Mahomedan inhabitants, such as has rarely before been here seen, was held last evening at the Jagannath College Theatre, at the instance of the People's Association, Khajah Mahomed Azghur presiding. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

I.—The reconstitution of the Indian and Bengal Legislative Councils on the elective basis.

II.—The examination of the Indian candidates for the Civil Service in India, and raising the maximum age to 23, leaving it optional with the successful candidates to proceed to England or not.

III.—The appointment of a Commission of Enquiry into the coolie grievances in Assam.

IV.—The separation of the Judicial from the Executive functions of the Magistrates.

V.—The appointment of delegates to the coming National Congress.

VI.—Sympathy was expressed with the aims of the Congress, and an entire approbation of the principles enunciated in the pamphlet entitled *the Star in the East*. The following gentlemen were appointed delegates: Syed Abdul Bari, Khajah Abdul Alim, Moulvi Rajuddin, Baboos Ramakanta Nundy, Kailas Chunder Sen and Kaliprosunno Ghose.

### SYLHET.

17th December, 1886.

AN influentially-attended meeting representing all sections of the native community was held here yesterday at the premises of the Murari Chand High School, to consider the desirability of sending delegates to the ensuing National Congress. Baboo Nova Krishna Roy, Dastidar, Zemindar, was in the Chair. Among those present we noticed Baboo Girish Chunder Roy, Zemindar, Tea-Planter and Proprietor of the Girish School and Murari Chand School; Baboo Loke Nath Surma, Zemindar, Tea-Planter and Honorary Magistrate; Baboo Dulal Chunder Dey, B.L., Vice-Chairman of the Municipality and Law Lecturer; Baboo Ananda Kiser Dutta Roy, B.L., Tara Kisore Chowdhry, M.A., B.L., Radha Binod Dass, Romes Chunder Bose, Sham Kisore Sen, Moulvi Masadar Ali,

Pleaders, Judge's Court; Maulavi Abdul Zaili, Zemindar; Moulvi Abdul Karim, late a Sub-Registrar; Baboos Radha Govinda Dass and Mohendra Chunder Dass, landowners; Baboo Prosunno Kumar Guha, merchant; Baboo Radha Nath Chowdhry, Editor "*Paridasaik*"; Baboo Janoki Nath Sen, Head Master, National Institution; Baboo Prosunno Kumar De, B.A., Teacher, Murari Chand School; Baboo Radha Nath Das, Nava Kisore Dass, Sarat Chunder Dutt, Sita Mohun Dass, Pleaders, Munsiff's Court; Baboos Sundari Mohun Dass, M.B., and Bisswar Sen, Medical Practitioner. After the objects of the meeting were explained by Baboo Dulal Chunder De, B.L., in a neat speech, resolutions to the following effect were passed unanimously amidst much enthusiasm:—

I.—That this meeting expresses its hearty sympathy with the National Congress. Moved by Moulvi Masadar, Ali, Pleader Judge's Court, seconded by Baboo Sundar Mohun Dass, M.B.

II.—That in view of the rapid progress of education and enlightenment in this country, this meeting is of opinion that it has now become necessary, alike in the interests of India and England, to reconstitute the Legislative Councils upon the following lines:—

(a) That no less than two-thirds of the whole Council should be elected members chosen by local bodies.

(b) That the Council thus formed should have the right of interpellation.

Moved by Moulvi Abdul Zaili, Zemindar, seconded by Moulvi Abdul Karim, and supported by Baboos Prosunno Kumar Guha and Radha Nath Chowdhry.

III.—That this meeting is of opinion that the maximum age of the Civil Service Examination should be raised to 25 years, and that the open competitive examination should be held in India, simultaneously with that in London.

Moved by Baboo Janoki Nath Sen, seconded by Babu Ananada Kisore Dutta Roy, and supported by Baboo Romes Chunder Bose.

IV.—That this meeting takes this opportunity of expressing its full confidence in the Bengal National League, and pledges itself to support it by every legitimate means that lies in its power.

Moved by Baboo Dulal Chunder De, seconded by Baboo Sarat Chunder Dutt, and supported by Baboo Sita Mohun Dass.

V.—Resolved that the following gentlemen be selected as delegates to represent the Sylhet public at the forthcoming National Congress: Baboo Prosunno Kumar Guha, Baboo Radha Nath Chowdhry, Baboo Joy Gobinda Shome, M.A., B.L., and Baboo Bipin Chunder Pal.

Moved by Baboo Tara Kisore Chowdhry, seconded by Moulvi Nasarullah, and supported by Baboo Prosunno Kumar Dey.

VI.—Resolved that the proceedings of this meeting be sent to the Press for publication.

Moved by Baboo Loke Nath Sarma, and seconded by Baboo Nava Kisore Dass.

The meeting dispersed with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

### CHITTAGONG.

25th December, 1886.

A PUBLIC meeting was held on Monday, the 19th instant, at 6 P.M., at the instance of the Chittagong Association, to elect delegates to the forthcoming National Congress, and to ascertain the views of the general public on the reconstitution of

the Legislative Councils and Covenanted Civil Service are question. Baboo Kamala Kanta Sen, B.L., High Court Pleader, President of the Chittagong Association, was unanimously voted to the Chair. He gave a succinct view of the questions to be discussed at the meeting, and, in a short and neat speech, impressed upon the audience the necessity of the re-formation of the Legislative Councils as at present constituted, and the raising of the age of the candidates for the Covenanted Civil Service.

The following resolutions were passed and carried unanimously:—

I.—That having regard to the rapid progress of education and enlightenment, and the growth of public spirit in these provinces, this meeting is of opinion that it has now become urgently necessary, alike in the interests of the people of India and for the honor of English rule, that the Legislative Council of Bengal should be reconstituted in a manner more in harmony with the popular aspirations, the requirements of the time, and the necessities of the Government.

Proposed by Baboo Satis Chunder Sen, B.L., Pleader, seconded by Baboo Gagan Chaud Chowdhry.

II.—That, in the opinion of this meeting, the Legislative Council of Bengal should be reconstituted upon the following lines:—

(a.) That the principle of representation should be recognised, and that the elected members of Council, being not less than two-thirds of the whole Council, should be chosen by local bodies, such as the Municipalities and the District Board of each district, to represent the different districts, and by the Chamber of Commerce, the Trades' Association, the British Indian Association, the University of Calcutta, the Calcutta Municipality and other established public bodies of similar reputation.

(b.) That the members of the Council thus formed should have the right of interpellation.

(c.) And, further, that the Provincial Budget should be laid before the Council and be discussed and passed by the Council.

Proposed by Baboo Romes Chunder Sen, B.L., Pleader, seconded by Moulvi Abdul Hossain, B.L., Pleader.

III.—That this meeting takes this opportunity of expressing its full confidence in the Bengal National League, and pledges itself to support it by every possible means in its power, and begs that the League will address the Government for the reconstitution of the Legislative Council according to the terms of the resolutions adopted by this meeting.

Proposed by Baboo Durga Das Dutt, Medical Practitioner, and seconded by Moulvi Ahmed Ulla.

IV.—That in the opinion of this meeting, it is resolved that the age of the candidates for the Covenanted Civil Service be raised at least to 21, and the examination be held simultaneously both in England and India.

Proposed by Baboo Raj Kumar Dutt, seconded by Baboo Kasi Chunder Gupta.

V.—That the meeting is of opinion that Chittagong should be represented in the forthcoming National Congress in Calcutta, and requests Baboo Aukhil Chunder Sen and Dr. A. C. Khashtgir, Mahomed Ibrahim and Bodial Alam to go as delegates to the said Congress.

Proposed by Munshi Kajim Ali, and seconded by Baboo Aukhil Chunder Nundy.

The meeting was a grand success. Every one present took a lively interest in the proceedings of the meeting. The meeting lasted for about two hours. The meeting was of a representative character. Hindus, Mahomedans, semindars, merchants,

in fact all sections of the community, were fairly represented in the meeting.

## COIMBATORE.

In pursuance of a notice circulated by the Secretaries of the Sudasa Darma Batches Sabha (The People's Association), a great public meeting was held on the 8th instant at the Native High School Hall, Coimbatore. M. R. Ry. V. Cooppoosawmy Iyer Avl., a well-known leading native gentleman, 1st Grade Pleader, and President of the 1st Bank having been voted to the Chair. Messrs. Kastury Ranga Iyengar, B.A., B.L., High Court Vakeel, Vignanthra Row Avl., Native High School, and others spoke in English, and S. P. Narasimulu Naidu spoke in Tamil of the objects of the Indian National Congress. Then the following gentlemen were elected to be deputed as delegates of Coimbatore to the Indian National Congress: Messrs. V. Cooppoosawmy Iyer, Kastury Ranga Iyengar, B.A., B.L., Annasowmy Row, Bujanya Row, B.A., Satagupa Charlu, M.A., Thiruvengadasamy Mudaliar, Vejaranga Mudaliar, V. Krishna Row, H. Rama Row, Coottiana Mudaliar, Mahamed Kahan Sahib, Kunna Gounder, Mahamed Hossain Markair, S. P. Narasimulu Naidu. After a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the Managers of the Native High School the meeting dispersed.

## CALICUT.

A general public meeting of the citizens of Calicut was held at the Mananjur Municipal School House on Saturday, 6th November, 1886, for the purpose of delegating a gentleman to the forthcoming National Congress at Calcutta. There were present Messrs D. Mankjee, Koya Assu, Koya Haji, L. A. Rama Pattar (Merchants and Municipal Councillors), Kasturi Chund Ram Chund (Merchant), E. Subramanya Pillay (Merchant), S. Varadarajayyar (Pleader), Jum Saji Framji, Nanabai Bomanshah (Merchants), B. Ramuni Menon (Pleader and Municipal Councillor), Ismail Sahib, Chutra Choj Sett, M. Kadri Koya, M. Abdulla Koya Haji (Merchants), C.M. Rarichan Muppan (landlord and Municipal Councillor), K. Choyikutu (landlord), H. Sankaranarayana Aiyar, P. A. Krishna Menou (Pleaders), O. Kunhiraman Menon, B.A. (Editor of the *Kerala Patrika* and Municipal Councillor), V. Karunakara Menon, Sivaramakrishnayyar, N. Subramanya Aiyar, K. R. Ramaaswamy Aiyar, K. Krishna Menon, B.A. (Pleaders), S. Anantakrishnayyar, B.A. (Teacher), T. Kunkutti Ali, M. Kunhamad (Merchants), D. Ganpat Rau, B.A., G. Appa Rau, N. G. Srinivasa Rau (Proprietors of the Native High School and Teachers), Visvanatha Aiyar, B.A., T. Panahapatesayyar, B.A. (Teachers), A. N. Anantaramayyar, B.A., B.R., T. Narayana Menon (Pleaders), and a great many more. M. R. Ry. L. A. Rama Pattar Avergal, a leading Brahmin merchant, having been voted to the Chair, opened the proceedings as usual. Mr. P. A. Krishna Menon, a 1st Grade Pleader, made an appropriate speech in Malayalam to explain to the audience the object of the National Congress and the urgent necessity there is for sending representatives to these annual Conferences from every part of India to make these Conferences thoroughly representative. Messrs. Varadaraja Ayyar and K. R. Ramaaswamy Iyyar followed him with short speeches on the same subject.

(1.) It was proposed by Mr. P. A. Krishna Menon, seconded by Mr. S. Varadaraja Ayyar, and

carried unanimously, that a delegate be sent to represent the citizens of Calicut at the National Congress to be held at Calcutta in December next.

(2.) Mr. G. Kunhiraman Menon, Editor and Proprietor of *Kerala Patrika's* offer to represent Calicut at the Congress, was accepted with thanks amid loud acclamations.

(3.) Proposed by Mr. H. Sankara Narayanayyar, seconded by Mr. K. Achutan Nayar, and carried unanimously, that Messrs. L. A. Ramayyar, Koya Assu, Koya Haji, Abdulla Koya, D. Manekji, C. M. Barichan Muppan, and P. A. Krishna Menon, do form themselves into a Committee to give the necessary instructions to the delegate selected.

(4.) Proposed by Councillor Mr. B. Ramunni Menon, seconded by Mr. A. N. Anandaramayyar, and carried unanimously, that the expenses of the delegate be borne by public contributions.

A subscription list was at once opened, and a little over Rs. 100 were subscribed on the spot.

(5.) Resolved that a Sub-Committee composed of Messrs. L. A. Rama Pattar, C. M. Barichan, Subramanya Pillay and P. A. Krishna Menon be appointed to collect the contributions.

A vote of thanks was then passed to the Chairman and the delegate Mr. Kunhiraman Menon. The meeting then terminated amidst shouts of applause.

### NATTORE.

28th November, 1886.

At a well attended general meeting of the People's Association, held this evening, resolutions for reconstructing the Legislative Councils on a representative basis, raising the limit of age to 23 years of candidates for the Civil Service and holding simultaneous examinations in India and England were unanimously adopted. Six delegates were elected to the National Congress.

### GHATTAL.

26th December, 1886.

A MEETING of the people of Ghattal Sub-Division was held at Kbirpie on the Friday, the 26th December. There were present Baboo Prosunno Kumar Bannerji, Zemindar; Girish Chunder Pahari, Zemindar; Priya Nath Roy; Peary Laul Ghose, Government Pleader; Grish Chunder Chatterji, Zemindar; Umesh Chunder Ghose, L. L., &c., &c. The following resolutions were passed:—

I.—That this meeting desires to place on record that the Legislative Council of this country, as at present constituted, does not suit the condition of this country, because its members generally come from a class who are absolutely ignorant of the wants and requirements of the general population of this country, therefore, this meeting earnestly entreats the Government to substitute election for nomination.

II.—That this meeting having heard with sincere delight that a National Congress will be held at Calcutta to advance the political rights, and to ameliorate the condition of the people of this country, this meeting gladly appoints Kumar Binoya Krishna Bahadur, the young patriotic and philanthropic zemindar, and a scion of a great family of Bengal, as delegate to represent the Association in the said National Congress.

III.—That a copy of the above resolutions be sent to the *Statesman*, and the *Indian Mirror* for publication, and to Baboo Surendra Nath Banerjee,

the Secretary of the Indian Association, and to Kumar Binoya Krishna Bahadur for information.

### HALISHAHAR.

26th December, 1886.

THE following is an abstract of the proceedings of a general meeting of the Halishahar Good Will Fraternity in Sub-Division Baraset, held on the 25th instant for the purpose of expressing the sympathy of the whole community with the Bengal National League:—

I.—That this meeting considers the reform and expansion of the supreme and existing local Legislative Councils by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members essential, and that such representative Councils should have some voice and control over the finance of the country.

II.—That this meeting has full confidence in, and sympathy with, the aims and objects of the Bengal National League.

III.—That this meeting is of opinion that the subjects to be discussed at the ensuing National Congress are of vital importance to the well-being of the country, and that the Halishahar Good Will Fraternity will, as far as it lies within its power, co-operate with the Bengal National League in furtherance of its objects.

IV.—That some delegates from the Fraternity be deputed to attend the National Congress.

V.—That copies of these resolutions be forwarded to the Local Government, Secretary to the Bengal National League, and the Editor of the *Indian Mirror*.

### RANAGHAT.

1st December, 1886.

THE following is a copy of the resolutions, passed unanimously at a meeting of the Ranaghat Improvement Society, held at the Rivers Thompson Hall on the 28th November, 1886, Baboo Makhun Lal De, B. A., in the Chair:—

I.—That in view of the necessity of combined agitation for political rights, the Association, hitherto known as the Ranaghat Improvement Society, be affiliated with the Indian Association, Calcutta, and be styled "Branch Indian Association, Ranaghat," and that the following gentlemen be appointed office bearers:—

Baboo Surendra Nath Pal Chowdhry, *President*; Makhun Lal De, B. A., and Baboo Kam Chunder Ghose, L.M.S., *Vice-Presidents*; Baboo Krishna Chunder Ghattak, *Secretary*; and Baboo Juvendra Nath Pal Chowdhry, *Joint Secretary*.

II.—That a representative public meeting of this sub-division be convened at an early date to consider the desirability of addressing Government on the subject of the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils, as in the opinion of this meeting the introduction of a representative element into these Councils has become necessary.

III.—That Baboo Giriya Prosunno Dutt, Aukboy Kumar Ghose, (Municipal Commissioners), and Krishna Chander Ghattak be requested to represent this Association at the forthcoming National Congress to be held at Calcutta on the 28th proximo, and that the nominations made by the Krishnaghat Association for this district be approved.

IV.—That a copy of the foregoing resolutions be forwarded to the Secretary Indian Association, Calcutta.

### GUDIVADA.

At a public meeting held at Gudivada, Kistna District, on the evening of the 31st October, 1886, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

1. That the meeting fully sympathises with the working of the Mahajana Sabha at Madras, and with the objects of the National Congress held at Bombay last year.

2. That a Branch of the District Branch of the Mahajana Sabha be constituted here for furnishing the necessary information concerning the wants of this part of the district.

3. That M. K. Ry. Singaraju Venkata Subbarayadu Pantulu Garu be requested to represent them at the Anniversary of the Mahajana Sabha and at the National Congress to be held at Calcutta.

4. That M. E. Ry. Raja Kamadana Venkata Narasimharaogar, an ex-semindar of this place, be thanked for his kindness in presiding on the occasion and for consenting to be the President of this branch in future.

### GOOTY.

In pursuance of a notice issued by the Secretary of the Gooty People's Association, a large and influential meeting of Mahomedans, Hindus of all classes, and native Christians was held on the premises of the Sanscrit School, at 6-30 P.M., yesterday. Among those that were present there were Messrs. K. Runga Roa, Bujanga Roa, J. Yellappah Papasastrulu, N. Sreenivasa Roa, A. Ambajee Roa, Sethayama Roa, T. Ramachendra Roa, B.A., B.L., District Munsiff, Kistamurthi Iyengar, B.A., Assistant Director of Revenue Settlement, K. Singarachariar, Deputy Inspector of Schools, C. N. Subramania Iyer, Overseer, Angadi Karibasabha, Ambati Ramasawmy Chetty, Bara Sahib, Chandana Kasim Sahib, N. Sanna Reddy, R. Venkata Reddy, Belluli Iyanna, Lemboo Seshanna, Cheman Naik Sahib, Vahama Sahib, B. Iyappah Reddy, Mr. I. J. Martin and Amhed Sahib, Native Doctor and many others.

On the motion of Mr. T. Ramachendra Row, B.A., B.L., seconded by Mr. Kistamurthi Iyengar, B.A., Mr. K. Runga Rad, 1st Grade Pleader and a ryot of this District, was unanimously voted to the Chair.

The Chairman opened the meeting with a short speech making allusions to the excellence and necessity of the National Congress, and calling upon the meeting to appoint a few delegates on behalf of Anantapur District to attend the Congress to be held this year in Calcutta. He said that the district that sent two delegates to the first Congress in Bombay should not fail to send delegates to the second Congress in Calcutta, and that he was happy to see that people of all classes and creeds of this small historical town should have met together, and taken the lead in appointing delegates on behalf of this district. He called upon the Secretary of the Local Association to read the letter received from Mr. J. Ghosal, Secretary to the Reception Committee, Calcutta.

The Secretary read the letter, and added that he had every reason to believe that the nominations made by the meeting would be approved by the people of Anantapur, Pennukondah and other towns in the district.

Mr. C. Madhya Kow, Pleader, moved the following resolution in a short speech, remarking that the delegates they were appointing that day were worthy of their unqualified support and confidence, and that he knew that they would prove themselves to be their worthy representatives.

That Messrs. Y. Chondapan, Pleader, ryot, and the Chairman of the Gooty Union; M. Nagesa Roa, Pleader, ryot, and a member of the Gooty Taluk Board; and P. Kesava Pillai, Pleader, ryot, and a member of the Anantapur District Board, be appointed as the delegates of Anantapur District to the National Congress to be held in Calcutta in December next.

Mr. Cheman Naik Sahib, on behalf of the Mahomedans, seconded it in a Hindustani speech.

Mr. J. Yellappah, ryot, and an influential old member of the Gooty Bar, supported it in a Telugu speech.

It was also warmly supported by Messrs. Angadi Karibasappa in Canarese, Ramasawmy Chetty in Telugu on behalf of Comaties, and Mr. I. J. Martin in English on behalf of Native Christians.

Mr. P. Kesava Pillai moved a rider to the proposition "that Mr. Chenna Reddy, an influential ryot, and a member of the Taluk Board, be also appointed as a delegate from Anantapur District."

Mr. T. Ramchendra Rao seconded the rider.

The Chairman having put the proposition with the rider to the meeting, it was warmly and unanimously passed as the substantive resolution of the meeting. After several other gentlemen having passed a few remarks, Mr. T. Ramachendra Roa, B.A., B.L., proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman in an eloquent Telugu speech, exhorting the people to take more interest in public matters, to form themselves into Associations, and to represent their wants and grievances to Government. He insisted that Government was not so much to blame as the people themselves, and assured them that Government will meet their wishes if only properly and constitutionally urged.

Mr. Singara Charariar having seconded the vote, the meeting dispersed in mutual good feeling and sympathy.

### MHOW.

25th December, 1886.

The Central India Association held a public meeting to-day. They have delegated Mr. Mohendra Nath Chatterji and Seth Gungaram Chandal to represent the Association at the National Congress. The delegates will start to-morrow.

### DIBRUGHUR.

25th December, 1886.

The Council of the Upper Assam Association have appointed Baboos Gopinath Berdolo, B.A., and Debi Churna Baru, B.A., delegates of the Association at the forthcoming National Congress.

### MYSADUL, MIDNAPORE.

28th December, 1886.

At an influential meeting of the Branch Indian Association the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

I.—The reconstitution of the Legislative Councils in India on a representative basis is absolutely necessary.

II.—The Parliamentary enquiry into the working of the Indian Administration has become highly necessary for the better government of the Indians.

III.—The members of the Secretary of State's Council should not be taken largely from the returned Civilians from India. A reconstitution of



that Council should immediately be effected, if it be not abolished altogether.

IV.—The examination of the Indian candidates for the Civil Service be held in India simultaneously with that held in England, and the maximum age of the candidates be raised to 23 years, leaving it optional with the successful candidates to proceed to England or not.

V.—That, considering the present financial condition of India, it is absolutely necessary that the military expenditure be reduced.

VI.—The Indians have given such tangible proofs of their loyalty so often that the Arms Act should immediately be repealed to increase the love for, and confidence of, the people in the British Government.

VII.—The sooner the old Theebaw is restored to his kingdom the better, or if it be found impracticable to do so some other Native Prince of Burmah should be invested with the government of Burmah under the British protection.

VIII.—In a country like India, the income tax should never have been introduced. Besides the working of the tax is so oppressive to the people that the Government should try its best to put a stop to this crying evil.

IX.—Sympathy was expressed with the aims of the National Congress, and the following gentlemen were appointed delegates: Dr. J. N. Mitra, M. R. C. P. (Lond.), and Baboos Jogendra Nath Chatterji and Jodu Nath Chuckerbutty, B.A.

#### BAREILLY.

The following is an extract from the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Bareilly Institute, held on the 21st December, 1886:—

3. Read a letter from the Honorary Secretary, N. W. P. and Oudh Association, asking the Institute to send some members to join the National Congress, Calcutta. Resolved unanimously that Rai Durga Prasad Rai Bahadur, Munshi Bishen Lal M.A., Nawab Abdul Aziz Khan and Syed Mahomed Asifak Hossein be deputed to represent the Bareilly community at the coming National Congress, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Secretary of the said Congress and the *Indian Mirror*.

#### TANJORE.

At a very large meeting of the Tanjore People's Association attended by representative Mirasdars of Combaconum, Mayavaram, Nannilam, Tiruturai-pundi, Mannargudi and Negapatam, held in the Porter Town Hall, Combaconum, on 7th November, 1886, the following resolutions were passed:—

1. That the Association present an address of welcome to the Viceroy on his approaching visit to Tanjore.

2. That a memorial be drawn up and presented to His Excellency the Viceroy on the occasion of his visit to Tanjore on 7th December next on the subject of remission of kist for Fusly 1214 in this district.

3. That Messrs. S. A. Saminatha Iyer Avl., S. K. Annasami Iyer Avl., Sivaswami Odiah Avl., Rungaswamy Mudaliar Avl., Sinna Marakayarmalmyar Avl., Venkatarama Iyer Avl., Kothandarama Iyer Avl., Pattamangalam Narayanasami Iyer Avl., Sriivasa Iyer Avl., Sambasiva Sastriar Avl., Thiruvagadam Pillai Avl., and the Chairmen of the Municipalities in the district, be requested to proceed to Calcutta and represent the Association at the

National Congress to be held there on the 28th December next.

#### SHOLINGUR.

THE Secretary writes: An enthusiastic meeting was held in the Reading-Room here on the 26th instant. Mr. E. Venkatasamy Raju was voted to the Chair. The objects of the Congress having been explained, it was proposed by the Chairman that Mr. C. Subbiah Naidu, a 1st Grade Pleader of the Munsiff's Court, should be requested to proceed to Calcutta to represent this Association. Mr. Subbaraya Pillay, Pleader, seconded this proposition, and this being supported by Mr. Tiruankata Charyar, Head Master, was unanimously carried. Mr. N. Venkata Row, Vakil, then suggested that his expenses for going to and returning from Calcutta should be defrayed by the Association, but he, the chosen delegate, declined the offer with thanks. A vote of thanks to the Chairman concluded the proceedings.

#### BOMBAY.

At the meeting of the Bombay Presidency Association it was resolved that the following gentlemen be asked to attend the National Congress at Calcutta, which takes place on the 27th, 28th and 29th instant: The Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Hon. V. N. Muddlik, C.S.I., the Hon. K. T. Telang, C.I.E., Messrs. Javerilal Uminshunker Yajuik, N. G. Chandavarkar, Sorabjee F. Patell, Dinshaw E. Yacha, Dinshaw P. Kanga, Shamrao Vithul, G. Nilkanth, R. M. Syani, Kazi Mahomed Ismail Chilmal, Lallubhai Ambalal Desai, Vizhookandas Atmaram, Dajee Abajee Khare and Golabdas Bhaidas, Vakil.

#### CUDDLALORE.

A PUBLIC meeting was convened at the Government College at Cuddalore on the 1st November, 1886, in order to consider the steps to be taken to reconstruct the Gadilum Bridge, to send delegates to Calcutta in order to attend the National Congress to be held there in December, and to raise contributions in aid of the National Fund. The following gentlemen were present:—

M. Rajarathna Moodaliar, S. Devanayaga Moodaliar Avergal, M. Arumuga Pillay, T. Govindasawmy Naidu, S. Doraisawmy Aiyer, C. S. Sami Iyengar Avergal, B.A., B. Kristnaiyer Avergal, B.A., T. Ramasawmy Moodaliar Avergal, S. Manikam Moodaliar Avergal, O. Radhakristnaiyer Avergal, C. Kristnaiyengar Avergal, E. Sivachidambara Chettiar Avergal, C. Dorasawmy Moodaliar Avergal, Subbarayalu Reddiar Avergal (Villapuram), V. M. Ramasawmy Iyer Avergal, P. Vadivalu Moodaliar Avergal, K. Bashyam Iyengar Avergal, B.A., M. Minakshisudra Siva Iyer Avl., B.A., A. Manika Moodaliar Avl., B.A., N. Paramasiva Iyer Avl., B.A., M. Ramasawmy Iyer Avl., B.A., K. Kandasawmy Moodaliar Avl., C. Muniasawmy Moodaliar Avl., S. Palani Appa Moodaliar Avl., S. V. Cooppusawmy Sastriar Avl., B.A., K. Sambasiva Iyer Avl., B.A., P. T. Sadagopahcharriar Avl., M. Veerasawmy Moodaliar Avl., B. Ramalinga Iyer Avl., A. Ragancharriar Avl., Sreenivasa Chettiar Avl., M. Arunachala Chettiar Avl., V. Cooppusawmy Naidu Avl., K. Krishnasawmy Moodaliar Avl., S. Ruthna Moodaliar Avl., C. Chinnaasami Iyer Avl., T. Veerasawmy Naidu Avl., C. Kolandavalu Moodaliar Avl., Arumuga Moodaliar Avl., Sabapathy Chettiar

Avl., S. Rungasawmi Moodaliar Avl., C. Muthia Chettiar Avl., T. A. Hari Bow Avl. and many more. Mr. M. Rajarathna Moodaliar was unanimously voted to the Chair.

The Chairman opened the proceedings by stating that the gentlemen present were aware, from the notice circulated, of the purpose for which the meeting was convened. He would say a few words on each of the subjects under consideration. In the first place, the fall of the Gadilum Bridge is a public calamity. It has entailed on the people considerable inconvenience. Public traffic is much impeded and great difficulty is experienced in consequence. The Municipality with its limited resources can hardly maintain itself, and, therefore, cannot undertake such an expensive work. It is, therefore, necessary that application should be made to Government for the restoration of the Bridge. Going to the second subject, the National Congress is to be held at Calcutta in December, with the object of holding a conference in the interests of the country. In that Council the wants and requirements of the people will be fully discussed, with a view to their being communicated to the British Parliament. The advantages resulting therefrom cannot be overestimated. It is, therefore, necessary that we should send delegates to represent this district in the Congress. Lastly a Fund has been set on foot at Madras for National purposes. So many things are done in furtherance of public objects, the Fund in question is applied towards defraying its expenses. It is, therefore, proper that we also do something in aid of the Fund. Everything will be stated at length in connection with the respective propositions for the consideration of the meeting.

Then Mr. Sadagopa Charriar, Editor of the Local Tamil paper, addressed the meeting at some length. He first dwelt on the measures adopted by the Mahajana Sabha at Madras in furtherance of the public cause, thereby pointing out the necessity of supporting the Institution in all possible ways. It was necessary also, he said, that delegates should attend the Congress at Calcutta.

Proposed by S. Manika Moodaliar Avergal, Town Councillor, seconded by M. Arumuga Pillay Avergal, Town Councillor, and carried unanimously that a memorial be addressed to Government on the subject of the re-construction of the Gadilum Bridge.

Proposed by B. Ramalinga Iyer Avl., District Court Pleader, seconded by T. Ramasawmy Moodaliar Avl., Manager, and carried unanimously that delegates be sent from this district to attend the National Congress at Calcutta.

Proposed by M. Arumuga Pillay Avl., seconded by M. Veerasawmy Moodaliar Avl., Town Councillor, and carried unanimously that S. Devenayaga Moodaliar Avl., B. Kristnaiyer Avl., Muthia Chettiar Avl., Mahomed Moral Merkayer Avl., T. Govindasawmy Naidu Avl., and M. Rajarathna Moodaliar Avl., be deputed to represent this district at the National Congress.

Proposed by S. Sawmy Aiyengar Avl., seconded by O. Rathakristna. Aiyer Avl., District Court Pleader, and carried unanimously that M. Arumuga Pillay Avl. be requested to join the delegates.

Proposed by M. Arumuga Pillay Avl., seconded by Govindasawmy Naidu Avl., and carried unanimously that contributions be made here in aid of the National Fund at Madras.

Proposed by S. Rungasawmy Mudaliar Avergal, seconded by B. Kristnaiyer Avergal, and carried unanimously that a Fund be raised for the purpose of this Sabha, and one-half of it be sent to Madras in aid of the National Fund.

Proposed by B. Kristnaiyer Avl., seconded by S. Dorasawmy Iyer Avergal, District Court Pleader, and carried unanimously that the Secretaries of the Sabha be Treasurers, and be authorized to take steps to co-operate with the heads of the community for this purpose.

After a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and the Head Master of the College for having allowed the meeting to be held in the College premises, the meeting dispersed.

## BURRA BAZAR POLITICAL ASSOCIATION.

On the 24th December, 1886, the Burra Bazar Political Association, i.e., the Raj Niti Sabha, was instituted by the leading members of the Burra Bazar. The enlightened and leading members of all the communities residing in Burra Bazar were present.

The main object of the meeting was to assist the National Congress in its deliberations, which cannot but be good both for the public and the Government, and to represent its own views on various subjects of general interest.

The meeting was held at 12 noon, and several subjects were discussed up to 2 p. m. Baboo Nahar Malji Lohia was elected Chairman, and the proposal for the establishment of the Sabha was made by Pundit Sadhanandji, seconded by Pundit Dhebi Sahaiaji, and supported by Baboos Siva Bukshiji, Surajmalji, Bilasiramu and other gentlemen present.

The objects of the Congress, the necessity of co-operation in politics and commerce in Burra Bazar, &c., were all carefully explained by Pundit Sadhanandji. He further proposed the necessity of sending representatives to the Congress.

The Chairman then proposed Pundit Jwala Nath Sarma, Secretary, Bharata-mitra, Mandala, Burra Bazar, as their delegate to the Congress.

Pundit Gobind Naryanji commented upon the utility of this body, and lucidly pointed out that patience and perseverance were the true price of success. He further considered that the greater the strength of the representatives the better for the public. Thereupon the meeting proposed Pundit Sadhanandji together with Pundit Jwala Nath Sarma as representatives for the Congress, and the proposition was carried with applause.

The meeting concluded with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

## BELLARY.

In pursuance of a notice circulated by the Secretary of the "Native Club," a public meeting was held at 7 p.m., on the 13th instant, for the purpose of appointing delegates to represent the people of the Bellary District in the ensuing National Congress. All castes, trades and professions were fully represented. Mr. G. Ruthna Chennepah, a leading merchant of Bellary, was voted to the Chair. Mr. D. Kristna Charlu, 1st Grade Pleader, explained in Telugu the object of the meeting. Messrs. P. C. Ananta Charlu (High Court Vakil), M. Vasudeva Naidu and A. Sabbapathy Modelliari addressed the meeting on the object of the National Congress, its doings of the last year and the advantages to be derived therefrom in future. The Chairman then said that for a purpose like this, all patriotic gentlemen should offer their services without even a request from any quarter.

The following gentlemen were then elected as delegates of the Bellary District to the Congress,

viz., Mr. Vasudeva Naidu Garu Rao Sahib (1st Grade Pleader and Municipal Councillor), Sindigi Marisiddapah Garu (Merchant and Manager of the *Vizia Dhawja*, a Canarese paper newly started), R Venkata Narasiah Garu (Merchant), K. Venkata Rao Garu (1st Grade Pleader), Abdul Karim Saib Khan Sahib (Merchant and Municipal Councillor), A. Gopalswamy Naidu Garu (Contractor), Mollagavali Sunjeeva Reddi Garu (Landholder), Joharapuram Seetharama Reddi Garu (Landholder), C. E. Runganadam Modelliar Avl. (Medical officer), A. Sabbapathy Modelliar Avl., Rao Bahadur (Merchant, Landholder and Municipal Chairman). A suggestion was then made for raising subscriptions to meet the costs of the delegates, but the gentlemen delegates declined to accept any money for their expenses and offered their services gratuitously. Their offer was accepted with loud acclamation. It was resolved that the names of these delegates be communicated to the Secretaries of the Mahajana Sabha and the Bengal National League. The meeting was closed with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

#### RUSSAPAGLA.

At a special meeting of the Russapagla Improvement Association, held on Friday, the 24th December, 1886, it was resolved:—

I.—That this Association expresses full sympathy with the National Congress which will meet in Calcutta during the Christmas holidays.

II.—That this meeting appoints the Rev. P. M. Mukerji, Nawab Golam Rubbani and Baboo Mohendra Nath Sen as its delegates to represent the Russapagla Improvement Association at the sittings of the Congress.

#### CALCUTTA.

THERE WAS an enthusiastic meeting of the *Hindustanis of Calcutta* at the Natmandir of the late Rajah Sir Radha Kant Deb Bahadur, K.C.S.I., on Saturday, the 25th instant, at 3 P.M., to select a delegate to the National Congress. Pundit Sada Nund Misra, Editor of *Sudhanidhi*, was unanimously elected delegate.

#### PENUKONDAH.

IN PURSUANCE of a notice circulated by the Penukondah Telugu Newspaper Club, a public meeting was held on the 13th instant in Ramaswamy Temple, when M. R. Ry. G. Narasinga Rao Garu, B.A., a popular Pleader and Vice-President of the Taluq Board, was unanimously voted to the Chair. There were present: Messrs. Chacrarvarthi Iyengar, Shrotrianddar, Pleader and a member of the Taluq Board; Wahamiya Sahib, Jaghirdar; Jagannayaculu Naidu, B.A., Clerk, Head Assistant Collector's office; Sreenivasacharlu Garu, Pleader and Landlord; Hanumayya Garu, Shrotrianddar and Abkari Contractor; Bysani Subbiah Chetty Garu, Merchant; V. Hanumantha Rao Garu, Taluq Sheristadar; Yankatasamiah Garu, Pleader and ryot, Kristnamacharlu Garu, Darmakarta, Kocherum Temple; M. Paupa Rao Naidu, ryot and Clerk of the Head Assistant Collector's office; Jagannadahraju Garu, Hospital Assistant; Ramanna Naidu Garu, Deputy Inspector of Vaccination; Dasappa Garu, Pleader and Landlord; Venkoba Rao Garu, Pleader and Landlord; Hanumantha Reddi Garu, ryot and Village Munsiff, and others representing all sects and sections of the community. The Chairman opened the

meeting by explaining the necessity and advantages of the National Congress, and called upon the audience to appoint delegates to represent Penukondah Division of Anantapur District. Mr. Paupa Rao Naidu then briefly touched upon the various grievances which are within the reach of the Congress. The following resolutions were unanimously passed:—

1. Resolved that Mr. V. R. Chacrarvarthi Iyengar be requested to represent this division of the district at the National Congress to be held at Calcutta and that the nominations made by the Gooty Association for this district be approved.

2. Resolved that this meeting fully sympathizes with the objects of the National Congress held last year at Bombay and the working of the Mahajana Sabha at Madras.

3. Resolved that a vote of thanks be given to Mr. Chacrarvarthi Iyengar for having accepted the honor of being a delegate to proceed to the National Congress and the meeting wish him a safe and happy journey.

4. Resolved that copies of proceedings of this meeting be communicated to the delegates appointed by the Gooty Association and to newspapers. A vote of thanks was then passed to the Chairman, and the meeting dissolved amidst shouts of applause.

#### NELLORE.

AT 6 P.M., on the 13th instant, a public meeting was held in the hall of the Nellore Reading Room. The attendance was large, Mr. S. Narayanasamy Chetty, B.A., was voted to the Chair. He explained in Telugu the object of the meeting; Mr. M. Butchia Puntulu, the Editor of the *Hindu Reformer*, who is now here, addressed the meeting in Telugu for about an hour. The Chairman again delivered an enthusiastic speech. Then the assembly elected their delegates to represent them at the National Congress which is to meet at Calcutta on the 28th proximo.

Proposed and carried unanimously that Messrs. S. Narayanasamy Chetty, B.A., F. T. Ward, District Court Pleader, and M. Venkatasubba Row, Munsiff Court Pleader, be requested to represent the people of this district at the National Congress.

#### BERHAMPORE.

A PUBLIC meeting was convened under the auspices of the Berhampore Association to select delegates to the Calcutta Congress. Proposed and carried unanimously that the following gentlemen be requested to attend the coming Congress: M. R. Ry. Pakula Gopala Rau Patruadi Garu, B.A., Pleader of the District Court of Ganjam, and Abdul Kareem Sahib Bahadoor, an influential merchant of Berhampore, both natives of the district, extensive Landholders and Town Councillors.

#### ROHORA.

16th December, 1886.

AT A general meeting of the Rohora Patriotic Association at Rohora near Barrackpore, attended by the whole of the intelligent and educated portion of the community, the following resolution was passed:—

"That this Association, while expressing its cordial sympathy with the Calcutta National Congress, requests Baboo Gopal Chunder Mukerji, M. B., Baboo Nibaran Chunder Chowdhry, Baboo

Baikunto Nath Chowdhry and Baboo Siddeswar Banerji to attend the said Congress as delegates from this Association."

### RAJAMUNDRY.

At a general meeting of the Literary and Debating Association, Rajamundry, held on the 7th November, 1886, resolved:—

1. That M. R. Ry. N. Subbarau Pautulu Garu, B.A. and B.L., be voted to the Chair.
2. That M. R. Ry. Singaras Subbarayalu Garu, B.L., of Masulipatam, be requested to represent Rajamundry at the next National Congress, Calcutta, and that of the next Mahajana Sabha, Madras.

### SURAT.

The following gentlemen have been elected by the *Surat Sabha*, at a general meeting, to attend the second National Congress to be held at Calcutta on the 27th December:—

Rao Sahab Dolatrai Surbhai Desai, B.A., LL.B. (London), Barrister-at-Law, President of the Sabha and a Municipal Commissioner; Messrs. Hosangi Burjorji, B.A., LL.B.; Manchba Shankar Jinauram, B.A., LL.B.; Rastiram Durgaram Dave, B.A.; Chhaganlal Thakur Dass Modi, B.A.; Narbheram Mansukhram, Abdul Reheman Ganibhai, and Messrs. Harilal, Harshadrai, Dhruv B.A., LL.B., Manchereba Palonji Kaikobad, Head Master, Mission School, Surat, Honorary Secretaries.

### MADRAS.

A GENERAL meeting of the Mahajana Sabha was held at 6 P.M., on Saturday, the 27th instant, at the Mahajana Office for the purpose of appointing delegates to the National Congress to be held at Calcutta on the 28th, 29th and 30th December. There were present the Zemindar of Devacottah, Messrs. P. Rangiah Naidu, P. Somasundaram Chettiar, C. Etherajulu Naidu, K. Krishna Row, S. Biligiri Iyengar, P. Etalwar Naidu, P. Theagaraja Chetti, C. V. Sundaram Sastri, K. P. Sankara Menon, S. Ramasawmy Mudaliar, G. Subramania Iyer, Gopal Nair, C. Ponuram Pillay, Gulam Dastagiri Sahab, Wajjee Laljee Sait, Abdul Kareem Sahab and many others. Mr. P. Rungiah Naidu, the President of the Sabha, being voted to the Chair, Mr. P. Anunda Charlu explained briefly the object of the meeting. He said that some time in the month of October at the instance of the Central Committee at Calcutta a circular letter was addressed to all the affiliated Associations and to all the corresponding members of the Sabha by the Committee to send delegates to the Congress. In response to that letter, in some towns public meetings were held for the purpose, while in other places the local Associations held general meetings and delegates to represent them at the ensuing Congress were appointed. Now it is the business of the Sabha members to appoint delegates to the Congress. After some discussion among the members present, M. R. Ry. P. Somasundaram Chettiar proposed that Messrs. P. Rangiah Naidu, Hon'ble S. Subramania Iyer, P. Kottasawmy Dever, M. Jaga Raw Pillay, S. Ramasawmy Mudaliar, C. Singaravalu Mudaliar, T. Namburumal Chettiar, A. Danakoti Mudaliar, G. Subramania Iyer, P. Anundachariu, B. P. Subramania Iyer, M. Samasawmy Naidu, M. E. Sriranga Chariar, Abdul Raiman Sett and Wajjee Laljee Sait represent this Sabha

from Madras as its delegates at the forthcoming National Congress. This proposition being seconded by Mr. K. P. Sankara Menon was put to vote and adopted. It was further resolved that the Central Committee at Calcutta be informed that the following gentlemen who were nominated at meetings held in several towns in the Presidency will also attend the Congress as delegates from their respective towns and Associations:—

*Ganjam District*.—Berhampore—Mr. Pakala Gopal Row Patrudu Garu, B.A., Pleader, District Court and Landholder and Town Councillor, Berhampore; Mr. Abdul Karim Saheb Bahadur, Influential Merchant, Landholder and Town Councillor, Berhampore. Chicacole—Mr. Mukunda Row Naidoo Garu.

*Utlam Estate*.—Mr. Venkatasawmy Naidoo Garu. *Soudam Estate*.—Mr. Jivaravyya Sastri Garu.

*Vizagapatam District*.—Vizagapatam Town—Mr. A. Suriasarayana Row Pantulu Garu, B.A., Pleader.

*Godavery District*.—Rajamundry—Mr. Row Sahab Singaraju V. Subbaroyudu Garu, B.L., Vakil, High Court, Masulipatam.

*Krishna District*.—Bezavada, Gudiveda and Kristna—Mr. Row Sahab Singaraju Venkatasubboroyudu Garu, B.L., Vakil, High Court, Masulipatam.

*Nellore District*.—Nellore—Mr. S. Narayanasawmy Chetti Garu, B.A., Pleader, District Court, and Municipal Councillor, Nellore; F. T. Ward, Esq., Pleader, District Court, Nellore; Mr. M. Venkatasubba Row Garu, Pleader, Munsiff's Court.

*Bellary District*.—Bellary—Mr. Row Sahab; A. Sabapathy Mudaliar Avl., Merchant, Chairman, Municipal Council, Bellary; Mr. K. Venkata Row Garu, Pleader, 1st Grade, Bellary; Mr. Kurnool Kareem Sahib Avl., Bellary; Mr. Sindigi Marisdappa Garu, Merchant, Bellary; Mr. T. Chudambara Row Garu, B.A.

*Anantapur District*.—Gooty—Mr. Y. Chondappa Garu, Pleader and Ryot and Chairman of the Gooty Union; Mr. N. Negasa Row Garu, do. do. and Member of the Gooty Taluq Board; Mr. P. Kesava Pillai Avl., Pleader and Ryot, and member of the District Board, Anantapur.

*Kurnool District*.—Penukonda—Mr. V. B. Chackravarthi Iyengar Avl., Pleader, Penukonda

*North Arcot Dt.*.—Walajunagar—Mr. Chedambadi Subba Naidoo Garu, 1st Grade Pleader

*Chittoor*.—Mr. Gopala Chariar Avl., B.A., 1st Grade Pleader; Mr. C. Srinivassa Chariar Avl., B.A.

*Chingleput Dt.*.—Chingleput—Mr. M. Y. Ramauja Chariar Avl., Pleader, Dt. Court.

*South Arcot Dt.*.—Cuddalore—Mr. S. Devanayaga Mudaliar Avl., Landed Proprietor and Chairman, Municipal Council; Mr. O. Kristna Iyyer Avl., Pleader, Dt. Court, and Municipal Councillor and Member of the Local Fund Board; Mr. Muthayya Chettier Avl., Merchant and Municipal Councillor; Mr. Mahomed Nairad Marocayar Avergal, Merchant and Municipal Councillor; Mr. T. Govindasawmy Naidoo Garu, Landed Proprietor; Mr. M. Rajarathna Mudaliar Avergal, late Railway Engineer; Mr. M. Arumugam Pillai Avergal, Landholder and Municipal Councillor.

*Tanjore Dt.*.—Combaconam—Mr. S. A. Saminatha Iyer Avl., Pleader, Dt. Court, and the President of the Tanjore People's Association.

*Coimbatore Dt.*.—Coimbatore—Mr. S. P. Narasimhalu Naidoo Garu, Editor and Proprietor of the "Coimbatore Crescent."

*Malabar Dt.*.—Calicut—Mr. C. Kunhi Raman Menon Avl., B.A., Editor and Managing Proprietor of the "Kerala Patrika" and Municipal Councillor.

The next subject that was brought before the Sabha was the consideration of the subjects to be discussed at the Congress. Mr. P. Anunda Charlu said that the Committee of the Sabha some time ago met to consider the matter, and have resolved to send a list of subjects to be discussed at the Congress. He said that the Central Committee issued a circular to all the public bodies in India to suggest subjects for the consideration of the Congress, and the Committee of the Sabha have accordingly prepared a list. When all the members of the Congress meet at Calcutta, the subjects sent up by the several Associations in India will be considered, and the members present will decide what subjects should be omitted and what discussed at the Congress. After some discussion about the matter Mr. J. M. Nallaswami proposed that the subjects proposed by the Committee of the Sabha be approved by the general body. This being seconded by Mr. C. V. Sundaram Sastriar was passed.

With a vote of thanks to the Chairman the meeting was dissolved.

#### PUBNA.

19th December, 1886.

A PUBLIC meeting convened by the Pubna Branch Indian Association was held this day to elect delegates to the National Congress. After much discussion the following gentlemen were elected.—

1. Moulvi Mahomed Ahmed Chowdry.
2. Baboo Grish Chunder Roy, B.L.
3. " Kally Charan Sen.
4. " Jadav Chandra Chuckerbutty.
5. " Mohini Mohan, Dr., M.A.
6. " Parbati Nath Kar.
7. Munshi Amir Ally.
8. " Rahumuddin.

The members of the Pubna Indian Association also appointed Mr. A. Chaudhri, B.A., LL.B. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law, as one of their delegates to the National Congress. Mr. Chaudhri is a member of an old zemindar family of that district, having considerable influence there.

#### LUCKNOW.

10th December, 1886.

THE following gentlemen have been formally elected as delegates from the Jalsai Tahzib, Lucknow, to the ensuing National Congress:—

1. Nawab Syed Raza Ali Khan
2. Baboo Abinash Chunder, B.A., Pleader.
3. M. Hamid Ali Khan, Esq., Barrister-at-Law.
4. Baboo Sriram, M.A., Pleader.
5. Baboo Bansilal Singh, Pleader.
6. Pundit Pran Nath.

#### MIDNAPORE.

13th December, 1886.

A MEETING of the Executive Committee of the Local Indian Association was held yesterday at the

Public Library Hall, when it was resolved to send the following gentlemen as delegates to represent the Association at the coming Congress:—

1. Baboo Bepin Behary Dutt, B.L., Chairman of the local Municipality.
2. Baboo Debendra Nath Ghose, M.A., B.L., Vakil.
3. Baboo Rughnath Dass, M.A., B.L., Municipal Commissioner.
4. Baboo Krishna Lal Mozumdar, Pleader and Municipal Commissioner.

#### KISSENGUNGE.

22nd December, 1886.

THE Mahajans' meeting was held here to-day to move the Government for the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils. Baboos Nunda Gopal Bhaduri and Jogodish Chunder Lahuri were appointed delegates to the National Congress. Great enthusiasm prevailed.

MR. CHUNILAL LULLUBHAI PAREKH, the Vice-President of the Arya Guyan Vardhak Sabha, having been elected its delegate to attend the ensuing Calcutta National Congress, left Bombay by last Monday's mail train.

AT a meeting of the Managing Committee of the Arbalia J. V. Sabha, held on the 19th December, the following resolutions were unanimously carried out:—

I.—That this meeting expresses cordial sympathy with the Second National Congress, which will meet in Calcutta during the Christmas holidays.

II.—That this meeting appoints Baboo Bejoy Lal Dutt as its delegate to represent the Arbalia J. V. Sabha at the sittings of the Congress.

#### NAGPORE.

23rd December, 1886.

MESSERS. GANGADHAR RAO CHITNAVIS, Gopal Hurry Bapu Rao Dada and Abdul Aziz, elected at the late public meeting, have left this station for Calcutta to attend the National Congress as delegates from Nagpore.

[And a vast number of similar brief telegraphic notices, which it is useless to reproduce. A great number of meetings published no reports whatsoever of their proceedings, merely telegraphing to the Calcutta Committee: "To-day great public meeting, A. B. C. & D. elected delegates, arrive Calcutta, such an hour, such a date." Only in the Madras Presidency were full reports of all the meetings immediately published in the local Press; many of these Madras Reports have been reproduced above; the rest are similar.]

## APPENDIX III.

### SUBJECTS FOR THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

#### CALCUTTA NO. 1.

To

THE SECRETARY OF THE

COMMITTEE.

DEAR SIR,

ONE of the most important subjects that will engage the attention of the National Congress this year will be the best system under which practical effect can be given to the third resolution of last year's Congress.

It is proposed to accept the eleven provisional rules, printed as an Appendix to the "Old Man's Hope," as a basis for discussion, and it is hoped that before joining the Congress at Calcutta, all delegates will consider carefully, in consultation with their constituents, the alterations in and additions to these rules necessary to convert them into a really satisfactory and sufficient code.

Since in each Province the circumstances differ, it will be specially necessary for all provincial delegates to make up their minds as to the exact bodies and classes to whom in their own province the Franchise should be extended.

Although the unofficial Europeans and Eurasians have not, thus far, except perhaps in Southern India, joined the movement to any appreciable extent, we must not overlook their rights in propounding a national scheme, and must in any such scheme provide for the due election by these communities of fitting representatives.

Certain general principles may be suggested for consideration.

Probably no official should be allowed a vote, firstly, because the official element will be sufficiently represented; and, secondly, because such persons could hardly exercise the Franchise with sufficient independence. This however will not exclude from the Franchise *quondam* officials who have left or have retired from Government service on pension.

So far as may be, our scheme should provide for the representation of the intellect and the wealth of the country.

It seems probable that in each province, or at any rate in some provinces, it will be best to constitute an "Electoral College" as it is termed, for the selection of members of the Provincial Councils. It might in some provinces be arranged, for instance, that the municipalities of every town of 25,000\* inhabitants and upwards should elect one member for every 25,000 souls they represent, to sit in this college; that all the graduates of its university should elect one member, for every 200\* graduates still on its rolls; that all persons paying income-tax on an income of say Re. 5,000 per annum and upwards should elect one member for every 100\* such persons; that all political associations containing not less than 100\* members, each paying a subscription of not less than Re 5\* per annum, should elect one member for every 100\* such members; that the editors of all papers having a *bona fide* circulation of 500\* copies and upwards, should amongst them elect one member; that the Bar, including all native barristers and duly licensed vakeels and mooktears, should elect one or more members; that the native chambers of commerce should elect one or more members. And other bodies and classes, according to the circumstances of each province, might equally obtain the Franchise. Persons qualified to be allowed to vote in two or more classes.

The Electoral College thus constituted would then proceed to elect, either from amongst themselves, or from outside, those men that appeared to them to be best qualified, irrespective of race, creed, colour or caste, to represent the Indian interests of the province in the local councils.

It must be left to the unofficial European and Eurasian communities, unless these should join in our deliberations, to decide exactly how best the election of representatives of their communities could be managed, but it is clearly open to us to suggest with reference to the ability, wealth, and interests at stake, of each community, what numerical ratio should in our opinion obtain between Indian, Eurasian, and European elected representatives in each province.

The question of whether representatives in the local councils should or should not necessarily have a private income of not less than a certain monthly sum, either of their own in realized property or earned by them in some profession or business, or guaranteed to them by their constituents (if this be thought advisable), will also have to be considered.

The above remarks are submitted purely to illustrate, by the suggestions they embody, the nature of the questions connected with the all-important subject of representations that will require consideration and discussion.

But it may perhaps be affirmed with some confidence, that while one object of any scheme must necessarily be to secure as broad a basis for electoral operations as is consistent with excluding those unqualified by education and manner of life to share in the Government of the country, the main object of any scheme that we adopt must be to secure as our representatives the ablest, most independent and above all most public-spirited men available.

It is very possible that this primary object will not be attainable in any two provinces by precisely the same system, and delegates should beforehand carefully work out with the rest of the ablest men

\* All figures are inserted purely tentatively to avoid blanks.

of their province, subdivision or city, the precise method by which under local conditions this primary object seems most likely to be attained.

In conclusion I am to remark that the time of the Congress will be limited, and that this question of representation is the pressing one of the day, and that it is not desirable to complicate it with a multitude of minor or secondary questions; but that at the same time if in your committee's opinion there be any other subjects of *pressing* national importance, the discussion of which at this coming Congress they consider essential, it is earnestly hoped that you will, with the least possible delay, set the same forth in a circular letter to all other committees so that all may be prepared to discuss the same. It would be well if in such circular you could conveniently sketch out the nature of the resolution which your committee would desire to see carried, as a basis for preliminary discussion by the delegates of other provinces with their constituencies.

It would be convenient if your circular could be printed, and sent in sufficient number of copies to each select committee to enable them to distribute copies to sub-committees and representatives.

Such circulars might be headed like this present one, and bear the town name of the committee as this does, with, if you issue more than one such circular, your own serial number,

November 5th, 1886. \* \* \* \* \*

## CALCUTTA NO. 2.

To

THE SECRETARY OF THE

COMMITTEE.

DEAR SIR,

THE great importance of securing for India, Indian representatives in Parliament, requires no demonstration now.

We consider that at the coming Congress the best means of securing funds to meet the expenses of Indian candidates in England should be carefully considered, and some definite scheme for the future adopted. The points, *inter alia*, to be considered are—

1st.—How it is to be determined, whether any Indian proposing to stand for a seat in Parliament is or is not entitled to be considered a national candidate and therefore entitled to national support?

[This requires an immediate, *temporary* solution—later when representation has been introduced into India, it will probably be sufficient to require that three-fourths of the Indian representatives in the supreme council certify that the person is in all ways qualified and appears to have a reasonable prospect of success, but in the meantime some other scheme for approving candidates must be adopted.]

2nd.—Shall any but Indians be competent to become national candidates?

[It is to be suggested that Europeans non-domiciled, if fit to be members of Parliament, will almost necessarily possess sufficient means of their own to require no pecuniary assistance from us, and further, that any such assistance from us would lead to their being considered paid members greatly diminishing, in the case of Europeans, their power for good in the House. As regards domiciled Europeans and Eurasians, probably unless these communities join our movement, they should be left to make their own arrangements for their respective representatives should they desire to have such in the House.]

3rd.—What should be the nature and extent of assistance afforded to national candidates?

[For instance, should it be only a lump sum, of not exceeding say Rs. 5,000, or Rs. 10,000 towards preliminary and election expenses, given once for all, without demand for accounts, or requiring full accounts and the repayment of any balance; or should, besides this, a yearly allowance of say Rs. 2,000, or Rs. 4,000 be made so long as the candidate continued to sit in the House and retain the confidence of the country? Should passages to and fro be paid?

Again should the assistance to an approved national candidate be supposed to be all he will receive (except from his own personal friends and family), or should it be treated as a supplementary grant to one partly provided for by his province?]

4th.—How shall funds be raised for providing such grants, if any, as it may be decided to give to national candidates?

It is needless to press the matter further; numerous other minor questions will suggest themselves as soon as the matter is thoughtfully considered, and the above remarks are merely intended to suggest the nature of the points which ought, our committee believe, to be settled at the coming Congress.

November 7th, 1886. \* \* \* \* \*

(Many other similar suggestions, of subjects for discussion, were circulated, but the above will suffice to show the character of these pre-Congress inter-communications.)

## APPENDIX IV.

*(Selection of Telegrams and Communications expressive of Sympathy with the objects of Congress, laid on the table at the close of the First Day's Proceedings, vide ante, pp. 16 and 58).*

*From President, Literary Association, Coconada.*

Association regrets its inability to send delegates. Sympathizes warmly with movement.

*From President of General Meeting at Santipore.*

At a meeting of the people of Santipore, held yesterday, it was resolved that this meeting desires to convey to the National Congress its entire sympathy with the objects of the Congress.

*From Chairman of Shillong Meeting.*

Public Meeting, Shillong, express complete sympathy with National Congress.

*From Secretary, Bulsar Arya Sabha.*

Sabha entirely sympathizes in proceedings of National Congress at Calcutta.

*From President, Central India Association.*

We have delegated Messrs. Mohendranath Chatterjee and Gangaram Choonilal, and have fullest sympathy with objects of Congress.

*From Desai Kahanrai Hukoomatrai, President, Broach Association.*

Accept our sincerest sympathy in the cause the Congress has at heart. Broach wishes success to your patriotic labours.

*From Secretary, Vidyabhivarkani Sabha, Vizianagram.*

Sabha heartily sympathizes with National Congress.

*From Secretary of Lok Sangraha Sabha, Veerumgaum.*

General Meeting desires to express deep sympathy with Congress work. Empowers Dhruva to represent them.

*From Honorary President, Baraset Association.*

Express Association's hearty sympathy with the objects of the National Congress, and its desire to move Government for the several reforms in the administration which have become necessary.

*From President of the Oriental Debating Society, Mombadevis.*

The Oriental Debating Society heartily sympathizes with the Congress.

*From the Secretary of the Patriotic Association, Trichinopoly.*

Please convey to the Chairman of the Congress the deep regret we feel at our inability to be present, and kindly offer our warmest thanks to all the members of the Congress for the deep interest they have shown in meeting together to advocate the cause of the dumb millions of our countrymen. We heartily wish the Congress every success.

*From Radhika Charan Mittra, Vaqueel, Dibrugarh.*

Entire Indian community, Dibrugarh, have full sympathy with, and highly appreciate importance of, National Congress to be held at Calcutta on 27th December, and following days.

*From (unintelligible) Sabha, Mangalore.*

South Canara wishes success to endeavours of the National Congress. Long live India.

*(And a number of similar Messages from minor Associations all over the country.)*

*From Maharajah of Durbhangah.*

Regret very much my inability to attend the Meeting of the National Congress owing to ill-health, but wish it every success; hope some practical scheme will be resolved upon about the best way to develop the natural resources and utilize the dormant capital of the country. It is indeed a happy thing for natives to see representatives from all parts of the country assembled together to discuss the future advancement of India. Only a few years ago such a thing could not even be dreamt of, and sincerely hope something practical will be done to encourage trades and manufactures in the country.



*From Eardley Norton, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, Madras.*

Regret inability attend Meeting this year. Grateful for invitation. Accept assurance, warmest sympathy in your work.

*From Bramhamoyi Debya, Sabrool, viâ Madhanagar.*

Heard all about the National Congress. Accept the blessings of an old Hindu widow. I bless you and pray your this union might last for ever

*From Rajah of Nilambur, Mullaparam.*

Regret noticed received too late; anxious to share in the undertaking in which fully sympathize.

*(And a great number of similar messages, from all kinds of people, expressing sympathy, sending good wishes or blessings, or explaining non-attendance in consequence of sickness, deaths of relatives, and a variety of causes.)*

*(Also numerous letters like the following.)*

No. 1373.

PARJOAR ASSOCIATION OFFICE,  
47, SANGATTOLA, DACCA.  
The 26th December 1886.

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE NATIONAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE,  
BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION ROOMS,  
Calcutta.

SIR,

I HAVE the honor, on behalf of the Parjoar Association, Dacca, to inform you that it expresses its cordial sympathy with the objects and the aspirations of the National Congress about to be held in Calcutta. The Association has entire confidence in the Congress, and hopes that the important question of the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils of this country, on a representative basis, will receive the greatest attention of the Congress. The Parjoar Association wishes the Congress a happy and successful issue.

I have the honor to be,

SIR,

Yours most faithfully,

SATIS CHANDRA GHOSE,  
Honorary Secretary, P. A.

*(Notices of Departure of Delegates.)*

*"The Tribune" of Lahore says:—*

"Six Lahore delegates to the National Congress of Calcutta left this station by the evening mail of the 23rd instant. A large number of native gentlemen assembled on the Station platform to see them off; and the train carrying them left the station amidst loud and enthusiastic hurrahs."

*Es "Mirror."*

An Ahmedabad telegram says: "The Guzerat delegates, representing the various towns and stations, started on the 22nd instant for the National Congress. There was a great demonstration at the railway station, where garlands and flowers were showered on them. Many people attended at the station to wish them a happy journey."

*Es "Mirror."*

A telegram from Lucknow says:—

"A large and influential gathering of citizens of Lucknow of all classes accompanied the delegates notwithstanding the hour of their departure to the Railway Station, and despatched them with hearty good wishes and enthusiastic cheers.

*(And many similar notices appeared in the various Indian papers.)*

## APPENDIX V.

### COMMENTS OF THE PRESS.

#### THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

["*The Indian Mirror*,"]

THE great demonstration which took place yesterday afternoon in the Town Hall will never be forgotten by the thousands who witnessed it. In the point of mere display of what may not inaptly be described as the national colors, the demonstration must have exceeded the most sanguine expectations of even the most ardent among its promoters. But the event was not only a mere display—it was a solid fact and proof positive of the welding together of the different communities into an animated, hope-inspired and self-sustained whole. It was a pleasure to watch the upturned faces, as they glowed with the enthusiasm caught from the speakers. Congratulations were flying from mouth to mouth, and every one was conveying the glad message to his neighbour that he had realized what he would not have dared even to hope for a very few years since. And the fact is, indeed, hard to realize. Just imagine numerous representatives of all Her Majesty's Indian subjects grouped together under one roof—Hindu, Parsi, Mahomedan, Eurasian, and even English,—and the still more numerous castes and creeds,—their hearts beating together, their feelings the same, their thoughts running to a common goal,—even their very language the same,—imagine all this, and then open your eyes, and you will feel the truth and force of the never trite simile of John Keats:—"Imagination is like Adam's dream, he woke and found it truth." And thus what we had so long dreamed while we slept the sleep of inaction, has become reality, when we have awakened to action.

The opening of the National Congress yesterday was, indeed, an event of which any country might be proud. It is also an event which will fill with undefined dread the enemies of Indian progress. It has been the fashion with these people to remind us ever and anon that all political agitation in this country has been in the hands of men who have made a profession of it, that it has been in the hands of men with no stake in the country, and that the aristocracy of the country, Rajahs, Zemindars, and men of wealth, if not of light, had no sympathy with it. Critics of this class must have been cruelly undeceived yesterday, when the large majority of the delegates were not only not professional agitators, but were actually men who must have made considerable sacrifice of time, comfort, and money for the cause. Again, the men who took part in yesterday's proceeding were not professional agitators whom school-boys had come to *encore*. Nor was it irresponsible youth that awakened the susceptible audience to ringing and reiterated applause. The speakers were men, whose hair had whitened with age. Old and young India had met to consider common objects. Dr. Rajendralala Mitra represented that aristocratic body, the British Indian Association; and as he spoke yesterday, one felt that that venerable figure represented something more than the aristocracy; he represented the wisdom and experience of age, and he represented the learning both of West and East. Then there was the first Native gentleman of

Calcutta, Maharajah Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore, the old man honored by his people and by his Sovereign. The Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji could not be considered young by any stretch of the imagination. But, perhaps, the most striking figure among the speakers was Baboo Joykissen Mookerjee. He spoke for some considerable time, and the old man's voice was very faint and low, yet infirmity and age had not prevented him from coming to the Town Hall, to speak encouraging words to the delegates and to the public who had come to welcome them. The sight was most impressive, and will be a great and useful lesson to much younger men. Now all these men have a stake and, some of them, a very large stake in the country, and are certainly not professional agitators. Among the delegates who spoke yesterday, and spoke with great effect, was Nawab Reza Ali Khan Bahadur, a nobleman of note in Lucknow. Tall and slim, as he rose from his seat on the platform, the spectators greeted him with ringing cheers. But the message of peace and good will he conveyed from the Mahomedans of the united provinces—the most important in India—to their Hindu and other fellow-subjects, was received with tumultuous enthusiasm. This nobleman repudiated the action of certain Bengal Mahomedans, and altogether his speech was a hearty and unstinted peace-offering; and as such it was received with satisfaction and gratitude. That the vast majority of the Indian Mahomedans fully sympathized with the objects of the Congress was proved later on when the President read the telegraphic congratulations of the Mahomedans of Hyderabad and of the whole of the Deccan. Indeed, there were Mahomedan delegates in the hall from all parts of India, not the least among whom was Mr. Rahmatullah Mahomed Syani, late Sheriff of Bombay. It will be seen that the Mahomedans have acquitted themselves most creditably on the day when the whole nation was on its trial, and its triumphant emergence from this most severe ordeal may be attributed to a very appreciable extent to the hearty co-operation of the Mahomedans.

The tone of yesterday's proceedings was unexceptionable. There was absolutely nothing in them to which the most pronounced Babu-phobist could object. Unalloyed and affectionate loyalty to the Throne, enthusiastic veneration for the Queen, these were displayed continuously throughout the afternoon. All the great virtues of Englishmen were freely admitted, and ungrudgingly extolled. And Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji managed to raise a cheer even for Lord Dufferin. This little fact abundantly testifies to the good temper and sense of the meeting, and the probable bias of the future deliberations of the Congress. The fact is that the people of India are loyal to the backbone. We take and give hard blows. Englishmen kiss and make friends with thrashed adversaries. We have learnt the genial lesson from our masters. And if we find it our duty, a little oftener than is agreeable to us, to say bitter things of English rule, in some of its aspects, none the less do we love to dwell on its brighter side. The people of India had met yesterday to consider some of the darker aspects of this rule. But when asked by the

President if they were disloyal, because they made certain demands, an indignant thundering "no" rumbled for many seconds in the huge hall. And as for their loyalty, its depth may be judged when they cheered even Lord Dufferin.

## THE SECOND NATIONAL CONGRESS.

[ BY A BOMBAY DELEGATE. ]

YESTERDAY'S monster meeting in the Town Hall ought to be registered in the annals of British India as unique of its kind. There may have been, perhaps, for all we know, more crowded meetings in that noble hall in times past, where the voice of wisdom and the charms of eloquence have united to make Native demonstrations for political objects a grand success. And it is possible to imagine that in times to come, equally successful meetings will be held for purposes the most beneficent for the weal of the State at large. But never, perhaps, for another half a century to come will there congregate an audience at once so intelligent, so instinct with moderation, so unbounded in its enthusiasm, so throbbing with the generous pulsations of national life, and withal so hopeful of the ultimate political emancipation of their race as the one that gathered yesterday afternoon in the hall of the metropolis of the Empire, under the presidency of a true and devoted son of India, and one of the most unselfish and honored patriots that the country has produced during the last fifty years. Whether we think of the various nationalities that were grouped in that hall, men of every caste and community, of every shade of opinion, or whether we take into consideration the representatives which each Town, District and Province sent forth to deliberate on questions of common weal, one cannot help remarking that the time and the occasion were unique. The meeting marks a distinct epoch in the history of our Indian communities. It is the herald of coming events—events still in the womb of time, but which are sure to take place at the proper moment, and with the happiest of results. The burning words in which Macaulay concluded his great speech, fifty-three years ago, have been verified. It is in reality the dawn of that "proud day," which he forecast with the instinct of the seer—a day, to be proud of not only for India but for England. It is an event in which every genuine Englishman should rejoice. For it is the happy result of that beneficent policy of education which our rulers laid down in 1854. As the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji reminded the meeting, India is a trust which Providence has reposed in the British for the benefit of the Indian races. And this meeting may fairly be pointed out as an example of the honest and liberal spirit in which that trust has been hitherto discharged. If we are now agitating for greater political freedom in the constitutional manner we are now doing, our rulers must remember how far we have falsified the alarmists in their own ranks, men of narrow vision and still narrower spirit, men steeped in selfishness and prejudices, men who are never tired of proclaiming on the house-top that by giving knowledge to the Indians they are giving them power which they will rather abuse than use. Have not Indians, guided by the knowledge, which English literature and English history impart, learned to make proper use of the freedom of speech so long granted to them? Who could deny, after hearing the words of moderation and wisdom, which fell from the lips of two such veteran politicians as Dr. Rajendralala Mitra and the Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji, that Indians of liberal educa-

tion are in every way fit for greater political freedom? I am fully convinced that had there been present at the meeting those severe critics, who, in season and out of season, have been vainly vociferating that we are not yet far removed from our state of pupillage, and therefore, unfit for a larger political freedom, they would have found ample reason to modify their views. Nay, I go a step further, and say that they would have acknowledged with all the sterling honesty characteristic of Englishmen that we had fully made out our case to participate more largely in the government of the country, and to represent in the Councils of the Empire the true wants and wishes of our people. Thus, the reforms which the President enumerated as being now necessary for the better government of the country are reforms which would, if granted, tend rather to strengthen than undermine the British Indian Empire. As Sir Charles Trevelyan sagaciously observed half a century ago, of us Indians, "so far from having the idea of driving the English into the sea uppermost in their minds, they have no notion of any improvement, but such as rivets their connection with the English, and makes them dependent on English protection and instruction." Thus the reforms, which we are now advocating, have, for their foundation, mutual benefit and good will. These two points, I think, were very well brought out by Mr. Dadabhai in his speech; and it is to be hoped they will be read in the light and in the spirit in which he caudally placed them before the meeting. Altogether the two addresses were most admirable, and are sure to commend themselves to the judgment of every right-thinking Englishman, who has at heart the genuine welfare of our countrymen and his own. It is also to be hoped that the important and authentic information which Mr. Dadabhai communicated to the meeting with regard to the sentiments and feelings which the Viceroy cherished towards us, will tend to disabuse the mind of many a sceptic, who has hitherto viewed all actions emanating from that exalted personage as retrogressive or distinctly injurious to the interests of the Indians. It is needful at this juncture that our people should disabuse their minds of erroneous impressions and prejudices—be these latter ill-founded or well-founded. Mutual toleration and confidence are most essential for a consummation of some of those pressing reforms which have been long since in the air. Without these we shall be able to achieve nothing; the second National Congress will, it is to be hoped, show by its deliberations during the next three days how far it is worthy of being respected by our rulers, and how far it is a duty on their part in return to comply with some of its most reasonable demands.

## THE NEXT CALCUTTA CONGRESS.

[ "Native Opinion," Bombay. ]

THE anniversary of the great national movement, which was inaugurated last year, and which first came to a head in this city has arrived, and the National Congress meets this year at Calcutta. The Bombay Presidency Association has chosen its delegates for the great assembly, and all the public bodies throughout the country will do the same, and there will assemble at Calcutta during the ensuing Christmas a gathering as remarkable for its representative character as for the capacity and ability of its collective members. The delegates from Bombay show names, which are not only representative of the Presidency, but some of whom would be gladly accepted as their representatives by any

portion of the country. So, too, gentlemen from Madras, the Punjab, the North-West Provinces and from the other provinces of the Empire will assemble at the capital and discuss with the representatives of Bengal the grievances of the people of this vast country, and suggest to Government means of removing them. Bombay, it is said, sends 16 members only, but it is not by numbers that we should calculate the benefit of their presence. No doubt, if more could have been sent, the better it would have been. But even sixteen is not a very small number, and their presence will doubtless be as influential as that of the fifty-two delegates which Madras is going to send forth.

This institution of a National Congress, which is to meet once a year in one of the great cities of the Empire, speaks volumes for the silent progress the country has been achieving. It is an institution which is destined to play a very important part in the political history of our country, and is a very forcible exponent of the patriotism and the desire for progress which exists at present. It has long been asserted that there is no national feeling in the country, that the people are incapable of political thought like the people in the West, and that the Asiatic mind is a soil very unfavorable for the growth of free aspirations. No doubt, the past history of the continent has in some measure justified these assertions. But students of political history will not fail to mark in these Congresses the great lesson of time. Thanks to Western education, already the film that had spread over the vision of the people has been removed, and their eyes opened to ways of combination for the purpose of achieving political liberties by legitimate exertions. The rough and ready warlike spirit which characterised the different provinces of the country in by-gone times, and which arose to the surface by fits and starts, whenever oppression was to be repelled, has already given place to legitimate agitation by means of the Press and the platform. The exclusive feelings of difference between the inhabitants of different parts of the country, which made them as ready to fight with each other as with a common enemy, and which at times was intensified so much as to make one section side with the common enemy in order to accomplish the destruction of the other, has vanished, and under the wand of this great magician has turned into a feeling stronger than friendship, and has become a link to join all in the common understanding of a national brotherhood. These changes are really so very vast and glaring as to be read by all not wilfully blind. No doubt, several self-constituted judges still persist in thinking that national life in India is even yet not awakened. We may safely leave these people to the obscurity of their own ignorance, and looking for ourselves see in these Congresses and similar other institutions signs of the times which are pregnant with future efficacy. We at least regard these Congresses as landmarks which the future historian will take hold of as landmarks of the rapid progress of political thought.

#### THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

["The Express."]

"**THE** as regards the National Congress now assembling in Calcutta. We are apprehensive that, unless the questions to be deliberated are approached in a very accommodating frame of mind, the whole affair will end in a *fiasco*. This would be a pity for many reasons. We think it indicates

a healthy condition of the body politic; when any considerable section of the community is prepared to sacrifice time, money, and a not overabundant leisure, in order that its members may survey the political and social situation, and cast about to see in what respects the present lot and the future prospects of the people may be ameliorated. The present Native Congress has many important subjects to deal with, and no true friend of India can, we think, in any just or right spirit either ridicule or condemn the convocation of such a representative assemblage. It cannot too frequently be borne in mind that the Indian Government is a quite despotic bureaucracy. There may not be manifest any special illiberality in its dealings with the people or public interests *en bloc*, but that it is anything but an enlightened despotism admits of no argument. Such being the case, it is a very wholesome sign indeed to find the intelligent members of the community fully alive to the fact that, if they ever expect to get anything of value in either an administrative or a representative connection, they must keep their demands well in the forefront of affairs, and make sure that the Government understand the nature of their requirements. It does not follow by any means, that such demands should be at all revolutionary or have a tendency to make the State suspicious of the loyalty of the people. As the providers of the means of administration, it is but reasonable that the people should be represented in the local Councils; it is not asking more than they are fully entitled to, that they should have a voice in the government of the country. At present they have neither. They are no more represented in the Councils of the Government than are the Russian peasants in the Great Council of the Czar; in a word, they are governed by a System and by Codes which they have no part or lot in formulating or framing. The people are very sensible of all this, and although they appreciate the honesty with which the laws are administered, and the fairness with which they are themselves governed, they feel and know that, were it otherwise, they would be practically as helpless as any other people who are subject to the personal whims of an irresponsible ruler and living under the most unmitigated despotism. It is not surprising, then, that the popular cry should be for representation in its real form,—not the hollow sham which now obtains in the Presidency and Supreme Legislative Councils; whilst their aspirations to be directly represented in the Imperial Parliament are altogether legitimate. At this juncture we think it is to be regretted that the National Mahomedan Association of Bengal should have resolved upon holding aloof from the Native Congress.

The reasons urged are *primâ facie*, substantial enough and sufficiently tenable; nevertheless, we think it is to be regretted that an influential Mahomedan section should separate itself from a Conference which, as we take it, is not convened for the purpose of embarrassing the Government, but rather to assist it with suggestions and advice, the outcome of deliberations shared in by popular representatives from every part of the country.

#### THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

["Statesman."]

The most striking testimony to the character of the English rule of India that has yet presented itself to the world is, we believe, the assemblage of Native gentlemen therein, to whom the local com-

majority of Calcutta gave a welcome yesterday at the Town Hall. We have now gathered together for a few days in this city men to whom we can point with pride, as the outcome of a century of our rule. They have come here, not so much because they have grievances to represent to the Supreme Government, but that we ourselves have taught them to cherish honorable and healthful ambitions, the absence of which amongst any people stamps both them and their rulers with degradation and reproach. It is no assembly of ignorant and disaffected men to whom Calcutta has given this hearty welcome, but a body of distinguished men who acknowledge with almost passionate earnestness and gratitude what English rule has done for their country, and who simply ask the Government to complete the work and realise—both for itself and for them—the fruition of the hopes we have taught them to cherish, as essential to wise and healthful government.

The refusal of the National Mahomedan Association and of the Mahomedan Literary Society—represented respectively by Mr. Amir Ali and the Nawab Abdul Lutiff—to take part in the National Congress now assembled in this city does not, we are assured, command the sympathy or approval of the Mahomedan community generally, who have certainly a right to ask what steps were taken by these gentlemen to ascertain the views of the community, in writing these letters. The Mahomedan community at Madras have sent delegates to the Congress, and so have the Mahomedans of Bombay, the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the chief towns and cities of Bengal, and before taking so serious a step as that which Mr. Amir Ali and the Nawab have taken, they will themselves allow, we think, that they ought to have ascertained, beyond doubt, that the community which they are supposed to represent, desired them to take such action. We are not able to affirm that they did not take it, but there is, we fear, a strong presumption against their having done so. It is strong testimony to the character of the local Native Press that the subject has been dealt with in a spirit of extreme moderation, unusual in the public Press, and this moderation is of itself a most forcible reply to the charges that are so unjustly and commonly brought against our Native contemporaries. Let them but continue to show this self-command, and no one will be able, or even desire, to resist their representations and demands. The letters must have been a sharp trial to many of them, and the perfect self-command they have shown in their comments thereon is an honorable fact upon which we congratulate them very sincerely.

#### ["Indian Union."]

WHEN we cast back a glance at the history of our country during the last twelve hundred years; when we consider the various vicissitudes it has undergone, passing from the subjection of one foreign tyrant to that of another; when we recollect the invasions of Mahomed, the devastations of Timur, and Ghangiz and Nadir Shah; when coming to still recent times, we think of the hordes of Pathan and Pindari free-booters who so fearfully disturbed the peace of the country and made life and property equally insecure; and compare it with the present condition of our country, where peace reigns, and life and property rest secure, where religious persecution is unknown, and the gift of free speech and writing is vouchsafed to the highest as well as to the lowest individual, our heart swells with gratitude for the people

who, under Providence, have been instrumental in bringing about this happy change around us. It is most true that neither affluent prosperity, nor abject poverty, neither exalted freedom nor degraded servitude, is the eternal lot of nations, or of individuals. And though at periods of a nation's existence, when all its energies seem exhausted, its sacred fire burnt out, and the people steeped in indolence, selfishness, and corruption, sink lower and lower in the scale, the lover of his country might not unnaturally despair of its advancement, yet all history teaches us that "such a state of things is not eternal; that no remedy, an effectual remedy is provided against its evils, in the rise of other States, the advent of fiercer passions, or the inroad of a brave people; and that, as certainly as the burning vegetation of spring succeeds the torpid vitality of winter, so surely will the energy and power of mankind come to revive the decaying spirit of nations." And so has it been here. We have always regarded the advent of the English into this country as a clear providential arrangement meant to revive the decaying spirit of the Indian Nation,—a spirit so far decayed as to make people doubt the existence of the nation itself. The new life which English rule has infused into the country, the new spirit which English education has breathed into the hearts of the people, is too clearly visible in all the various movements set on foot all over the country for the moral and material, social and political advancement of the people. But it was not where seen so fully as in that ever-memorable assemblage, the National Congress, which met last year at Bombay, and which will meet next week again at Calcutta. To say that that phenomenon is unique in the political annals of India is to say very little of it. But it is one which, while it fills the heart of every Indian with the most cheering anticipations for his country, will also inspire a noble pride in the heart of every generous Englishman to think that that phenomenon was made possible only under England's rule in India. England is the land of freedom and the mother of free nations. And it would really have been a matter of not only surprise but shame if the close connection of above a century with England, such as India has known, had not revived the spirit of freedom among the Indian people, who yield to none in the glory of their past warlike traditions, and whose warlike instincts, though often suppressed, have never yet been extinguished. While, therefore, we rightly expect every honest Englishman, who has the uncontaminated blood of a free Briton running in his veins, to come forward cheerfully to help and encourage the movement in a loving spirit, we cannot at the same time help pitying those misguided men, who, calling themselves sons of free England, still, on account of perverse prejudices towards the Native people, show themselves hostile to such movements and speak in the most merciless and unjust manner of their promoters and doings. Still more do we pity those Indians who, unable to overcome the selfishness which enthralled them, catch the contagion from such comments, and not only hold themselves aloof from, but speak derogatingly of them. We sincerely trust that these may soon see the folly of their conduct, and instead of juggling the obloquy and the sin of being the detractors and opponents of such movements, may unite their efforts with those of the earnest patriots who are engaged in the arduous but glorious task of regenerating their country and restoring it to something like its pristine glory.

The spectacle of hundreds of men of light and leading coming together from the remotest parts of this vast Indian Continent to consider their

common grievances, and to formulate their common wants, cannot fail to create the deepest impression even on the most cynical minds. The meeting of the people of the Punjab, of Bombay, of Madras, of Bengal, of the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, will be a meeting of so many brethren after a separation of long, long years or rather centuries; and the thrill of hope and joy which will pass through the frame of those who will see them folding one another in their loving embraces, can only be felt and not described. Let no one have the impudence to say after this that the Indian people do not constitute a nation. A phenomenon like the one which will be witnessed in only five or six days in Calcutta, is impossible in the absence of strong national feeling and national sentiments.

It is unnecessary for us to say what impression the meeting of the Congress will make on the minds of those who have the actual reins of government in their hands; how it will dry up like a mighty sun the mist of wrong impressions which seem unhappily yet to bedim the vision of most people both here and in England with regard to the Indian people and their feelings. The very fact of such a Congress will go far to falsify all the foolish things which certain Anglo-Indians and their servile organs have been persistently cunning into the ears of English statesmen and the English people about the actual condition of India. It will demonstrate to them that India is now no longer what it was 20 years ago: that the spread of English education has changed the aspect of this country; that Indian youths drinking at that fountain-head of freedom—the glorious literature of England—have been imbued now with an irrepressible desire for some share in the administration of their country's affairs; and that the system of government which might very well have been suited to the India of 1850, does not at all agree with the fitness of things in the India of to-day.

Not the most ardent of our reformers has ever said that the Congress will express the opinion—in the strict sense of the word—of the whole Indian population. The opinion of the *whole mass of the people* has never yet been fully represented in England itself, where representative Government has a proud history of above six hundred years. And the opinion which any representatives or delegates will express in India in any Council or Congress whatever, cannot, in the nature of things for many many years to come, make anything except a faint approach to even that imperfect representation which obtains in England at the present day. But there can be no manner of doubt that it will faithfully represent the views of the thoughtful portion of the Indian people, and these, as every man with a grain of common sense can easily understand, guide and control in all lands and climes the opinion of the people. To say that the delegates assembled at the Congress will give expression to their own individual views alone is to say the merest falsehood. Hundreds of public meetings, large and small, have been held all over the country to nominate delegates for the Congress, and the views which they will express will virtually be the views of those who have nominated them. The questions that are almost sure to come up for discussion thereat are discussed in these meetings; and though it would be foolish to expect that the views of the people on every little point could be obtained, the general drift of their views, especially on the more important and prevailing topics of the day, can, and we are sure, will be known and faithfully represented by the delegates, and should, as such, command the serious consideration of the Government. We have already enumerated the subjects that are likely to

be discussed at the Congress in a previous issue, and we need not, therefore, repeat them in this article again. We shall have to say a great deal more about them when the deliberations and resolutions of the Congress have been made known. In the meantime, we wish our readers a happy Christmas, and our delegates a safe and pleasant journey to and from Calcutta.

## THE FIRST DAY'S WORK OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

There can be no two opinions as to the complete success which the Congress has achieved during the first day's sitting of its delegates. No assembly of enlightened men in the world, bent upon honest hard work for the good of their country, could have proceeded to deliberate and resolve on matters the most momentous in a more business-like fashion. It was, indeed, a sight of which the representatives of any free nationality might be proud. There sat packed closely together in the not too commodious hall of the Association, which has been deservedly called the parent of all other like organisations in the country, nearly five hundred delegates, surrounded by a crowd of eager spectators, keenly intent, each in his own way, in taking some active part in the business submitted for transaction, and more or less burning with a desire to have his say on the resolution proposed and seconded. It seemed as if the genius of order and harmony had presided on the occasion, and guided the deliberations of the representative assembly. No doubt, a variety of opinions were expressed; but there was not a single speaker who did not feel the weight of his responsibility, and who was unmindful of the importance and gravity of the debate. All appeared to be animated by the sole desire of arriving at unanimity on questions which have more or less passed from the stage of controversy, and entered into the regions of the practical or the possible. Tolerance of each other's opinion and due deference to the wishes of the indefatigable and impartial President, these were the marked features of the proceedings. Nor were patience and good humour wanting. These, too, have had their sobering influence on the minds of the delegates. All went to work with such an amount of earnestness and cordiality as to leave nothing to be said by way of objection or criticism. Though the hour of business was fixed at 11 A. M., it was nearly noon before the President took the chair, and opened the proceedings. His speech was brief and to the point, and, on the whole, served well as a model for the various gentlemen who spoke to four of the resolutions that were passed. Mr. Dadabhai impressed on his brother delegates the importance of economising the limited time at their disposal by mildly hinting that each speaker should do his best to limit his speech to five or ten minutes at the utmost. And, like the stern disciplinarian that he is, he rigidly adhered to the ruling. This procedure in a great measure facilitated the business of the Congress, and the Honorable President certainly deserves the congratulations of the delegates for the admirable way in which the work was transacted.

Thus have ended the proceedings of the first day of the Congress. They amply bear out our repeated assertion in these columns that enlightened Natives are in every way qualified to discharge the higher duties of self-government. For a more satisfactory illustration of the practice of self-government could not have been found than the first day's work which the delegates transacted in

the rooms of the British Indian Association under the presidency of a gentleman who has not only made his mark here but in England—that nursery of free thought and free action and the mother of constitutional Government. In this connection how prophetic seem to be the words of Sir Charles Trevelyan recorded forty-eight years ago: “they (the Natives) duly converse with the best and wisest Englishmen through the medium of their works..... Admitted behind the scenes, they become acquainted with the principles which guide our proceedings; they see how sincerely we study the benefit of India in the measures of our administration. . . . They learn to make a proper use of the freedom of discussion, which exists under our Government, by observing how we use it ourselves; and they cease to think of violent remedies, because they are convinced that there is no indisposition on our part to satisfy every real want of the country.” It is because Natives are convinced that there is, in reality, no indisposition on the part of Great Britain to gratify the real wants and wishes of the country that they have organised Congresses to give body and form to those wishes. This and this alone is the *rationalis* of the Indian Congress.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

[BY A BOMBAY DELEGATE.]

Now that the Congress is dissolved, after its arduous work during the last three days, it may not be uninteresting or unimportant to give my own impressions with regard to the variety of business it has been able to transact. It may be safely acknowledged that this second National Indian Congress is a complete success. Nay, it is something more. It is a complete vindication of the enlightened and liberal policy which the British Crown and Parliament first laid down half a century ago. The Congress is the natural outcome of that slow but steady progress which English education has been making among our countrymen in all parts of this vast Empire. Unparalleled as is the British Indian Empire in the annals of the world, more unparalleled still is this phenomenon of picked men of the various communities of India, separated the one from the other by hundreds, or even in some cases thousands, of miles, differing in race, religion, and customs, who assemble on a common platform for a common purpose, and that, too, in the very heart of the capital of the Empire. For we should never forget the vast extent of India. Where each Province is almost as large as France, or Spain, or Austria, where, in fact, all the Provinces together, which, now constitute British India, are equal in area to Europe, excepting Russia, the political phenomenon which Calcutta has witnessed since Monday last, must be pronounced unprecedented. It is not only unprecedented in the history of India, but in the history of the world. For when we may ask, has history recorded a single instance in times, ancient or modern, of whole nations, I mean picked men of the various communities of which India is made up, separated one from another by hundreds of miles and differing in race, religion, and customs, of whole nations, having assembled on a common platform, animated by a common instinct to work for a common cause, and that cause nothing short of the political welfare of their fellow-men. I consider this event to be quite an epoch in the annals of our countrymen—an epoch of which not only we Indians should feel proud but every genuine Englishman also. As the Hon'ble Dada-

bhai Naoroji justly observed in his inaugural address, the Congress has been made possible only because of English rule. It is British freedom of speech and thought, British liberty, British institutions, British statesmanship, British sympathy, and British righteousness, that have all combined to evolve the present Congress. Never, even in the “halcyon” days of Vikramaditya, or in the palmiest days of Akbar, could such an assemblage have become possible. All honor and gratitude, therefore, to our rulers, who have so far helped us to emancipate ourselves from a degrading slavery, and to struggle for, nay ambitiously aspire to, these higher political aspirations, which, when realised, will add a greater glory to, and reflect a brighter lustre on, the British name. This I take to be the happy result of a century of British rule. Though I am not one of those “emotional” men who grow enthusiastic on any particular subject, I cannot help wishing that William Zachary Macaulay had been present to witness the political phenomenon now displayed to the entire civilized world. How it would have gladdened his heart to know that the whirligig of time had wrought out those changes which he had so sagaciously forecast half a century ago, sooner or immeasurably sooner than he had ever hoped or anticipated. In his own words it may be truly observed that “the public mind of India” has so far expanded under the English system that it has, in reality, “outgrown” it. That, “by good government,” the statesmen of England have educated us, Indians, into a capacity for better government. Nay more, “that having become instructed in European knowledge,” we have already arrived at that stage in the history of our political condition when we are able to “demand European institutions.” The day of which he was not sure has come to pass. And I take it to be the proudest day in English history. And yet, with a strange want of apprehension, with a lamentable inability to grasp the real situation, there are among us a certain class of Anglo-Indian critics, official and non-official, who would still attempt to avert or retard it. But we can afford to pass by in silence the endeavours of such short-sighted critics. Who has ever succeeded in stopping a rising tide by his Partingtonian mop or, for that matter, with his tiny gongsequill?

But to return to the proceedings of the Congress. Firstly, I must say that this second Congress has far surpassed the first in point of strength and publicity. We at Bombay sat more as a private conference, and shut out the public from witnessing our proceedings. Again, being the first of its kind, we were not so overpoweringly strong in numbers. Perhaps that was an advantage. All beginnings should be modest. The strength of the rivulet at its source is always feeble, but as it glides on in its onward course both its momentum and force increase till at last its power becomes irresistible. Not that the second Congress has arrived at such a stage, but it is certainly true that the demonstrations, which have accompanied its sittings here, have attracted greater notice, and the work done has been of a more practical character. The first Congress formulated abstract principles of great pith and moment. The second Congress chalked out a line of action on those principles. This is exactly what is wanted. Unless you first lay down broad principles you can never proceed to details.



## THE THIRD AND LAST DAY'S WORK OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

[*"Indian Mirror."*]

The third and last day's sitting of the Congress was unusually interesting, as everyone who was present on the occasion will be able to testify. Whether for moderation, eloquence, earnestness, and unanimity, the speeches delivered by a large number of the delegates present at the Congress were unsurpassed. Those who are always having a tilt at the "Bengali Baboo" should have been present at the Congress yesterday to witness how the Native public sentiment outside Bengal is unanimous on some of the important public questions affecting Native interests. They should also have taken the opportunity of seeing for themselves how our Mahomedan fellow-subjects, beyond the pale of a small coterie in Calcutta, are in perfect accord and sympathy with the objects of the Congress. There was a strong array of Mahomedan speakers from different parts of the country, who, one after another, got up and almost vied with each other in expressing their hearty concurrence in the aims and objects of the Congress, and their readiness to co-operate with their brethren of the Hindu community in promoting the common good of their common country. We are glad to learn that three distinguished European gentlemen, who were present on the occasion, bear witness to this fact; and these are the Marquis of Huntley, Mr. Elliot, the President of the Finance Committee, and Mr. H. J. S. Cotton. The spectacle that the Town Hall presented yesterday was one of such a rare character that it had never been witnessed on any previous occasion. It was probably only yesterday that one could fully realise the wholly representative character of the great national gathering that met in the chief public hall of the Metropolis. Delegates from Behar, the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab, Bombay, Madras, Sind, Assam, and the Central Provinces, came almost in swarms, and poured forth their sentiments, not only in English but in their respective provincial vernaculars with the utmost fervour and earnestness. One Mahomedan gentleman from the Central Provinces, Moulvi Abdul Aziz, quite astonished the audience by his sweet Persian diction. The delegates from the North-Western Provinces, Oudh, and the Punjab, such as Pundit Madan Mohan Malavya of Allahabad, Manshi Sadu Lall of Benares, Pundit Shyamnarain of Lucknow, Lalla Bhugwan Dass of Derah Ismail Khan, Lalla Kusbya Lall of Lahore, simply electrified the audience by their eloquent Urdu speeches. The truly earnest and impressive way in which Pundit Madan Mohan Malavya, Pundit Shyamnarain, Lalla Bhugwan Dass, and Lalla Kusbya Lall spoke formed a correct index to the truly patriotic spirit which animated them. It was difficult to repress the eloquence of some of the speakers from Upper India. But the gentleman who attracted a large share of attention, as much by his speech as by his striking figure and costume, was Lalla Bhugwan Dass. His very presence and his speech most unmistakably established the great fact of India having begun to think with one mind, from Calcutta to the remote border districts in the Punjab, and from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. Those who are in the habit of charging the Bengalis with getting up all sorts of political agitation in the country should have been present to listen to the speech of Lalla Bhugwan Dass in order to judge for themselves how even some of the frontier tribes, who have received the benefit of English education, have begun to feel its elevating influence and to co-operate

with their fellow-countrymen of the Provinces near the Presidency Towns in the constitutional agitation of all public questions of vital importance to the country at large. We wish that such of the Indian bureaucrats, and such of the Indian journalists, as try to ignore the fact of any germs of national life springing up among us, had been present on the occasion, and seen in common with us how the educated and intelligent Indians in all parts of the country have begun to be closely identified in sentiment and in feeling, and to sympathise in each other's thoughts and ideas. One fact that Lalla Bhugwan Dass brought forward was a most important one in support of our contention for the larger extension of the principle of local self-government and the gradual introduction of representative institutions, and that is, that even the frontier tribes have their own tribally-made laws and their own tribal Councils, and that they have among them a complete system of tribal Government. And he very rightly held that if barbarous and unlettered tribes were fit to manage their own affairs, the civilised and educated Indians were still more capable of exercising the powers of self-government with great advantage to the country. It is always said that it is the Bengalis alone who claim political rights and privileges of all sorts, and that the other races do not. A visit to the several sittings of the Congress would have satisfied any of our Anglo-Indian friends that all the races of India, besides the Bengalis—and this though some of their number may not be scholars enough to make English speeches—hold views exactly similar to those held by the educated classes of the Gangetic Provinces of India. Many of the speakers would have been taken for Bengalis if it had not been for their distinctive costume and the language that they spoke; and we are sure that, after hearing all the speeches made by our brethren of other parts of India, many of our fellow-countrymen of Bengal have, by this time, come to be disabused of the notion that it is they alone who have a monopoly of the intelligence of India, and that the inhabitants of other Presidencies and Provinces have scarcely as much command over the English language as themselves. It was quite interesting to listen to Lalla Bhugwan Dass, as a representative of the frontier Hindu and Mahomedan tribes, and to the other speakers from the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab, and to realise for ourselves what rapid advancement India is making in these days of progress and enlightenment under the beneficent influence of the English Government. Another speaker, who made a most favorable impression on the audience, and who clearly showed how hollow is the abstention of a small section of the Mahomedans of Calcutta from the Congress, was Mr. Shurfuddin of Behar, Barrister-at-Law. He delivered an excellent speech, and drew forth repeated and loud applause. He pointed out, in the plainest terms possible, that, though Behar was a chief centre of the Mahomedans of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, the Mahomedan inhabitants of that Province were not at all in sympathy with such of their co-religionists as have held themselves aloof from the National Congress. He said in the most distinct terms that his co-religionists in Behar mostly sympathised with the objects of the Congress; and he very pertinently observed that he did not quite understand how the Congress had been called a "Hindu Congress," by an Anglo-Indian contemporary, when it was presided over by a Parsi gentleman. His speech did not leave the slightest doubt on the mind of anyone of those present at the assembly that, except a few Mahome-



dans, represented by the Central National Mahomedan Association, and the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta, the rest of the Mahomedan inhabitants of Bengal, and especially of the province to which he belongs, were heartily in agreement with the aims and objects of the Congress. He was followed by other Mahomedan speakers, namely, Munshi Kadir Buksh of Kyzabad, Khajeh Abdul Alim of Dacca, and other Mahomedan gentlemen, who all regretted the conduct of their unsympathetic co-religionists in Calcutta.

The resolutions adopted yesterday will be found in our local column. Resolution IV was moved by Baboo Surendra Nath Bannerji in a stirring speech, which evoked loud cheers. He was followed by Mr. Chandavarkar of Bombay, who distinguished himself so much in England a short time ago as an Indian delegate. His speech was, as usual, a most practical one, and exactly to the point. It was very much admired for the large amount of information that he gave, and for the cogency of the arguments he used in seconding the resolutions. He spoke in a thoroughly honest, bold, and fearless spirit, and the audience evidently appreciated his speech much. The resolution was supported by the well-known Mr. Ananda Charlu of Madras, who represents the highest intellect of that Presidency, and who is distinguished as an orator. He also made an admirable speech. It was decided at the meeting that the next National Congress should be held at Madras on the 27th December, 1887. The meeting concluded with three cheers for the Queen, three for the Viceroy and the Provincial Governors, and three for Mr. A. O. Hume.

As regards the Civil Service question, the report of the Committee, which was appointed to consider it, was adopted. One gentleman, present at the Congress, enquired how the point had been settled as to going to England for study and competition for the Civil Service. The President replied that for want of time that and all other details had not been considered and decided upon. But whatever may be the present state of the question we hope that the Congress will insist on the necessity of Indians going for study and training in England as an indispensable condition of their admission to the Covenanted Civil Service.

Thus closed the second Indian National Congress in Calcutta, which will always form a historical event for our city, and mark a new epoch in the annals of the national progress of India. The delegates will disperse in a day or two. We cordially wish them Godspeed on their journey home.

The *Indian Daily News* says:—"The evening party at the Town Hall on Monday, in connection with the National Congress, was a peculiar gathering which we imagine would have been a study for Sir George Campbell. He is greatly interested in ethnological studies, and the occasion would have furnished specimens from all parts of what may be termed civilised India. There was, indeed, an absence of the border tribes, who represent the undeveloped "Native," and so far the collection was incomplete. Still it was a remarkable assembly, and different from any we have yet seen. In many gatherings of Natives there is to be seen a considerable admixture of "barbaric pearls and gold" that lend fictitious aid to the brilliance of the assembly. There was very little of these visible on Monday night. Indeed, it might be said that they were conspicuous by their absence. There was an apparent negligence of appearance as regards dress that is not often observable in Native social gatherings. There were, however, some Native gentlemen

who appeared in "forked habiliments," swallow-tails, and the orthodox waiters' ties. They were kept in countenance by a sprinkling of Europeans in like attire. There were others who, despising such things as swallow-tails and white ties, sported overcoats, and wore mufflers which concealed their identity except to their more immediate and familiar acquaintances; and there was every medium between these extremes. There were representatives of all points of the compass, differing in features, attire and language, and yet they seemed, with exceptions, to have one common medium of communication not "Native" to any of them, namely, the English language. This was largely the common bond and means of overcoming strange speech, and the Babylonish confusion of tongues, that must otherwise have prevailed in the assembly. But on this score, there was no difficulty, or, if there were, it was not among the delegates proper, but with men who are mostly residents in Calcutta, occupying respectable positions in society, but who have not had the advantage of being educated in any language but their own. It was interesting to see the company group themselves into small parties, discussing with great animation topics of interest more or less germane to the subjects which the Congress would take in hand. But these were, by no means, exclusively the themes of discourse. There was a large amount of introductions and much hand-shaking, and everything seemed agreeable all round. Even some of the opponents of the Congress were present, probably to indicate that any difference of opinion on matters of policy should not interfere with the social amenities which should exist among all sections of the community. The President of the Congress, Mr. Dadabhoi Naoroji, was well occupied during the evening in making the acquaintance of the delegates and others; and the leading members of the League were similarly occupied. It was remarked by a Hindu gentleman that "their leaders" were not present. This, in a certain sense, was correct; but the remark does not recognize the change that has come over society, of which the speaker himself is an example. There was a time when Maharajahs, Rajahs, &c., were the leaders of Hindu society; and certainly they were conspicuous by their absence on Monday evening. But who are and who have ever been the leaders of men? No nobles by the mere fact of their position, though there have been occasions when men have held the position of noble-men and have been leaders. There have been leaders in all ranks of society. Watt Tyler was a leader of men, though only a blacksmith, Cavendish was a leader of men, when he and a few others, in a small house on Whittington Moor, arranged to bring about the Revolution that placed William of Orange on the throne of England. Cavendish, however, was a Duke, or became one, as well as a man, and would probably have been a leader, in any rank of life. So it will be in India. It will not be the well-appointed wardrobe, or the lengthy title that will enable the wearer to be a leader of men. It will be the cultivated understanding, the active brain, the moral courage begotten of right, that will lead men and accomplish the revolution of the future. These are facts that are beginning to be realised, that will multiply themselves, and grow in strength till their full purpose is accomplished. The work will not be done in a day or a generation, though it will be not the less certain in the end. Those who are active now will not see the full fruition of their labours. There may be years or even generations of suffering and disappointment in India, as there have been in Europe and that are still

before some of the struggling nationalities. Patriots in all countries have had to endure much, to suffer much, and to wait for the result, which they have not always seen except by the eye of faith. There is no reason why Indian experience will differ from that of other nations; and those who are most burning with zeal will do well to accept the injunction of Longfellow, and while—

"Still achieving, still pursuing,  
Learn to labour and to wait."

["The Statesman."]

THE National Congress, the delegates to which from all parts of India are now gathering themselves together in this city, will hold their first sitting, we believe, on Sunday next, the 26th instant. The Congress has been looked forward to with deep interest throughout the year. Our readers are no doubt aware that it is the second meeting of the same order. The first Congress was held at Bombay on the 28th, 29th and 30th December last. Before breaking up a resolution was unanimously passed "that the Indian National Congress re-assemble next year in Calcutta and sit on Tuesday, the 28th December, 1886, and the next succeeding days." It was originally intended that the Congress of last year should assemble at Poona, but the appearance of cholera in that city, a few days before the time fixed for its opening, led to a decision to hold the Congress at Bombay. The first sitting was held, as appointed, on the 28th December, nearly one hundred gentlemen attending it from all parts of India. Many of these gentlemen being Government servants, took no direct part in the proceedings of the Congress, but were drawn thereto from strong and enlightened sympathy with its aims and a desire to assist by their advice in its counsels. The actual number of representatives properly so called was between 70 and 80, and on the eve of the first sitting Sir WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, Mr. JUSTICE JARDINE, Professor WORDSWORTH, and many other leading men of Bombay, met the representatives at the Goculdas Tejal College; and welcomed them to the city.

The Congress was a very signal success. In commenting upon it the *Times* remarked that "it was at Bombay that India had, for the first time, given proof of the existence of a national life and spirit," but it remarked that no Mahomedan gentlemen took any part in the proceedings and that "its members were for the most part drawn from three orders—native lawyers, native school-masters and native newspaper editors. There were some notable exceptions, but the rule was as we have said." It emphasized particularly the fact, that "the entire Mahomedan population of India had steadily refused to have anything to do with the Congress," and declared their abstinence to be "a sufficiently ominous fact." The statement was far from being accurate, and the Hon'ble Mr. TELANG, of the Bombay High Court, pointed out, in a letter to the *Times*; that it had been misinformed, and that although but two Mahomedan gentlemen attended the Congress others would have been present had it been possible for them to be so. Mr. TELANG very properly reminded the paper that the Congress was the first of its kind, and he expressed a confident belief that the Mahomedan community would be represented largely at the Congress in this city, which is now about to open. Whether that hope is realised or not, it would be idle to conceal that the movement does not command the sympathy of the Mahomedan community in by any means equal measure with that of the great educated Hindu community. Our readers have seen, from the letter of Mr. AMIB ALI in our issue of Sunday last, and from Mr. HUME'S

letter to that fine old man SYED AHMED HOSSEIN of Allghur, that the movement has not taken such hold of the convictions, or the imagination, of the Mahomedan community as to awaken any very great sympathy therewith as a whole. Nor could any one have reasonably expected that it would do so. The *Times* itself, as we have seen, lays stress upon the fact that it is the educated classes who are the strength of the movement. The movement throughout is the direct, the anticipated and foreseen outcome of the high education that has been brought within the reach of the people. The Mahomedans, unhappily for themselves, but from motives which we can heartily respect, have hitherto stood aloof from the colleges and universities, which are the nursery of those honorable aspirations and ambitions, which are beginning to be so widely cherished in the country. High education would have done little for the people—we may properly say that it would have done nothing for them—if it had failed to produce the unrest, the uneasiness, and the distress, with which it has taught them to regard their exclusion from all share in the administration of their own country and the management of their own affairs. The indifference of the Mahomedan community, as a body, to their present exclusion from these duties in common with their Hindu fellows, is as much and as directly the result of their self-enforced adherence to inadequate methods of education as is the almost passionate longing of the educated Hindu community to share responsibilities which they have been sedulously taught by ourselves that it is their duty and their privilege to bear in common with Englishmen. On their own account we regret the indifference which the Mahomedan community, as a whole, shows towards this great movement, but their children will be wiser than themselves. We suspect, moreover, that a far larger number of Mahomedan gentlemen will take part in the coming Congress than many suppose to be likely. Meanwhile we counsel the Congress to take the right view of their abstinence, should it be ever so marked. It is a matter that affects the Mahomedan community itself, more than all others, and must of necessity come to be regretted by their children. It would have been wiser for them to have said nothing, and quietly abstained from all part in the Congress, than to have placed the evidence upon record that as a community they have no sympathy with the honorable ambitions of their fellow-subjects. They have made a mistake, but as the letter binds no one but the few who have concurred in, and adopted it, we advise the Mahomedan community to ignore it altogether.

We have received no communication of any kind from the gentlemen who are making arrangements for the holding of the Congress, nor do we know whether its "sittings" will be thrown open to the public. We believe, however, that their preparations were completed nearly a month ago, and that the "representatives," who will attend the assemblage, have been partly nominated by the branch political associations of the country, and partly elected by them. We understand, further, that the main subject of discussion at the Congress will be the necessity of strengthening the local Councils of the various Governments of the country by the election of members thereto, under some system of "representation." We think the Congress will certainly act wisely by concentrating its efforts in this way upon some special reform, directing its whole strength to its achievement. It would be doubtfully wise, we think, while the Public Service Commission is sitting, for the Congress to commit itself to any definite plan of reform in that direction until the Com-

mission has produced its report. For ourselves we are not convinced, we confess, of the advantage of recruiting the higher appointments of the Service by competition. We doubt if "an open Civil Service" might not be the wisest step that could be taken in that direction, reserving "competition" for the recruiting of the subordinate services.

We were most glad to notice the prominence given at the Bombay Congress to the question of "the condition of the masses of the people" under British rule, and we hope very earnestly that the subject will be revived at this Calcutta assemblage. It will consist mainly of the representatives of those classes to whom British rule has proved an almost unmixt blessing. The Madras and Bombay members gave earnest and honorable prominence to this question at the Bombay Congress, and we indulge a hope that it will occupy the close attention of the coming assembly. What is it that occasions an almost universal deterioration in the condition of the masses of the people under British rule? "It is a question of life and death to the country," said one of the speakers (Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI). "The present English rule is no doubt the greatest blessing India has ever had, but this *one evil* of it nullifies completely all the good it has achieved. Remove but this one evil and India will be blessed in every way, and will be a blessing to England in every way." The speaker attributed it to the "foreign agency" under which British rule is carried on. Had, he said, the "foreign institutions" that our rule has introduced, we think we would have been nearer the root of the evil. What we all want is light, more light! The question is ever present to our own mind, and has never yet been solved by us. Let us hope that these assemblies will eventually prove the means of giving us the light we so sorely need.

### THE COMING REFORM

["The Hindus."]

It is satisfactory to observe how public opinion is rapidly forming itself regarding the subject of legislative reform. Among the Natives there is absolutely no difference of opinion. They are agreed as to the main outlines of the scheme as well as to its principle. They ask for a moderate but substantial measure of representation in the Councils of the Empire with a view to exercise a control, however limited, over the general and financial administration of the country. They are also ready with a scheme to give effect to this proposal. The members of the Councils, Supreme as well as Local, are to be increased in number according to the population, area and the general fitness of the Provinces, and not less than one-half the members of these Councils are to be elected. The election is to be made by the Municipal and other local institutions, by the Universities, Chambers of Commerce and political associations of a certain status; and the elective members of the Supreme Council are to be chosen by the elected members of the local Councils. These reformed Legislative Councils are to be given, in addition to their power of legislation, the privilege of interpellation and discussing the budget and passing upon it their own resolutions, which, however, are not intended to be absolutely binding upon the Government. In every case of dissent from the recorded decisions of the Council the Government is to publish its reasons. The members of the Council are further to be empowered to appeal against the veto of the Supreme Government to the Secretary of State, and to a standing Committee of Parliament, against the decisions of the Secretary of State. These are the outlines of the scheme agreed to by the Native community.

The scheme may be susceptible of improvement; but it is a great advantage in discussions of this kind to have to start with a scheme, however defective, which will render further discussion definite and practical. This scheme will be subjected to further consideration at the Congress at Calcutta and then submitted for an early and favorable consideration to His Excellency Lord Dufferin, who is said to be inclined to approve of some such scheme. But irrespective of this unanimity among the leaders of the Native community, and the favorable inclination of the Viceroy, the gradual rallying of Anglo-Indian opinion on our side is to be welcomed with delight. During the past few days several Anglo-Indian officials and non-officials have expressed themselves favorably to the reform that is so prominent in the discussions of the Native press. Lord Dufferin himself has more than once drawn our attention to the great lesson of history, that a progressive Government must change its institutions according to the changes that occur in the spirit of every successive generation, and no one is more conscious of the changes that have come over India within the last thirty years than the present Viceroy. This opinion, valuable and encouraging as it is, has been supplemented by echoes, more or less distinct and audible, in quarters to which we are not accustomed to look with hope. Even the *Pioneer* has found itself unable to resist the influence of the change that is fast overtaking public opinion on this question. A few days back our contemporary wrote as follows: "The immense difficulties of adapting to India, with its immense population crossed and intersected everywhere by the dividing lines of caste, creed and race, a representative system, that was originally invented for and by small homogeneous European communities, may have before long to be faced; the complicated problem of the proper distribution of legislative powers between Imperial and local Councils may have soon to be solved for India. But these are questions for the wisdom of the sovereign Parliament to decide, and in such forward movements the older provinces of the Empire, with great commercial capitals and concentrated civilization, will probably be expected to show the way." Here will be perceived, amidst a studied vagueness of language, a clear admission of the inevitable character of the change that is demanded by the Native community; and, as a sign of surrender on the part of obstructive officialism, we welcome this admission in the columns of the *Pioneer*. A few days later, while speaking at St. Andrew's Dinner at Calcutta, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who, speaking about this time last year, ridiculed the Ten Comandments and called the educated Indians a small and uninfluential section of the Native community, admits that "it is well that the old order should change, giving place to the new." "It needs constantly fresh eyes to see," observed Sir Rivers Thompson, "and fresh hands and heads to work out the right solution of those ever-changing conditions and circumstances which a closer contact with England, facilities of communication, the growing extension of education, and a hundred other influences are pouring, like a perpetual torrent, upon the stagnation of Indian thought and character and social habits." Sir Rivers Thompson made these remarks after Mr. George Yule's suggestion on the same occasion that the widening of the doors of our Legislative Councils will be the next change in our present administrative arrangements. Mr. George Yule, who is the President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, approached this question in his speech with a fairness and breadth of view truly praiseworthy. He thought that in any new arrangement that

might be made "it would be better if the Governor-General ceased to be a part of the legislative machinery, but should become its greaser or overseer with a veto more or less limited over its decisions." The reasons alleged by Mr. Yule in support of this suggestion deserve consideration. He said: "What I think I clearly perceive is that, under existing conditions of legislation, and more so under wider conditions, neither lofty reputation nor transcendent ability nor unspotted integrity will save our Governor-Generals, while members of the Council, from being dragged in the mud of angry reproach, first by one party and then by another, until their influence as representing the impartial attitude of the Crown is wholly gone; and they will be the subject of aspersions or praise according as they side with this or that kind of legislation. They will become partizans in spite of themselves, to the loss alike of their dignity and usefulness." The suggestion is an important one, and will receive the attention of the authorities when the change is introduced. But meanwhile it is worth noting by the leaders of Native opinion as indicating the attitude of Anglo-Indian non-officials regarding the subject of legislative reform. If Mr. Yule represents to any degree the opinion of his class, it is evident that the mercantile community of Europeans agree with us in thinking that the re-organization of the Legislative Council is a question ripe for early solution. In addition to the opinions that we have referred to in the preceding lines, to those of the *Pioneer*, Sir Rivers Thompson and Mr. George Yule, representing respectively the lower official class, the higher official class and the mercantile community, we have to note the valuable and renewed testimony of Professor Wordsworth of Bombay to the propriety of our demand. In his review of the *Star in the East* he expresses his opinion in the following passage: "We seem to be reaching a time when it will be impossible to govern this country altogether on the old lines, and yet the official conservatives in India and their spokesmen in the London Press seem to consider it the highest wisdom to ignore this fact and to rail at everybody as a revolutionist, or what is almost worse, a *doctrinaire*, who advocates the most moderate reform designed to lighten the strain of a situation which may become impossible before we are aware of it." This is the opinion of a known and esteemed friend of the people of this country; but it is nevertheless timely, for whatever inferior officials of the bureaucracy may think of Professor Wordsworth, with the higher officials and with the direct representatives of Her Majesty, the opinion of a man so respected for his learning and moderate views must command considerable weight. Nor are the generous sentiments of Lord Meay and Lord Rosebery towards the people of this country less opportune. The illustrious nobleman, now at the head of the Bombay Government, while presiding at St. Andrew's Dinner in Bombay, reminded all Englishmen and Scotchmen of the great claims that this land has upon them, and observed that "on an Englishman or Scotchman or an Irishman there cannot fall a happier lot than to devote his best energies to the prosperity of this great country;" and these words of wisdom and truth were supplemented by Lord Rosebery, who exhorted his hearers to "maintain the traditions of English justice and English strength, Scotch justice and Scotch strength, justice within and strength without." These are noble sentiments, and should be treasured up in the hearts of statesmen and administrators as their motto and guide in the discharge of their duties. Justice within leads to strength without, because no Government threatened

by foreign aggression can have a worse foe than a people rendered discontented and unhappy by a sense of justice denied or postponed; but the people of India ask for nothing more than to be treated according to the ideals of English justice.

We have referred to the opinions of several representatives of the ruling race in different parts of the country as a proof that the unanimous appeal of the people for some measure of control over the administration of their country is not regarded after all as the revolutionary and impracticable demand that it is often asserted to be in the organs of the Anti-Native party. It is evident that a large section of the Anglo-Indian community, official as well as non-official, is in favor of the reform, and the Native community may reasonably look to its help in pressing on the public and Parliament in England its important and urgent nature. The Congress should carefully note these indications of Anglo-Indian sympathy and make the best use of them.

[ "The Bombay Gazette" ]

The Native politicians of Bombay have chosen their delegates for the forthcoming Congress at Calcutta. They are sixteen in number, and no exception can be taken to them on the score of either capacity or status. They will represent, as well as any company of men who could have been chosen from this side, the sobriety, the good sense, and the sweet reasonableness which characterize the political thought of Western India.

The National Congress, which is an assembly of the representatives of the various races of the Empire, has, we see, proved too much for our Anglo-Indian friends. The Anglo-Indian journals all over the land look with jealous eyes on the Congress, and try their best to lower its importance. We do not exactly know what makes the Anglo-Indians assume an inimical attitude towards the Congress, unless they be opposed to the political progress of the Indians. The Anglo-Indians can hardly expect to gain anything by decrying every loyal and constitutional step the Natives may adopt in asserting their rights as British subjects, and in creating a strong public opinion on the questions of political reform. The wisest and most just policy the Anglo-Indian community could adopt is to encourage the Natives in their legitimate aspirations and to cultivate their friendship. The Anglo-Indians in this country will ever be in the small minority, and however great may be their influence they must sooner or later have to yield to Native claims. If they are wise in their generation, they should make common cause with the children of the soil, and live on the most amicable terms with them.

[ "The Indian Mirror." ]

MR. CROWLEY, of Allahabad, in his speech in support of the National Congress, declared that he knew that there were several European gentlemen in the country, nay in Allahabad too, who think of the Congress as well as he does, with the difference that they hesitate to come forward to have their say, lest they should be taunted in society. We are truly glad to be informed on the authority of a European gentleman that many of his countrymen out here are supporters of the National Congress, but we must say that it is not at all becoming on their part to keep themselves in the background. They ought to come forward boldly, and give out their minds on the Congress, and we have little doubt that many of their countrymen will gradually follow them.

## ALL ABOUT THE CONGRESS AND CALCUTTA.

[BY MR. N. G. CHANDAVARKAR.]

["Indu Prakash,"]

THE second National Congress of India has come and gone, and it has been by all who either witnessed it in Calcutta or watched its proceedings from elsewhere declared a success. The general verdict seems to be that it passed off admirably well. Before it came off I confess I had serious misgivings about it. The attempt of the Hon. Mr. Amir Ali and Nawab Aboul Latif Khan to keep the Mahomedans away from it threatened at first sight to mar its success. Indeed, when Mahomedan delegates arrived from other parts of India, they were got at and asked not to put in their appearance at the Congress. "The Hindus are ahead of us. We are lagging behind them. We still want the patronage of Government; and shall gain nothing by joining them." This was, I understand, the plea urged for the conversion of our Mahomedan colleagues, but, to their credit be it said, like good men and true, they stood firmly by their cherished conviction that the best policy was to make common cause with the Hindus and Parsees. They regularly attended the meetings; watched the proceedings as closely as the other delegates; and in their speeches showed an amount of good will and confidence which might well afford an example to others. That feeling of theirs was duly reciprocated by delegates representing other sections of the community; and thus our misgiving on this head proved fortunately false. The second thing that contributed to the success of the Congress was the behaviour of the Bengal delegates. Some one—he was from Bengal itself—it appears had dinned into their ears, before the arrival of the delegates in Calcutta, his view that Bengalis had obtained in other parts of India a bad reputation for hospitality to strangers. But our Bengal friends surprised their delegate-guests by the splendid arrangements they had made for their reception. Every one seemed to be anxious that the delegates from other parts should return pleased with Calcutta and its people. Even Bengali students vied with one another to mark their desire to give the delegates a cordial greeting. For instance, after the formal sittings of the Congress were over, a lecture on Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, the greatest religious and social reformer modern India has produced, was delivered in the City College Hall by Mr. Kally Churn Banerji, one of the delegates. Long before the hour of the lecture, the hall was closely packed up by a crowded audience, mostly consisting of students. Many of the delegates attended the meeting just when the lecture was about to begin. As they neared the door of the hall, they found the place so full that they could hardly hope to get in. But the moment the students—and Bengal students, I was told by a Bengali friend, are not generally respecters of persons—found it was a delegate who was seeking admittance, the way was cleared, and he found himself in the hall welcomed by cheers which rung through it. Welcomed cordially, lodged comfortably, and treated everywhere hospitably, the delegates could not but carry favorable impressions of Bengal hospitality, to which, I say, part of the success I am speaking of is due. Add to all this the Chairman's suavity, patience, and urbanity, any deliberation held under such circumstances was bound to be a success. The mania for speechifying did not prevail largely; and where a man here or there showed an inclination to orate, Mr. Dadabhai managed him with admir-

able tact. I heard a delegate say that Mr. Dadabhai's venerable appearance was enough to disarm the most stubbornly, verbose speaker. One might well, looking to the harmony which characterised the proceedings throughout, and the tone of loyalty and moderation which marked all speeches, adopt for the Congress that has just passed away old Richard Baxter's motto: "In all things essential, union; in things non-essential, liberty; and in all things, charity."

And now arises the question—of what practical use is all this demonstration? Politically, some say, Congresses and their resolutions will carry no weight. Government, it is said, regard them as emanating from the educated minority of Natives in India. But no one amongst us is, I believe, so foolishly sanguine as to suppose that when we have met, spoken, and passed resolutions, we have done all. The Congress may or may not have the desired effect on the Government. The Government may or may not give wholly or partially what we have asked. It may not be *national* in the sense that the masses are still unable to sympathise fully with its political demands. These seem to me to be secondary questions altogether, and the highest value of the Congress seems to me to lie in this, that, quite apart from the fact that it is a present political force, it is a great social lever. It is *national* as all events in the sense that it is calculated to form us into a *nation*, by bringing us together, and making us by an interchange of views think, feel, and act alike. I care not whether the array of resolutions we have passed in the past and may pass in future are attended to or not by the Government as long as these Congress meetings develop the bond of union among the people. All things else are subsidiary, and its gain is not so much in the present as in the future.

The charge has been brought against the Congress, however, that while dealing boldly with political questions it quietly ignored the equally, if not more, important question of social reform. It is, indeed, to be regretted that social questions, on which the future of the country so greatly depends, should have been regarded as beyond the sphere of the Congress politics. But I do not think we can say that they were altogether ignored. Many of the delegates, I can say from my own personal knowledge, felt strongly on them, and had the question been *formally* placed before the Congress, I doubt not the advocates of social reform would have found a good number on their side. There were many practical reformers among the delegates; there were others who sympathised with Mr. Malabari's agitation. We all agreed that our primary object was *union*; that questions on which all felt alike ought alone to be taken up by the Congress; and by following such a course alone could we hope to unite all and make them see the necessity of social reform. The idea, therefore, of *formally* discussing the question was dropped. But that did not prevent us from taking it up informally. The Congress closed on Thursday. On Friday Mr. Kally Churn Banerji delivered a lecture on the services rendered by Rajah Ram Mohun Roy to the cause of religious and social reform in India; on Saturday Pundit Shiva Nath Shastri, one of the missionaries of the Brahmo Samaj, held a religious service, which was attended by many of the delegates—more could not attend owing to the mournful news just then received from Madras about the fire in People's Park—and in the course of an eloquent discourse, he dwelt on the imperative necessity of controlling the present political fervour by means of faith in God and religion. "Otherwise," said he, "all this excitement might

lead to socialism, anarchy, and thoughtlessness, which would prove disastrous to India."

Indeed, in any other place it would have been possible to shut one's eyes to the question of religious and social reform, but in Calcutta, where such men as Rajah Ram Mohun Roy, Dwarka Nath Tagore, Debendro Nath Tagore, and Keshub Chunder Sen, the leading lights of religious and social reform in India, have lived and worked, it was impossible. The influence of these men is not gone; and after what I have seen in Calcutta, I must say that there is good reason to think that the charge of being a mere prattler and political agitator would be unjust in the case of the Bengali, whatever might be said of the men of Bombay or Madras. There is, of course, a great deal yet to be accomplished in Bengal; men are complained of as being indifferent to religious and social questions as much as we are here. But something is being done to remove the evil. In a country, where custom rules as a tyrant, and men have the blind conservatism of ages to fight against, you cannot expect things to mend in a day; the test of progress is whether there is any movement which does for religious and social reform what most of our Associations do for political advancement, and whether that movement is moving onwards, moving slowly it may be but nevertheless moving and giving the country every year, say, half a dozen at least of men, having the courage of their convictions, and prepared to act and not merely talk. Judged by this test, Calcutta may safely expect a favorable verdict. And the Brahma Somaj is doing yeoman's service in this respect. Those who do not sympathise with it make it a point to tell you that its influence is waning; and that made me all the more curious to know what its present condition and future prospects are. Now the Brahma students have what is called the Students' Weekly Service. Every Sunday morning a meeting is held, to which students of all classes are invited. After prayers are offered, a sermon or discourse is delivered. This Weekly Service is attended largely, and every year, I was informed, it brings a fresh accession of converts to the Brahma Somaj. It happens in this way: A student attends the service for some weeks or months; he gradually shows leanings in favor of religious and social reform: his parents on discovering it propose marriage as an antidote; the student remains firm; refuses to marry; has his remittance stopped; is subjected to persecution. That leads to a crisis. He stands it all; becomes more devoted to the cause than ever; avows himself a Brahma; and shows that he has the spirit of self-sacrifice in him. The parents find it useless to persecute the boy any longer. They leave him to his convictions, and thus moral courage wins the day. I came across many students who have passed and are passing through such a crisis, and their self-sacrificing spirit could not but rouse my sympathy and admiration. How many of us, said, I might well take a lesson from their example! Here are young men—whose number is slowly, very slowly, but steadily increasing—brave lads, of whom their country ought to be proud. This is a hopeful sign.

So much about the influence silently and slowly but steadily worked by the Brahma Somaj among the student class. Equally hopeful is the work it is doing for women's emancipation. In Bengal the difficulties are greater than in any other part of India on account of the *zenana* system. Nevertheless, it has been the first to give the country female graduates, some of whom are Brahmos and others Christians. Besides, there are Brahma ladies who have received excellent education, and are doing good work for religious

and social reform. They have started a Sunday School, where children are given religious and moral instruction. Let no one say after this the Bengali is a mere political prattler. He has done yet very little; but he has done more than we have; and side by side with political activity you also see in Calcutta activity in the direction of religious and social reform.

### THE NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE RECONSTITUTION OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS.

[ "The Bengalee." ]

In our last issue we reproduced the resolution which the National Congress recorded on the all-important question of representative government. There has been some misconception in some quarters with regard to the scope and purport of this resolution. It has been remarked with more humour than good sense that the practical effect of the resolution was to invite the Government to vacate office in favor of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and his followers, and that what the Congress really asked for was that the English rulers of the country should moult guard and protect the country, but that all real power and authority should be vested in the people. Such a view of the matter would be amusing if it did not proceed from a journal of considerable influence with the Government and the Anglo-Indian community. It could only have proceeded from ignorance, coupled with a sense of uneasiness and impatience. If the terms of the resolution were carefully examined, it would be found that the Congress put forth a very modest demand for participation in the government of the country, which should disarm all opposition and enlist the sympathies of right-thinking men. The principles underlying the resolution are these: That a fair proportion of the members of the Legislative Councils should be elected, and that they should be elected by local bodies, Chambers of Commerce, Trades' Associations, Universities, &c., and other public bodies of established repute. But we pin our faith on no particular system. The resolution leaves a door wide open for the adoption of any system that may please the Government. If it should be said that these local bodies are untried, let the franchise be granted directly to such persons as in the opinion of the Government are capable of exercising it. We give the Government a *carte blanche*. Let the Government choose its own system and devise its own scheme. All that we care for is that the representative element should be recognised in the government of the country. But whatever may be the system that is introduced, we are anxious that the rights of all classes of the community should be respected. Mark the language of the resolution. "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, Europeans, Eurasians, Mahomedans, Hindus, &c., and all great interests, the agricultural, mercantile, professional, &c., are adequately represented." We have heard a great deal quite recently about the interest of minorities. But we are solicitous—and the Congress was solicitous—that those interests should be cared for, that the majority should not swamp the minority; and that they should not have a preponderant influence, except such as may belong to superior devotion, courage and self-sacrifice. The Councils thus constituted and thus reformed should have the right of interpellation and some measure



of control over finances. The right of interpellation would be as great a benefit to the people as it would be a gain to the Government. To the people it would be the safeguard of their rights; to the Government it would afford opportunities of removing many a misconception, many a mistake. It is said that the lips of the Government are closed against imputations which are sometimes made in the Native press. We are sorry that such imputations should be made. The Government, we think, has enough to answer for in the shape of actual defects in the administration, and for which it cannot escape responsibility. But if these imputations continue to be made, the remedy lies in the hands of the Government, and if the Government does not choose to make use of it, we do not think it has much right to complain. Be that as it may, the right of interpellation would be a distinct advantage both to the people and the Government. But it is not an unrestricted and illimitable right in this respect that is demanded. There is a certain use of this right which may embarrass the Government, but we are unwilling to embarrass the Government, and therefore we say in the resolution: "Provided that if the subject in regard to which the inquiry is made involves matters of foreign policy, military dispositions or strategy, or is otherwise of such a nature that, in the opinion of the Executive, the public interests would be materially imperilled by the communication of the information asked for, it shall be competent for them to instruct the *ex officio* Members, or one of them, to reply accordingly, and decline to furnish the information asked for."

What could be more moderate or more legitimate than this? What becomes of the charge that we want our rulers to vacate office in our favor? It is not Home Rule or Parliamentary institutions that we want. Our humble prayer is that we should be associated with our rulers, and only in a limited measure, in the government of the country. With reference to the consideration of the Budget, it is a right which is already conceded to the Supreme Council when new measures of taxation are introduced. We suggest a further extension of this right. We suggest that whether new taxes be imposed or not, whether the Budget concerns the Province or the Empire, it should in every case be laid before the Council and discussed. Now nothing is so well established as the financial solvency of the Corporations of Calcutta and Bombay, and the secret lies in the circumstance that those who pay the taxes and have the keenest personal interest in economy have a voice in the expenditure. We seek to give effect only partially and in a tentative manner to this principle which underlies the secret of successful government. If our suggestions with regard to the reconstitution of the Legislative Councils had stopped here, they would have been sufficiently moderate, and we are confident they would have challenged the assent of every responsible official. But with a view to disarm all opposition, and to make it impossible to refuse our demands, we suggest that in the very first stage of this great experiment, "the Executive Government shall possess the power of overruling the decision arrived at by the majority of the Council," a full exposition of the grounds on which this is considered necessary being published. Our demands are thus very moderate, and we would earnestly call upon the Government to give effect to them; or at any rate to introduce some form of representative government which would be more acceptable to its views. Ten years hence the reform will be too late. It will fail to conciliate, and it will have

the appearance of a concession made to popular agitation. The public mind has been deeply stirred, and the Congress has given volume and shape to our aspirations in this respect. In Bengal the agitation has already been commenced; and we may depend upon it that, as the result of the labours of the Congress, the agitation will now be taken up in other parts of the country. We would earnestly call upon the Government to anticipate all this agitation by spontaneously offering to the people of India, out of the abundance of its own good will and grace, the inestimable blessing of representative government. And no gift would be more welcome in the Jubilee year of Her Gracious Majesty's reign. She has reigned long and she has reigned beneficently. Deep has been her concern in the welfare of her Indian people. May this feeling find expression in the emancipation of her Indian subjects, and may it form the proudest, as it will be the most durable, monument of her glorious reign!

## THE BRITISH RAJ.

["*Reis and Rayyat.*"]

To whatever criticism of detail it may be open, the British Raj is—now at any rate—a political necessity for India. It might be extravagant to say that, without it, there can be no security of life, no protection of property in the country. It may, with better truth, be urged that when it came into existence in India there was little or none. If any fact is more patent than all others in the history of India, it is the invasions from without, and depredations from within, during the later period of the Mogul rule, when the sceptre of AKBAR and AURANZEBE fell into weaker hands, and when the imperial authority could hardly be maintained even in the provinces around the capital. The invasion of NADIR SHAH was a frightful calamity. It not only gave a death-blow to the Empire—*ses arbres séchès jusque dans ses racines*—but also caused incalculable loss of life and property to the people. That descent was a signal for general revolt. The provinces of the Empire became independent, and the Mahrajats, who were struggling for the consolidation of their power since the days of AURANZEBE, appeared on the scene to measure their strength with any competitors for the sovereignty of India. The battle of Paniput, however, blasted their hopes for ever, and hastened the desolation of what remained of the once mighty Empire of the Moguls in India. In the scramble that followed among the provincial governors and daring adventurers, for power, there was neither protection of property nor security of life—neither rule nor order; all was dire confusion and chaos. In a word, a perfect anarchy prevailed, under which people were reduced to wretchedness in the extreme. It was under such circumstances that the English appeared on the scene and succeeded gradually in extending their sway over the fairest provinces. With the establishment of their Government, external roads at once ceased and internal violence came to an end; until now, from one end of the country to the other, the *Pax Britannica* now reigns to the joy of the people. A peace so profound and so extensive India had never enjoyed before and she owes it all to the presence of the British. If the British Government has secured nothing more for our country than this profound peace, it has, to our thinking, established the highest claim to our earnest gratitude and earned a right for its existence among us. Nor is this all: England has done more—much more. She has accomplished for India what none

of her past rulers had ever dreamt, we mean of course the creation of a state of things in which the growth of a national political life has become possible. She has galvanised bones and put fresh blood into the arteries. She has opened up the country and drawn out the soul. She has given us eyes to see and ears to hear. By giving education and spreading knowledge, by diffusing a taste for a literature pre-eminent among the literatures of the world, as well as for European science, she has awakened new hopes and aspirations for a higher status. The signs are as clear as the broad daylight. The English language, which is the *lingua franca* among the educated classes, has become the vehicle of thought not only between rulers and rulers but also between provinces and provinces; and we verily believe our rulers feel in their heart of hearts a generous satisfaction, when they see the stalwart Punjabi open his mind to the lithe Bengali, and the astute Mahratta communicate his thoughts to the proud Moslem. This is indeed a unique sight, and the nation that has brought it about can well afford to be proud of it.

No country in the world contains so many discordant elements as India. You have the Hindu, the Moslem, the Parsee, the Christian,—representatives of four different religions characterized by distinct *cultes*. Nor are the ethnic, the social and the linguistic differences less considerable. To fuse these diverse elements into a harmonious whole, to make these varying interests subserve a common purpose, is one of the grandest problems of statesmanship. And such statesmanship was evinced by those who inaugurated the educational policy. After the lapse of half a century, the seed has begun to bring forth fruit. That education, which a TRAYLOR, a BENTINCK, and a MACAULAY introduced, at length bids fair to solve the almost insoluble problem of enlightened and successful foreign dominion. We think we see the first signs in the voluntary Congress to be held early next week in the metropolis of British India, whereto the delegates from the different parts of the Empire will meet to deliberate on matters connected with the welfare of their fatherland. The coming Congress will be a noble and grand sight; and if those statesmen could now be made to see the fruits of the tree, which they themselves planted, how glad they would be! But unfortunately for India, that race is now gone, leaving a rather miscellaneous lot, mostly of mere politicians and officials. Narrow in their views and unwilling or incapable of appreciating the moral grandeur of their predecessors' policy, these view the ensuing Congress with jealousy and seem prepared to attempt to frustrate its object. We have thought that Anglo-Indian statesmanship would rejoice to see a political spectacle which is only possible under their Government and which no other nation can show. But we must confess disappointment. Whatever, however, a certain section of nervous or misguided Anglo-Indians may do or say for disparaging the Congress, we still hope that the present head of the Indian Government—a statesman of mature experience and not ungenerous sympathies—will countenance the movement so far at least as to watch it, as the first Indian essay in constitutional existence, with indulgent forbearance, adding thereby a fresh laurel to the fair fame of his country, which has done so much for the elevation of nationalities and throughout the globe.

#### THE TIMES ON THE NATIONAL CONGRESS.

["*Ross and Rayet*"]

The *Times* pours contempt upon the National Congress. It is an unreal imitation of the

English Caucus, and merely an affair of discontented place-seekers—men of straw, with little or no stake in the country. It writes:—

"A 'National Indian Congress,' composed, it is said, of some three hundred delegates from all parts of the country, holds its first meeting in Calcutta to-day. It is organized, of course, upon the model of the societies which discuss social and political affairs in this country. Papers will be read, and debates will take place, while the necessary relief from that attractive but arduous labour will be found in excursions and evening parties. The subjects discussed are the representation of Natives in the Legislative Councils, the admission of Natives to more numerous and responsible posts in the Civil Service, and, generally, the objections to British administration which naturally occur to persons of considerable imitative powers, of great fluency of speech, and of total ignorance of the real problems of Government; and the means by which they have to be overcome in practice. The Mahomedan community appear to hold aloof from this kind of thing, on the ground that they prefer not to hamper the Government at a time when it is doing its best for the Natives of India. This incidentally shows what the real aims and results of the 'National Indian Congress' are considered to be by the Natives of India themselves; at the same time, adding another to many proofs that we must look to our Mahomedan subjects for the most sensible and moderate estimate of our policy. These annual gatherings, held now in one great town and again in another, derive their significance from the fact that they represent a vast amount of continuous discussion by local societies. We have produced an extensive class of talkers, and equipped them with a great deal of second-hand knowledge of English history and literature. In every considerable town, these gentlemen form associations and discuss real or imaginary grievances with the confident dogmatism always displayed by people, whose pet theories work *in vacuo*. Such a Congress as that which sat last year in Bombay, or is now sitting in Calcutta, is composed of delegates from all these talking clubs who focus the valuable results of their perennial activity. Thus we have to deal with public opinion of a kind, but it is important to remember that it is the public opinion of a class whose aims and interests are not by any means identical with those of the great masses of the Indian populations for whom we have to care. It is a highly vocal class, which can repeat all the commonplaces of English political life with extraordinary facility, but which has very little stock-in-trade besides that aptitude. Such a class has only two congenial occupations, after supplying a certain limited number of busy doctors and lawyers—one is to seek employment under Government, and the other to abuse the Government which does not give it employment enough. These societies and the newspapers they control represent a very trifling percentage of the people of India; it is much less certain than they probably imagine that their success would prove a benefit to any section of the Indian people except themselves. But they have learned from us, among other valuable lessons, how to throw dust in the eyes of the mob, and how to present their own ends under the guise of public benefits. Consequently they constitute a factor which has to be reckoned with, and which in certain circumstances might become a serious danger to public tranquillity."

The worth of this estimate may, however, be easily appraised. It is based neither upon an actual knowledge of what the Congress was and what it did—that being out of the question—nor even upon



good, hearsay evidence. The article from which we quote being written on the day of the Congress Meeting, the London journal could only evolve its facts and conclusions from the bowels of its inner consciousness. Not that it had not materials of some kind for a judgment. The newspapers of this country, not to say its own correspondents, had announced the coming event as well as the character of the discussions which were to take place. But that hardly afforded adequate grounds for an opinion so strong and so dogmatic upon a matter on which one could not speak with the weight of personal knowledge. The *Times* might, at the least, wait till after the Congress was over. Apparently, however, from its impatience of the very name of a National Congress, it could not command even that moderate degree of self-restraint. The very idea of a Congress was too abhorrent in its eyes—it was too great an impertinence for forbearance. So while here in Calcutta the Congress begins or has scarcely begun its sittings, and does its best to make itself a success, its result is pronounced to be a failure from another end of the world, before those on the spot are sure how it will terminate. Before those on the spot are aware of the extent and character of the gathering, the *Times* tells the world all about it to the exact number of the delegates, with their social position and other particulars. Could the spirit of wild assurance farther go? Is there any humbug (speaking in befitting vernacular) like to the humbug of leading journalism?

But the dodge—not to mince matters again—will not do. The Congress was too unequivocal a success to be put down by misrepresentation. We do not belong to that pronounced school of politics which identified itself with the Congress. Our moderate counsels on questions, which are generally discussed with enthusiasm, have exposed us to no little misunderstanding in that quarter. We are all the more free, therefore, to speak with impartiality on the subject. And we must say that the Congress was in reality something very different from what the *Times* would fain imagine. It is a grievous wrong to say that it was composed of men who had no stake in the country. A glance at the published list of delegates would show that the flower of every section of Indian society was there. Indeed, before we saw the thing in its consummation, we scarcely expected it would be so great a success. Zemindars, merchants, bankers, lawyers, doctors, editors, teachers, members of District and Municipal Boards, Honorary Magistrates, in a word, the leaders of thought in every community, were assembled, so that it would have been impossible for the Indian Congress to be more respectable, more influential, more representative, that is, more national. It is true all the best men of every section did not attend, but that is nowhere possible. It must be remembered that at such meetings it is only the leisured people who can take part. But, from the large numbers who came from remote parts of the continent, one may be justified in assuming that those whom their avocations or other obstacles prevented from coming were still present in spirit. The delegates were, for the most part, representatives of some Association or other, or elected at great public meetings, but that is all the more a proof of their representative character. In the absence of electoral institutions, it is these Associations and Meetings which best discharge elective functions, and the fact that these Associations are something better than talking clubs, was well proved by the sober and practical character of the entire proceedings. It may be all very well to pretend that the masses were not represented. That is the stock argument of cavillers, but does anybody seriously think that the masses

of the Indian population have other thoughts and sentiments than those which found expression from the mouths of their leaders. Of the questions which occupied the attention of the Congress, none excited more earnest discussion than the growing poverty of the people, and if the representation of Natives in the Legislative Councils be altogether so extravagant a demand in the eyes of Englishmen, that demand was urged in the interests of those masses themselves. It was thought that, with representation in the Councils, a check might gradually be placed on heedless expenditure which was at the root of much of the taxation and misery borne by the masses. Indeed, it is simply false to suggest that the masses, if they could think out on the problem, should be otherwise minded, not to say that they could possibly have any sympathy with the suggestions of such friends as the *Times*. It is idle to detract from the national character of the Congress by pointing to the absence of the masses. Their representation, except on rare occasions, as in every other country, is of an indirect kind; but, however indirect, it substantially serves all practical purposes. It is undeniable that some sections of the Mahomedan community have held aloof from the Congress, but the *Times* entirely misconceives their attitude. The truth is, notwithstanding their abstention, they have at heart the same objects as the rest of their countrymen. They desire no less keenly that the administration should be placed more largely in Native hands, that the people should have a more influential voice in legislation. And so with respect to the other things on which the Congress held its deliberations. They, of course, have their own ideas as to the method for gaining those objects, but there can be no mistake as to the direction of their real sympathies. It has now become a favorite game of some politicians to set the two great religious sections of the Indian people by the ears, but their interests are too identical for the game to succeed. As to the charge that the Congress meant to hamper the Government, no one who witnessed the moderation and perfect orderliness of the proceedings would listen to it for a moment. The Congress was indeed a great gathering; its demands, various as they were, were all urged with earnest emphasis, and so far it amounted to a strong proof that the people at large were far from satisfied with the ways of administration, and those ways must change to bring more contentment and happiness in the land. But we fail to see that there can be anything at all wrong in the people respectfully telling their rulers what they feel to be grievances, instead of allowing them to rankle in their breast.

But it is vain to argue with those who would perforce be in the wrong. The *Times* is only true to its traditions in endeavouring to discredit this honest movement of the Indian people. With the leading humourist, the leading journal—no longer leading thank God, as COBBEN, in his famous literary duel with DELANE, demonstrated—has always been the champion of the stronger race against the weaker ones. It has ever lent itself to the unrighteous cause. We firmly believe that, between the savage caricature of Paddy in *Punch* and the truculent leaders of the *Times*, both continued through a generation, Ireland has been driven to its present irreconcilable attitude. Under the teaching of an equally unrighteous and blind press, England resisted every concession to that country until every one of those concessions could not well be withheld. When at last made, they lost their grace as free gifts and failed to secure peace for the land. With the blood of Ireland lying on its head, it is a wonder that leading journalism tries to play the same game in India.