INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
ORIGIN OF THE CONGRESS

(EXTRACTS FROM NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS.)

[Regarding the exact origin of the Congress, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya states "it is shrouded in mystery" (The History of the Indian National Congress, page 11). There are a few important statements on this point made by very eminent authorities which have been referred to by various authors including Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. They are Surendranath Banerji, Mrs. Annie Besant, William Wedderburn and Lala Lajpatrai. The statements made by these leaders about the origin of the Congress appear to convey slightly different versions. In a recent article a writer has gone to the length of stating that " Hume wanted to by-pass Banerji or sabotage his efforts" as his (Hume's) group did not want to leave the leadership into the hands of a " dismissed Civil Servant". It is difficult to draw any such conclusion even from varying statements of Congress leaders. The pertinent extracts, even though they are from published books, are given below as some of the books may not be easily available. From these as well as from other extracts quoted here, it can be seen that the necessity for a National Representative Organisation was then felt by Indian leaders who were carrying on their activities provincewise. The ' idea ' was there in the atmosphere at least for about ten years before the actual birth of the Congress. Writing on this point, some of the authors have made a reference to the early efforts made by Ganesh Wasudeo Joshi (Born 1827 : Died 1880) alias Sarvajanik Kaka in 1878. He actually has styled the meeting convened in Delhi at the time of the Darbar as an ' Indian Parliament'. The Press Conference held in Calcutta the same year was, it appears, intended to be a permanent organisation. These were the earlier organisational activities on an All India basis. As for the Origin of the Congress, it appears, the seed of it is perceivable in the Conferences held at Calcutta in December 1883 ("The National Conference") and Madras in 1884. But the connected process of its formation is visible and traceable in the famous 'Circular' addressed by A. O. Hume (March 1883) and in his further pursuits during 1884-85 which ultimately resulted in the birth of this organisation. The first meeting (December 1885— Bombay) assembled under the name of " The Indian National Union " and in this meeting they decided to call the organisation as " The Indian National Congress", a name which might have been taken from the American Congress. Thus the origin and the fatherhood appear to be clear and they go to A. O. Hume (Born 1829; died 1912).]
Surendranath Banerji had convened his National Conference also in 1885, when the "Indian National Union" was fixed to meet at Poona the same week. Surendranath himself states that "either of us (Surendranath and Hume) did not know till the time of our meetings ". This appears strange but no other satisfactory explanation is available. The criptic comments made by the "Maratha", 5th December 1885 (then edited by Bal Gangadhar Tilak) go to show that he (Lokmanya) also had no knowledge of the "Poona Congress meeting" till about the beginning of December 1885 when he made the suggestion to call the meeting "at a more central place like Poona" (Maratha 12th December 1885). It may be that they wanted the matter to be kept secret. Tilak in his editorial has stated that " the meeting place first fixed was Calcutta". This reference might be for the meeting convened by Surendranath. Any way this is one of the intriguing points which deserves attention and explanation. Kelkar's (N.C., Editor Kesari) information which he had collected from the Late Justice Ranade in 1896 goes to show that Hume was the originator of the Congress. In the Congress resolution (1912) passed after his death, Hume has been described as "The founder and father of the Organisation ". His role as its General Secretary for the first seven years shows how incomparable were his services and how bravely he fought against the Indian bureaucracy. That he wanted to save the Empire, was also correct. He believed that the Empire was the real instrument of human progress. But all his life story, his constructive effort (about 1860) to serve the Indian masses even when he was in service show that he loved the people of this country and called this country as his own. Hence he was anxious to guide the people who, he believed, must have an all India organisation, wedded to democratic thought and methods.]

WEDDERBURN'S NARRATION

"Accordingly, the first movement towards a definite scheme is to be found in a circular letter, dated 1st March 1883, addressed to the " Graduates of the Calcutta University."

The appeal from one trusted and beloved by the Indian people was not made in vain. The men required as founders to initiate the movement, were forthcoming from all parts of India ; and the " Indian National Union" was formed. It was arranged that a Conference should be held at Poona, to enable " all those most interested in this Union to exchange opinions and authoritatively adopt an organisation that, in the main, shall approve itself to all". In the meantime a Preliminary Report was issued to members, containing suggestions and conclusions, "the result of the
discussion of the subject with all the most eminent and earnest politicians of this Empire."

(ALLAN OCTAVIAN HUME BY W. WEDDERBURN, PUBLISHED 1913, PAGES 51-53.)

Sir SURENDRANATH GIVES HIS STORY

"I took up the movement for the creation of a National Fund. A great meeting was held on July 17, 1883, attended by over ten thousand people, at which it was resolved to raise a national fund to secure the political advancement of the country by means of constitutional agitation in India and in England..................The moral transformation which was to usher in the Congress movement had thus already its birth in the bosom of the "Indian National Conference " which met in Calcutta, and to which representatives from all parts of India were invited."

(" A NATION IN MAKING " BY S. N. BANERJEA, PAGE 85.)

Mrs. BESANT'S REPORT

"In late December 1884, seventeen men met in Madras, in the house of that stalwart advocate of religion and reform, Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao. Nearly all of them had been delegates to the just ended Annual Convention of the Theosophical Society at Adyar, and the others had been there as friends and sympathisers. But surely this new pride in India's mighty faiths throbbing in their hearts............these dreams sent out the dreamers to take counsel together, and they resolved, greatly daring, to form themselves into a group of provisional Committees, men from different towns to win others, each in his place, and to meet later for further consultation. Let us place on record their names, for they were the seed of a mighty tree. Norendranath Sen of Calcutta, that sturdiest of fighters, was one of the little group, and he gave their names later in his paper, the Indian Mirror; he remarks, that "the delegates who attended the convention were most of them men, who, socially and intellectually,
are the leaders of the society in which they move in different parts of the country ". They were : —


Seventeen good men and true, who out of their love and their hope conceived the idea of a political National Movement for the saving of the Motherland.

(From "How India Wrought for Freedom", Pages 1-3.)

SURENDRANATH ON MADRAS ASSEMBLY

" It appears that while we were organizing our National Conference at Calcutta, some of our friends headed by the late Mr. A. O. Hume had met at Madras for a similar purpose. Mr. Telang wrote to me from Bombay requesting me to send him some notes about the first National Conference held in 1883 ".

(From "A Nation in the Making", Page 99.)

RANADE THE GUIDE OF ALL THE ACTIVITIES

" Mr. Ranade was, in regard to all public movements in the western presidency, the power behind the throne. A public servant, loyal to the Government, with that true loyalty, not born of personal motives, or of passing impulses, but having its roots in the highest considerations of expediency and the public good he was the guide, philosopher and friend of public men of the Western presidency. and all public movements, were they political, social or religious, bore the impress of his masterful personality. I came in contact with him while quite young in my career as a public man."

(From "A Nation in the Making", Pages 138-139.)
N. C. KELKAR'S IMPRESSIONS
The above extract from N. C. Kelkar's article in the Marathi monthly Sahyadri of December, 1935 states that he (N. C. Kelkar) met Justice Ranade at Bombay in 1896 to ask the latter about the origin of the Congress. He understood from the interview that the two enlightened civilians A. O. Hume and W. Wedderburn were responsible for the idea of starting a national organisation, which came into existence with the co-operation of Indian leaders and encouragement by Lord Dufferin.

COMMENTS OF THE 'MARATHA'

"We congratulate the Indian Association upon the success which has attended its efforts. There is reason to believe, that the conference would in time do immense good, if only it is not allowed to die as was the case with the vernacular Press Association attempted in 1878, by our lamented friend Mr. Ganesh Wasudev Joshi."

("MARATHA", DATED 6TH JANUARY 1884, PAGE 4.)

THE SUGGESTION TO HOLD THE SESSION IN POONA.

"Calcutta once tried to get delegates from the different parts of the Empire, but the experiment failed, one of the principal causes of failure being the remoteness of the place. If a central place, well-known for its public activities and intelligence be fixed upon, then there need be no apprehension of a failure. We may be pardoned for suggesting the name of this city, because we know that this city is not behind other towns."

("MARATHA", 6TH DECEMBER 1885.)
VENUE OF THE 1ST SESSION—CALCUTTA?

"Original place fixed for the session was Calcutta, but it was afterwards thought that for its central position, Poona would suit better. We are glad that the leaders of political thought in the Empire have begun to believe in the necessity of fixing the common programme to carry on the work of National reform."

("Maratha", Poona, dated 13th December 1885, page 4.)

CALCUTTA, MADRAS AND BOMBAY SESSIONS.

"We had a conference at Madras, another at Calcutta and 3rd in Bombay. There delegates from different centres of the Empire were present. The Conference at Madras if we say so was socio-religious, held under the auspices of the Theosophical Society, that at Calcutta was purely political and the one in Bombay was socio-political".

"We are sorry that the proceedings of the Conference have to be treated as private proceeding until they are officially given to the public."

("Maratha", dated 17th January 1886.)

HINDU PATRIOTS VIEW

"To every candid and thoughtful person, whether European or Indian, the movement called the National Congress must commend itself as the natural outcome of that higher education which, under the auspices of an enlightened and beneficent Government, is being imported to the upper and middle classes of Indian Society. That its birth place is Bengal, only proves the truth of the assertion we have just 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W. C. BANERJI'S VIEW

"It will probably be news to many that the Indian National Congress, as it was originally started and as it has since been carried on, is in reality the work of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava when that nobleman was Governor General of India. Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B. had in 1884, conceived the idea that it would be of great advantage to the country if leading Indian politicians could be brought together once a year to discuss social matters and be upon friendly footing with one another. He did not desire that politics should form part of their discussion, for, there were recognized political bodies in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other parts of India, and he thought that these bodies might suffer in importance if when Indian politicians from different parts of the country came together, they discussed politics."

(From "Indian Politics", Published, 1894, Page 5.)

THE CALCUTTA CONFERENCES

"He reached his high-water mark of popularity in 1883, simultaneously with the proceedings in the contempt case, in connection with which Lal Mohan Ghose was again despatched to England. In December of the same year, The Indian Association (of which Banerji was Secretary) held the first National Conference at the Albert Hall in Calcutta at which delegates were present from Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces. It was the first National gathering ever brought together in India. This National gathering, styled the National Conference, was again held in Calcutta in December 1885."

(From S. N. Banerji's Life by Natesan, Page 26.)
तं वाचने प्रारूप बृहस्पति यांनी अत्याधिक हरकत वेदांत वाचने प्रतीक व महाकाव्य 'द्राक्षेय' संस्कृत में रचना की थी। ये वेदोद्धर द्राक्षेयायुक्त अनुवाद के लिए किया गया है। अनुवादक एवं अनुवाद अवतार द्वारा किया गया है। निम्नलिखित निर्देश प्रारम्भ में 'द्राक्षेय' के अनुवाद में आया है।

अनुप्रयोग स्वरूप हिंदुस्तानी साहित्य और राजस्थानी साहित्य के बारे में बताता है।

9
The above extract from the Marathi Biography of V. N. Mandlik, part 2, pages 897 to 899, states that the idea of united national effort was first mooted by Sadashiv Ballal Govande and Ganesh Vasudeo Joshi of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, in their circular letter sent to the persons who had been invited to the Delhi Darbar which was to be held in honour of Queen Victoria being installed as the Empress of India. The extract also mentions a letter, dated 18th May 1876, by Babu Shishir Kumar Ghose for enlisting support for the demand of Parliament for India.
CONGRESS SESSIONS, 1885 TO 1896

[EXTRACTS FROM OFFICIAL REPORTS OF THE CONGRESS SESSIONS, PRIVATE RECORDS OF LATE EADRUDIN TAIYBJI AND OTHER SOURCES.]

The growth and expansion of the Indian National Congress in the nineties of the last century was appreciated with admiration by freedom loving Englishmen. The 'India' (February-1890) the organ of the British Indian Association, London, states "It is not easy to call to mind any English political movement which has exhibited like progress in four years". But this progress had caused anger and anxiety in the minds of officials in this country. The threats of repression and the tactics of obstruction employed by the officials did not however, succeed; on the contrary they only helped to consolidate the Congress forces as has been shown by Pandit Ayodhya Nath in his welcome speech of the Allahabad Session, 1888.

Only a few extracts from the annual reports of the Congress Sessions are given here. They cover the period of first ten years. Most of these extracts are from the introductions written by A. O. Hume*. In 1892 he did not include his introduction in the Congress Report due to the controversy between him and his colleagues in the Congress on the issue of his "Circular". The reports of three sessions held in this presidency (Bombay-1885, Poona-1895 and Surat-1907) are given with some details. Police reports of the Surat Session show how it has become memorable. These reports agree with practically every statement made by the leaders of the Nationalist Group. They also show that after the session of the Congress Convention was over, Surendranath Banerjee and a few other leaders held a separate conference of the Congress "to informally pass the resolution that would have been formally passed by the Congress if everything had gone on smoothly". Surendranath Banerjee who presided over this Conference assured in his concluding speech that "Swadeshi was boycott and boycott was Swadeshi". This he must have done to allay the misgivings of the Nationalists that the Liberals wanted to go back on the Calcutta resolutions.

*Even in those days the reports were taken verbatim by "that most accomplished of shorthand writers Mr. T. Allen Reid, President of the Phonetic Society of Great Britain who proceeded to Bombay solely to take notes for the Congress organisation". It seems he used to attend the sessions every year at least upto 1892. Even these reports are very rare. The late Shri Vasantrao Raut, a social reformer of Bombay had carefully collected and preserved all the reports. They were kindly made available for our use by Shri K. V. Raut.
ORIGIN AND COMPOSITION OF THE CONGRESS

In March 1885 it was decided to hold a meeting of Representatives from all parts of India at the then coming Christmas. Poona was considered the most central and therefore suitable place and the following circular was issued:

"A Conference of the Indian National Union will be held at Poona from the 25th to the 31st December 1885.

"The Conference will be composed of Delegates—leading politicians well acquainted with the English language, from all parts of the Bengal, Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

"The direct objects of the Conference will be—(1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other; (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year.

"Indirectly this Conference will form the germ of a Native Parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. The first Conference will decide whether the next shall be again held at Poona, or whether following the precedent of the British Association, the Conferences shall be held year by year at different important centres.

"This year the Conference being in Poona. Mr. Chiplunkar and others of the Sarvajanik Sabha, have consented to form a Reception Committee in whose hands will rest the whole of the local arrangements. The Peshwah's Garden near the Parbati Hill will be utilised both as a place of meeting (it contains a fine Hall, like the garden, the property of the Sabhah) and as a residence for the delegates, each of whom will be there provided with suitable quarters. Much importance is attached to this, since, when all thus reside together for a week, far greater opportunities for friendly intercourse will be afforded than if the delegates were (as at the time of the late Bombay demonstrations) scattered about in dozens of private lodging houses all over the town."
"Delegates are expected to find their own way to and from Poona—but from the time they reached the Poona Railway Station until they again leave it, everything that they can need, carriage, accommodation, food, etc., will be provided for them gratuitously.

" The cost thus involved will be defrayed from the Reception Fund, which the Poona Association most liberally offers to provide in the first instance, but to which all delegates, whose means warrant their incurring this further expense, will be at liberty to contribute any sum they please. Any unutilised balance of such donations will be carried forward as a nucleus for next year's Reception Fund.

" It is believed that exclusive of our Poona friends the Bombay Presidency, including Sindh and the Berars, will furnish about 20 delegates, Madras and Lower Bengal each about the same number, and the N. W. Provinces, Oudh and the Punjab together about half this number."

A few days, however, before the time fixed for the assemblage and after the Sarvajanik Sabha had completed all their preparations at Poona several cases of cholera occurred there. These cases might or might not be the commencement of a severe outbreak, travellers arriving tired at a station where there is cholera are naturally prone to take the disease, and it was therefore considered prudent, despite the difficulties attendant on any change at so late a period, to hold the Conference (which it had in the meantime been decided to call the CONGRESS) at Bombay.

Thanks to the exertions of the Bombay Presidency Association and the liberality of the Managers of the Goculdas Tejpal Sanskrit College and Boarding Trust (who not only placed the grand buildings above the Gowalia Tank at the Association's disposal, but also supervised the furnishing up, furnishing and lighting of these large premises on behalf of the Association), everything was ready by the morning of the 27th when the REPRESENTATIVES (as it was determined to designate them to distinguish them from the Delegates the title by which the Indian Representatives sent to England had become popularly known) began to arrive.

During the whole day and far into the night of the 27th, informal discussions were carried on between the Representatives and the order of the proceedings for the next three days was thus settled.
It should, however, be noted that about two hours in the evening were devoted to receiving the Hon'ble Sir W. Wedderburn Bart, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Jardine, Colonel Phelps, Professor Wordsworth and a large number of the leading citizens of Bombay who most kindly came to the Goculdas Tejpal College, to welcome the Representatives and express their sympathy with the work on which these were about to enter.

The first meeting took place the next day, on the 28th December. Very close on one hundred gentlemen attended, but a considerable number of these being Government servants like Mr. D. S. White, President of the Eurasian Association, Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunath Rao, Collector of Madras, the Hon'ble Mahadeo G. Ranade, Member of the Legislative Council and Small Cause Court Judge of Poona, Lalla Baijnath of Agra, Professor Abaji Vishnoo Kattawate of Ahmedabad, Professor Kadambi Sundaraman, M.A. of Arcot, Mr. T. Narasemina Iyer of Tiruvellur, Professor R. G. Bhandarkar of the Deccan College and many others, did not (with one exception) take any direct part in the discussions, but attended only as amici curie, to listen and advise, so that the actual number of Representatives was, only so far as the records go (though it is feared some few names have been omitted from the Register) 72, (page 3, 4).

STANDING COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT

While speaking in support of a motion for appointing a Standing Committee of the House of Commons, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji said:

"I may hereby remark, that the chief work of this the first National Congress of India is to enunciate clearly and boldly our highest and ultimate wishes. Whether we get them or not immediately, let our rulers know what our highest aspirations are. And if we are true to ourselves, the work of each delegate present here will be to make the part of India where he happens to live devote himself earnestly to carrying out the object resolved upon at this Congress with all due deliberation. If, then, we lay down clearly that we desire to have the actual Government of India transferred from England to India under the simple controlling power of the Secretary of State and of Parliament, through its Standing Committee, and that we further desire that all taxation and legislation shall be imposed here by representative Councils, we say what we are aiming at. And that under such an arrangement no Council to advise the Secretary of State is necessary. Neither is a Council needed to attend to the appellate executive work. There
is a permanent Under Secretary of State who will be able to keep up continuity of knowledge and transact all current business. There are, besides, Secretaries at the head of the different departments as experts. I do not deny that at times the India Office Council has done good service. But this was owing to the personality and sympathy of individual men like Sir E. Perry. The constitution of the body as a body is objectionable and anomalous. When the whole power of imposing taxation and legislation is transferred here, the work of the Secretary of State will be largely diminished. It will only be confined to general supervision of important matters. Whatever comes before him for disposal will be set forth by the Government from here fully and fairly in all its bearing. No Council will be needed to aid him in forming his judgment. Thus no substitute is required for the India Office Council. It is enough for us to formulate the scheme, now submitted for your consideration, as one which India needs and desires, viz., representative Legislative Councils, in India, with full financial control and interpellatory powers. And we shall not need to trouble much the authorities in England "(Page 37.)

CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS ENDORSED ALL OVER THE COUNTRY

(From Appendix A of the Official Congress Report for 1885.)

The Resolutions were widely circulated in the larger towns in all parts of the country and new public meetings or meetings of existing associations were held for the purpose of considering them. In most places all the Resolutions were unanimously adopted; in one or two, there was a difference of opinion as regards the total abolition of the "India Council", and as regards the necessity of a stay in England on the part of selected candidates for the Civil Service. Both these points were referred to in the debates of the Congress And it is probable that with the explanations afforded by the debates, which of course were not generally available at the time, these differences of opinion may be found to be smaller than they are at present.

Communications have been received from the following places, showing the acceptance of the Resolutions of the Congress.
BENGAL.—Berhampur, Bhagalpur, Balasore, Cuttack, Mymensing, Dacca, Rajshaye, Bankipore.

BOMBAY.—Ahmedabad, Ahmednagar, Alibag, Belgaum, Carwar, Dhulia, Hyderabad (Sindh), Karachi, Poona, Ratnagiri, Satara, Sholapur, Surat, Thana.

N. W. PROVINCES AND OUDH.—Allahabad, Benares, Bulandshahar, Fyzabad, Lucknow.


At Bapatla, the majority of the meeting received "that there ought to be a Council with enlarged powers to check the action of the Secretary of State, or, in case of this not being possible, the present Council should stand as it is."

At Ahmedabad, Anantapur, Calicut, Guntur and Masulipatam, there was a difference of opinion as to the necessity of selected candidates for the Civil Service staying in England. At Anantapur, the following proposal was carried:—"That the successful candidates in India may be sent to England, for further study, and allowed there to appear for such further examinations as may seem needful, provided, however, that being sent to England should not be compulsory, and those who prefer going to England should be entitled to full pay, and those that do not only tow-thirds pay of the post to which they are appointed". At Calicut, the following resolution was proposed but rejected by a majority. "And that the successful candidates in England should be sent to India for further study, and subjected here to such further examinations as may seem needful."

At Calicut, two members dissented from the Resolution about Military Expenditure.

At Masulipatam, the resolution to extend the Licence Tax to the legal profession was objected to by a majority of the meeting on the ground that the Government already levied an entrance fee from members of the Profession and that there was a Municipal Tax imposed upon them.
POLITICAL PROGRESS IN INDIA

(FROM APPENDIX B OF THE OFFICIAL CONGRESS REPORT FOR 1885.)

The Bombay correspondent of the Times's Weekly Edition, February 5th, 1886, writes:

Bombay, December 31.

The people of Bombay claim as the motto for their city "Urbs prima in Indis," and it is really not without reason. When the agitation over the Ilbert Bill was at white heat, and in Calcutta not only race division, but even division between English and English rendered social intercourse almost impossible, still the natives in Bombay kept their heads cool and discussed the question at a great representative meeting in the Town-hall with a discretion and moderation that left nothing to be desired. At the time of Lord Ripon's departure they showed themselves capable of organizing an ovation which not merely delighted the sympathizers with the recent benignant rule, but still more startled the great mass of Anglo-Indians as the first proof that the natives of India are really capable of a national movement.

This last week the Bombay leaders have again given proof of their organizing power. They brought together a National Congress composed of delegates from every political society of any importance throughout the country. Seventy-one members met together; 29 great districts sent spokesmen. The whole of India was represented from Madras to Lahore, from Bombay to Calcutta. For the first time, perhaps, since the world began India as a nation met together. Its congeries of races, its diversity of castes, all seemed to find common ground in their political aspirations. Only one great race was conspicuous by its absence; the Mahomedans of India were not there. They remained steadfast in their habitual separation. They certainly do not yield to either Hindu or Parsee in their capacity for development, but they persistently refuse to act in common with the rest of the Indian subjects of the Queen-Empress. Not only in their religion, but in their schools, and almost all their colleges, and all their daily life they maintain an almost haughty reserve. The reason is not hard to find. They cannot forget that less than two centuries ago they were the dominant race, while their present rivals in progress only counted as so many millions of tax paying units who contributed each his mite to swell the glory of Islam.
But, in spite of the absence of the followers of the Prophet, this was a great representative meeting last week. The delegates were mostly lawyers, school-masters, and newspaper editors, but there were some notable exceptions. Even supposing those three professions alone provided the delegates, the meeting would fairly represent the education and intellectual power of India. And now let us see what they did, what was the outcome of this important gathering. They discussed politics alone; not a word was said of social reform. They evidently had a firm belief that a nation could be made happy by Acts of Parliament, for all they discussed and all they demanded was political power and political changes. A tone of most absolute loyalty pervaded all the proceedings; the Empress was rapturously applauded, and many nice things were said of the beneficial effect of British rule. Education and material prosperity, order, security, and good Government were all incidentally mentioned as causes of gratitude towards the present rulers. But such allusions were only by the way. Every desire was concentrated on political advancement and an immense increase of the share at present given to the natives of India in the Government of their own country. The question of their ability to govern themselves was never even touched by the wisest of the speakers. The major premise of all the arguments seemed to be "Every Hindoo is a born administrator. It is mere Western folly to think that representative Government is an act which only comes by long political training in all the lower stages of a citizen's life and the patient selection of the fittest." Much stress was laid on the need of a monster Commission of Inquiry into the whole existing administrative fabric. The vials of patriotic wrath were opened on the India Council, and a standing Committee of the House of Commons was thought a panacea for all evils. But though there was much crude talk, much of that haste which only makes delay, and that ignorance which demands premature concessions, there was also much of most noble aspiration and a sense of patriotism and national unity which is a new departure in the races of the East.

EDITORIAL OF THE TIMES ON THE INDIAN CONGRESS

(FROM APPENDIX C OF THE OFFICIAL CONGRESS REPORT FOR 1885.)

Bombay has been making a noteworthy effort to substantiate its claim to be the leading city of India. At the end of last year it was the gathering place of discussion of public affairs. It is at Bombay, therefore, that India has for the first time given proof of the
existence of a national life and spirit. In India, as elsewhere, there is abundant room for improvement, not altogether, perhaps, in the directions to which the Congress points, not by the methods in which it chiefly trusts. The resolutions cover a wide ground. Some of them we very heartily approve. Others appear to us something more than questionable. But from first to last there is one common idea running through them. The Congress is not satisfied with the slender political power which the Natives of India possess. It demands for them a larger share in the deliberative and executive functions of Government. The memory of Lord Ripon's administration is still held in honour at Bombay, and the Congress there met has given utterance to aspirations which Lord Ripon has had no small share in encouraging. On the representative character of the late Congress our information is not precise. Our correspondent tell us who were there and who were not there. Every important political society in India sent its delegates to Bombay, but of whom these political societies consist and for whom they can claim a right to speak we are not told. One great section of the native population was conspicuously not there. No Mahomedan took any part in the proceedings. The members present were drawn, for the most part, 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 is what we might have expected before hand. The work of the Congress has certainly been entrusted to the hands most likely to be found capable of performing it and most forward in offering themselves for it. A more mixed assembly would have been less competent, perhaps, but its claim to be representatives all round might have been admitted with less doubt.

The first resolution of the Congress was in favour of a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the working of the Indian Administration. There is good ground for the request. It is now nearly thirty years since the government of the country was transferred from the East-India Company to the Crown, and for so long a time no such inquiry has been held. In former days it was of regular periodical recurrence as often as the time came for a renewal of the Company's charter. The need for it has been now recognized. The Commission for which the Congress asks was mentioned in the Queen's speech, and, since Mr. Gladstone has signified his strong approval of it, we may expect that it will be issued whatever political party may be in power. It is a matter of course that the people of India will be represented upon it, and that all available evidence will be taken to guide the Commissioners to a judgment upon the whole case. How far the results of the inquiry will correspond
with the hopes of the Congress is a wholly different question. The delegates have sketched in advance a scheme of reforms or changes which they wish to see carried into effect. First and foremost, and as a necessary preliminary to all other reforms, the Indian Council is to be abolished, and its place to be taken by a Standing Committee of the House of Commons. In India itself the Supreme Legislative Council and the several Provincial Councils are to be expanded by the admission of a considerable number of elected members. Thus reformed, they are to have a necessary voice on all questions of finance, and a right to interpellate the executive on all points of administration. If protests are raised and overruled, the protesting members are to have a right of appeal to the Standing Committee by which the present Indian Council is to be replaced. Changes are next proposed in the rules for the examinations of candidates for the Indian Civil Service. The Congress asks, *inter alia*, that these examinations should be held in England and in India simultaneously and that the admissible age of competing candidates should be 23 at least. As regards finance, the Congress holds that the increased and, as it believes, the needless demands for more military expenditure are most properly to be met by retrenchment in other branches. But if this is not done, and if more money must be raised, the Congress looks in the first place to a re-imposition of the customs duty, and secondly the extension of the licence tax. This second demand has been granted. The Income Tax Bill was passed after a short debate, in the course of which the various restricting amendments proposed to it were lost. The final demand of the Congress that Great Britain should extend a guarantee to the Indian debt has not been granted in terms, and is not likely to be. But while the English rule exists in India, there is enough of a practical guarantee to give absolute safety to the bond-holders. The Congress is further prepared to offer advice on the Burmese question. Its objection to the annexation of Upper Burmah comes a little too late. Its claim that all Burmah should in any case be separated from India and should be constituted a Crown colony includes matter on which it has an imperfect right to speak. The separation of Burmah and the consequent loss of the Burmah surplus revenue it is for England rather than for India to determine. The approaching visit of the Indian Viceroy to Mandalay will put him in a position to give advice on this matter.

The first question which this series of resolutions will suggest is whether India is ripe for the transformation which they involve. If this can be answered in the affirmative, the days of English rule are numbered. If India can govern itself, our stay in the country is no longer called for. All we have to do is to preside over the
construction of the new system and then to leave it to work. The lawyers and school-masters and newspaper editors will step into the vacant place and will conduct affairs with no help from us. Those who know India best will be the first to recognize the absurd impracticability of such a change. But it is to nothing less than this that the resolutions of the Congress point. If they were carried out, the result would soon be that very little would remain to England except the liability which we should have assumed for the entire Indian debt. Then, however, would be the time at which the representative character of the late Congress would be subjected to a crucial test. Our correspondent tells us that the delegates fairly represent the education and intellectual power of India. That they can talk, and that they can write, we are in no doubt at all. The whole business of their lives has been a training for such work as this, but that they can govern wisely, or that they can enforce submission to their rule, wise or unwise, we are not equally sure. That the entire Mahomedan population of India has steadily refused to have anything to do with them is a sufficiently ominous fact. Even if the proposed changes were to stop short of the goal to which they obviously tend, they would certainly serve to weaken the vigour of the Executive and to make the good government of the country a more difficult business than it has ever been. The Viceroy's Council already includes some nominated native members. To throw it open to elected members, and to give minorities a statutable right to be heard before a Parliamentary Committee, would be an introduction of Home Rule for India in about as troublesome a form as could be devised. Do what we will the Government of India cannot be made constitutional. If it works well, neither England nor India can have any reason to be dissatisfied with it. The educated classes may find fault with their exclusion from full political rights. Political privileges they can obtain in the degree in which they prove themselves deserving of them. But it was by force that India was won, and it is by force that India must be governed, in whatever hands the Government of the country may be vested. If we were to withdraw, it would be in favour not of the most fluent tongue or of the most ready pen, but the strongest arm and the sharpest sword. It would, perhaps, be well for the members of the late Congress to reconsider their position from this practical point of view.

(PAGES 30 TO 82).
TELANG REPLIES THE TIMES

(FROM APPENDIX D OF THE OFFICIAL CONGRESS REPORT, 1885.)

The Hon'ble K. T. Telang's letter to "The Times", dated 9th March, 1886, touching the remarks made about the Mahomedan community and Social Reform.

To

THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES".

Sir,

The letter of your Bombay Correspondent, dated 31st December last, regarding the Indian National Congress, together with your editorial article based upon it, has been read here with much interest. The members of the Congress have not much reason to complain of the account of their work given by your correspondent, and they must feel grateful to you for the amount of sympathy manifested in your remarks upon it. At the same time it seems probable that some of the conclusions arrived at in your article would have been modified, if some further details of the proceedings of the Congress had been brought to your notice. As one of the Secretaries of the Congress, therefore, and with the approval of the President, I beg to send you some particulars regarding two important points made in your article.

The first point is in reference to your remark that the Mahomedans of India were conspicuous by their absence at the Congress. Although it must be admitted that the Mahomedan community was not adequately represented at our meeting, your remark is not altogether an accurate one. Two leading Mahomedan gentlemen did attend the Congress, viz., Mr. R. M. Sayani and Mr. A M. Dharamsi. Both of these gentlemen are graduates of the University and attorneys of standing at the High Court of Bombay. Mr. Sayani held the office of Sheriff of Bombay last year; was a member of the Khoja Law Commission appointed by Government some years ago; and has for many years past been a member of the Municipal Corporation and Town Council of Bombay. Mr. Dharamsi, also, is a member of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay. Further, the Hon. Mr. Badroodin Tyabji, a member of the Legislative Council at Bombay, and Mr. Cumroodin Tyabji would have attended the Congress, had they not been absent from Bombay at the time the Congress was sitting. Mr. Badroodin is Chairman of the Managing
Committee and Mr. Cumroodin one of the vice-presidents of the Bombay Presidency Association, which, in concert with the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, convened the Congress. As regards the other provinces, causes similar to the above indicated must doubtless have operated with greater force. And it must be remembered that this Congress was the first of its kind, and naturally, therefore, there were some shortcomings. But we feel confident that next year, when the assemblage will be at Calcutta, the Mahomedan community will be represented as it befits its numbers and importance. The second point relates to the omission of social reform from the proceedings of the Congress. As regards this, it is to be observed that the main object of the Congress was a political one. But when the programme of business was informally discussed by the members, they decided that after the subjects for which they had specially assembled were disposed of, questions of social reform should be considered if there was time. As it happened there was no time to do this, because several of our members were obliged to leave for their respective homes on the third day of our meeting. But on that day a very earnest social reformer, Divan Bahadur Raghunath Rao of Madras, gave an eloquent address on social questions, and he was followed by another eminent reformer, the Hon. M. G. Ranade, of this Presidency. You will probably consider that the importance of social reform is even more powerfully recognised when it is eagerly discussed by persons avowedly assembled for another purpose than when it is taken up in ordinary course as part of a formal programme. I hope you will give insertion to this in your journal.

HIGH COURT, BOMBAY:

9th March.

K. T. TELANG.
THE LEADING CHARACTERISTIC of the Congress of 1886, was, that it was the whole country’s Congress. The Congress of 1885 had been got together with some difficulty by the exertions of a few leading reformers, and included less than one hundred of the more advanced thinkers belonging to the most prominent centres of political activity. The Congress of 1886 may be said to have grown, almost spontaneously, out of the unanimous resolve of the educated and semi-educated classes, throughout the Empire, to take a decisive step towards the attainment of that political enfranchisement to which they have come, of late years, to attach so much importance.

In all the more advanced provinces action commenced early in the autumn, and it very soon became apparent that the second Congress was destined to be, in many essential respects, a decided advance on the first.

The delegates or representatives who attended the first Congress, though representatives of the highest culture of the land, and fully qualified to speak as to the wants and wishes of the nation, yet appeared as volunteers in the good cause, uncommissioned, as a rule, by any constituencies, local or general, to appear on their behalf. Very early it seems to have occurred, simultaneously, to all those most interested in the renewed movement, that something more than this was requisite, and that the gentlemen who were to take part in the second Congress ought to receive some public authorisation from the bodies and communities (or leading members of these latter) whom they were to represent. Accordingly, as the time of the Congress drew near, the leading Associations at all the more important towns and cities proceeded to elect delegates, and great public meetings, embracing all classes of the community, who were in any way interested in the matter, were also held, almost throughout the country, at which representatives were designated.

Accordingly, printed suggestions as to subjects for the consideration of the Congress were issued from several of the provinces and circulated to all the others. The first was issued from Calcutta (where the general feeling on the subject first took a tangible form), sufficiently indicating the nature of these preliminary steps. Unfortunately, admirable as the idea was, the necessary machinery (now provided by the Standing Congress Committees, Resolution XIII of 1886) did not exist for carrying it out in its integrity, and a considerable proportion of the delegates never saw, or even if
they saw, never, properly considered, in consultation with their constituents, these important papers of suggestions, which constituted the foundation stones of the subsequent Congressional deliberations. Still, although not as fully circulated as they should have been a majority of the delegates came forewarned and forearmed, and even this was a great advance on the procedure of the previous year.

But the greatest advance lay, perhaps, in the total change in the character of the Congress. In the previous year people had to be pressed and entreated to come; to the late Congress everybody wanted to come of their own accord. The first Congress was created by the labour of a few who had to nurse carefully the young plant; the second Congress burst into vigorous growth on its own account, with a luxuriance that demanded careful pruning. From some provinces double, or more than double, the numbers actually delegated would have been sent, but for inter-provincial communications as to the numbers other provinces contemplated sending, and remonstrances against one province swamping the others.

For the first Congress there was no enthusiasm until after it was over and its results had been announced (though then indeed the entire country endorsed those results and warmly approved the new departure) but, in regard to the second Congress, the greatest enthusiasm prevailed, especially throughout Bengal. Bengal alone could have furnished a thousand delegates, and not only did a great many more people desire to attend than could possibly have been admitted, but hundreds, certainly, of persons (some say over a thousand) came down from distant parts of the country merely to see the Assemblage; and when at the close of the first meeting at the Town Hall, where the delegates were almost stifled in a crowd of from 2,000 to 3,000 lookers-on, it was decided to hold subsequent meetings elsewhere, where real business might be possible, the gravest dissatisfaction was expressed by the Indian Public and the proposed arrangements had to be subsequently modified.

Nor was this all; at many places, large crowds accompanied the delegates to the ships or railway stations on their departure for the Congress, giving them ovations, as if they were great conquerors returning laden with the spoils of victory, rather than humble soldiers, departing to share in one of the little preliminary skirmishes of Freedom's great battle. Perhaps they truly felt that that battle:

"Once begun
Bequeathed from weariest sire to son,
Tho' baffled oft, is ever won;"
and that the feeble advanced guard whom they were sending forth to MAKE that beginning, more lacked their support and more truly deserved their gratitude, than would the laurel-crowned victors of a later time.

But, perhaps, the best evidence of the widespread enthusiasm that pervaded the country is to be gathered from a study of the list of the delegates together with only "a small scale map" of this vast empire.

ABSENCE OF PARTICULAR CLASSES

The first thing that strikes one, in going through the list, is the entire absence of the old aristocracy, the so-called natural leaders of the people, and who, were they capable of understanding their own interests, would have been foremost in this movement. Several more or less distinguished gentlemen, like Sirdar Uttam Singh, Nawab Reza Ali Khan, Raja Rampal Singh, Maharajah Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore, Rajah Rajendra Narsin Deb, Maharaj Kumar Nilkrishna, Nawab Gholam Rubbani and others graced the Congress with their presence; but of the hundreds of the old hereditary aristocracy, who are still to be found scattered over the whole country, not one leading member was to be found amongst the delegates. The reason is obvious; the policy of the Government has excluded these gentlemen persistently from all positions worthy of their rank, whether in the army or in the civil administration of the country, and they have consequently, as a rule, entirely lost the desire, if not the capacity, for personally exerting themselves or taking any direct active interest in public affairs.

The next point that attracts attention is the absence of the shop-keeping class. The British rule has been called the Euniya's Raj. Shop-keepers by millions swarm over every part of the country, many of them rich, most of them fairly well-to-do, yet only one single man of this class was to be found in the ranks of the delegates. The higher commercial classes, bankers, merchants, were fairly represented; but petty money-lenders and shop-keepers were conspicuous by their absence. In the first place, these classes are, broadly speaking, grossly ignorant and entirely immersed in their own personal concerns; and in the second place they, naturally enough, do not care for any change in a form of Government, which, while it prevents others from robbing them, furnishes, in its system of civil jurisprudence, ample facilities to them, for enriching themselves!

Lastly, the ryots and cultivating classes were insufficiently represented; five ryots came as representatives, and six other gentlemen came as the elected representatives of different Ryots' Associations, and over and above this from several parts of the country, the Deccan,
Madras and Lower Bengal, came representatives known champions of the ryots, and, in their own parts of the country, trusted and looked up to by these; but for all this, considering the vast magnitude of the class and of the aggregate interests involved, it cannot be denied that the cultivating classes were inadequately represented. For this of course there were two obvious reasons: The first is that the great bulk of the ryots, intelligent worthy men as so many of them are, have as yet but a very imperfect knowledge of political matters. A great number of them realize that the times are somehow out of joint, but they have not learnt to rise from particular instances to generalizations, and they neither understand exactly what is wrong nor have they, as a class, any clear and definite ideas as to what could, or ought, to be done to lighten somewhat their lot in life. To educate the intelligent members of the cultivating classes (and these are immensely more numerous than those who have not dealt directly with them suppose) in all such matters, is one of our most pressing duties. In some comparatively limited tracts the work has already been undertaken, but it has to be extended to all parts of the country, and persevered in for years, before we can hope to see this, the most important of all classes, fitly and fairly represented in our Councils.

The second reason is the comparative poverty of the class, which must always debar all, but a very few, of them from themselves making long journeys to attend such gatherings, though not, of course, from electing others, more favoured by fortune, to represent their views and wishes at these.

Excluding then the old aristocracy and the shop-keepers and petty money-lenders who were in no way represented, and the cultivating classes who were inadequately represented, all other important classes and interests were satisfactorily represented. It may be thought that the artizans too were left somewhat but in the cold, as no artizan appeared as a delegate; but under British rule the old artizan class has almost disappeared; skilled artizans, of the modern type, are few in number and form as yet but a comparatively small class, and where at all numerous have begun to join and are members of People's and other Associations which did send representatives, so that thus far it cannot be said that they were inadequately represented. Doubtless, as technical education gains ground and India develops, as all hope it gradually may, into a manufacturing country, this class will require and obtain more direct representation.

The higher landed interests were well represented, as about 130 of the delegates were talukdars, zemindars, or landed proprietors of one kind or another.
Of course the Indian Press was well represented, some forty editors, sub-editors and proprietors of newspapers appearing as delegates. Amongst the papers so represented may be mentioned the " Hindu ", the " Andhra Prakasika ", the " Crescent " and the " Kerala Patrika " (all of the Madras Presidency); the " Indu Prakash ", the " Dhyan Prakash ", the " Journal of the Sarvajanik Sabha ", the " Gujerati ", " Sindh Sudhar " and " Sindh Times " (of the Bombay Presidency); the " Tribune " and " Kohinoor " (of the Punjab) the " Prayag Sumachar ", the " Naseem Agra ", the " Sitara Hind ", the " Miratul Hind ", the " Hindustani ", the " Rozana Akhbar ", the " Indian Union " and the " Indian Courier " (of the N. W. Provinces and Oudh); and the " Behar Herald " and " Indian Chronicle ", the " Hindu Patriot ", the " Bengali ", the " Mirror ", the " Suravi ", the " Sar Sudhanidhi ", the " Bharatbasi ", the " Sanjivani ", the " Reis and Ryyet ", the " Indian Nation ", the " Amrita Bazar Patrika ", the " Ahmedi " and the " Christian Herald " , all of Bengal.

(PAGES 5 AND 6.)

POLITICS SHOULD BE FREE OF RELIGIOUS SENTIMENT

Therefore we utterly deprecate the introduction of any religious sentiment, or any reference to gentlemen's religious beliefs into political movements of the nature of these Congresses, and on the present occasion should have considered it sufficient merely to record that Hindus, Mahomedans, Sikhs, Christians, Brahmos and Parsees took part in the Conference.

But unfortunately an effort has been made to detect from the national character of the late assemblage, by pointing out that numerically, according to the proportion observable in the population, the Mahomedans were inadequately represented; which is just as if the nationality of the House of Commons in England were denied, because it contained a smaller proportion than the population of Great Britain as a whole, of Methodists or Roman Catholics. Of course as every one knows, even in Ireland, where the religious antagonism of Protestants and Roman Catholics far exceeds that anywhere existing in India between Mahomedans and Hindus, a Protestant like Mr. Parnell represents a Catholic constituency.

(PAGE 8.)
This short-sighted action has not commended itself to the Mahomedans of India as a body.* Mahomedan speakers at the Congress, one after the other, denounced it as unjustifiable and unpatriotic, and declared that Mahomedans and Hindus, have their interests identical. Even in Calcutta itself, a certain reaction has taken place, and some, of the Mahomedans feel and admit that a mistake has been made.

(PAGE 9.)

SHEIKH REZA HUSSAIN'S VIEWS

Gentlemen, I thank you heartily for having taken the trouble to come to this city (Lucknow) after your recent deliberations at Calcutta. I welcome you, gentlemen of Bellary, from the bottom of my heart to this ancient capital. If political Congresses are not likely, as some Anglo-Indian friends allege, to end in anything great, they have done so much at least, that to-day we find the nobility and gentry of Lucknow welcoming the inhabitants of other parts of the country. (Cheers). Gentlemen, I have read in the papers that, some, apparently very narrow minded men, call this Congress a Hindu Congress. But I will not resume my seat to-day without denying this unfounded allegation (Cheers). I do not thank that the Mahomedans, who have kept aloof, are all absolutely devoid of reason, but it seems to me that their actions have rather been the result of prejudice and selfishness than of principle and reason (Loud cheers). It is a calumny to say that Mahomedans have no sympathy with this great national movement. In every community there are some gentlemen of faultfinding tendencies, and when these gentlemen found that they had no other way of justifying their conduct, they took upon themselves to misrepresent the objects of the Congress. But, as in every other case, truth prevailed, and all attempts to discredit the promoters of the good movement have been laid bare (Cheers). I tell you, gentlemen here present, that the Mahomedans have full sympathy with the Congress. If need were, I could take upon myself to furnish the signatures of 50,000 Mahomedans (loud cheers) in support of my assertion. In the by-gone days of Mahomedan power, though the great sections of the Indian community differed in respect of religion and customs, the Hindus never lacked in their fidelity towards the ruling powers; and, in return, the Mahomedans took them into their

*Take, for instance, the speech of Sheikh Reza Hossain (a gentleman who is not to be confounded with Nawab Reza Ali Khan), the President of the Rifa-i-am (the most important Association in Upper India), on the occasion of the visit, on their tour through the N. W. Provinces, of certain of the Madras delegates, a few days after the close of the Congress.
confidence, and gave them a share in the administration of their country (Hear, hear). In my opinion no country can prosper in which there is not a national unity. We may differ in religious views, but in our aspirations I hold that we are one. We have a common goal before us; and in every other respect, we are, in reality, one nation (Loud cheers). When, unfortunately there is any famine or plague or misfortune among us, there is no distinction made between the various communities. So, in respect of laws, should they all be treated alike (Applause). This national demonstration has shown, to a great extent, the moderation of our demands. It has clearly shown that these demands are not the demands of a handful of interested and self-seeking agitators. Nobody can raise any question as to the representative character of the meeting, which numbered among its delegates the greatest and best of our patriots-men who are not for doing away with law and order, but who are actuated by the purest of principles. In honoring such men all Hindus and Mahomedans ought to be, and I believe, are united. (Long and continued cheers).

MUSLIMS DID NOT LACK SYMPATHY WITH THE CONGRESS.

To return: The Nawab Reza Ali Khan, Bahadur of Lucknow, speaking in Urdu, seconded Baboo Joykissen's nomination of Mr. Dadabhai as President, Calcutta 1886 and proceeded indignantly and eloquently to deny that the Mahomedans were holding aloof from, or lacked sympathy with, the Congress, concluding his speech amidst vociferous cheering with the following words: "The Association that has done us the honour of deputing us is largely composed of leading Mahomedans, Nawabs, Wasekadaris, Political Pensioners, and scions of the once Royal House of Oudh, and I assure you that our Association and my brother Mahomedans, generally, of Oudh, will utterly repudiate and condemn any unworthy attempt to create dissensions in our ranks, by unfounded statements as to our supposed want of sympathy with the present movement. Hindus or Mahomedans, Parsees or Sikhs, we are one people now, whatever our ancestors six or eight hundred years ago may have been, and our public interests are indivisible and identical. Gentlemen, I pray you disregard any such slanders; we Mahomedans (at least such of us as can think at all) think just as all thinking Hindus do on these public questions, and believe me when I say that you will ever find us side by side with you in every legal constitutional endeavour to raise the political status of the people of our common home and country."

(PAGE 51.)
COULD SOCIAL REFORM BE DISCUSSED?

The Hon. Dadabhai Naoroji, President of the Congress (1886) in his inaugural address, pointed out that these reproaches were absolutely groundless; that there were times and places for every thing; that the Congress was a political body met together to represent to our rulers our political aspirations, and that you might as well blame the House of Commons for not discussing the abstruser problems of metaphysics as this Congress for not discussing social problems. He went on to show that, composed as the Congress was of men of all castes and creeds, it was simply impossible for it to pretend to handle such topics.

"How," he said, "can this gathering of all classes discuss the Social Reforms needed in each individual class? What do any of us know of the internal home-life, of the traditions, customs, feelings, prejudices of any class but his own? How could a cosmopolitan gathering like this discuss to any purpose the reforms needed in any one class? Only the members, of that class can effectively deal with the reforms therein needed. A National Congress must confine itself to questions in which the entire nation has a direct participation, and it must leave the adjustment of Social Reforms, and other class questions, to class Congresses. But it does not follow because this National Political body, as such, does not presume to discuss Social Reforms, that the delegates here present are not just as deeply, nay, in many cases far more deeply, interested in those questions, than in those political questions which we do discuss, or that those several communities, which these delegates represent are not doing their utmost to solve those complicated problems on which hinge the practical introduction of those reforms."

MUSLIMS ARE NOT AGAINST THE CONGRESS

(COMMENTS OF THE "STATESMAN").

The refusal of the National Mahomedan Association and of the Mahomedan Literary Society—represented respectively by Mr. Amir Ali and the Nawab Abdul Latiff—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 Northwestern 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. (PAGE 160.)

THE BOMBAY CONGRESS WAS A SIGNAL SUCCESS

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 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 abstention 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 do 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. AMIR ALI in our issue of Sunday last, and from Mr. HUME'S letter to that fine old man SYED AHMED HOSSEIN
of Alighur, 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 honourable 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—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 abstention, 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 honourable 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 Mahomedans to ignore it altogether.

(PAGES 165-66.)
CAUSES OF THE SUCCESS OF THE SESSION

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 Abdul 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 mar 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 Churan 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 respectors 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 favourable 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 admirable 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."

THE CONGRESS IS A GREAT SOCIAL LEVER

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 present political force, it is a great social lever. It is national all events in the sense that it is calculated to form us into nation, by bringing us together, and making us by an interchange views think, feel, and act alike. I care not whether the array 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.

**SOCIAL REFORM NEGLECTED?**

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 left: 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 Churan Bannerji delivered a lecture on the services rendered by Rajah Ram Mohan Roy to the causes of religious and social reform in India; on Saturday Pandit Shiva Nath Shastri, one of the missionaries of the Brahmo Somaj 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."

(PAGES 168 TO 172)

**CONGRESS AND ANGLO-INDIANS**

(From "RETS AND RAYYET")

We think we see the first signs in the voluntary Congress to be held early next week in the metropolis of British India whereat 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 which 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 throughout the globe.

THE LONDON TIMES ON THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

(Comments of "Reis and Rayyet", Calcutta.)

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 today. 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 common places 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."

**CRITICISM WITHOUT PROPER KNOWLEDGE**

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 judgement. 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 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?

THE SUCCESS OF THE CONGRESS

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. Zamindars, 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 mote 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, for practical purposes

ARE MUSLIMS ALOOF?

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 sympathies. It has now become a favourite game of some politicians to set the two great religious sections of the Indian people by cars, 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 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 those who 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 COBDEN, 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 righteous cause. We firmly believe that between the savage caricature of the 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.

THEODORE BECK ON MUSLIMS AND CONGRESS

(FROM THE BOOK "THE SEDITIOUS CHARACTER OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ".)

The worst sufferers by the Mutiny would be Muhammodans. As far as savagery goes, both sides would have a good fling. At such a period men become friends, and the innocent and guilty, the strong and the defenceless, share the same fate. The English nation, on whose benevolence at home the Congresswallas lay stress, would forget all about constitutions and elective councils, and cry only for vengeance. But England would not lose her national existance, while the Muhammadans would be irretrievably ruined. This is why the Muhammedan leaders wish to keep their people from the whirlpool of political agitation. My revered chief, Sir Syed Ahmed, whose humble disciple in matters political I boast myself. has pointed out clearly. No one has even grappled with his arguments, but in place of reason a shower of mud and abuse has been
hurled at him ever since. He has been called selfish, foolish, childish, and a flatterer. But the fact is, people in other Provinces and other nations can in no way understand the circumstances and feelings of the people here. The Bengali has made enormous progress under British Rule his political star is in ascendent; how can he put himself in the position of the Muhammedan whose greatness is in the past, and who sees ruin staring at him in the face? If, in spite of this, he will disseminate his poisonous literature among Muhammedans, have not Muhammedan patriots a right to be angry? In Bengal, Madras and Bombay there was no Mutiny, though if report be right, materials exist for one in the last of these Provinces. To people there it seems an unreality, a chimera. But it is far otherwise here. Our old men were middle aged in 1857. The Bombay Gazette urged the Muhammedans of the N.W.P., to indulge in a little "wholesome grumbling, if they could find any thing to grumble about. Pray how, if we start grumbling are we to be sure that it will remain "wholesome"? There is plenty for Muhammedans to grumble at. This so called self-Government of the municipalities in which Muhammedans have been bound hand and foot and handed over to their rivals to be governed by them is a case in point. An order just issued by the Bengal Government that all minor appointments are to be given by competitive examinations—an order which will almost destroy the Muhammedan middle class which cannot for one generation at least acquire English education sufficient to compete with others—is another. But rather than bring these things forward and create a popular agitation, we will submit to them as lesser evil. Another Syed Ahmad, the great wahabi, and Maulvi Ismail, his supporter, raised a great popular agitation, but urged their followers never to attack the British. They fought the Sikhs, but after that what took place? To every thoughtful Muhammedan the idea of another mutiny is as horrible, more horrible I believe than to an Englishman, and to every Muslman Lady more dreadful even than to an English Lady.

I have written the above on the supposition that the promoters of this movement have no desire of raising a storm, but are doing it unwillingly, not knowing the country. Poverty is as strong a provocative of crime as anything else. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is diligently trying to prove that India is growing poorer. This can produce no harm in his own community, who live like Princes and are a thousand times as rich as they used to be. But on nations which are really impoverished it may produce deadly effects. A political cause is also given for the great Mutiny—the annexation of Oudh. If the passions of the people be stirred up about politics, there is no reason why there should not be
a Mutiny. The soldiery will readily imbibe the sentiments, and then all will be up. Mr. Hume boasted that he and his organisation could react the soldiers and fill them with their sentiments and ideas. The people will get ready and wait for a favourable opportunity. If there be a single battle lost in a fight with Russia, this will be taken as the signal and the whole of India will be aflame.

THEODORE BECK,
Hony. Editor,
United Indian Patriotic Association.
MADRAS SESSION, 1887

(President: Badruddin Tyabji)

(FROM OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE CONGRESS SESSION.)

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

As this paper will necessarily be read by many who know but little of the India of to-day, it may be well to explain that the objects of the National movement, of which the Congress is one, and at the moment, the most prominent and tangible outcome, are threefold; the fusion into one national whole of all the different and, till recently, discordant elements that constitute the population of India; the gradual regeneration along all lines, mental, moral, social, and political, of the nation thus evolved; and the consolidation of the union between England and India, by securing the modification of such of its conditions as may be unjust or injurious to the latter country.

A persistent and ungenerous effort has been made by a certain section of the Anglo-Indian community, chiefly consisting of officials, and by the few newspapers* that are their mouth-pieces, to misrepresent the aims and objects of the national party and affix to them the stigma of disloyalty, because, in their public or political work (their work on other lines is necessarily more private in its character), they, naturally enough, devote more of their energies to pointing out and endeavouring to secure the reform of what is faulty in the existing administration, than to the more pleasing but profitless occupation of lauding its many undoubted merits; and, since the Calcutta correspondent of the London Times, from whose telegrams the British public appears to learn most of what little it hears of India, is a conspicuous member of this party and

*The Englishman (Calcutta); The Pioneer (Allahabad); The Civil and Military Gazette (Lahore); and The Times of India (Bombay).
evinces as little regard for facts in his messages to England, as others of the clique do in their utterances here, it may be right to make it quite clear that, from the very conditions of the case, loyalty to the British Crown and British Government, is necessarily the basis and guiding principle of the national party.

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

One of the speakers at the Congress, Malik Bhugwandas, of Dera Ismail Khan (page 128 of Detailed Report) very neatly characterized those opposing journals. He said:

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

(PAGES 2, 3.)

WHY HAS CONGRESS LIMITED ITS FIELD OF ACTIVITY?

It was intended to widen the basis of the National Party, the party of Progress and Order, the British Party in the truest sense of the word, until it became absolutely co-extensive with the entire Population of the Empire, not solely by the awakening of the masses.
that follows in each province its assemblage there, but by the missionary labours of all the members of the Congress, throughout the year, who, in and near their homes, as Standing Congress Committees and Sub-Committees, by lectures, public meetings, and the distribution of tens of thousands of simple tracts* in the local vernaculars, were expected to spread from mind to mind an elementary knowledge of the burning political questions of the day, and generally of the rights and duties of all good citizens of a civilized state.

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

But numerous and wide-reaching as the objects of the Congress, the more important of which we have now indicated, unquestionably are, "the carping crew of narrow brains" unable to find fault with what the Congress does, has never ceased to revile it for not aiming at something more. Boldly has the Congress taken the Ossa (ऑस्सा) of Political Reform upon its shoulders, but this fault-finding party, who themselves will not extend a finger to lighten the burdens of the country, find no words, it would seem, too bitter in which to denounce it for not piling the pillion of Social Reform also on its existing load. The National Party, have undertaken through the Congress the political regeneration of 200 millions of men; and these fatuous foes of progress revile it, because, through this same organization it does not also attempt their social, moral, and religious regeneration! The National Party is as deeply interested, we may say more deeply interested in these latter, than even in the former question, but it suits its means to its ends and applies in each case the proper mechanism. Throughout the country social and religious conferences, associations, and guilds are working at these deeper, and more spiritual problems, and in many cases men most prominent in the political work of the Congress will be found equally amongst the most prominent in the more spiritual work which other bodies are carrying on. But the methods and organization requisites for success in the one case, would be fatal to success in the other; and it really

* Translations of two of these, "The Tamil Congress Catechism," of which 30,000 copies were circulated in Southern India, and of an Oordoo and Hindee tract on Representative institutions, in the form of a conversation, of which 25,000 copies were circulated in Northern India, are given in appendices II and III.
seems impossible for any honest man, possessing any real knowledge of the country or its wants, to continue to find fault with the Congress, because it refuses to overstep the bounds of its natural sphere, wherein it can work effectively, in order to plunge into other spheres, in which it could only introduce confusion and discord.

(PAGES 5, 6.)

THE FIRST AND THE SECOND SESSIONS

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

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

The second Congress assembled in Calcutta during the Christmas week of 1886. But, in the meantime, the proceedings of the first Congress had become widely known, hundreds of public associations 'and meetings in all parts of the empire had endorsed its Resolutions, a strong general interest had been awakened and the country had virtually taken the movement out of the hands of the original promoters, and, while adhering scrupulously to the lines laid down by them, had made the enterprise their own.
So it resulted that fully 500 gentlemen, of whom some 440 actually put in an appearance, were elected all over India, at public meetings of the inhabitants of large towns or groups of villages, or at general meetings of societies, associations and sabhas, political, agricultural and literary. But, although all the delegates, as the public now commenced to call them, were undoubtedly elected by some meeting or body of men, the elections had in some cases been hurried and wanting in formal regularity. Many delegates failed to bring regular credentials of their delegation and no materials were available for even an approximate estimate of the numbers of persons whom they directly represented.

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

(PAGE 9.)

OPPOSITION BY DISTRICT OFFICIALS

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

(PAGE 12.)

SO-CALLED MUSLIM OPPOSITION

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

To return, a marked feature in this late Congress, was the presence, amongst the delegates, of some ten Eurasians and Europeans, all men of mark in their own communities, who took an active part in the debates. The Anglo-Indian and Eurasian Association of Southern India, co-operated with the Reception Committee through-out, and deputed their ablest members as delegates, Mr. D. S. White, their President, only failing to attend, because detained at Calcutta by the Public Service Commission, of which he was a member. And, as

* Only two, even nominally, Mahomedan papers, at present so far as we know, oppose the Congress. The Aligurh observer, and the Muslim Herald of Madras, edited by Europeans,
regards Europeans, it was not only that men like Mr. Eardly Norton, a prominent Barrister, Mr. John Adam, the Principal of the Great Pachiappa's Collegiate establishment, with—its 1,800 pupils, and founder in India of a "commercial education " attended as delegates, but that numerous independent Europeans in various parts of the country, including even Mr. F. T. Atkins, so well known for the vehement part he took against the Ilbert bill, sent telegraphic messages, regretting their inability to attend, and expressing their most cordial sympathy with the Congress and its objects. When to this we add the fact that leading English Newspapers, like Sir C. Lawson's Madras Mail, the first paper far and away in Madras; the Bombay Gazette, one of the two leading papers of Bombay; the Daily News, of Calcutta; and the Statesman, together with the entire Indian Press, English and Vernacular, warmly supported the Congress. All really interested in India's welfare, may congratulate themselves that, despite the lamentably erroneous statements of the Times Calcutta correspondent, the Pioneer, and one or two other similar papers here, the nature of the Congress is at last becoming clear to all classes, in India, at any rate, and all are beginning to recognize, that what it aims at are simply those changes in the existing form of the administration and that the progress effected, along all lines, is, not only desirable, but necessary, in the interests of all classes of the inhabitants, be they European, Anglo-Indian, or Indian.

(PAGE 18.)